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Studies, BYU (1999) "Full Issue," *BYU Studies Quarterly*. Vol. 38 : Iss. 1 , Article 26.

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40 YEARS

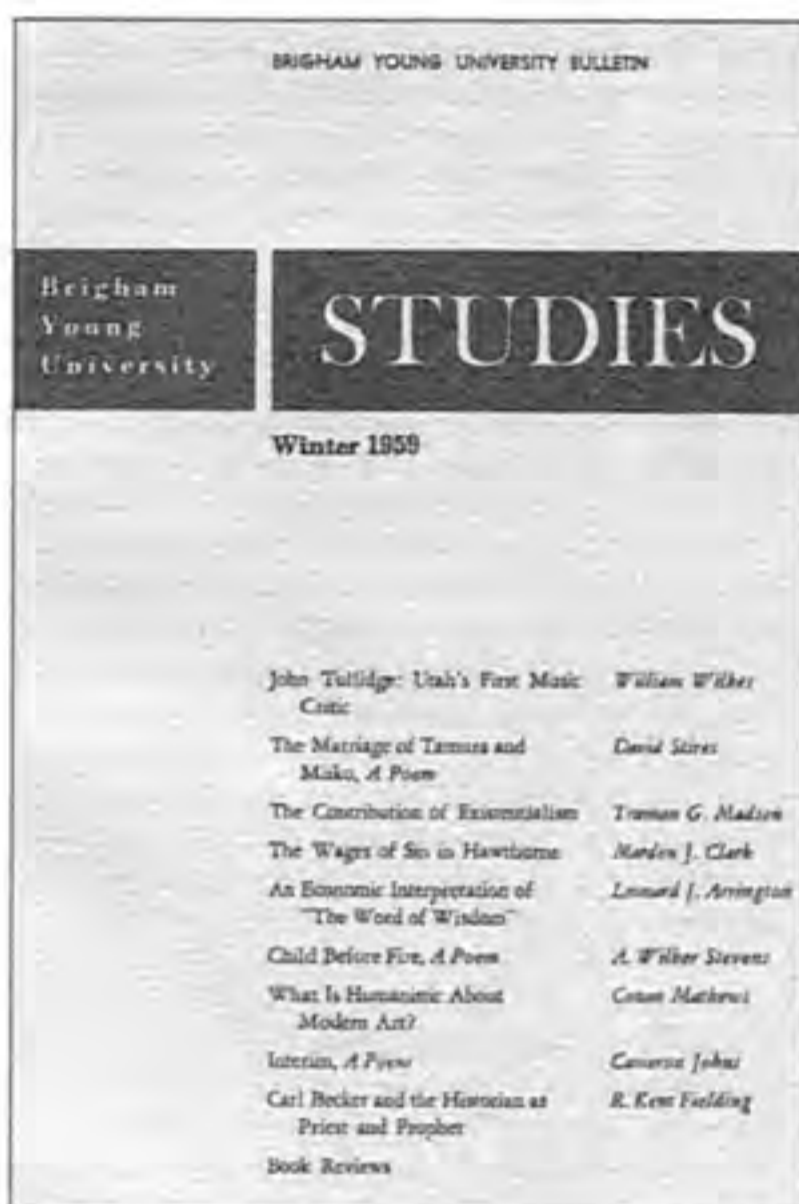
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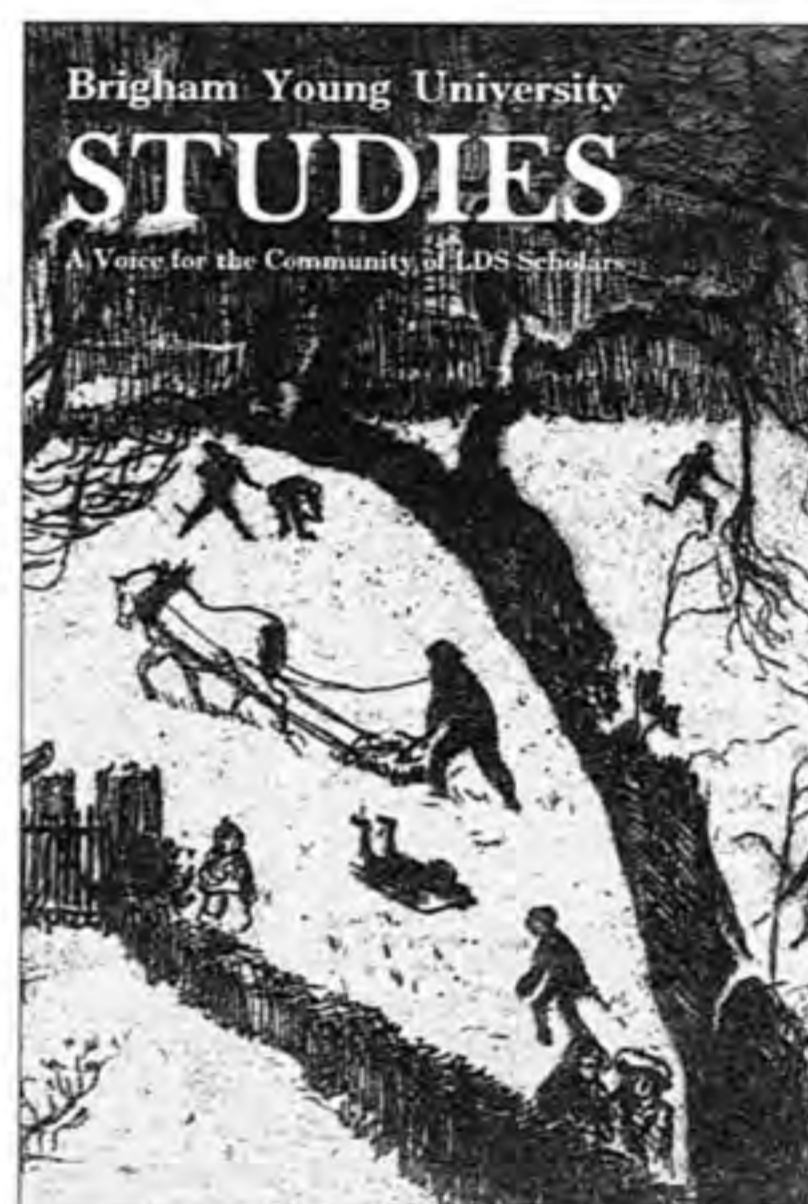
THE INSIDE STORY
 JOSEPH SMITH AND HERMAN MELVILLE
 CRISIS AT THE BRIGHAM YOUNG ACADEMY
 PARTING THE VEIL: JOSEPH SMITH'S VISIONS
 HAUN'S MILL MASSACRE AFFIDAVIT
 MISSION TO PARADISE



A MULTIDISCIPLINARY
LATTER-DAY SAINT JOURNAL
1959–1999



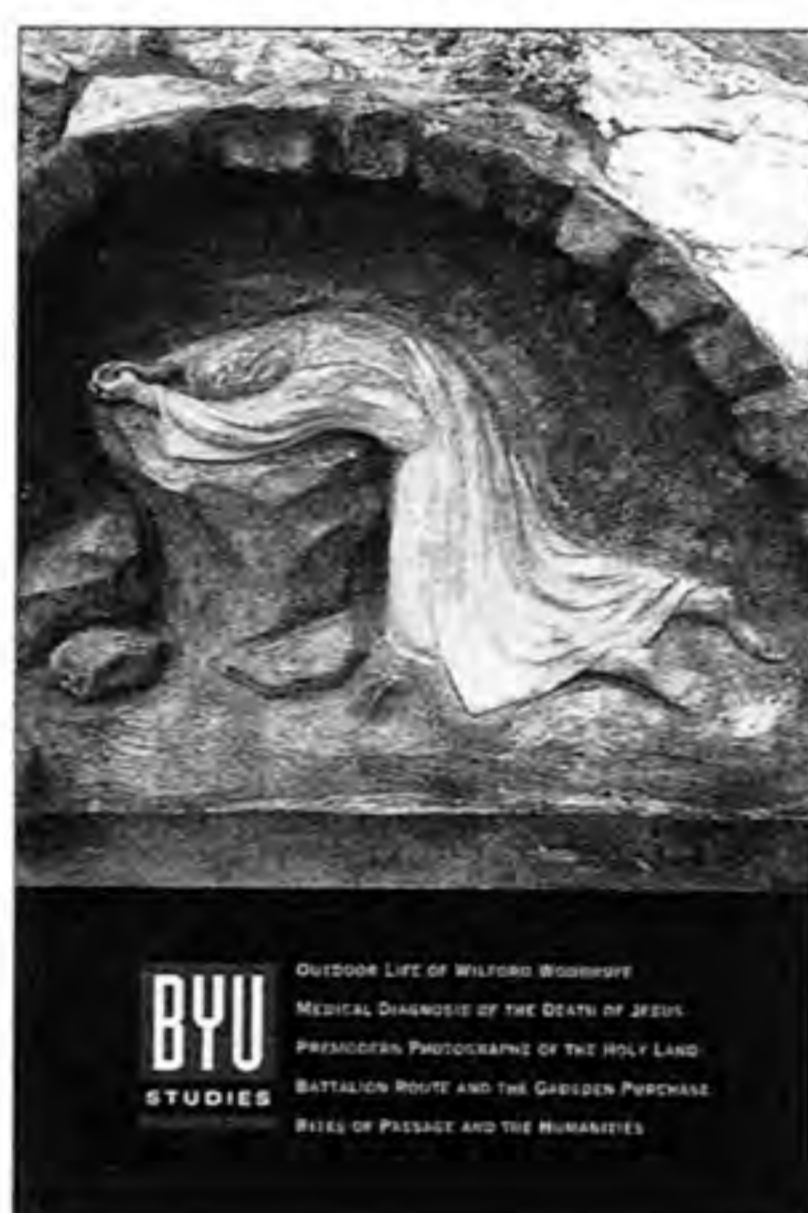
1959



1968



1982



1998

TO OUR READERS:

BYU Studies is dedicated to the correlation of revealed and discovered truth and to the conviction that the spiritual and the intellectual can be complementary and fundamentally harmonious avenues of knowledge. This periodical strives to explore scholarly perspectives on LDS topics. It is committed to seeking truth “by study and also by faith” (D&C 88:118) and recognizes that all knowledge without charity is nothing (1 Cor. 13:2). It proceeds on the premise that faith and reason, revelation and scholarly learning, obedience and creativity are compatible; they are “many members, yet but one body” (1 Cor. 12:20).

Contributions from all fields of learning are invited. *BYU Studies* strives to publish articles that openly reflect a Latter-day Saint point of view and are obviously relevant to subjects of general interest to Latter-day Saints, while conforming to high scholarly standards. *BYU Studies* invites poetry and personal essays dealing with the life of the mind, reflections on personal and spiritual responses to academic experiences, intellectual choices, values, responsibilities, and methods. Short studies and notes are also welcomed.

Opinions expressed in *BYU Studies* are the opinions of the contributors and do not necessarily reflect the views of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Brigham Young University, the editors, the advisory board, or anyone else.

INSTRUCTIONS TO AUTHORS:

Please write to *BYU Studies* for guidelines about submitting manuscripts.

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BYU Studies is abstracted in *Current Contents: Behavioral, Social, and Management Sciences*; indexed in *Religion Index One: Periodicals* (articles) and *Index to Book Reviews in Religion*; and listed in *Historical Abstracts*, *Arts and Humanities Citation Index*, *American History and Life Annual Index*, and *MLA International Bibliography*. *BYU Studies* is also indexed in *Religion Index One: Periodicals*, *Index to Book Reviews in Religion*, *Religion Indexes: RIO/RIT/IBRR 1975– on CD-ROM*.

BYU Studies is published quarterly at Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

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Printed in the U.S.A. on acid-free paper

4-90-46359-3.3M ISSN 0007-0106

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Volume 38

1999

Number 1

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Celebrating Forty Years

This issue of *BYU Studies* is divided into three parts, representing the past, the present, and the future. As we pass an important milestone in the history of *BYU Studies*, we pause to reflect on the dedicated efforts and favorable circumstances that have brought us to this point.

BYU Studies commenced publication forty years ago, in January 1959. Under the leadership of four editors, this quarterly journal has produced a steady stream of solid, significant LDS scholarship. Many of the articles published over the years remain definitive treatments in their field. In part 1, editors Clinton Larson (1959–67), Charles Tate (1967–83), Edward Geary (1983–91), and John Welch (1991–present) look back on their experiences and feelings in guiding and editing this leading LDS journal.

In part 2, current scholarship carries on in fulfilling the mission of *BYU Studies*. Each issue features scholarly articles, personal essays, poetry, newsworthy historical documents, art, book reviews, and other features. Presented in a reader-friendly fashion, the layout of the journal has been redesigned to convey even more readily than before interesting, valuable, and reliable scholarship meaningful to faithful, educated Latter-day Saints all around the world.

Part 3 states the policies and values that will continue to guide *BYU Studies* into the future. Modern readers, authors, and financial supporters deserve to know where *BYU Studies* stands. This publication hopes to adhere always to its code of responsibility, which values equally both truth and goodness, fact and faith, mind and spirit, and competence and trust concerning “things as they are, and as they were, and as they are to come” (D&C 93:24).

We appreciate the numerous authors, reviewers, advisors, editorial assistants, production officers, supporters, subscribers, and readers who make *BYU Studies* possible, and we look forward to a very bright future.

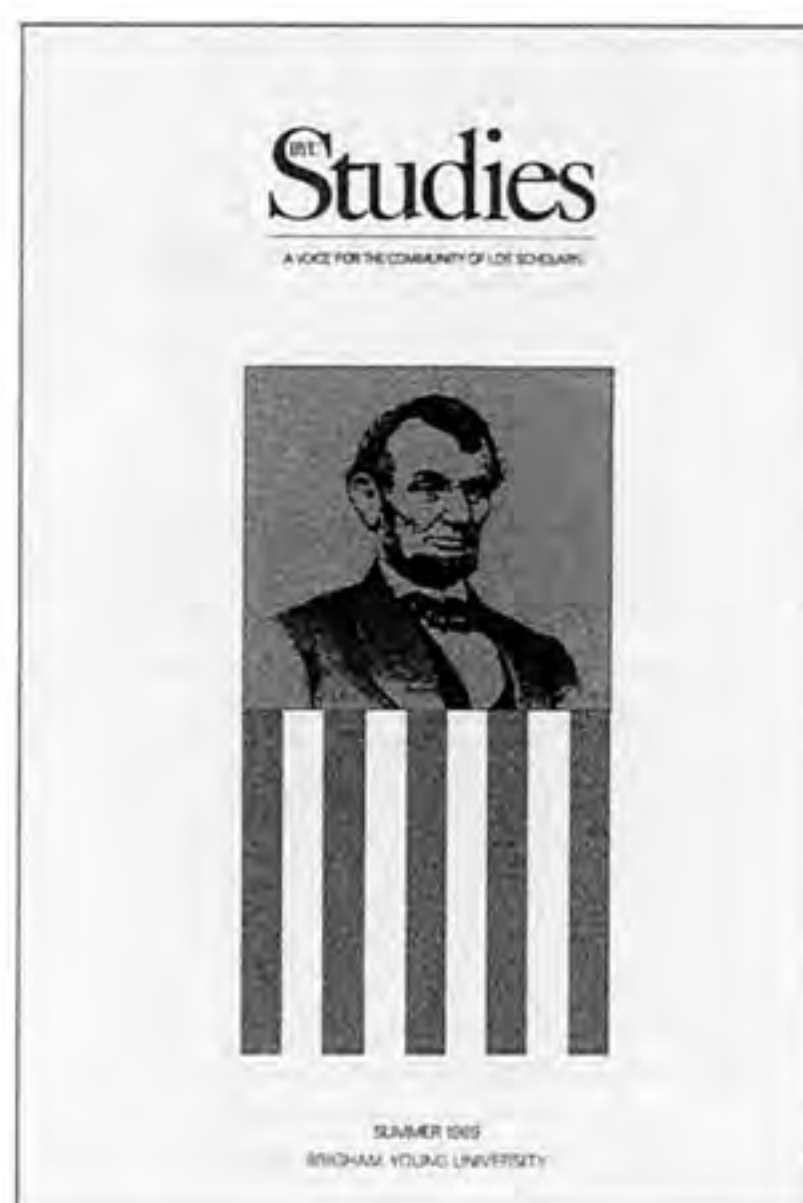
John W. Welch,
Editor in Chief

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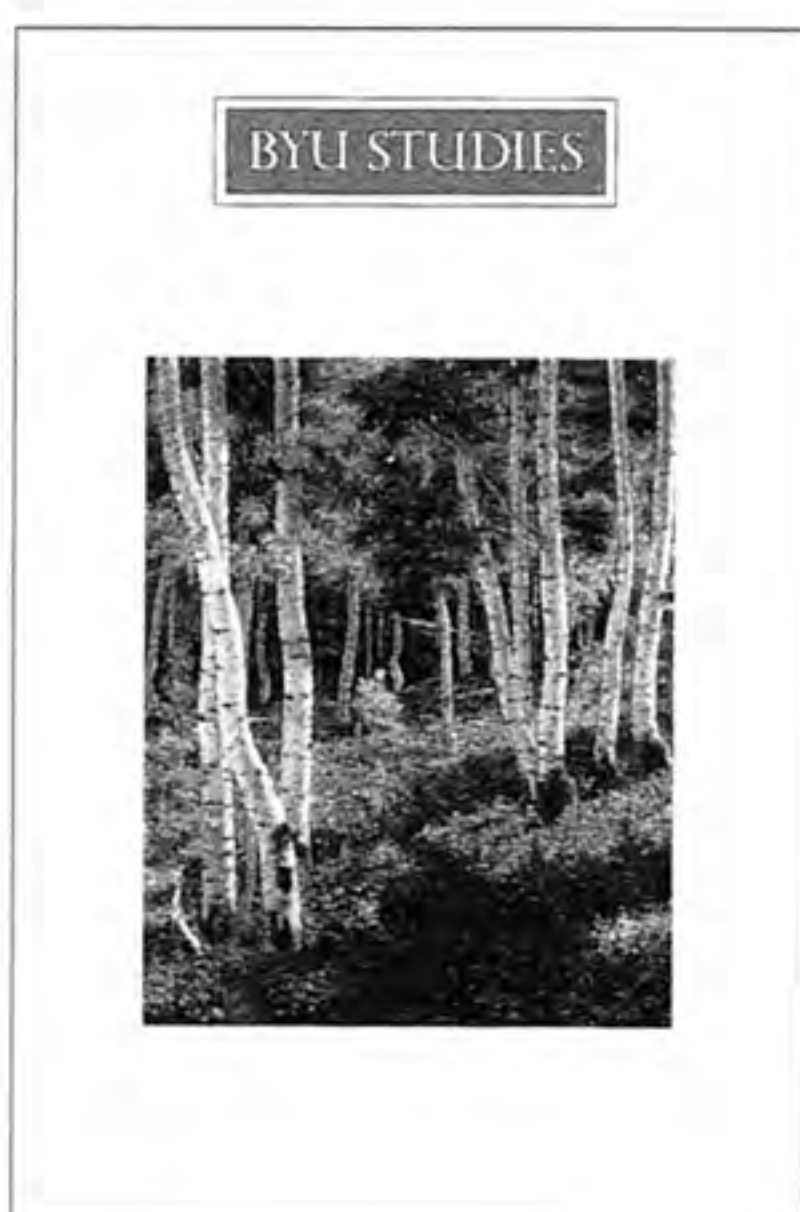
LEADING THE MARCH THE INSIDE STORY



CLINTON F. LARSON



CHARLES D. TATE



EDWARD A. GEARY



JOHN W. WELCH

The Founding Vision of *BYU Studies*, 1959–1967

Clinton F. Larson

Time is of little consequence when an Event is near. In a rush and emphasis of time, three of us stood in a field to the north of Temple Hill.¹ Darrel Taylor said, “I want to establish a language training center for missionaries of the Church. I want it to be part of the department of foreign languages so that the beauties of the languages can be seen with the Truth that is in them.” And I thought of the possibility of a magazine for the university, as it might be, drawing its breath from the influence of ages past, from literature and the books wherein it lies.

We stood together in the field talking, and a cow stood near, nodding and lowing, it seemed, in assent. We had a compact for a beginning. Not too long, but after the Escalante accident in which Darrel and many others died,² the Language Training Mission became a reality. The magazine became a reality, too. I remember John Bernhard’s concern for its success. I was able to allay it. In my enthusiasm for what I called it—*The Wasatch Review*—I remembered how my interest in literature began from *My Book House*, a set of illustrated books in which the myths of old became real in my imagination, especially those of the Arthurian Legend. Then reading, in my college days and later, became part of my career as a teacher and a writer. President Wilkinson agreed with my vision of a learned journal at the university, although, I suppose, with reservations.

I made my presentation for *The Wasatch Review* in a luncheon of administration and faculty, to which the poet Carl Sandburg had been invited because he was in town for a forum assembly. I spoke; President Wilkinson arose and in a loud voice said, “We’re not going to call it *The Wasatch Review*. That would be an insult to the mountains.” Later, he named the magazine *Brigham Young University Studies*. Wilkinson, as a student at the university in the World War I period, had assembled some papers of fellow students with his own and had dropped them in a manila folder and called them that. So the magazine had its inception; I was the first editor and sole staff member.

Because time varies according to intensity and motive, I sought, and seek, the correlatives that will make both real. One cannot particularize items satisfactorily over a space of time unless he or she is willing to risk disproof as they disappear into the past. But I attempted to make *Brigham*

Young University Studies a threshold to opportunity for writers in the Church to create a meaningful literature for the Church. Besides being a threshold for creative writers, it was to be a threshold for scholarly or scientific writers. The emphasis of the magazine was originally upon “writers” in order to attain a proper purview, to achieve literary significance. *BYU Studies* heralds spiritual and intellectual opportunity according to personal revelation. Nephi does not prescribe limitations for writers who are honest in heart. He said:

Now, I Nephi, cannot write in an effective, powerful way. When a man speaks, the Holy Ghost can reach the hearts of his listeners. But because men harden their hearts, they do not put great value upon writing. But I have written what I have written, and I know my writing is of great value to my people. So, I pray continually for my people by day, and I weep for them by night. I cry to my God in faith, and I know he will hear me. (2 Ne. 33:1–3; paraphrased by the author)

This is also the persuasion of the writers who have contributed to *BYU Studies*.

1. The three were H. Darrel Taylor, Ernest J. Wilkins, and myself. H. Darrel was at that time chairman of the Language Department at Brigham Young University. He served the BYU campus from 1948 until his untimely death in 1963. Ernest J. Wilkins later became president of the Language Training Mission. He taught in the Language Department at BYU from 1953 to 74.

2. On June 10, 1963, a group of Boy Scouts and their leaders were on their way to Hole-in-the-Rock, the southern Utah historic site where Mormon pioneers blazed a shortcut across the wilderness. They intended to begin a river trip on the Colorado. The two-ton cattle truck in which the group was traveling stalled on a steep hill and rolled backward off a thirty-foot embankment. Six adults and seven youths were killed; among them was H. Darrel Taylor.

BYU Studies from 1967 to 1983

Charles D. Tate Jr.

In my editorial in the first issue of *BYU Studies* that I edited, I noted that from its inception the journal was to be a “Voice for the Community of LDS Scholars.”¹ Since there are enough scholarly journals that will publish secular scholarly studies by LDS authors, *BYU Studies* was distinctively to be the journal in which faithful Latter-day Saint scholars could publish articles that explored the correlation of their secular studies and their religious convictions. As most of the rest of the world does not believe in modern revelation as a viable medium of scholarly information, none of the “regular” academic journals would take the kinds of articles *BYU Studies* was interested in publishing.

I also noted that critical synthesis was more important than critical analysis and that articles should strive to build the right thing in *BYU Studies*, not just tear down the wrong thing. Professor Charles Mâlik, a world-renowned diplomat and former president of the United Nations General Assembly, said essentially the same thing in a forum address given on October 12, 1967, at BYU: “Nothing is more unworthy than simply to analyze and stop there. The pure analysts who analyze and stop are the plague of this age.”²

Editing *BYU Studies* for sixteen years was an interesting road to travel. It was lined with interesting challenges and decisions. One of the very first decisions that had to be made was, when does good taste take precedence over scholarship? When does deciding for good taste border on or even become censorship? The specific situation was whether to leave a widely known profane quote about God in an article or to replace it with a statement that the person shook his fist at heaven and profaned against God. Although it seems so simple and clear cut to me today, it was a difficult decision to make in 1967, when most of the scholars were certain that *BYU Studies* was totally controlled by the Church and could not publish anything not approved by the Brethren. Actually, the Brethren never did exercise any control over *BYU Studies* while I was the editor. I can only assume it was the same with those editors before and after me. The question was less one of censorship; it was more a question of good taste. The decision was made that to print profane references about anybody was in bad taste, even though such references may be in widely known quotes that had been published elsewhere, and we changed the reference. That decision made a huge difference through the years that followed.

In the fall of 1967, we were just getting ready to send our second issue (winter 1968) to press when the Church announced it had been given several pieces of papyri associated with Joseph Smith. The most famous fragment was what is left of the source for Facsimile #2 in the book of Abraham in the Pearl of Great Price (the controversial parts showing the head of the angel having been lost). We held back printing that issue until the Church released pictures of those fragments for scholarly publication. *BYU Studies* was able to print articles by Hugh Nibley and James R. Clark about the papyri with excellent black-and-white pictures of those fragments.

The issue that was most instrumental in establishing *BYU Studies* as a valuable scholarly historical journal was the spring 1969 issue on the origins of the Church in New York. The articles in that issue showed that when scholars do their homework they find that Joseph Smith was telling the truth about what was happening around him historically. No scholarship can prove or disprove the truth of the First Vision—it remains the domain of the Spirit to reveal that truth—but scholarship can study the historical setting and test the accuracy of the Prophet's recorded statements about other things that were happening to him, such as the religious revival and the presence of the Methodist minister (identified as George Lane by Oliver Cowdery in his 1834 history of the Church). Articles in that landmark issue showed that, contrary to what people had assumed and enemies of the Church had demanded that we show, the revival Joseph Smith attended did not happen in the early spring of 1820. It had taken place earlier in the summer of 1819, and after thinking about what he had heard there, the Prophet decided to go pray in the early spring of 1820, which is exactly what the Prophet said happened. Another article showed that the Reverend George Lane indeed was at the revival in 1819 and in all logical likelihood passed through Palmyra on his way to Canada early in the summer of 1820, so he could have seen Joseph, heard of his vision, and told him it was not of God, as Joseph said happened. In subsequent years we dedicated one issue in each annual volume to research about the history of the Church—two years each in New York, Ohio, and Missouri, four years for Nauvoo, then on to the plains and into Salt Lake City.

Another significant contribution *BYU Studies* made to scholarship in the Church during my tenure as editor was the publishing of the articles by Robert J. Matthews on the Joseph Smith Translation of the Bible (JST). Building on critical synthesis, Professor Matthews showed that the RLDS 1944 printed version of the JST was truer to the original manuscripts than the 1867 edition had been.³ These articles in *BYU Studies* and Professor Matthews's publication of his fuller study⁴ did much to make including short references from the JST in the footnotes and reprinting larger selections in the appendix of the 1979 LDS edition of the King James Version of the Bible possible.

One thing we learned about the readers of *BYU Studies*, however, is that they like variety in the articles in each issue. We had thought they wanted us to research a topic thoroughly and make all the articles pertain to that single topic. Bringing special issues together requires a lot of work to get the articles from different scholars, and coordinating that effort is a real struggle. One time when the editorial staff had been working especially hard to pull together an issue on ancient studies, we finally had to give up on getting enough articles in and ready for printing. Since we were almost past the deadline for having the issue printed and in the mail, we pulled together all the other articles we had ready for publication and published a potpourri issue. Our reader response was so favorable that we decided to print fewer special issues, with the major exception being our annual issues exploring the history of the Church in different times and places.

In the 1970s, *BYU Studies* moved typesetting from hot-metal Linotype to cold-copy computer composition. Even though the move made production more efficient, it eliminated the many trips to the BYU Press building to take copy to be typeset, to proofread, and to approve page makeup. I personally missed the interaction with the people at the press because they were as interested in getting our journal out as we were and they wanted it to look good as much as we did. They are professionals in their work. I thank them for helping *BYU Studies* become what it became while I was the editor.

-
1. Charles D. Tate, Jr., "Brigham Young University Studies: Its Purpose, Its Freedom, Its Scope," *BYU Studies* 8, no. 1 (1967): 1.
 2. Charles Mâlik, "The Struggle for Peace," *BYU Studies* 8, no. 4 (1968): 396.
 3. Robert J. Matthews, "A Study of the Text of Joseph Smith's Inspired Version of the Bible," *BYU Studies* 9, no. 1 (1968): 3-16; Robert J. Matthews, "Some Significant Texts of Joseph Smith's Inspired Version of the Bible," *BYU Studies* 9, no. 2 (1969): 155.
 4. Robert J. Matthews, "A Plainer Translation": *Joseph Smith's Translation of the Bible, A History and Commentary* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1975).

Confessions of a Chameleon, 1983–1991

Edward A. Geary

John Keats coined the term “negative capability” to describe a poet’s ability to present his or her material objectively and impersonally. The poet with negative capability, Keats declared, “has no character” and takes “as much delight in conceiving an Iago as an Imogen. What shocks the virtuous philosopher, delights the camelion Poet.”¹ Negative capability is probably an optional quality for poets, but it is almost essential for editors—except, of course, those few who deliberately make their publications a sounding board for their own opinions. For the most part, an editor’s job is to make *other* people look good. To the extent that he or she succeeds, an editor’s contributions are virtually invisible. Only failure is obvious.

As I look over the eight volumes and more than four thousand pages of *BYU Studies* for which I served as editor, I am struck both by how much and how little of myself I find in them. As an author, I made only three brief appearances, a two-page Editor’s Column in my first issue and two book reviews. This follows from my conviction that as a general rule editors should not publish their own work. (I am writing the present self-serving essay not of my own volition but at the request of my successor.) The contents of the journal do of course reflect—for better or worse—my editorial judgments in selecting manuscripts for publication from among those submitted. But very few articles have appeared in *BYU Studies* merely because I wanted to see them there. I tried to respect the process of peer review, and I depended very heavily on the counsel of my associates, David J. Whittaker, Richard L. Anderson, Ronald W. Walker, and Paul H. Peterson—all of them much better qualified than I to judge work in most areas of Mormon studies. Several issues had guest editors who assumed the primary responsibility for soliciting and selecting manuscripts.

Nevertheless, there is scarcely one among the thirty-plus issues that does not represent many, many hours of my own labor. I could point to several articles on which I firmly believe I invested more time and more creative and scholarly effort than the listed author. (Authors, of course, see these matters somewhat differently.) It is a common complaint among the editors of academic journals that their contributions are the least appreciated of all scholarly activities. If I had published four thousand pages of *my own* work over the eight years of my editorship, I would have a prodigious reputation. If I had edited eight separate volumes of scholarly work in my field, it would have impressed my colleagues and supervisors as a very

substantial achievement. But because it was “only a journal”—and an unspecialized journal at that—my editorial labors count for little in my professional vita.

The life of a chameleon is not without its rewards. It is an interesting challenge not to impose your own conception of the subject on a work but to adapt to the texture and coloration of the author’s ideas and in a sense enable an article to become what it wanted to be but was not. There is also a certain satisfaction in wielding the editorial “hidden hand,” knowing that you played a larger part in determining the final form and effect of an article than the reader—and perhaps even the author—will ever guess.

Being a chameleon can also be awkward on occasion. I spent more time and emotional energy than I care to remember arguing for the publication of views with which I did not agree but which I nevertheless believed should not be silenced. I sat in meetings of BYU faculty and smiled blandly while a colleague declared that no genuine scholar would besmirch his or her reputation by appearing in the pages of *BYU Studies*. I wrote conciliatory letters to naive readers whose opinions I could not accept. And I endured—we all endured—the fiasco of a thick issue devoted to Mark Hofmann’s “discoveries” that appeared just as those discoveries were being unmasked as a fraud.

Taken all in all, my tenure at *BYU Studies* was an interesting experience. It is something I am happy to have done and happy to have left to someone else. Before I disappear altogether, however, I would like to shed my protective coloration and express my real views on a few matters pertaining to the journal.

I believe scholarly journals in general are very important. They are among the few remaining bastions against the trivialization of thought in the two-column article and the twenty-second sound bite that dominate the popular media. And perhaps a nonspecialized scholarly journal such as *BYU Studies* has a special role since it still tries to speak with some depth and thoroughness to serious, inquiring general readers. The journal suffers, however, under the burden of an unfortunate name. *Brigham Young University Studies* sounds like the title of a rather ponderous and dull monograph series. It certainly does not suggest anything very lively. And it is a misnomer. As the journal has evolved, it is by no means a cross-sectional representation of the scholarship being done at Brigham Young University.

BYU Studies is also an institutional journal, for better or for worse. It is all very well for us to print a disclaimer in each issue to the effect that contributors are expressing their own views and not necessarily those of the editors, the university, or the Church. Many readers persist nonetheless in assuming there is some kind of institutional endorsement of the materials published—and do not hesitate to protest when they encounter ideas that

do not agree with their own views of what the Church and BYU should be promoting. Then, too, the editors cannot help but be influenced by knowing that a copy of every issue of *BYU Studies* goes to each member of the First Presidency, the Quorum of the Twelve, the Quorums of the Seventy, and the Presiding Bishopric. And at least some of those copies get read, as we have learned sometimes to our gratification and sometimes to our consternation.

The university leaders are also well aware of the tensions inherent in publishing a noncorrelated academic journal in a university sponsored by a highly correlated church. They must at times have held their collective breath, wondering whether something published in *BYU Studies* would create problems. To their credit, however, they have given the editors a rather free hand. In eight years, I can think of only three occasions when representatives of the university administration expressed concern about something we were thinking of publishing. The first such incident occurred early in my editorial tenure. We had commissioned a book review of several works of so-called scientific creationism. The review was moderate in tone and well reasoned in its arguments, but because it contained the “E” word (evolution), someone on the editorial staff suggested that we ought to pass it by the academic vice president’s office. The official who read it recommended against stirring up the waters of controversy, and so we killed the review. If I had known then what I know now, I would simply have gone ahead and published the review without asking anybody’s counsel.

Our second encounter with the administration came when a group of BYU faculty proposed a special issue of *BYU Studies* “in the interest of peace.” The call for contributions issued by the guest editors apparently raised concerns in some quarters, and I was asked to meet with the academic vice president and his staff to consider whether peace was too political an issue to be examined in a journal published by Brigham Young University. I remember this as one of the strangest meetings I ever attended. The upshot, however, was that the administration decided to leave the matter to the discretion of the editors. We left it pretty much to the discretion of the guest editors, and the result was one of our finest issues. The third incident also involved a guest-edited issue and brought a member of the board of trustees into the discussion in addition to the academic vice president. Once again, however, the officials eventually decided to trust the judgment of the editors.

The impression I gleaned from these encounters was that at least some members of the board and the administration genuinely wanted to see *BYU Studies* engage substantial issues rather than always trying to play it safe. I think it is important to affirm this impression even though I cannot substantiate it with any explicit license. The leaders of the Church, invested

as they are with the heavy responsibility of advancing the kingdom of God on the earth, are understandably sensitive to public image. They do not enjoy—any more than the rest of us would—being compelled to correct erroneous impressions or deal with unnecessary controversy or dodge the bullets of critical snipers from within their own ranks. At the same time, I believe that in general they hope the members of the Church will take responsibility for their own stewardships and carry out their assigned tasks with energy and imagination—even if that means making occasional mistakes. They want BYU to be a genuine university, and, if the university is to sponsor a scholarly journal, they want it to be an instrument of serious and substantive inquiry. In my view, those goals are not best realized when every decision is made in fear and trembling over what “the Brethren” might think of it.

I don’t wish to leave the impression that I worked alone. On the contrary, I have depended at every point on excellent and dedicated associates. I have mentioned those who served as my associate editors. I think back nostalgically to our freewheeling and stimulating editorial meetings. I can think of no better way to sum up the pleasure of working with these good people than by quoting William Butler Yeats’s lines:

Think where man’s glory most begins and ends,
And say my glory was I had such friends.²

1. John Keats, letters to George and Thomas Keats, December 21, 1817, and to Richard Woodhouse, October 27, 1818, reprinted in M. H. Abrams, ed., *The Norton Anthology of English Literature*, 5th ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1986), 2:862–63, 868.

2. William Butler Yeats, “The Municipal Gallery Revisited,” in *Collected Poems* (New York: Macmillan, 1956), 318.

Off on the Right Foot

John W. Welch

When I was appointed editor of *BYU Studies* in 1991, I was keenly aware of the sterling, scholarly reputation that this journal had won for itself since its inception in 1959. My hope was to build on that solid foundation, which had been put clearly in place right from the journal's earliest days.

The first issue of *BYU Studies* was published on January 15, 1959. From day one, the stated purpose of this journal was "to be a voice for the community of LDS scholars." Led by Editor Clinton F. Larson and Associate Editor Lewis M. Rogers, assisted by eleven other scholars from various departments (several of whom doubled as authors, editors, or reviewers), the journal began with a clear sense of its multidisciplinary LDS mission. Forty years later, *BYU Studies* still strives to "publish articles that openly reflect a Latter-day Saint point of view and are obviously relevant to subjects of general interest to Latter-day Saints, while conforming to high scholarly standards." In retrospect, that objective worked just as well for volume 1, number 1, as it does for our most recent issues.

I have always enjoyed the way in which *BYU Studies* draws on all fields of learning. Topics in that first 75-page issue included music, journalism, philosophy, literature, economic history, the humanities, and historiography. The authors, among whom were such notables as Assistant Professors Truman G. Madsen and Marden J. Clark and Associate Professor Leonard J. Arrington, came from the departments of music, English, art, history, philosophy, and religion at BYU, as well as economics at Utah State University. This diversity continues to be one of the main trademarks of *BYU Studies*.

I have tried zealously to cultivate the range of subjects that have been covered in *BYU Studies* from the beginning. The spirit back in 1959 was open and adventuresome. A fearless optimism pervaded the world, chilled only occasionally by the winds of the cold war. The Geophysical Year, space exploration, the beginnings of computers, electronic guitars, metal skis, and Cadillacs with fins as large as airplane rudders made the world an exciting place in which to live. The Vietnam War had not yet begun, at least not for the United States; the Civil Rights movement was getting underway, but none of its turmoil or city burnings had set in; the Dodgers had moved to Los Angeles; and Hugh Nibley was in his prime. The year before, BYU had several All-American basketball stars, its baseball team won a berth in the College World Series, and its football team beat Utah for only the second

time in the century. It was an exciting time for me to grow up in California, graduating from high school in 1964 and entering into the Honors Program at BYU that fall. Spanking new buildings dotted the upper campus, as we celebrated the dedication of the new Ernest L. Wilkinson Center (which at first was listed in the telephone directory as the “WC”). It seemed that nothing could go wrong. Under the direction of President Ernest L. Wilkinson, the university had doubled in size almost overnight. Young Ph.D.’s expanded the ranks of the faculty. In bucolic Provo, someone posted the words “The World Is Our Campus.” A large library, the administration building, and many other buildings were under construction, the expansion promising to make BYU a major university, and a 25,000-seat football stadium was soon to open. Virgil Carter would soon begin completing passes.

Out of this optimistic mood and mind-set, *BYU Studies* was born. That period of time also shaped some of my basic attitudes toward editing and scholarship. In that first issue of *BYU Studies* were several bold pieces, welcoming thoughtful criticism, embracing LDS fundamentals, breaking new ground, cherishing excellence, asking good questions, and flourishing with open and respectful expression. It was not a child of the discontent of the ’60s or of the distrust of the ’70s.

I hope that, forty years and four editors later, the character of *BYU Studies* still exemplifies the goodness of Latter-day Saint scholarship and serves its host church and university through Christian virtues, unity, intellectual and spiritual harmony, accuracy, thoroughness, humility, and charity. We still live in dynamic times. After four decades of publication, *BYU Studies* is well positioned to enter the promised millennium as a contributor to the future of the kingdom by promoting LDS scholarship worldwide.

Working at *BYU Studies* has given me great spiritual joy and academic satisfaction. Our successes in dramatically increasing the number of pages published each year, while at the same time improving quality and timeliness, have been due in large measure to the high quality submissions we receive from authors who are willing to stay with their projects as long as it takes. Their love of learning and care about stating their conclusions accurately has made my work invigorating and pleasurable. There is never a dull moment. Working with important documents never before published and building definitive articles on key events, such as the restoration of the priesthood or the visions of Joseph Smith, are rare opportunities to feel the spirit of the Restoration. The teamwork of advisors, editors, scholars, and staff members who are all deeply committed to publishing products with only the best possible content, diction, and design has made me very happy. Bonuses have come in the form of national and international awards, our

co-sponsorship of world-class exhibits, and the scholarly successes of the students trained as interns in this unique program.

Challenges, of course, continue to confront us. Time is scarce. Because I continue to teach half time at the law school and to serve as a director of the Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, my appointment at *BYU Studies* can be only half time. Likewise, my executive editor, Doris Dant, carries a substantial teaching load in English and Religious Education, and my associate editors carry full loads in their academic positions. We lament that we can do only so much.

Selecting what to publish is also a constant concern. The weight of academic freedom falls heavier, in my opinion, on determining which questions are the most important to address than on deciding what answers to give. With Mormonism emerging as the youngest (yet oldest) world religion, the work of LDS scholarship has only just begun.

In addition, the lack of public awareness has always been a bit of a bugaboo for *BYU Studies*. For many reasons, very few people know about *BYU Studies*. Subscription levels are excellent for an academic journal but poor compared to where we would like them to be. Hopefully, through technology and collaborative alliances, we will be able to bring *BYU Studies* out of obscurity. As our forthcoming *Forty-Year Report* will show, *BYU Studies* has come a long way in its quest for a Zion land of scholarship consecrated to the Lord. We hope that forty years in the wilderness is long enough.

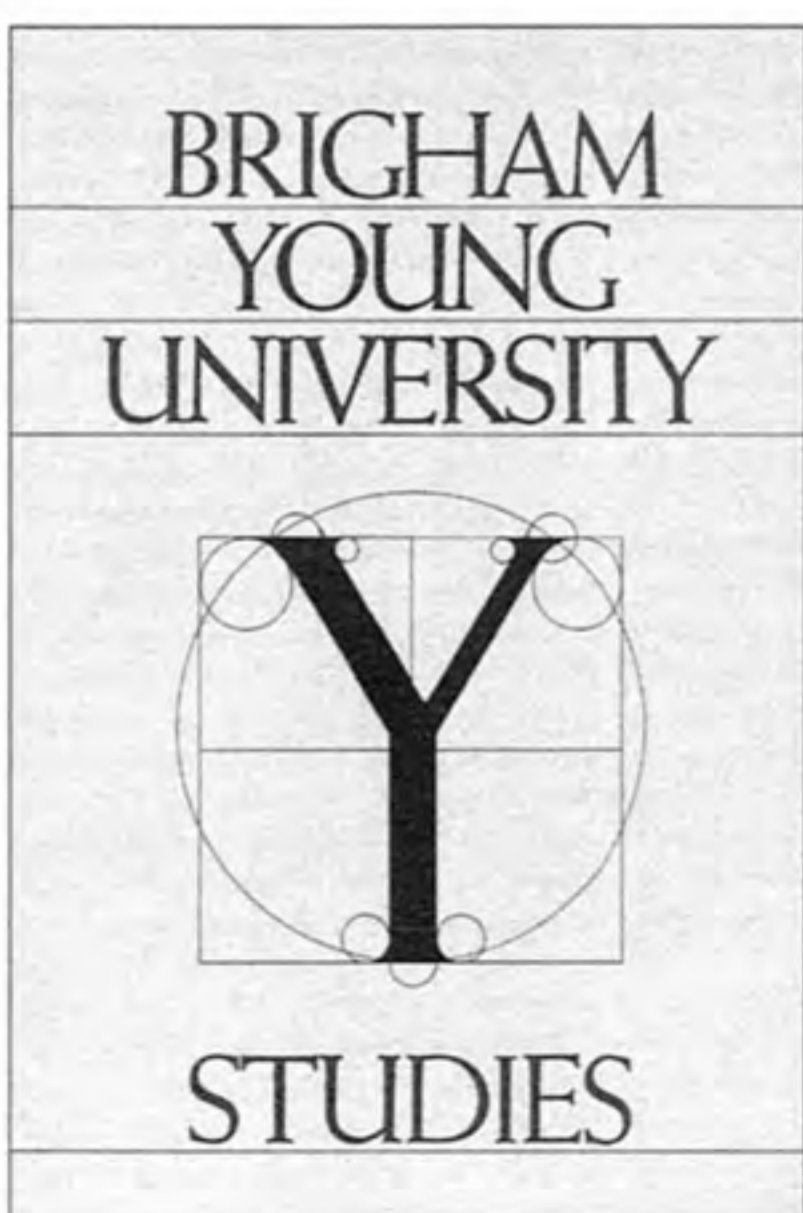
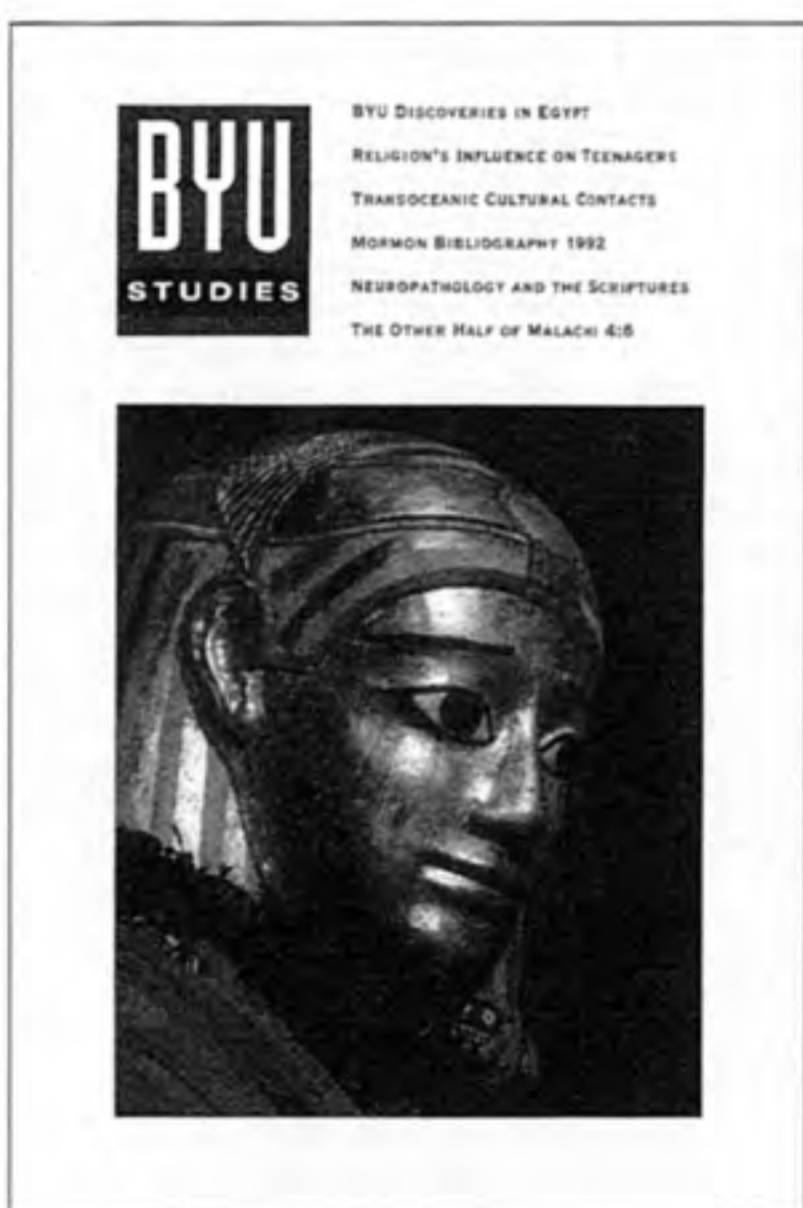
The prophet Joel foresaw the forward march of the hosts of God in the day of the Lord:

As horsemen, so shall they run. Like the noise of chariots on the tops of mountains shall they leap, like the noise of a flame of fire that devoureth the stubble, as a strong people set in battle array. . . . they shall march every one on his ways, and they shall not break their ranks: Neither shall one thrust another; they shall walk everyone in his path. . . . And the Lord shall utter his voice before his army: for his camp is very great: for he is strong that executeth his word. (Joel 2:4–5, 7–8, 11)

Sounding the word with speed and with each disciple and discipline fulfilling its function without dissension or confusion in the ranks, that first issue of *BYU Studies* got off on the right foot in 1959 in its unique purpose of publishing faithful LDS scholarship. Over the course of the journal's first forty years, I have become even more optimistic about the role it will yet play in the establishment of Zion.



MOVING FORWARD TOGETHER





Joseph Smith, retouched photograph of a daguerreotype of a painting or copy of the daguerrotype from the Carter collection, LDS Church Archives.

Parting the Veil: The Visions of Joseph Smith

Alexander L. Baugh

God granted to the Prophet Joseph the gift of visions. Joseph received so many that they became almost commonplace for him. The strength and knowledge Joseph received through these visions helped him establish the Church.

Joseph Smith the seer ushered in the dispensation of the fullness of times. His role was known and prophesied of anciently. The Lord promised Joseph of Egypt that in the last days a “choice seer” would come through his lineage and would bring his seed to a knowledge of the covenants made to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (2 Nephi 3:7; JST Gen. 50:27–28). “That seer will the Lord bless,” Joseph prophesied, specifically indicating that “his name shall be called after me” (2 Nephi 3:14–15; see also JST Gen. 50:33). Significantly, in the revelation received during the organizational meeting of the Church on April 6, 1830, the first title given to the first elder was that of seer: “Behold, there shall be a record kept . . . and in it thou [Joseph Smith] shalt be called a seer, a translator, a prophet, an apostle of Jesus Christ” (D&C 21:1).

In the Book of Mormon, Ammon defined a seer as one who possessed “a gift from God” to translate ancient records (Mosiah 8:13; see also 28:11–16). However, the seeric gift is not limited to translation, hence Ammon’s additional statement that “a seer is a revelator and a prophet also; and a gift which is greater can no man have” (Mosiah 8:16). In actuality, a seer is a see-er.¹ Among other gifts and powers, he sees visions, which visions are seen with spiritual eyes.² This study attempts to compile and analyze all of the known visions, visitations, or visual revelations experienced by the Prophet Joseph Smith.

Visions can take various forms. Personal visitations or appearances of deity, angels, or even Satan and his emissaries certainly come under the heading of visions. Visions can also include seeing vivid images where the veil is lifted from an individual’s mind in order to see and comprehend the things of God. Certain dreams could be considered visions, particularly when heavenly or spiritual messages are conveyed. Finally, certain revelations received through the Urim and Thummim mediums such as the Nephite interpreters and the seer stone may also be classified, in the ancient sense, as visions.

While the visions received by Joseph Smith were also revelatory experiences, revelations were not always visionary. Hence, in researching Joseph Smith's visions, I attempted to distinguish between visions and other kinds of inspiration or revelation. More often than not, when a vision was involved, the wording of the source material indicated that a vision—not a more general “revelation”—had been received. However, in some instances, the visual nature of the experience was not quite clear, so I made some judgment calls whether a particular revelation involved a vision based on the graphic detail in the account and the perceptual circumstances of the manifestation.

This difficulty in determining what actually constitutes a vision is illustrated by the following example. In January 1841, Joseph Smith gave a detailed description of the Apostle Paul's physical appearance and mannerisms:

He is about five foot high; very dark hair; dark complexion; dark skin; large Roman nose; sharp face; small black eyes, penetrating as eternity; round shoulders; a whining voice, except when elevated and then it almost resembles the roaring of a Lion. He was a good orator active and diligent [*sic*], always employing himself in doing good to his fellow men.³

A cursory reading of the Prophet's statement might lead to the conclusion that his knowledge of Paul's physical characteristics could have been learned only by means of a vision. However, the Prophet's description resembles depictions of Paul found in familiar apocryphal writings.⁴ Thus, while Joseph may have received an actual vision of Paul, he possibly gained his understanding of the ancient Apostle's appearance from the traditional Christian literature of the day and accepted it as accurate. Due to this ambiguity and in the interest of cautious scholarship, I have not included the Prophet's statement on Paul among the visions listed in the appendix below.

Three major points became apparent as I researched Joseph Smith's visions. First, and perhaps most remarkable, is the sheer number of visions the Prophet received. The majority of these visions are not found in the standard works but pervade the Prophet's own history and the records kept by contemporaries who were present when a vision was received or when Joseph Smith spoke about his sacred communications. A major purpose of this study is to document those visions not generally known. As I began collecting the accounts of the visions, I realized that any attempt to total the number of visions would risk excluding some, since evidence of visions relies upon documentation, and some visions may have been purposely unrecorded. Of one vision Joseph remarked, “I could explain a hundred fold more than I ever have of the glories of the kingdoms manifested to me in the vision were I permitted, and were the people prepared to receive them.”⁵

Second, the Prophet was privileged to receive so many visions that it appears they became almost commonplace experiences for him. For

example, in 1843 he said, “It is my meditation all the day, and more than my meat and drink, to know how I shall make the Saints of God comprehend the visions that roll like an overflowing surge before my mind.”⁶ Perhaps because his visionary experiences were so frequent, he often left out details or failed to record certain events altogether.

Finally, in a number of instances, others witnessed Joseph Smith’s visionary experiences. Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer, Martin Harris, Sidney Rigdon, Heber C. Kimball, Frederick G. Williams, John Murdock, Zebedee Coltrin, and others were present when the Prophet had visions, often seeing the manifestation with him. The recorded statements of these witnesses and co-participants give additional testimony and credibility to the reality of the Prophet’s seeric experiences.⁷

For the sake of clarity and organization, the Prophet’s visions will be discussed in a historical context using two periods: 1820–30 and 1831–44.

JOSEPH SMITH’S VISIONS, 1820–1830

Joseph Smith’s visions between 1820 and 1830 fall into three of the broad categories mentioned earlier: personal visitations of deity, angels, and Satan; visions received via the seer stone and the Urim and Thummim; and visions opened to the mind. One vision in particular seems to be in a category of its own.

Visitations

Ammon said that through a seer “secret things [shall] be made manifest, and hidden things shall come to light” (Mosiah 8:16). Joseph Smith brought to light many truths he learned from heavenly beings, and he learned to distinguish those truths from their opposites through his encounters with Satan.

The First Vision. The most magnificent and certainly the most historically and doctrinally significant theophany occurred in the Sacred Grove in spring 1820, when the Father and the Son—and “many angels,” according to Joseph’s 1835 account—ushered in the opening of the Restoration. This initial spiritual manifestation has appropriately come to be known among Latter-day Saints as the “First Vision,” a title that recognizes that more visions soon followed. Although Joseph Smith was privileged to have additional visions of the Father and the Son later, the First Vision is the only known instance during this ten-year period that the young prophet was privileged to have a vision of either of these two members of the Godhead. Historical evidence demonstrates that the Restoration was brought to pass primarily through the ministration of angels and other forms of revelation rather than by direct appearances of either of these two supreme deities.

Visions of Heavenly Messengers. Of the heavenly messengers who personally appeared to the youthful prophet in the years 1820–30, Moroni was the most regular visitor. Best known are the three visits that occurred during the night of September 21–22, 1823; the appearance while Joseph returned from work in his father's field the next day; the meeting with Moroni at the Hill Cumorah; and the four annual visits that subsequently took place each September until 1827. However, in total over twenty appearances by the last survivor of the Nephite nation can be documented.⁸

One of Moroni's visits, in particular, is worth recounting. During Joseph and Emma's move from Palmyra, New York, to Harmony, Pennsylvania, in December 1827, Joseph protected the plates and the other Nephite artifacts by placing them in a barrel of beans. Shortly after departing, he and his wife were accosted by a group of men intent on taking the plates. After a thorough search, the men left empty-handed, and the couple and the plates eventually arrived safely in Harmony. A year and a half later, because of increased persecution, Joseph and Oliver were forced to leave Harmony, departing for Fayette, New York, around June 1. David Whitmer came from Fayette to transport them to his father's home. However, on this move, the plates were not in their possession. Prior to the trio's departure, Joseph had returned the plates and sacred relics to Moroni, who had informed him they would be returned upon arrival at the Whitmer homestead. Soon after the party's departure by wagon, Moroni paid them an interesting visit. David Whitmer told the following incident on numerous occasions over the years. One account reads:

“When I was returning to Fayette with Joseph and Oliver, all of us riding in the wagon, Oliver and I on an old fashioned wooden spring seat and Joseph behind us, we were suddenly approached by a very pleasant, nice looking old man in a clear open place, who saluted us with ‘Good morning, it is very warm,’ at the same instant wiping his face or forehead with his hand. We returned the salutation and by a sign from Joseph I invited him to ride if he was going our way, but he said very pleasantly, ‘No, I am going to Cumorah.’ This was something new to me, I did not know what Cumorah meant, and as I looked enquiringly at Joseph, the old man instantly disappeared so that I did not see him again.”

... “He was, I should think, about 5 feet 9 or 10 inches and heavy set. . . . He was dressed in a suit of brown, woolen clothes; his hair and beard were white. . . . I also remember that he had a sort of knapsack on his back, and something was in it which was shaped like a book. It was the messenger who had the plates.”⁹

In this fascinating account, Whitmer gives some idea of Moroni's physical stature and more unexpectedly demonstrates that angels are occasionally given to amusement when executing their missions among mortals. This incident further illustrates that celestial glorified messengers can appear in a telestial form and condition.

Moroni was not Joseph's only seeric tutor. Statements and testimonies by some of the Prophet's contemporaries reveal that the young seer was visited and taught by numerous ancient prophets and apostles. In the Wentworth Letter, published in March 1842, Joseph Smith stated, "After having received many visits from the angels of God unfolding the majesty and glory of the events that should transpire in the last days, on the morning of the 22nd of September, A.D. 1827, the angel of the Lord delivered the records into my hands."¹⁰

Three major points stand out in this statement. First, Joseph Smith received "many visits from the angels of God." Second, these angels visited him to unfold events that would soon transpire. And third, these visits occurred before he obtained the plates in September 1827 and thus took place concurrently with his years of instruction by Moroni at Cumorah. Orson Pratt stated that during the years 1823–27, Joseph "was often ministered to by the angels of God, and received instruction concerning the work that was to be performed in the latter days."¹¹ George Q. Cannon taught that during these preparatory years Joseph "was visited constantly by angels. . . . He had vision after vision in order that his mind might be fully saturated with a knowledge of the things of God, and that he might comprehend the great and holy calling that God has bestowed upon him."¹²

Joseph never mentioned publicly, as far as we know, who these angelic ministrants were, but his close associates spoke of these appearances. John Taylor gave some indication of their identity in these two typical statements:

And when Joseph Smith was raised up as a Prophet of God, Mormon, Moroni, Nephi and others of the ancient Prophets who formerly lived on this Continent, and Peter and John and others who lived on the Asiatic Continent, came to him and communicated to him certain principles pertaining to the Gospel of the Son of God.¹³

The principles which he had, placed him in communication with the Lord, and not only with the Lord, but with the ancient apostles and prophets; such men, for instance, as Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Noah, Adam, Seth, Enoch, and . . . the apostles that lived on this continent as well as those who lived on the Asiatic continent. He seemed to be as familiar with these people as we are with one another. Why? Because he had to introduce a dispensation which was called the dispensation of the fulness of times.¹⁴

Lucy Mack Smith had fond memories of Joseph's maturing years and recalled some of the things her son learned from these interviews, particularly from the ancient American prophets. "During our evening conversations, Joseph would occasionally give us some of the most amusing recitals that could be imagined," Lucy said, continuing:

He would describe the ancient inhabitants of this continent, their dress, mode of travelling, and the animals upon which they rode; their cities, their

buildings, with every particular; their mode of warfare; and also their religious worship. This he would do with as much ease, seemingly, as if he had spent his whole life with them.¹⁵

The Prophet left specific record that on May 15, 1829, John the Baptist appeared and conferred Aaronic Priesthood keys and authority upon Joseph and Oliver Cowdery. Besides Joseph's brief account describing this visitation, Oliver Cowdery also left his written testimony of that event. Significantly, by the time John the Baptist appeared, Joseph had received numerous heavenly visitors, but this was one of Cowdery's first visions. When Cowdery wrote about the incident five years later, his words still expressed exhilaration and spiritual elation. "The veil was parted and the angel of God came down clothed with glory, and delivered the anxiously looked for message," he wrote.

What joy! what wonder! what amazement! . . . our eyes beheld—our ears heard. . . . Then his voice, though mild, pierced to the center, and his words, "I am thy fellow servant," dispelled every fear. We listened—we gazed—we admired! 'Twas the voice of the angel from glory—'twas a message from the Most High! and as we heard we rejoiced, while his love enkindled upon our souls, and we were rapt in the vision of the Almighty! . . .

. . . The assurance that we were in the presence of an angel . . . is to me, past description, and I shall ever look upon this expression of the Savior's goodness with wonder and thanksgiving.¹⁶

The appearance of Peter, James, and John and their bestowal of the Melchizedek Priesthood upon Joseph and Oliver followed. While Joseph and Oliver left no record of the exact date of this event, the traditional view is that the higher priesthood was conferred during the visitation of these ancient Apostles in late May or early June 1829, approximately two weeks following the bestowal of the Aaronic Priesthood.¹⁷

Another heavenly visitor whom Joseph Smith saw during the 1820–30 period was an angel who is not identified in surviving records. This messenger appeared during the first week of August 1830 to instruct Joseph concerning the emblems of the sacrament. Newel Knight and his wife, Sally, had traveled from Colesville, New York, to Harmony, Pennsylvania, to visit Joseph and Emma. Both women had been baptized, but neither had been confirmed nor had yet partaken of the sacrament. Joseph authorized both ordinances and "set out to procure some wine for the occasion," wrote Newel Knight. "He had gone only a short distance, when he was met by a heavenly messenger and received the first four verses of the revelation" (that is, D&C 27:1–4). The Prophet returned to the small group, which also included John Whitmer, prepared some wine in accordance with the instructions from the angel, partook of the sacrament, confirmed the two sisters, and "spent the evening in a glorious manner."¹⁸

Visions of Satan. Joseph had at least two personal encounters with Lucifer during the 1820s. The best-known confrontation occurred prior to his theophany in the Sacred Grove, when Satan sought to physically destroy him. The other confrontation with Satan is mentioned only briefly, in Doctrine and Covenants section 128. In verse 20, the Prophet wrote of hearing “the voice of Michael on the banks of the Susquehanna, detecting the devil when he appeared as an angel of light.” Clearly, he heard Adam’s (Michael’s) voice and also saw the devil. Satan’s appearance also seems to be associated with the restoration of the Melchizedek Priesthood since Joseph refers to Peter, James, and John’s appearance on the Susquehanna in the very next sentence. Simply interpreted, Satan appeared as an angel of light, hoping to deceive Joseph and Oliver in some manner and thereby thwart the restoration of authority. Satan’s presence, however, was detected by Michael, who informed Joseph and Oliver of the deception, concluding the incident.

Visions through the Urim and Thummim

During this early period, the youthful prophet received many visions through the medium of “Urim and Thummim”—sometimes a seer stone and, more particularly, the Nephite interpreters. Both of these instruments apparently operated in much the same spiritual manner, and through them Joseph received an undetermined number of visions in addition to the translation of the Book of Mormon. The young prophet obtained a seer stone, described as dark brown in color, while digging a well for Willard Chase around 1822.¹⁹ This discovery occurred only two years after the First Vision and one year before Moroni’s first visits. Joseph made use of the seer stone for five years before obtaining the Nephite interpreters from Moroni in 1827. Latter-day Saints should not be surprised to learn that prior to being engaged specifically in the work of the Lord—that is, prior to beginning the work of the translation of the plates—the youthful Joseph apparently recognized that God had given him visionary powers enabling him to see supernatural visions in a wide variety of areas. Between 1822 and 1827, he successfully obtained an unspecified number of visions by means of the seer stone. He even gained a reputation for such activities, which may explain why men such as Josiah Stowell, who lived more than one hundred miles away, near South Bainbridge, New York, sought out Joseph Smith and employed him to locate buried treasure in the fall of 1825.²⁰

Several examples of Joseph’s ability to receive visions by means of a seer stone illustrate the power associated with the Prophet and this instrument. Martin Harris steadfastly believed Joseph possessed an uncanny ability of seership. This was perhaps due in part to the following incident:

I was at the house of his father in Manchester, two miles south of Palmyra village, and was picking my teeth with a pin while sitting on the bars. The pin

caught in my teeth, and dropped from my fingers into shavings and straw. I jumped from the bars and looked for it. . . . I then took Joseph on surprise, and said to him—I said, “Take your stone.” I had never seen it, and did not know that he had it with him. He had it in his pocket. He took it and placed it in his hat—the old white hat—and placed his face in his hat. I watched him closely to see that he did not look [to] one side; he reached out his hand beyond me on the right, and moved a little stick, and there I saw the pin, which he picked up and gave to me.²¹

Joseph’s use of the stone may have also encouraged him to propose marriage to Emma Hale. At Joseph’s annual visit to the Hill Cumorah in September 1826, Moroni told him that he could have the plates the following year if, in Joseph Knight’s words, “he Brot [*sic*] the right person.” Knight recounted this conversation further:

“Who is the right Person?” The answer was you will know. Then he looked in his glass and found it was Emma Hale, Daughter of old Mr Hail of Pensyl-vany, a girl that he had seen Before, for he had Bin Down there Before with me. . . . He came to me perhaps in November and worked for me until about the time that he was Married . . . and I furnished him with a horse and Cutter to go and see his girl Down to Mr. Hails. And soon after this he was Married and Mr Stowel moved him and his wife to his fathers in Palmyra Ontario County.²²

David Whitmer learned during his very first meeting with Joseph that, by means of the seer stone, Joseph was able to see in detail actions many miles away. In late May of 1828, at the request of Oliver Cowdery and Joseph, David traveled from Fayette, New York, over one hundred miles to Harmony, Pennsylvania, to take the two men back to his father’s farmhouse so they could complete the translation. As he neared Harmony, he was surprised to meet Joseph and Oliver, who “were coming toward me, and met me some little distance from the house.” David reported further:

Oliver told me that Joseph had told him when I started from home, where I had stopped the first night, how I read the sign at the tavern, where I stopped the next night and that I would be there that day before dinner, and this was why they had come out to meet me, all of which was exactly as Joseph had told Oliver, at which I was greatly astonished.²³

Moroni gave Joseph possession of the plates, breastplate, and interpreters on September 22, 1827. When Joseph Smith first put on the spectacles, “his entire past history [was] revealed to him,” David Whitmer recounted. This experience, Whitmer believed, helped Joseph recognize the greater supernatural power God had now given him.²⁴ Joseph Knight Sr., who was at the Smith home in Palmyra when Joseph returned from the Hill Cumorah, remembered conversing with Joseph about the sacred relics the morning after he gained possession of them. “It is ten times Better than I expected,” he remembered Joseph saying. He recalled further the

Prophet's particular fascination with the spectacles. "He seemed to think more of the glasses or the urim and thummim than [than] he did of the Plates," wrote Knight, "for, says he, 'I can see any thing; they are Marvelous.'"²⁵ Indeed they were, for as the Prophet's mother, Lucy Mack Smith, recalled, by means of the instrument "the angel showed him many things which he saw in vision."²⁶ These tools were not used for trivial or spectacular sensations. One major purpose of the spectacles (and perhaps also the seer stone) was to help protect the plates and Joseph's life. Lucy said her son "always kept the Urim and Thummim about his person" so "he could also ascertain, at any time, the approach of danger, either to himself or the Record."²⁷ Lucy Mack Smith and Martin Harris mention three incidents where the plates were kept safe because of information received by means of the Urim and Thummim.²⁸

Soon after acquiring the ancient relics, Joseph wondered how he could proceed without some personal assistance, particularly financial aid, so that he could devote himself entirely to the work of translation. The answer came in a vision through the holy interpreters. During one of his interviews with the angel Moroni, probably in September 1827, Joseph asked who could assist him. He was told "to go and look in the spectacles, and he would show him the man that would assist him." The man he saw was Martin Harris. A short while later, the Prophet told Harris what had been made known to him. The Palmyra farmer later recalled how the message "struck me with surprise. I told him I wished him to be careful about these things. 'Well,' said [Joseph], 'I saw you standing before me as plainly as I do now.'"²⁹ Martin subsequently received a testimony of Joseph Smith's divine calling to translate the Book of Mormon and later gave liberally of his wealth to the work.

Joseph Smith never detailed the method or procedure of translation.³⁰ However, Martin Harris, who assisted with the translation of the first 116 pages in 1828, and David Whitmer, a firsthand observer who lent assistance



Joseph Knight Sr. (1772–1847) records the Prophet's use of the "seer stone" in 1826 when asking the Lord who should accompany him to retrieve the plates from the Hill Cumorah in 1827. Oil on canvas, ca. 1830. Courtesy Museum of Church History and Art.

beginning in June 1829, gave some particulars. Harris gave the following testimony to Edward Stevenson:

Sentences would appear and were read by the Prophet and written by Martin, and when finished he would say, "Written," and if correctly written, that sentence would disappear and another appear in its place, but if not written correctly it remained until corrected, so that the translation was just as it was engraven on the plates, precisely in the language then used.³¹

David Whitmer stated a similar procedure for the translation:

Joseph Smith would put the seer stone into a hat, and put his face in the hat, drawing it closely around his face to exclude the light; and in the darkness the spiritual light would shine. A piece of something resembling parchment would appear, and on that appeared the writing. One character at a time would appear, and under it was the interpretation in English. Brother Joseph would read off the English to Oliver Cowdery, who was his principal scribe, and when it was written down and repeated to Brother Joseph to see if it was correct, then it would disappear, and another character with the interpretation would appear. Thus the Book of Mormon was translated by the gift and power of God, and not by any power of man.³²

Clearly, the main purpose of the interpreters was to assist the seer in the translation of the Book of Mormon. The testimonies of Emma Smith and David Whitmer agree that the Prophet used the Nephite interpreters to translate the first 116 pages, after which this instrument was returned to the angel in consequence of the incidents surrounding the lost manuscript. Thereafter, the seer stone was used, both instruments being essentially a "urim and thummim."³³ In essence, every time Joseph translated he was seeing some kind of vision. Furthermore, in the Doctrine and Covenants at least nine revelations were received by means of the Urim and Thummim and the seer stone—sections 3, 6, 7, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, and 17.³⁴ Since it is likely the information was conveyed to the Prophet in much the same manner as the translation of the Book of Mormon (that is, the words would appear in some fashion within the instruments), perhaps these revelations could be better described as "visions" received through the Nephite interpreters or the seer stone. Soon after the translation of the Book of Mormon was complete, visions using the seer stone as a medium seemed to cease. David Whitmer remembered Joseph saying that "we would all have to depend on the Holy Ghost hereafter to be guided into truth and obtain the will of the Lord."³⁵

Visions Opened to the Mind

Documentation exists for three visions received in the mind of the youthful prophet during the ten-year period of 1820 to 1830, each associated with his initial interviews with Moroni. The first two occurred in conjunction with Moroni's inaugural appearance on the evening of

September 21–22, 1823, in the Joseph Smith Sr. log house. In the Prophet's 1839 history, he related that as the heavenly messenger was telling him about the gold plates, "the vision was opened to my mind that I could see the place where the plates were deposited, and that so clearly and distinctly that I knew the place again when I visited it" (JS-H 1:42). In the 1842 Wentworth Letter, he added that during this initial interview he was informed about the ancient American inhabitants and "shown who they were, and from whence they came; a brief sketch of their origin, progress, civilization, laws, governments, of their righteousness and iniquity, and the blessings of God being finally withdrawn from them as a people."³⁶ A similar experience occurred the following day at the hill. After determining where the stone box was located, and after removing the large stone that covered it, Joseph made several attempts to obtain the record. As Joseph began to pray, Moroni appeared. He then told the young seer to

"Look!" and as he thus spake he beheld the prince of darkness, surrounded by his innumerable train of associates. All this passed before him, and the heavenly messenger said, "All this is shown, the good and the evil, the holy and impure, the glory of God and the power of darkness, that you may know hereafter the two powers and never be influenced or overcome by that wicked one."³⁷

In a very real sense, what Joseph experienced on these three occasions was a "vision within a vision" since he received visual instruction at the same time he was in the presence of a celestial personage.

A Unique Visionary Experience

A well-known vision of this period warrants a brief examination, but it is difficult to classify and explain. After the completion of the translation, Joseph returned the plates to Moroni, who appeared a very short time later at a location near the Whitmer farm to show the plates to the Three Witnesses. The plates were then loaned back to the Prophet, who showed them to the Eight Witnesses, who were in the vicinity of Manchester. The Prophet and Oliver Cowdery then went to Cumorah to return the record for the last time. While at the hill, an unusual phenomenon took place. Brigham Young explained:

I believe I will take the liberty to tell you of another circumstance that will be as marvelous as anything can be. This is an incident in the life of Oliver Cowdery, but he did not take the liberty of telling such things in meeting as I take. . . . Oliver Cowdery went with the Prophet Joseph when he deposited [returned] these plates. . . . 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 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; but when they went again it had been taken down and laid upon the table across the gold plates; it was unsheathed, and on it was written these words: "This sword will never be sheathed again until the kingdoms of this world become the kingdom of our God and his Christ." I tell you this as coming not only from Oliver Cowdery, but others who were familiar with it.³⁸

The incident is substantiated by two other statements made by Brigham Young and recorded by William H. Dame and Wilford Woodruff.³⁹ Others of the Prophet's contemporaries giving similar reports included Heber C. Kimball, Orson Pratt, and David Whitmer.⁴⁰

Summary of the 1820–1830 Period

This decade was distinguished by the following: First, the most significant experience of Joseph Smith during this period was the personal visitation of the Father and the Son, who opened the latter-day dispensation with a personal appearance. This vision is also the only recorded appearance of the two supreme beings during the decade of the 1820s. Second, the period is characterized by a series of visitations from heavenly messengers, including ancient prophets from both hemispheres who appeared to indoctrinate and teach the young seer. Third, Joseph had at least two spiritual encounters with Satan, the first being a vision involving a destructive force immediately before the appearance of the Father and the Son, and the second, a more subtle appearance where Satan was disguised as an angel of light. Fourth, around 1822, Joseph Smith began to receive visions by means of a seer stone. Later, in 1827, he received the Nephite spectacles. Both of these instruments acted as a Urim and Thummim, and by them Joseph Smith received divine light and knowledge. Evidence further suggests that the entire translation process of the Book of Mormon and the receipt of several early revelations through the Urim and Thummim were in essence visionary experiences. Fifth, the Prophet had visions opened to his mind, albeit rarely, during this time period. Sixth, the Prophet and Oliver Cowdery experienced a singular visionary phenomenon when they returned the plates to the Hill Cumorah.

JOSEPH SMITH'S VISIONS, 1831–1844

From 1831 to 1844, Joseph received personal visitations from the Father and the Son together, the Son alone, other heavenly beings, and Satan. The Prophet also received visions where the method of receiving the vision is

not clearly recorded. Examples of those visions will be discussed according to subject or event.

Visions of Beings

Joseph the seer continued to have visions of heavenly and satanic personages. These experiences gave him increasing knowledge of the unseen world.

Visions of the Father and the Son. During the first five years of the 1831–44 period, Joseph Smith was privileged to see both the Father and the Son in vision on at least four occasions. On June 4, 1831, during a four-day conference held in Kirtland, Joseph had a vision of these two beings. Levi Hancock was present and stated that the vision occurred in a schoolhouse on the hill above the Isaac Morley farmhouse, about one mile northeast of the Newel K. Whitney store. Hancock reported that the elders were meeting together when Joseph “stepped out on the floor and said, ‘I now see God, and Jesus Christ at his right hand, let them kill me, I should not feel death as I am now.’”⁴¹ Hancock’s wording suggests a vision similar to that experienced by Stephen, who saw the Father and the Son before being stoned before Jewish accusers (Acts 7). Considering the persecution Joseph was continually experiencing, he must have considered death a long-desired relief from his sufferings.

Joseph Smith and his spokesman, Sidney Rigdon, saw the Father and the Son in 1832 in the vision now canonized as Doctrine and Covenants section 76. Often, discussion of this vision focuses on the degrees of glory, perdition, and the attendant requirements for each. However, the highlight of the section is a vision of the Father and the Son, the premortal life, and Lucifer’s fall. The vision of the two supreme members of the Godhead was apparently of considerable length. The manifestation led them to write, “The glory of the Lord shone round about. And we beheld the glory of the Son, on the right hand of the Father, and received of his fulness; And saw the holy angels, and them who are sanctified before his throne, worshiping God, and the Lamb, who worship him forever and ever” (D&C 76:19–21). So powerful was the vision of what they both saw and heard, they chose to bear testimony of the Savior, a testimony declaring “that he lives! For we saw him, even on the right hand of God; and we heard the voice bearing record that he is the Only Begotten of the Father” (D&C 76:22–23).

On March 18, 1833, God the Father and the Son also made a brief personal appearance to members of the School of the Prophets. Two eyewitnesses left a dramatic record of their experience. The first comes years later from Zebedee Coltrin:

At one of these meetings after the organization of the school, . . . when we were all together, Joseph having given instructions, and while engaged in silent prayer, kneeling, with our hands uplifted each one praying in silence,



Zebedee Coltrin (1804–1887), a member of the School of the Elders in 1833, provides two accounts of the appearance of the Father and Son to Joseph Smith in Kirtland. Copy print from unknown source. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

no one whispered above his breath, a personage walked through the room from East to west, and Joseph asked if we saw him. I saw him and suppose the others did, and Joseph answered that is Jesus, the Son of God, our elder brother. Afterward Joseph told us to resume our former position in prayer, which we did. Another person came through; He was surrounded as with a flame of fire.⁴²

In the presence of this personage, Coltrin “experienced a sensation that it might destroy the tabernacle as it was of consuming fire of great brightness.” Joseph Smith identified this personage as “the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ,” and Coltrin gave the following description:

I saw His hands, His legs, his feet, his eyes, nose, mouth, head and body in the shape and form of a perfect man. . . . This appearance was so grand and overwhelming that it seemed I should melt down in His presence, and the sensation was so powerful that it thrilled through my whole system and I felt it in the marrow of my bones.⁴³

On another occasion, Coltrin stated that as the Father passed through the room, the “glory and brightness was so great . . . that had it continued much longer, I believe it would have consumed us.”⁴⁴ The second testimony of this vision comes from John Murdock:

During the winter that I boarded with Brother Joseph . . . we had a number of prayer meetings, in the Prophet’s chamber. . . . In one of those meetings the Prophet told us, “If we could humble ourselves before God, and exercise strong faith, we should see the face of the Lord.” And about midday the visions of my mind were opened, and the eyes of my understanding were enlightened, and I saw the form of a man, most lovely, the visage of his face was sound and fair as the sun. His hair a bright silver grey, curled in most majestic form; His eyes a keen penetrating blue, and the skin of his neck a most beautiful white and he was covered from the neck to the feet with a loose garment, pure white: Whiter than any garment I have ever before seen. His countenance was most penetrating, and yet most lovely. And while I was endeavoring to comprehend the whole personage from head to feet it slipped from me, and the vision was closed up. But it left on my mind the impression of love, for months, that I had never felt before to that degree.⁴⁵

On January 21, 1836, Joseph Smith was more in heaven than on earth. That day he received at least two, and possibly three, visions of different events. In one of these visions, he saw “the blazing throne of God, whereon was seated the Father and the Son” and those who became heirs of the celestial kingdom. It is this portion of the vision that has been canonized as section 137. However, in addition, Joseph observed William E. McLellin proselyting in the South, Brigham Young working in the Southwest, and others bringing about the redemption of Zion. He also saw the Twelve standing together in a foreign land (probably Great Britain). The Prophet indicated they were “much fatigued, with their clothes tattered and feet swollen, with their eyes cast downward, and Jesus standing in their midst, and they did not behold Him. The Savior looked upon them and wept.”⁴⁶ Subsequently, he observed that the Twelve had successfully accomplished their work on earth and had entered the celestial city, where the Savior embraced and kissed each one and then crowned them in the presence of God the Father. This vision left such a powerful impression on the Prophet, wrote Heber C. Kimball, “that he never could refrain from weeping while rehearsing it.”⁴⁷

Visions of the Son. In addition to the four appearances of the Father and Son during this five-year span (1831–36), historical sources reveal that Joseph Smith saw Jesus Christ separately on four occasions. Thirteen-year-old Mary Elizabeth Rollins was present when one of these visitations transpired. She remembered the event occurring in 1831, at a meeting of Saints held at the Isaac Morley farm, where the Prophet was the main speaker. She recalled Joseph speaking very solemnly during the meeting. “All at once his countenance changed and he stood mute,” Rollins recounted. “Those who looked at him . . . said there was a search light within him, over every part of his body. I never saw anything like it on the earth. I could not take my eyes off of him. He got so white that anyone who saw him would have



Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner (1818–1913) preserves an account of visitation of Jesus Christ to the Prophet Joseph Smith at meeting of the Saints held at Isaac Morley’s farm in Kirtland in 1831. Copy print from unknown source. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

thought he was transparent. I . . . thought I could almost see the bones through the flesh.” The Prophet stood silent for several minutes before he asked those present if they knew who had been in their midst. Martin Harris told them it was the Savior, to which the Prophet responded that God had revealed that truth to Martin. He then said, “Brothers and Sisters, . . . the Savior has been here this night and I want to tell you to remember it. There is a veil [*sic*] over your eyes for you could not endure to look upon Him.”⁴⁸

During an intimate meeting in Kirtland on December 18, 1833, the Prophet experienced a singular vision of the premortal Jehovah ministering to Father Adam in mortality. Scribe Oliver Cowdery noted that while Joseph Smith was setting apart his father, Joseph Smith Sr., as Patriarch to the Church, “the visions of the Almighty were open to his view,” and he beheld a great ancient council meeting at Adam-ondi-Ahman held three years previous to Adam’s death. “The Lord appeared unto them,” Cowdery recorded, and “administered comfort unto Adam.”⁴⁹ In July 1839, during a meeting with the Twelve and the Seventy, Joseph Smith briefly recounted the vision. “I saw Adam in the valley of Adam-ondi-Ahman,” he said. “The Lord appeared in their midst, and he (Adam) blessed them all.”⁵⁰

Joseph Smith had two additional visions of the Savior during the week of the dedication of the Kirtland Temple. The Prophet’s history for March 30, 1836, three days after the formal dedication, states that “the Savior made His appearance,” while “angels ministered unto others.”⁵¹ Although Joseph did not give any additional information concerning this manifestation, Harrison Burgess, a member of the Seventy, was present and provided the following recollection:

I was in a meeting for instruction in the upper part of the [Kirtland] Temple, with about a hundred of the High Priests, Seventies and Elders . . . and I beheld the room lighted up with a peculiar light such as I had never seen before. It was soft and clear and the room looked to me as though it had neither roof nor floor to the building and I beheld the Prophet Joseph and Hyrum Smith and Roger Orton enveloped in the light: Joseph exclaimed aloud, “I behold the Savior, the Son of God.” Hyrum said, “I behold the angels of heaven.” Brother Orton exclaimed, “I behold the chariots of Israel.” All who were in the room felt the power of God to that degree that many prophesied, and the power of God was made manifest, the remembrance of which will remain with me while I live upon the earth.⁵²

On Sunday, April 3, 1836, Joseph and Oliver, perhaps feeling that a manifestation was about to take place, retired to the veiled Melchizedek Priesthood pulpits in the Kirtland Temple, where a glorious vision of the Lord was opened to them. As stated in Doctrine and Covenants section 110, the first and second elder saw Jesus Christ “standing upon the breastwork

of the pulpit. . . . His eyes were as a flame of fire; the hair of his head was white like the pure snow; his countenance shone above the brightness of the sun” (110:2–3). This occasion is the last documented vision of Joseph Smith seeing the Lord Jesus Christ. Including the First Vision, there is documentation for five visions of the Father and the Son together, and four visions of the Savior individually, totaling nine.

Visions of Other Heavenly Beings. During his years as Church President, Joseph Smith also had visions of, manifestations about, and visitations from ancient prophets and apostles and other heavenly messengers. Father Adam was among the prophets most frequently seen. As stated above, Joseph heard Adam detect Satan as an angel of light during the 1820–30 period. In addition, on at least three instances Joseph Smith saw Adam in vision during the decade of the 1830s. The two most familiar accounts are included in scripture. Joseph saw in vision the great council at Adam-ondi-Ahman, where Adam and other patriarchs—including Seth, Enos, Cainan, Mahalaleel, Jared, Enoch, and Methuselah—as well as all of Adam’s righteous posterity, assembled three years prior to Adam’s death (D&C 107:53–57).⁵³

Joseph later saw Adam in his vision of the celestial kingdom, as recorded in Doctrine and Covenants section 137. Concerning this vision, Heber C. Kimball stated that Joseph also “saw Adam open the gate of the Celestial City and admit the people one by one.”⁵⁴ The most personal account of Adam in vision is not recorded in scripture. In April 1834, the Prophet held a conference of the Church at New Portage, Ohio. There Joseph asked Oliver Cowdery and Zebedee Coltrin to walk with him “to a place where there was some beautiful grass, and grapevines,” Coltrin later recounted. The Prophet then requested they each pray in turn. After praying, Joseph said, “Now breth[r]en . . . we will see some visions.” Joseph laid on the ground, and Oliver and Zebedee rested their heads on his outstretched arms. “The heavens gradually opened,” Coltrin recalled, and the brethren “saw a golden throne, on a circular foundation, something like a light house, and on the throne were two aged personages, having white hair, and clothed in white garments.” These personages were “the two most beautiful and perfect specimens of mankind” Coltrin had ever seen. Joseph called them “our first parents, Adam and Eve.” Coltrin remembered Adam as a “large broadshouldered man, and Eve as a woman . . . large in proportion.”⁵⁵ That the Prophet knew Adam’s visage is also evident from a brief statement he made in January 1843, while reminiscing about his deceased brother, Alvin, where Joseph called his oldest brother “a very handsome man, surpassed by none but Adam and Seth.”⁵⁶

The Prophet also saw other angelic ministrants and prophets during this period. As the Kirtland Temple neared completion in early 1836, an

outpouring of spiritual appearances by heavenly beings began. On January 21, at a meeting held in the not-yet-dedicated temple, angels ministered unto those present, the Prophet reported, “as well as my self. . . . For we all communed with the h[e]avenly host’s.”⁵⁷ Bishop Edward Partridge stated that “a number saw visions & others were blessed with the outpouring of the Holy Ghost.”⁵⁸ Oliver Cowdery called the scene “too great to be described, . . . therefore, I only say, that the heavens were opened to many, and great and marvelous things were shown.”⁵⁹ Recorded in the Prophet’s journal for the next day, January 22, is a comparable occurrence: “The heavens were opened, and angels ministered unto us. . . . [They] mingled their voices with ours, while their presence was in our midst.”⁶⁰ On January 28, Joseph saw another glorious vision, which he did not describe.⁶¹

Divine messengers attended the dedicatory services of the Kirtland Temple on March 27, 1836. As the Prophet read the dedicatory prayer, “we, having our heads bowed,” Truman O. Angell later testified, “felt a sensation very elevating to the soul.” At the completion of the prayer, President Frederick G. Williams arose “and testified that midway during the prayer an Holy Angel came and seated Himself in the stand.”⁶² Heber C. Kimball



Kirtland Temple (lower auditorium), ca. 1920. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

could see the personage from where he sat, describing him as “very tall . . . [with] black eyes, white hair, and stoop shouldered; his garment was whole, extending to near his ankles; on his feet he had sandals. He was sent as a messenger to accept of the dedication.”⁶³ After a midday adjournment, the first thing Joseph Smith did was announce to those assembled that “the Personage who had appeared in the morning was the Angel Peter [who] had come to accept the dedication.”⁶⁴ David Whitmer testified that at the dedication he also saw angels in the house.⁶⁵

On the evening of the dedication day, the priesthood quorums again met in the temple. It was during this meeting that a pentecostal outpouring transpired. The Prophet’s history states:

A noise was heard like the sound of a rushing mighty wind, which filled the Temple, and all the congregation simultaneously arose, being moved upon by an invisible power; many began to speak in tongues and prophesy; others saw glorious visions; and I beheld the Temple was filled with angels, which fact I declared to the congregation. The people of the neighborhood came running together (hearing an unusual sound within, and seeing a bright light like a pillar of fire resting upon the Temple), and were astonished at what was taking place.⁶⁶

Two or three days later, the leading brethren and quorums met to perform anointings. On this occasion, noted Heber C. Kimball, another heavenly personage appeared—“the beloved disciple John was seen in our midst by the Prophet Joseph, Oliver Cowdery, and others.”⁶⁷

The most significant manifestation during this spiritual season in Kirtland occurred a week after the dedication, when the Lord appeared and accepted the temple and the sacrifice of the Saints. Then, following that theophany, the great lawgiver, Moses, appeared and bestowed the keys of gathering. His appearance was followed by a personage, whom the Prophet simply called Elias, who restored the keys associated with the dispensation of the gospel of Abraham. Finally, Elijah, an ancient Israelite prophet, bestowed the keys of the sealing power upon the first and second elders, Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery (D&C 110:11–16). So ended the week in which, according to Orson Pratt, heaven and earth were brought so close together that “people were blessed as they never had been blessed for generations and generations that were passed and gone.”⁶⁸

Several of Joseph Smith’s close associates left record of an angel, whose identity was not recorded, visiting him on several occasions. The purpose of these appearances was to encourage the Prophet to move ahead with the principle of celestial marriage. According to one of the Prophet’s plural wives, this angel appeared three times between 1834 and 1842.⁶⁹ Another plural wife, Eliza R. Snow, described an angel that “stood by him with a drawn sword, [who] told him that, unless he moved forward and established

plural marriage, his Priesthood would be taken from him.”⁷⁰ Documents currently available do not record Joseph Smith receiving visitations from heavenly beings after 1842.

Visions of Satan. The Prophet encountered the adversary face-to-face during the 1830s and 40s. In 1831, while returning to Ohio from his first excursion to Missouri, the Prophet received a revelation at McIlwaine’s Bend on the Missouri River. This revelation came, according to the Prophet’s history, after W. W. Phelps saw Satan, in broad daylight, moving in power upon the surface of the water. Although the record does not indicate how much of this manifestation the Prophet also saw, he knew distinctly who was involved and what had taken place in the vision.

A more direct encounter took place shortly after the Prophet moved into his home in Far West in 1838. Heber C. Kimball related the incident:

One of his children was taken very sick; he laid his hands upon the child, [but] when it got better; as soon as he went out of doors, the child was taken sick again; he again laid his hands upon it, so that it again recovered. This occurred several times, when Joseph inquired of the Lord what it all meant; . . . he had an open vision, and saw the devil in person, who contended with Joseph, face to face, for some time. He said it was his house, it belonged to him, and Joseph had no right there. Then Joseph rebuked Satan in the name of the Lord, and he departed and touched the child no more.⁷¹

As early as June 1839, Joseph Smith instructed the Twelve, prior to their departure to England, how to differentiate messengers of God from messengers of Satan. At the time the Prophet gave these instructions, Parley P. Pratt was imprisoned in the Columbia, Missouri, jail, and did not receive these instructions until returning from Great Britain in 1843, when the Prophet taught these principles to him personally. On that occasion, William Clayton recorded Joseph’s words, which now comprise section 129, outlining the three grand keys for discerning spirits. This revelation shows that the Prophet evidently had firsthand experience in such matters. When Heber C. Kimball returned from his first mission to Great Britain, he and Joseph took a walk down by the Mississippi River. Heber told the Prophet how he, Orson Hyde, and Willard Richards had been buffeted by Satan when they first arrived in Preston, England. The Prophet then told Brother Kimball about his own contests with the prince of darkness, in which Joseph saw Satan “face to face” and was “handled and afflicted” by him.⁷²

Visions of Zion

Although Kirtland was the hub of Mormonism between 1831 and 1838, Joseph focused on the establishment of Zion in Missouri during these years. Through revelations and visionary experiences, the Lord revealed many truths to this modern-day seer about the land where the New

Jerusalem would be established. In June 1831, just four months after moving to Ohio from New York, Joseph received a revelation in which the Lord instructed Joseph, Sidney Rigdon, and thirteen pairs of elders to travel to Missouri, where “the land of their inheritance” would “be made known unto them” (D&C 52:5). Joseph later stated that the commandment to travel “to the western boundaries of the State of Missouri” was received “by a heavenly vision” and that the main purpose of the expedition was to “designate the very spot which was to be the central place for the commencement of the gathering together of those who embrace the fullness of the everlasting Gospel.”⁷³ Soon after the elders’ arrival in Missouri in mid-July, the Prophet alluded to another vision, giving the precise location of Zion: “He manifested Himself unto us, and designated, to me and others, the very spot upon which He designed to commence the work of the gathering, and the upbuilding of an ‘holy city,’ which should be called Zion.”⁷⁴

Visions Received during Zion’s Camp

The Prophet received two unusual visions in 1834. Following the expulsion of some 1,200 Latter-day Saints from Jackson County in 1833, the Prophet called for a contingent of Saints to travel to Missouri and there assist the exiled Saints in reclaiming their lands. The expedition, known as Zion’s Camp, was led by Joseph Smith. After traveling for over a month, on June 3, 1834, near the Illinois River, the expedition came across some peculiar mounds. While surveying one of these formations, the Prophet received a remarkable vision. Seven members of the camp wrote about this event, now known simply as the Zelph story.⁷⁵ Regardless of the many differences in these accounts, Joseph received some divine understanding concerning Zelph, apparently through visionary means, as noted in the following published report:

We encamped on the bank of the river until Tuesday the 3rd during our travels we visited several of the mounds which had been thrown up by the ancient inhabitants of this county, Nephites, Lamanites, &c., and this morning I went up on a high mound, near the river, accompanied by the brethren. . . .

On the top of the mound were stones which presented the appearance of three alters, . . . and human bones were strewn over the surface of the ground. The brethren procured a shovel and hoe, and removing the earth to the depth of about one foot discovered [the] skeleton of a man, almost entire, and between his ribs was a Lamanitish arrow, which evidently produced his death. Elder Brigham Young retained the arrow and the brethren carried some pieces of the skeleton to Clay county. The contemplation of the scenery before us produced peculiar sensations in our bosoms; and the visions of the past being opened to my understanding by the spirit of the Almighty I discovered that the person whose skeleton was before us, was a white Lamanite, a large thick set man, and a man of God. He was a warrior and chieftain

under the great prophet Omandagus, who was known from the hill Cumorah, or Eastern sea, to the Rocky Mountains. His name was Zelph. The curse was taken from him, or at least, in part; one of his thigh bones was broken, by a stone flung from a sling, while in battle years before his death. He was killed in battle, by the arrow found among his ribs, during the last great struggle of the Lamanites and Nephites.⁷⁶

Joseph received at least one other vision while leading Zion's Camp. It illustrates how the Prophet could receive a vision at almost any time and on almost any matter. Nathan Tanner stated that while traveling with the camp

I had the pleasure of seeing him [Joseph] in a vision when he saw the country over which we had traveled in a high state of cultivation. This was while he was riding, and when he camped, he had a wagon run out in the middle of the corral of wagons, and got up into it, and told the camp what he had seen while in the Spirit. It was glorious and grand to hear.⁷⁷

Visions of Church Organization

The Prophet received visionary instruction concerning Church structure and organization. During the first part of February 1835, Joseph Smith called for a meeting of the men who had participated in Zion's Camp. Brigham and Joseph Young met with the Prophet a week prior to the meeting. At that time, President Smith told the two brothers, "I have seen those men who died of the cholera in our camp; and the Lord knows, if I get a mansion as bright as theirs, I ask no more." As Joseph Young remembered this meeting, the Prophet "wept, and for some time could not speak." This vision apparently included information about the organization of the Council of the Twelve and the Quorums of Seventy. After Joseph Smith told the Young brothers about his vision, he informed Brigham that he would be called to the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, not yet organized, and "proceeded to enlarge upon the duties of [the Twelve's] calling." Turning next to Joseph Young, the Prophet said, "Brother Joseph, the Lord has made you President of the Seventies."⁷⁸ These councils were organized later in the month—the Quorum of the Twelve on February 14, 1835, and the Seventy on February 28. The following month, the Prophet dictated section 107, which connects these councils to a visionary experience. "And it is according to the vision showing the order of the Seventy, that they should have seven presidents to preside over them, chosen out of the number of the seventy" (D&C 107:93). Perhaps it was in part this vision of Church councils to which Joseph Smith referred when, according to Parley P. Pratt, he explained to the Twelve shortly before his death, "I have now finished the work which was laid upon me, by committing to you all things for the building up of the kingdom according to the heavenly vision, and the pattern shown me from heaven."⁷⁹

Visions of the Future

Joseph Smith saw events in the near and distant future. The year 1831 opened with Joseph Smith and several other leading elders receiving a unique vision of the Church in the future. Among these elders was Sidney Rigdon, who was converted to Mormonism in Kirtland in November 1830 by four missionaries en route to Indian Territory on the western borders of Missouri (see D&C 32). Soon after his conversion, Rigdon journeyed to New York in order to meet the Prophet. He took with him Edward Partridge, who was not yet baptized. The two men arrived at Lucy and Joseph Sr.'s home on the Seneca River on December 10, 1830. They stayed for several weeks and were present at the conference held in Fayette during the first week of January. Fourteen years later, while addressing the Saints in Nauvoo, Rigdon reflected on this conference and recalled how small the Church had been in 1831. He remarked, "All the members met in conference in a room twenty feet square"—referring to the Whitmer farmhouse. Then continuing, he added, "We knew fourteen years ago that the Church would become as large as it is today," for, "we saw by vision the Church of God, a thousand times larger."⁸⁰

The Prophet received another interesting vision either prior to his departure to Ohio in January 1831 or while en route. Like Rigdon, Newel K. Whitney encountered Mormonism through the preaching of the missionaries on their way to teach the Lamanites. After joining the Church, Whitney was unable to travel with Rigdon and Partridge to New York to meet Joseph Smith and instead remained behind, apparently petitioning the Lord to bring Joseph to Ohio. According to Whitney family tradition, Joseph had a vision of Whitney praying for the Prophet to come to Kirtland. When the Prophet and his company pulled up in front of Whitney's store on February 1, Joseph

alighted, and springing up the steps, walked into the store. Upon seeing Whitney the Prophet said, "Newel K. Whitney! Thou art the man!" meaning that he was the person whom he had seen in his vision. The storekeeper "could not call [Joseph] by name" so he enquired as to who he was. With obvious reference to his vision the Mormon leader responded, "I am Joseph, the Prophet. . . . You've prayed me here; now what do you want of me?"⁸¹

The experience no doubt helped confirm in Whitney's mind the power that attended the youthful prophet.

Joseph's visions of the future included views of kingdoms and eternal worlds. Doctrine and Covenants sections 76 and 137 are the best examples. He also saw the tragic events of the last days as well as the glories of the Resurrection.

On July 2, 1839, the Prophet addressed several members of the Twelve prior to their departure to Great Britain. During his remarks, he referred to

some of the things the Lord had revealed to him concerning the wickedness of men, future wars, and the destruction that awaits the disobedient. "I saw men hunting the lives of their own sons," Joseph explained, "brother murdering brother, women killing their own daughters, and daughters seeking the lives of their mothers. I saw armies arrayed against armies. I saw blood, desolation, fires. . . . These things are at our doors."⁸²

Tragic visions such as these were offset by more hopeful visionary experiences. While speaking at the funeral of Lorenzo D. Barnes in 1843, Joseph Smith reflected on the death of some of his own family members, particularly his father. He discussed the sanctity of the body and the need for a proper and honorable burial, and then he stated his desire to be buried beside his father and mother and other family members and friends. "Would you think it strange if I relate what I have seen in vision in relation to this interesting theme?" he asked.

I actually saw men, before they had ascended from the tomb, as though they were getting up slowly. They took each other by the hand and said to each other, "My father, my son, my mother, my daughter, my brother, my sister." And when the voice calls for the dead to arise, suppose I am laid by the side of my father, what would be the first joy of my heart? To meet my father, my mother, my brother, my sister; and when they are by my side, I embrace them and they me.⁸³

Visions of Temple Patterns

Like Moses, David, and Solomon, who obtained divine knowledge pertaining to the construction of Israel's tabernacle in the wilderness and temple in Jerusalem, Joseph Smith received visionary understanding on the architectural design, construction, and function of four temples—Kirtland, Independence, Far West, and Nauvoo. Joseph received a divine commission to erect a temple in Kirtland in late 1832, several months before the pattern was revealed to him (see D&C 88:119–20). The Lord instructed the Saints to build "after the manner which I shall show unto three of you" (D&C 95:14). Those three, according to Truman O. Angell, the temple's primary craftsman, comprised the First Presidency of the Church. Frederick G. Williams, the Prophet's Second Counselor, told Angell, "Joseph received the word of the Lord for him to take his two counselors . . . and come before the Lord and He would show them the plan or model of the House to be built." Williams continued:

We went upon our knees, called on the Lord, and the Building appeared within viewing distance. I being the first to discover it. Then all of us viewed it together. After we had taken a good look at the exterior, the Building seemed to come right over us, and the Makeup of this Hall [the lower auditorium] seemed to coincide with what I there saw to a minutia.⁸⁴

Scriptural evidence indicates that the patterns for the Independence, Far West, and Nauvoo Temples were also given in vision. Concerning the temple in Jackson County, the Lord stated on August 2, 1833, “Verily I say unto you, that it is my will that a house should be built unto me in the land of Zion, like unto the pattern which I have given you” (D&C 97:10). On June 25, 1833, over a month before receiving section 97, Joseph Smith had sent Church leaders in Jackson County detailed instructions concerning the size, features, and function of the temple complex in Independence plus an explanation of the layout and arrangement of the city of Zion. From this information, one might infer that Joseph Smith received the pattern of the city of Zion together with the vision shown to him for the temples of that early era.⁸⁵

Concerning the temple at Far West, Joseph Smith received the following set of instructions:

But let a house be built unto my name according to the pattern which I will show unto them. And if my people build it not according to the pattern which I shall show unto their presidency, I will not accept it at their hands. But if my people do build it according to the pattern which I shall show unto their presidency, even my servant Joseph and his counselors, then I will accept it at the hands of my people. (D&C 115:14–16; see also v. 10–13)

This particular revelation specifically states the pattern would be given to the First Presidency. Any such revelation was not documented but must have been received before the summer of 1838, when the cornerstones were laid and construction began.⁸⁶

The Nauvoo Temple stood as a crowning monument to the life and mission of the Prophet. God was the architect, but Joseph was the engineer. “And I will show unto my servant Joseph all things pertaining to this house, and the priesthood thereof, and the place whereon it shall be built. And ye shall build it on the place where you have contemplated building it, for that is the spot which I have chosen for you to build it” (D&C 124:42–43). Three other temple-building passages specifically state that the pattern would be revealed by the Lord, and the Prophet’s history makes it clear that a pattern was indeed given. In February 1844, the Prophet called on William Weeks, temple architect. In Weeks’s drawings, Joseph Smith noticed semicircular windows in the half stories separating the upper and lower halls. The Prophet politely instructed Weeks that the windows should be completely circular. Weeks protested, stating that circular windows “were a violation of all the known rules of architecture.” Determined to have circular windows, Joseph responded, “I wish you to carry out *my* designs. I have seen in vision the splendid appearance of that building . . . and will have it built according to the pattern shown me.”⁸⁷

Visionary Dreams

Holy writ teaches that certain dreams can be visions or views sent from God. Ancient scripture contains numerous examples of God communicating to his servants visually through dreams. However, an examination of the historical sources leads to the conclusion that Joseph Smith did not receive most of his divine understanding through dreams in the night. Apparently, God chose more direct methods of communicating to him. Although the Prophet told of some of his dreams, he did not usually detail or interpret what he envisioned in those dreams.⁸⁸

CONCLUSION

On October 9, 1843, Joseph Smith spoke at the funeral services of James Adams. "Could you gaze into heaven five minutes," he remarked, "you would know more than you would by reading all that ever was written on the subject."⁸⁹ He was privileged to view the heavens not just for five minutes but for extended periods on many occasions. As far as historical records indicate, Joseph Smith received more visions than any other prophet, past or present. His receiving numerous visions occurred in part because he was called and appointed to bring about the "restitution of all things, which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began" (Acts 3:21).

But Joseph's calling as a seer also came because of his spiritual capacity and sensitivity. As Brigham Young taught, "There are thousands in the world who are natural born Seers, but when the Lord selected Joseph Smith to be his vice-regent and mouthpiece upon the earth in this dispensation, he saw that he would be faithful and honor his calling."⁹⁰

Extolling the visionary gifts of Joseph Smith, President John Taylor penned a poem entitled "The Seer," which was later set to music by Ebenezer Beesley. A portion of its first stanza follows:

The seer;—the seer:—Joseph the seer—
 I'll sing of the Prophet ever dear:
 His equal now cannot be found,—
 By searching the wide world around.
 With Gods he soared, in the realms of day;
 And men he taught the heavenly way.
 The earthly seer! the heavenly seer,

 He gazed on the past, on the present too;—
 And ope'd the heav'nly world to view.⁹¹

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THE SEER.

Written for the dedication of the Seventy's Hall, and
dedicated to President BRIGHAM YOUNG:

BY JOHN TAYLOR.

The seer;—the seer:—Joseph the seer—
I'll sing of the Prophet ever dear:
His equal now cannot be found,—
By searching the wide world around.
With Gods he soared, in the realms of day;
And men he taught the heavenly way.
The earthly seer! the heavenly seer,
I love to dwell on his mem'ry dear:—
The chosen of God, and the friend of men,
He brought the priesthood back again,
He gazed on the past, on the present too;—
And ope'd the heav'nly world to view.

Of noble seed—of heavenly birth,
He came to bless the sons of earth:
With keys by the Almighty given,
He opened the full rich stores of heaven,
O'er the world that was wrapt in sable night,
Like the sun he spread his golden light.
He strove,—O, how he strove to stay,
The stream of crime in its reckless way—
With a mighty mind, and a noble aim
He urg'd the wayward to reclaim:
'Mid the feaming billows of argry strife—
He stood at the helm, of the ship of life.

The saints;—the saints; his only pride,
For them he liv'd, for them he died!
Their joys were his;—their sorrows too;—
He lov'd the saints;—he lov'd Nauvoo.
Unchanged in death, with a Saviors love
He pleads their cause, in the courts above.
The seer;—the seer—Joseph the seer!
O, how I love his memory dear,
The just and wise, the pure and free,
A father he was, and is to me.
Let fiends now rage in their dark hour;—
No matter, he is beyond their power.

He's free;—he's free;—the Prophet's free!
He is where he will ever be,
Beyond the reach of mobs and strife,
He rests unharm'd in endless life,
His home's in the sky;—he dwells with the Gods,
Far from the furious rage of mobs.
He died; he died—for those he lov'd,
He reigns;—he reigns in realms above,
He waits with the just who have gone before,
To welcome the saints to Zions shore;
Shout, shout ye saints—this boon is given,
We'll meet our martyr'd seer in heaven.

“The Seer,” broadside, ca. 1844–45. Written and published by John Taylor. Courtesy BYU Archives.

1. The Hebrew *chāzāh* comes from “the usual word for ‘see’ in the various dialects of Aramaic, . . . referring both to the natural vision of the eyes and to supernatural visions of various kinds.” G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren, eds., *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), 4:281–82. The manner in which revelation was received by the Old Testament seers is not entirely clear, but it predominantly involved hearing the word of the Lord at night, although the eyes were also “somehow involved” (4:285). The obscure Hebrew term *chāzāh* is translated in the Greek LXX as *blepōn*, literally “looker,” and then translated into English as “seer.”

2. John A. Widtsoe, *Evidences and Reconciliations* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1987), 258. Orson F. Whitney stated: “A seer is one who sees. But it is not the ordinary sight that is meant. The seeric gift is a supernatural endowment.” Orson F. Whitney, *Saturday Night Thoughts: A Series of Dissertations on Spiritual, Historical and Philosophic Themes* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1921), 39. See also Steven C. Walker, “Seer,” in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 3:1292–93.

3. Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook, eds., *The Words of Joseph Smith: The Contemporary Accounts of the Nauvoo Discourses of the Prophet Joseph* (Orem, Utah: Grandin, 1991), 59. See also Joseph Fielding Smith, comp., *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1972), 180. The Prophet compared his description of Paul to John C. Bennett’s appearance. For more on how Bennett may have resembled the ancient apostle, see Ehat and Cook, *Words*, 82, n. 2.

4. See J. K. Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), 364.

5. Joseph Smith Jr., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 2d ed., rev., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1958), 5:402 (hereafter cited as *History of the Church*).

6. *History of the Church*, 5:362.

7. For a general discussion and overview of Joseph Smith’s visionary experiences, see Larry C. Porter, “Visions of Joseph Smith,” in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 4:1512–16. For an examination of Joseph Smith’s visionary contemporaries, see Richard L. Bushman, “The Visionary World of Joseph Smith,” *BYU Studies* 37, no. 1 (1997–98): 183–204.

8. See H. Donl Peterson, “Moroni: Joseph Smith’s Tutor,” *Ensign* 22 (January 1992): 22–29; Peterson, “Moroni: Joseph Smith’s Tutor,” in Larry C. Porter, Milton V. Backman Jr., and Susan Easton Black, eds., *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History: New York* (Provo: Department of Church History and Doctrine, Brigham Young University, 1992), 49–70; and Robert J. Woodford, “Book of Mormon Personalities Known by Joseph Smith,” *Ensign* 8 (August 1978): 12–15. See also H. Donl Peterson, *Moroni: Ancient Prophet, Modern Messenger* (Bountiful: Horizon, 1983).

9. Lyndon W. Cook, ed., *David Whitmer Interviews: A Restoration Witness* (Orem, Utah: Grandin Book, 1991), 27. Whitmer told the story on a number of occasions, leaving at least five additional versions of the incident. See Cook, *David Whitmer Interviews*, 13, 41–42, 49–50, 181–82, 213–16.

10. Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989–92), 1:431.

11. Orson Pratt, in *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1855–86), 15:185, September 22, 1872 (hereafter cited as *JD*). On another occasion, Orson Pratt stated, “After having received from time to time, visits from . . . glorious personages, and talking with them, . . . he was permitted to go and take [the] plates from the place of their deposit.” Orson Pratt, in *JD*, 13:66, December 19, 1869.

12. George Q. Cannon, in *JD*, 23:362, October 29, 1882.

13. John Taylor, in *JD*, 17:374, April 8, 1875.
14. John Taylor, in *JD*, 21:94, April 13, 1879. For additional statements concerning the heavenly beings who appeared to Joseph Smith, see *JD*, 13:47; 18:326; 20:174–75; 21:65; 21:161, 163; and 23:48–49.
15. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith, the Prophet, and His Progenitors for Many Generations* (Liverpool: Published for Orson Pratt by S. W. Richards, 1853), 85. See also Woodford, “Book of Mormon Personalities,” 12.
16. Oliver Cowdery, *Messenger and Advocate*, October 1834, 15–16; and Jessee, *Papers*, 1:30–32. It is significant to note that in his narrative Cowdery twice mentions that the voice of the Lord was heard. The Prophet’s history does not mention this fact.
17. Larry C. Porter, “Dating the Restoration of the Melchizedek Priesthood,” *Ensign* 9 (June 1979): 4–10; Larry C. Porter, “The Restoration of the Priesthood,” *Religious Studies Center Newsletter* 9, no. 3 (May 3, 1995): 3–7; and Larry C. Porter, “The Restoration of the Aaronic and Melchizedek Priesthoods,” *Ensign* 26 (December 1996): 30–47.
18. Newell Knight, “Newel Knight’s Journal,” in *Scraps of Biography*, Faith-Promoting Series, no. 10, published in *Classic Experiences and Adventures* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1969), 62–63.
19. Willard Chase, in Eber D. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled* (Painesville, Ohio: Eber D. Howe, 1834), 241–42. For eyewitness descriptions of the seer stone, see Richard Van Wagoner and Steve Walker, “Joseph Smith: ‘The Gift of Seeing,’” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 15 (summer 1982): 59.
20. See Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 69–70, 97, 103.
21. Martin Harris, in [Tiffany,] “Mormonism—No. II,” *Tiffany’s Monthly* 5 (May 1859): 164.
22. Dean Jessee, “Joseph Knight’s Recollection of Early Mormon History,” *BYU Studies* 17, no. 1 (1976): 31–32.
23. Cook, *David Whitmer Interviews*, 27. For slightly different accounts, see Cook, *David Whitmer Interviews*, 41, 48–49, 114–15, 123, 191, 213, 215.
24. Cook, *David Whitmer Interviews*, 150.
25. Jessee, “Joseph Knight’s Recollection,” 33.
26. Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 106.
27. Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 106.
28. Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 102–8. The three incidents were: (1) the need to take the plates from the old birch log where he had initially deposited them, (2) the need to conceal the plates beneath the hearth, and (3) the need to hide the plates in some flax in the loft of the cooper’s shop. Harris’s recollections parallel that of Mother Smith. See [Tiffany,] “Mormonism,” 166–67.
29. [Tiffany,] “Mormonism,” 169.
30. For recent discussions of translation, see Neal A. Maxwell, “By the Gift and Power of God,” *Ensign* 27 (January 1997), 36–41; Royal Skousen, “Translating the Book of Mormon: Evidence from the Original Manuscript,” in Noel B. Reynolds, ed., *Book of Mormon Authorship Revisited: The Evidence for Ancient Origins* (Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1997), 61–93; John W. Welch, *The Sermon at the Temple and the Sermon on the Mount: A Latter-day Saint Approach* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book and FARMS, 1990), 130–44; Stephen D. Ricks, “Joseph Smith’s Means and Methods of Translating the Book of Mormon” (Provo, Utah: FARMS paper, 1986); John W. Welch and Tim Rathbone, “The Translation of the Book of Mormon: Basic Historical Information” (Provo, Utah: FARMS paper, 1986).
31. Edward Stevenson, “One of the Three Witnesses: Incidents in the Life of Martin Harris,” *Millennial Star* 44 (February 6, 1882): 86–87.

32. David Whitmer, *An Address to All Believers in Christ* (Richmond, Mo.: n.p., 1887), 12.

33. "Now the first that my <husband> translated, [the book] was translated by the use of the Urim, and Thummim, and that was the part that Martin Harris lost, after that he used a small stone." Emma Smith Bidamon to Emma Pilgrim, March 27, 1870, in Dan Vogel, ed., *Early Mormon Documents* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996), 532. David Whitmer stated:

This unpardonable carelessness [of giving Martin Harris the manuscript] evoked the stormiest kind of chastisement from the Lord, who took from the prophet the urim and thummum [*sic*] and otherwise expressed his condemnation. By fervent prayer and by otherwise humbling himself, the prophet, however, again found favor, and was presented with a . . . stone . . . which, it was promised, should serve the same purpose as the missing urim and thummim. . . . With this stone all of the present Book of Mormon was translated. (Cook, *David Whitmer Interviews*, 200; see also 72, 156–57, 175, 230)

34. Although not indicated in the historical record, it is likely that section 10 was received through the Urim and Thummim. Sections 3 and 10 were probably received through the Nephite interpreters since these revelations were given in conjunction with the loss of the 116 pages.

35. Whitmer, *Address to All Believers*, 32. The seer stone passed through a series of owners. Soon after the translation of the Book of Mormon was complete, Joseph Smith gave the stone to Oliver Cowdery, who possessed the stone until his death in 1848. That same year Phineas Young visited Oliver's widow, Lucy Cowdery, and persuaded her to give it to him. He returned to Salt Lake City and presented it to his brother, Brigham Young. The stone has remained in the possession of the Church since that time. See Whitmer, *Address to All Believers*, 32; Cook, *David Whitmer Interviews*, 200; Zina Young Card to F. D. Richards, July 31, 1896, F. D. Richards Letter Collection, Archives Division, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives), as cited in Van Wagoner and Walker, "Gift of Seeing," 66, n. 53. Edward Stevenson remembered Joseph Smith using a seer stone at least four years after the Book of Mormon was translated. See Edward Stevenson, *Reminiscences of Joseph, the Prophet, and the Coming Forth of the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: By the author, 1893), 6.

36. *History of the Church*, 4:537; also Jessee, *Papers*, 1:431.

37. Oliver Cowdery to [W. W. Phelps], *Messenger and Advocate*, October 1835, 198; also Jessee, *Papers*, 1:87. Although this was a vision of Satan and his associates, it was given to Joseph Smith by Moroni and the powers of heaven.

38. Brigham Young, in *JD*, 19:38, June 17, 1877.

39. The two additional statements by Brigham Young concerning the cave and the plates are given here. William H. Dame was present when Brigham Young

related a story told to him by Hyrum Smith which was as follows: Joseph, Hyrum, Cowdery, and Whitmere [*sic*] went to the hill Cormorah [*sic*]. As they were walking up the hill, a door opened and they walked into a room about 16 ft square. In that room was an angel and a trunk. On the trunk lay a book of Mormon & gold plates, Laban's sword, Aaron's brestplate. (William H. Dame, Diary, manuscript, January 14, 1855, Special Collections and Manuscripts, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah [hereafter cited as BYU Archives])

On December 11, 1869, Wilford Woodruff heard Brigham Young relate to the Salt Lake School of the Prophets,

President Young said in relation to Joseph Smith returning the Plates of the Book of Mormon that He did not return them to the Box from wh[ence?] He had Received But He went [in?] a Cave in the Hill Comoro with Oliver Cowdry & deposited those plates upon a table or shelf. In that room were deposited a large amount of gold plates Containing sacred records & when they first visited that Room the sword of Laban was Hanging upon the wall & when they last visited it the sword was drawn from the scabbard & [laid?] upon a table & a Messenger who was the keeper of the room informed them that that sword would never be returned to its scabbard untill the Kingdom of God was Esstablished upon the Earth & untill it reigned triumphant over Evry Enemy. Joseph Smith said that Cave Contained tons of Choice Treasures & records. (*Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833–1898*, Scott G. Kenney, ed., 9 vols. [Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983–85], 6:508–9 [hereafter cited as *Woodruff, Journal*])

40. In 1856, Heber C. Kimball made brief mention of the Nephite depository in the Hill Cumorah. “How does it [the crossing of the plains] compare with the vision that Joseph and others had, when they went into a cave in the hill Cumorah, and saw more records than ten men could carry? There were books piled up on tables, book upon book.” *JD*, 4:105, September 28, 1856. Several years later, Kimball spoke to a missionary meeting at the Church Historians’ Office and “related about Father Smith, Oliver Cowdery and others walking into the Hill Cumorah and seeing records upon records piled upon tables, they walked from cell to cell and saw the records that were piled up.” Brigham Young Manuscript History, May 5, 1867, microfilm of holograph, LDS Church Archives. Orson Pratt made at least four statements attesting to his belief in the Cumorah library. See *JD*, 14:331; 15:183; 17:30; and 17:281–82. David Whitmer believed the cave existed but felt it was in a location other than the Hill Cumorah. See Cook, *David Whitmer Interviews*, 22; A. Karl Larson and Katharine Miles Larson, eds., *Diary of Charles Lowell Walker*, 2 vols. (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1980), 2:525–26; and Stevenson, *Reminiscences of Joseph, the Prophet*, 14–15.

41. Levi W. Hancock, “The Life of Levi Ward Hancock,” typescript, 33, BYU Archives, quoted in Karl Ricks Anderson, *Joseph Smith’s Kirtland: Eyewitness Accounts* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989), 107–8.

42. “Salt Lake School of the Prophets Minute Book, 1883,” October 3, 1883, typescript, 56–57, BYU Archives.

43. “Salt Lake City School of Prophets Minute Book, 1883,” October 3, 1883, 57.

44. Zebedee Coltrin, in Utah Stake Minutes, Spanish Fork High Priests, February 5, 1870, LDS Church Archives.

45. John Murdock, Journal, typescript, 13, BYU Archives; also quoted in Milton V. Backman Jr., *The Heavens Resound: A History of the Latter-day Saints in Ohio, 1830–1838* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1983), 267. Joseph Smith made brief reference to the appearance of the Father and the Son on this occasion. See *History of the Church*, 1:334–35.

46. Jesse, *Papers*, 2:157.

47. Orson F. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball: An Apostle, the Father and Founder of the British Mission* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1974), 93–94.

48. Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner, in Anderson, *Joseph Smith’s Kirtland*, 112–13.

49. See Smith, *Teachings*, 38–39; and Joseph Fielding Smith, *Life of Joseph F. Smith, Sixth President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret

News Press, 1938), 34–35. A careful reading of D&C 107:53–57 indicates that these verses are given almost verbatim with those of the Joseph Smith Sr. December 1833 blessing, thus revealing the initial source.

50. *History of the Church*, 3:388.

51. The Prophet's history indicates the Savior made his appearance "to some." Although the record does not state Martin actually saw Christ, the fact that Martin knew the being was Christ indicates he more than likely did see the Savior. See Jessee, *Papers*, 2:207; reprinted in *History of the Church*, 2:432–33.

52. Harrison Burgess, "Sketch of a Well-Spent Life," in *Labors in the Vineyard: Twelfth Book of the Faith-Promoting Series* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1884), 67. For a discussion of the dating of this vision, see appendix to this article, n. 53.

53. See footnotes 50 and 51 above.

54. Heber C. Kimball, in *JD*, 9:41, March 17, 1861. See also Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball*, 93–94.

55. "Salt Lake City School of the Prophets Minute Book, 1883," October 11, 1883, 67. The Prophet's history is the source for the date of the conference which took place April 21, 1834. See *History of the Church*, 2:52–54.

56. *History of the Church*, 5:247.

57. Jessee, *Papers*, 2:158.

58. Edward Partridge, Journal, January 21, 1836, typescript, LDS Church Archives.

59. Leonard J. Arrington, "Oliver Cowdery's Kirtland, Ohio, 'Sketch Book,'" *BYU Studies* 12, no. 4 (1972): 419.

60. Jessee, *Papers*, 2:160.

61. Jessee, *Papers*, 2:164.

62. Truman O. Angell Sr., "His Journal," in *Our Pioneer Heritage*, comp. Kate B. Carter, 20 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1958–77), 10:198.

63. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball*, 91.

64. Angell, "His Journal," 198. In her reminiscence of the Kirtland Temple dedication, Lydia Knight indicated that the personage who appeared during the services was none other than Jesus. See Lydia Knight, *Lydia Knight's History: The First Book of the Nobel Women's Lives Series* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1883), 33. In an 1864 address, George A. Smith also identified the messenger as being the Savior. *JD*, 11:10, November 15, 1864. Angell's account is accepted as being the most accurate since he claims to have received the information from Joseph Smith.

65. *History of the Church*, 2:427. Reminiscing about the dedication of the Kirtland Temple, Orson Pratt later declared:

God was there, his angels were there, the Holy Ghost was in the midst of the people, the visions of the Almighty were opened to the minds of the servants of the living God; the veil [*sic*] was taken off from the minds of many; they saw the heavens opened; they beheld the angels of God; they heard the voice of the Lord; and they were filled from the crown of their heads to the soles of their feet with the power and inspiration of the Holy Ghost. . . .

. . . In that Temple, set apart by the servants of God, and dedicated by a prayer that was written by inspiration, the people were blessed as they never had been blessed for generations and generations. (*JD*, 18:132, October 9, 1875)

66. *History of the Church*, 2:428.

67. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball*, 92. Kimball did not state on what day the anointings took place. However, the events of March 29–30 seem to indicate the appearance must have occurred on one of those two dates. See *History of the Church*, 2:428–34.

68. See Orson Pratt, in *JD*, 18:131–32, October 9, 1875.

69. Mary Elizabeth Lightner [1905], as cited in Danel W. Bachman, “A Study of Mormon Practice of Plural Marriage Before the Death of Joseph Smith” (masters thesis, Purdue University, 1975), 74.

70. Eliza R. Snow Smith, *Biography and Family Record of Lorenzo Snow, One of the Twelve Apostles of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1884), 69–70. Additional statements about the angel are Joseph B. Noble Affidavit, [1869], as quoted in Bachman, “A Study of the Mormon Practice of Plural Marriage,” 74; and Benjamin F. Johnson to George S. Gibbs, April–October 1903, in E. Dale LeBaron, *Benjamin F. Johnson: Friend to the Prophets* (Provo, Utah: Grandin, 1997), 227.

71. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball*, 258–59.

72. Heber C. Kimball, in *JD*, 3:229–30, March 2, 1856.

73. *History of the Church*, 2:254.

74. *History of the Church*, 2:254.

75. Kenneth W. Godfrey has made a thorough examination of each of the accounts, noting their similarities and differences. See Kenneth W. Godfrey, “The Zelph Story,” *BYU Studies* 29, no. 2 (1989): 31–56.

76. “History of Joseph Smith,” *Times and Seasons* 6 (January 1, 1846): 1076, and *History of the Church*, 2:79–80. These accounts are written as if Joseph Smith were telling the story.

77. Nathan Tanner, “Reminiscences,” in George S. Tanner, *John Tanner and His Family* (Salt Lake City: Publishers Press, 1974), 382–83.

78. *History of the Church*, 2:181 n.

79. Parley P. Pratt, “Proclamation,” in *Millennial Star* 5 (March 1845): 151. See also Robert J. Matthews, “A Plainer Translation”: *Joseph Smith’s Translation of the Bible* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1975), 258–60. It is likely Joseph Smith received a vision of the purpose and function of other types of Church councils, particularly the high council, at least a year prior to receiving his understanding concerning the Twelve and the Seventy. At a meeting of high priests in February 1834, he explained in explicit detail the decorum that existed in ancient councils. See *History of the Church*, 2:25–26. One week later he proceeded to organize the Kirtland High Council (see Doctrine and Covenants 102). Then in July of that same year, while in Clay County with Zion’s Camp, he organized the high council in Missouri. See *History of the Church*, 2:122–24. At one time the Mormon leader declared that all Church councils were to be conducted according to an ancient pattern which had been shown him by “vision.” Joseph Smith, February 17, 1834, in Fred C. Collier and William S. Harwell, eds., *Kirtland Council Minute Book* (Salt Lake City: Collier’s, 1996), 24.

80. *History of the Church*, 6:289.

81. Orson F. Whitney, “Newel K. Whitney,” *Contributor* 6 (January 1885): 125; also in *History of the Church*, 1:146 n.

82. *History of the Church*, 3:391.

83. *History of the Church*, 5:361–62. Wilford Woodruff recorded portions of this sermon in his journal. He quoted the Prophet as saying: “In speaking of the resurrection I would say that God hath shown unto me a vision of the resurrection of the dead & I saw the graves open & the saints as they arose took each other by the hand even before they got up or while getting up & great Joy & glory rested upon them.” Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff’s Journal*, 2:227 [April 16, 1843].

84. Angell, “His Journal,” 10:198. Lyndon W. Cook has given substantial historical evidence which indicates section 95 was actually received in early June 1833, while

section 94 was received in August, some two months after section 95. As further evidence of this, Cook states that “verses 1–2 of section 94 indicate that the pattern for constructing the Kirtland Temple had already been given.” Lyndon W. Cook, *The Revelations of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1985), 195. In Doctrine and Covenants 94:3–12, Joseph Smith was instructed to build a house for the Presidency and a house for printing, the patterns of which were also to be revealed. Whether the patterns for these two buildings were ever given is not known. For more on the pattern of the Kirtland Temple, see Elwin C. Robison, *The First Mormon Temple: Design, Construction, and Historic Context of the Kirtland Temple* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1997), 7–26.

85. See *History of the Church*, 1:357–62.

86. The Far West Temple revelation was received on April 26, 1838. Four days later, Thomas B. Marsh wrote a letter wherein he indicated the “plan is yet to be shown to the first presidency.” See Thomas B. Marsh to Wilford Woodruff, April 30, 1838, Wilford Woodruff Papers, LDS Church Archives. This letter was published in Thomas B. Marsh to Wilford Woodruff [April 30, 1838], in *Elder’s Journal* 1 (July 1838): 38. The cornerstones of the temple were subsequently laid on July 4, 1838. “Celebration of the 4th of July,” *Elder’s Journal* 1 (August 1838): 60. During the summer and fall of 1838, work on the temple proceeded slowly due to the Missouri persecutions. According to Missourian William A. Wood, the walls were built to a height of two or two and a half feet. See William A. Wood, “An Old Mormon City in Missouri,” *Magazine of American History* 16 (1886): 99; also Cook, *Revelations of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, 237.

87. *History of the Church*, 6:196–97.

88. The recorded dreams of Joseph Smith are in *History of the Church*, 2:387; 5:254–55, 394; 6:194–95, 461–62, 609–10.

89. *History of the Church*, 6:50; italics in original.

90. “Report of Remarks Made at the Tabernacle, 23 December 1860,” *Deseret News Weekly*, December 26, 1860, 341, quoted in Ronald W. Walker, “Joseph Smith: The Palmyra Seer,” *BYU Studies* 24 (fall 1984): 468.

91. John Taylor, “The Seer,” broadside (N.p.: John Taylor, ca. 1844–45) BYU Archives (see page 49 of this issue); reprinted as “The Seer, Joseph the Seer,” in *Hymns of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1927), no. 96.

Appendix: The Visions of Joseph Smith

The following collection of historical documents attempts to bring together all the known visions of Joseph Smith with the exception of various forms of visionary inspiration received as part of the translation of the words of the Bible, Book of Mormon, or Pearl of Great Price, which are too numerous to mention here. Synopses of visions are arranged chronologically. In the left-hand column is the date, either exact or approximate, Joseph Smith received the vision. In the right-hand column is a close paraphrase of each vision taken from a document judged to be the most comprehensive account available. The source for this account follows each paraphrase. Some details in a paraphrase may derive from a second source, listed in the footnotes. Following each main source is the date when the document was written. Date spans indicate the period of time within which the vision was received, not the length of the vision. A “ca.” (circa) before a date means the date is unknown but assumed based on historical evidence. Footnotes do not include every known account of each vision, but instead give some sources where readers can go to learn more. Because this collection depends on record keeping and the preservation of historical documents, the list should not be taken to represent an exhaustive set of Joseph Smith’s visions.

Spring 1820	God the Father, Jesus Christ, and many angels appeared to Joseph Smith. Main source: Joseph Smith (1839). ¹
September 21–22, 1823	The angel Moroni appeared to Joseph Smith on five separate occasions. Main source: Joseph Smith (1839). ²
September 21–22, 1823	Joseph Smith saw the location of the plates from which the Book of Mormon was translated. Main source: Joseph Smith (1839). ³
September 21–22, 1823	Joseph Smith was shown the ancient inhabitants of “this country.” Main source: Joseph Smith (1842). ⁴
September 22, 1823	Joseph Smith saw the prince of darkness and his innumerable associates. Main source: Oliver Cowdery (1835). ⁵
September 22, 1823– September 22, 1827	Joseph Smith received many visits from God’s angels. Main source: Joseph Smith (1842). ⁶
September 22, 1824– September 22, 1826	Joseph Smith met with Moroni at three annual intervals. Main source: Joseph Smith (1839). ⁷

- September 22, 1826 Joseph Smith saw that he should take Emma Hale with him to the Hill Cumorah the following year. Main source: Joseph Knight (ca. 1833–1847).⁸
- Early 1827 Moroni instructed Joseph Smith near the Hill Cumorah. Main source: Lucy Mack Smith (1845).⁹
- September 22, 1827 Moroni delivered the plates and sacred relics to Joseph Smith. Main source: Joseph Smith (1839).¹⁰
- Late 1827 Joseph Smith saw his “entire past history” through the Urim and Thummim. Main source: David Whitmer (1884).¹¹
- Late 1827–Early 1828 At various times after receiving the plates, Joseph Smith saw when he or the plates were in danger. Main source: Lucy Mack Smith (1845).¹²
- Late 1827–Early 1828 Joseph Smith was shown the man who would assist him in translation, Martin Harris. Main source: Martin Harris (1859).¹³
- 1827–1828 Joseph Smith was shown the location of a pin lost by Martin Harris. Main source: Martin Harris (1859).¹⁴
- June–July 1828 Moroni took the Urim and Thummim from Joseph Smith. Main source: Joseph Smith (1839).¹⁵
- June–July 1828 Moroni returned the Urim and Thummim to Joseph Smith. Main source: Joseph Smith (1839).¹⁶
- Summer 1828 Moroni took the plates and, again, the Urim and Thummim from Joseph Smith. Main source: Joseph Smith (1839).¹⁷
- September 22, 1828 Moroni returned the plates and the Urim and Thummim to Joseph Smith. Main source: Lucy Mack Smith (1845).¹⁸
- May 15, 1829 John the Baptist appeared to Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery. Main source: Joseph Smith (1839).¹⁹
- ca. May–June 1829 Satan appeared to Joseph Smith as an angel of light. Main source: Joseph Smith (1842).²⁰
- ca. May–June 1829 Peter, James, and John appeared to Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery. Main source: Joseph Smith (1830).²¹
- May–June 1829 Joseph Smith saw David Whitmer en route from Fayette, New York, to Harmony, Pennsylvania. Main source: David Whitmer (1884).²²

- May–June 1829 Joseph Smith gave the plates to Moroni before proceeding to Fayette, New York. Main source: Lucy Mack Smith (1845).²³
- May–June 1829 Joseph Smith, Oliver Cowdery, and David Whitmer saw Moroni along the road to Fayette, New York. Main source: David Whitmer (1886).²⁴
- May–June 1829 Joseph Smith received the plates from Moroni after arriving in Fayette, New York. Main source: Lucy Mack Smith (1845).²⁵
- June 1829 Joseph Smith, Oliver Cowdery, and David Whitmer saw an angel who showed them the plates and other sacred relics. Main source: Joseph Smith (1839).²⁶
- June 1829 Joseph Smith and Martin Harris saw an angel who showed them the plates and other sacred relics. Main source: Joseph Smith (1839).²⁷
- June 1829 Moroni delivered the plates so that Joseph could show them to the Eight Witnesses. Main source: Lucy Mack Smith (1845).²⁸
- ca. June 1829 Joseph Smith returned the plates to the angel. Main source: Joseph Smith (1839).²⁹
- August 1830 Joseph Smith received a revelation on the sacrament from a heavenly messenger. Main source: Joseph Smith (1839).³⁰
- January 1831 Joseph Smith and others saw by vision the growth of the Church. Main source: Sidney Rigdon (1844).³¹
- January 1831 Joseph Smith saw in vision the face of Newel K. Whitney. Main source: Orson F. Whitney (1885).³²
- June 3–6, 1831 Joseph Smith saw God and Jesus Christ. Main source: Levi W. Hancock (before 1883).³³
- June 1831 By heavenly vision, Joseph Smith was commanded to travel to western Missouri and there designate the location for a temple and central gathering place of Zion. Main source: Joseph Smith (1835).³⁴
- July 1831 Joseph Smith and others were shown where the temple at Independence and the city of Zion would be located. Main source: Joseph Smith (1835).³⁵

- 1831 Joseph Smith identified the presence of Jesus Christ in a meeting of the Saints. Main source: Mary Elizabeth Lightner (1905).³⁶
- February 16, 1832 Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon saw the Son of Man on the right hand of God, events in the pre-mortal life, and postmortal glories. Main source: Joseph Smith (1832).³⁷
- May–June 1832 Joseph Smith was shown the mode of travel he and Newel K. Whitney would take after leaving Greenville, Indiana. Main source: Joseph Smith (1839).³⁸
- March 18, 1833 Joseph Smith identified the physical presence of God the Father and Jesus Christ in the School of the Prophets. Main source: Zebedee Coltrin (1883).³⁹
- June 1833 Joseph Smith, Frederick G. Williams, and Sidney Rigdon viewed the plan for the Kirtland Temple. Main source: Truman O. Angell (1885).⁴⁰
- ca. February 1834 Joseph Smith saw the pattern and organization of Church councils. Main source: Joseph Smith (1834).⁴¹
- April 18, 1834 Joseph Smith, Oliver Cowdery, and Zebedee Coltrin saw Adam and Eve. Main source: Zebedee Coltrin (1870).⁴²
- May–June 1834 Joseph Smith saw land passed over by Zion's Camp in a high state of cultivation. Main source: Nathan Tanner (1884).⁴³
- June 1834 By vision, Joseph Smith was taught about Zelph, a Lamanite warrior. Main source: Wilford Woodruff (1834).⁴⁴
- ca. February 1835 Joseph Smith saw the postmortal condition of those who died in Zion's Camp and the order of the priesthood. Main source: Joseph Smith (1835).⁴⁵
- ca. 1835 Joseph Smith saw Christian martyrs' condition. Main source: Edward Stevenson (1893).⁴⁶
- January 21, 1836 Joseph Smith saw the celestial kingdom, some of its inhabitants, the Twelve in foreign lands, the Savior standing in their midst, the redemption of Zion, and many other things that the tongue of man cannot fully describe. Main source: Joseph Smith (1836).⁴⁷

- January 22–23, 1836 Visions of God attended Joseph Smith through the night. Main source: Joseph Smith (1836).⁴⁸
- January 28, 1836 Joseph Smith saw a glorious vision in the Kirtland Temple. Main source: Joseph Smith (1836).⁴⁹
- January 28–29, 1836 Visions of the Lord attended Joseph Smith through the night. Main source: Joseph Smith (1836).⁵⁰
- March 27, 1836 Joseph Smith beheld the Kirtland Temple filled with angels. Main source: Joseph Smith (1836).⁵¹
- March 27, 1836 Joseph Smith identified the presence of John the Beloved in the Kirtland Temple. Main source: Orson F. Whitney (before 1889).⁵²
- ca. March 30, 1836 Joseph Smith saw Jesus Christ and angels in the Kirtland Temple. Main source: Harrison Burgess (before 1885).⁵³
- April 3, 1836 Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery saw Jesus Christ, Moses, Elijah, and Elias in the Kirtland Temple. Main source: Joseph Smith (1836).⁵⁴
- April–May 1836 Joseph Smith saw Frederick G. Williams's daughter and her family en route to Missouri. Main source: Caroline Barnes Crosby (before 1885).⁵⁵
- April 6, 1837 Joseph Smith saw the future of Kirtland. Main source: Wilford Woodruff (1837).⁵⁶
- Summer 1837 Joseph Smith was blessed with glorious visions during an illness. Main source: Mary Fielding (1837).⁵⁷
- September 1837 Joseph Smith was shown in vision the enlargement of Zion's borders. Main source: Mary Fielding (1837).⁵⁸
- March 1838 Joseph Smith saw William Marks carried away by an angel. Main source: Joseph Smith (1838).⁵⁹
- March–October 1838 Joseph Smith saw Satan face to face. Main source: Heber C. Kimball (before 1869).⁶⁰
- Before 1839 Joseph Smith was shown the pattern for the temple in Far West, Missouri. Main source: Thomas B. Marsh (1838).⁶¹
- April 11–12, 1839 Joseph Smith saw the means of escape from Liberty Jail and danger awaiting Stephen Markham. Main source: *History of the Church* (1845).⁶²

- Before July 2, 1839 Joseph Smith saw persecutions and judgments that would occur prior to the Second Coming. Main source: *History of the Church* (1845).⁶³
- Before March 4, 1840 By the visions of the Almighty, Joseph Smith saw the end of the United States if she disregards cries of virtuous citizens. Main source: *History of the Church* (1845).⁶⁴
- August 6, 1842 Joseph gazed upon the valleys of the Rocky Mountains. Main source: Anson Call (ca. 1854).⁶⁵
- August 15–16, 1842 Through dream and vision, Joseph was persuaded against traveling to the “Pine country.” Main source: Joseph Smith (1842).⁶⁶
- Before 1843 At least three times since 1834, an angel appeared to Joseph Smith and commanded him to enter into the practice of plural marriage. Main source: Joseph B. Noble (1869).⁶⁷
- Before January 20, 1843 Joseph Smith dreamed that he was in the Illinois statehouse among enemies. Main source: *History of the Church* (1845–46).⁶⁸
- Before April 16, 1843 Joseph Smith saw in vision the resurrection of the dead. Main source: Wilford Woodruff (1843).⁶⁹
- Before May 19, 1843 Joseph Smith dreamed that writing and compiling the history of the Church must move forward. Main source: *History of the Church* (1854–56).⁷⁰
- Before February 3, 1844 Joseph Smith saw himself in a dream swimming safely in troubled waters. Main source: Wilford Woodruff (1844).⁷¹
- Before February 5, 1844 Joseph Smith saw in vision the pattern for the Nauvoo Temple. Main source: *History of the Church* (1854–56).⁷²
- June 1844 Joseph Smith saw in vision what would happen to the Saints if the *Nauvoo Expositor* press was not destroyed. Main source: George Laub (1845).⁷³
- Before June 13, 1844 Joseph Smith dreamed that he escaped a pit where his enemies had thrown him. Main source: *History of the Church* (1854–56).⁷⁴
- June 26–27, 1844 Joseph Smith dreamed that his life was threatened. Main source: *History of the Church* (1854–56).⁷⁵

Date Unknown

Joseph Smith saw the common progenitors of several early Church leaders. Main source: Heber C. Kimball (1856).⁷⁶

1. Joseph Smith, History, 1839, in Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989–92), 1:267–75; Joseph Smith, History, 1834–1836, in Jessee, *Papers*, 1:125–27. The account of the vision in the 1839 history was canonized in Doctrine and Covenants 20:5. For other accounts of this vision prepared under Joseph Smith’s direction, see Jessee, *Papers*, 1:3–7, 429–30, 448–49. For accounts written by those who claimed to hear Joseph rehearse this vision, see Jessee, *Papers*, 1:443–44, 461; and Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook, eds., *The Words of Joseph Smith: The Contemporary Accounts of the Nauvoo Discourses of the Prophet Joseph* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Religious Studies Center, 1980), 215. For contemporaneous accounts prepared by Joseph Smith’s close associates, see Jessee, *Papers*, 1:389–91, 405–9.

Many of the accounts listed in this appendix have been published previously, some of them with minor changes in spelling and punctuation, in Joseph Smith Jr., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 2d ed., rev., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1971). Primary source documents, when available, are cited first, followed by reprints in *History of the Church* and Joseph Smith—History in the Pearl of Great Price. References to *History of the Church* have been omitted when the same material appears in the Doctrine and Covenants or Pearl of Great Price.

2. Joseph Smith, History, 1839, in Jessee, *Papers*, 1:275–82; Joseph Smith—History 1:27–53. See also Doctrine and Covenants 2; 20:5–9; 27:5. For other accounts of this vision prepared under Joseph Smith’s direction, see Jessee, *Papers*, 1:8–9, 127–28, 430–31, 449–50. For contemporary accounts prepared by Joseph Smith’s close associates, see Jessee, *Papers*, 1:50–54, 73–76, 85–90, 392–94, 409–21. Context is provided by Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith, the Prophet, and His Progenitors for Many Generations* (Liverpool: Orson Pratt and S. W. Richards, 1853), 78–85.

3. Joseph Smith, History, 1839, in Jessee, *Papers*, 1:279; Joseph Smith—History 1:42. Joseph Knight said Joseph had a “vision” of the location. Dean C. Jessee, “Joseph Knight’s Recollection of Early Mormon History,” *BYU Studies* 17, no. 1 (1976): 30–31.

4. Joseph Smith, “Church History,” 1842, in Jessee, *Papers*, 1:431; reprinted in *History of the Church*, 4:537.

5. Joseph Smith, History, 1834–1836, in Jessee, *Papers*, 1:87. See also Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 83–85. Cowdery’s account was first published in the October 1834 issue of the *Messenger and Advocate* as the eighth of a series of letters projected to give “a full history of the rise of the church of the Latter Day Saints.” *Messenger and Advocate*, October 1834, 13. Joseph offered his assistance at the beginning of the writing stage and later directed copying the letters into his journal. See Jessee, *Papers*, 1:16–17.

6. Joseph Smith, “Church History,” 1842, in Jessee, *Papers*, 1:431; reprinted in *History of the Church*, 4:537. The Doctrine and Covenants alludes to Joseph Smith’s experience with some of these angels. In 1842, Joseph described hearing the “voice” of “divers angels” from Adam “down to the present time, all declaring their dispensation, their rights, their keys, their honors, their majesty and glory, and the power of their priesthood” (D&C 128:20–21). The voices of Gabriel, Raphael, and Michael were among those Joseph heard (D&C 128:20). Several of the Prophet’s associates later made reference to

some of these visits. See John Taylor, in *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1855–86), 17:374, April 8, 1875 (hereafter cited as *JD*); John Taylor, in *JD*, 18:326, December 31, 1876; John Taylor, in *JD*, 20:174–75, April 8, 1879; John Taylor, in *JD*, 21:65, January 4, 1880; John Taylor, in *JD*, 21:94, April 13, 1879; John Taylor, in *JD*, 21:161–63, December 7, 1879; John Taylor, in *JD*, 23:48–49, April 9, 1882; Orson Pratt, in *JD*, 13:67, December 19, 1869; Orson Pratt, in *JD*, 15:185, September 22, 1872; George Q. Cannon, in *JD*, 13:47, December 5, 1869; George Q. Cannon, in *JD*, 23:362, October 29, 1882.

7. Joseph Smith, History, 1839, in Jessee, *Papers*, 1:282; Joseph Smith—History 1:54. See also Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 85–86.

8. Jessee, “Joseph Knight’s Recollection,” 31.

9. Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 98–99. Lucy’s account was published in 1853 but dictated in 1845. See Richard L. Anderson, “Circumstantial Confirmation of the First Vision through Reminiscences,” *BYU Studies* 9, no. 3 (1969): 386–88. According to Lucy, the angel told Joseph that he had “‘not been engaged enough in the work of the Lord,’” and that he “‘must be up and doing.’” Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 99.

10. Joseph Smith, History, 1839, in Jessee, *Papers*, 1:283; Joseph Smith—History 1:59. See also Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 99–106; and Jessee, “Joseph Knight’s Recollection,” 32–33.

11. David Whitmer interview with the *St. Louis Republican*, July 16, 1884, as cited in Lyndon W. Cook, ed., *David Whitmer Interviews* (Orem, Utah: Grandin Book, 1991), 150.

12. Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 103–9. Among the places Joseph Smith hid the plates from those intent on seizing them was beneath the floor of the local cooper’s shop. Martin Harris remembered Joseph Smith saying an angel warned him when the plates were no longer safe underneath the floor. See [Joel Tiffany,] “Mormonism—No. II,” *Tiffany’s Monthly* 5 (May 1859), 167.

13. [Tiffany,] “Mormonism,” 169.

14. [Tiffany,] “Mormonism,” 164.

15. Joseph Smith, History, 1839, in Jessee, *Papers*, 1:287; reprinted in *History of the Church*, 1:21–22. This vision is implied; Joseph said he was required to give the plates up “in consequence of my having wearied the Lord in asking for the privilege of letting Martin Harris take the writings.” Jessee, *Papers*, 1:287; reprinted in *History of the Church*, 1:21.

16. Joseph Smith, History, 1839, in Jessee, *Papers*, 1:287, reprinted in *History of the Church*, 1:21–22.

17. Joseph Smith, History, 1839, in Jessee, *Papers*, 1:287; reprinted in *History of the Church*, 1:23; Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 124–25.

18. Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 124–25; Joseph Smith, History, 1839, in Jessee, *Papers*, 1:287; reprinted in *History of the Church*, 1:23.

19. Joseph Smith, History, 1839, in Jessee, *Papers*, 1:290; Joseph Smith—History 1:68–73. See also Doctrine and Covenants 13; 27:7–8. All presently known primary source accounts of this event are published in Brian Q. Cannon and BYU Studies Staff, “Priesthood Restoration Documents,” *BYU Studies* 35, no. 4 (1995–96): 175–96.

20. Doctrine and Covenants 128:20. The date of the vision assumes the contiguity of Satan’s appearance with the appearance of Peter, James, and John, listed in this verse of scripture, and the placement of both events in Pennsylvania. See also note 6. The import of the Melchizedek Priesthood would seem to warrant some resistance from Satan, as was the case with the First Vision.

21. Doctrine and Covenants 27:12–13. See also Joseph Smith—History 1:72 and Doctrine and Covenants 128:20. All presently known primary source accounts of this event were published in Cannon and Studies Staff, “Priesthood Restoration Documents,”

175–96. For a discussion of the May–June 1829 date, see Larry C. Porter, “The Restoration of the Aaronic and Melchizedek Priesthoods,” *Ensign* 26 (December 1996): 30–47; Larry C. Porter, “The Restoration of the Priesthood,” *Religious Studies Center Newsletter* 9, no. 3 (May 3, 1995): 1–12; Larry C. Porter, “Dating the Melchizedek Priesthood,” *Ensign* 9 (June 1979): 4–10.

22. David Whitmer interview with James H. Hart, March 10, 1884, in Cook, *David Whitmer Interviews*, 123. See also Cook, *David Whitmer Interviews*, 27, 41, 48–49, 114–15, 191, 213, 215.

23. Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 137. Although Lucy did not name the angel, David Whitmer identified him as Moroni. See Cook, *David Whitmer Interviews*, 50, 181–82. David said the translation in Fayette occupied “about one month,” beginning on June 1, 1829, placing Moroni’s appearance around this date. Cook, *David Whitmer Interviews*, 62.

24. David Whitmer interview with Edward Stevenson, February 9, 1886, in Cook, *David Whitmer Interviews*, 180–82. For other Whitmer accounts of this event, see Cook, *David Whitmer Interviews*, 13, 27, 41–42, 49–50, 213–16.

25. Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 137.

26. Joseph Smith, History, 1839, in Jessee, *Papers*, 1:296; reprinted in *History of the Church*, 1:54–55. See also Doctrine and Covenants 20:10; 128:20. Oliver Cowdery and David Whitmer testified of the vision in “The Testimony of Three Witnesses,” which appeared in the first edition of the Book of Mormon (1830) and in every edition thereafter. For David Whitmer’s testimony of the vision, see Cook, *David Whitmer Interviews*, 11, 15, 18–20, 25–26, 40–41, 63, 75–76, 86–87, 127, 166, 175–76, 181, 192–93, 197–98, 213, 229, 250–51. This vision was used by participants as a missionary tool to help convince of the divinity of the Book of Mormon. William McLellan first heard the gospel preached in 1831 near Paris, Illinois, when David Whitmer “bore testimony to having seen an Holy Angel who had made known the truth of this record to him.” Jan Shipps and John W. Welch, eds., *The Journals of William E. McLellan, 1831–1836* (Provo, Utah, and Urbana: BYU Studies and University of Illinois Press, 1994), 29.

27. Joseph Smith, History, 1839, in Jessee, *Papers*, 1:296–97; reprinted in *History of the Church*, 1:55. See also Doctrine and Covenants 20:8–10; 128:20; and Cook, *David Whitmer Interviews*, 21, 64, 76. As one of the Three Witnesses, Martin Harris testified of this vision in “The Testimony of Three Witnesses,” located in all editions of the Book of Mormon. Joseph Smith’s exultation immediately after his vision with the Three Witnesses is recorded in Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 139.

28. Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 140. Lucy said the site where the Eight Witnesses saw the plates was “a place where the family were in the habit of offering up their secret devotions to God.” Joseph went there because “it had been revealed” to him that the “plates would be carried thither” by “one of the ancient Nephites.” Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 140.

29. Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 141. Lucy placed the timing of this meeting after the Eight Witnesses had handled the plates and had “returned to the house.” Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 141. More descriptions of this vision can be found in Brigham Young, in *JD*, 19:38, June 17, 1877; Wilford Woodruff, *Wilford Woodruff’s Journal, 1833–1898*, typescript, ed. Scott G. Kenney, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Book, 1983–84), 6:508–9 [December 11, 1869] (hereafter cited as Woodruff, *Journal*). Heber C. Kimball called Joseph and Oliver’s experience a “vision” in which they “went into a cave in the hill Cumorah.” Heber C. Kimball, in *JD*, 4:105, September 28, 1856. Oliver Cowdery’s brother-in-law, David Whitmer, heard Oliver recount his experience in the cave. P. Wilhelm Poulson asked David in 1878 where the plates were then, and David told him they were “in a cave, where the angel has hidden them up till the time arrives when

the plates, which are sealed, shall be translated.” Cook, *David Whitmer Interviews*, 22. See also Edward Stevenson, *Reminiscences of Joseph, the Prophet, and the Coming Forth of the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: By the author, 1893), 14–15; William H. Dame, *Journal*, January 14, 1855, typescript, Special Collections and Manuscripts, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter cited as BYU Archives).

30. Joseph Smith, *History*, 1839, in Jessee, *Papers*, 1:321; reprinted in *History of the Church*, 1:106. See also Doctrine and Covenants 27:1–4. Joseph said the “first four paragraphs” of the revelation now canonized as Doctrine and Covenants 27 were received “at this time,” that is, at the time the angel appeared in August 1830, near Harmony, Pennsylvania. The remainder of the revelation was received a month later. See Robert J. Woodford, “The Historical Development of the Doctrine and Covenants,” 3 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1974), 1:393–94.

31. Sidney Rigdon, in General Church Minutes, April 6, 1844, Historian’s Office, Archives Division, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives); reprinted in *History of the Church*, 6:289.

32. Orson F. Whitney, “Newel K. Whitney,” *Contributor* 6 (January 1885): 125; reprinted in *History of the Church*, 1:146 n.

33. Levi Hancock, “Diary of Levi W. Hancock,” typescript, 48, BYU Archives.

34. Joseph Smith to the Elders of the Church of Latter Day Saints [1835], in *Messenger and Advocate*, September 1835, 179; reprinted in *History of the Church*, 2:254. Joseph departed Kirtland for Missouri on June 19, 1831, after receiving a revelation on June 7 commanding him and Sidney Rigdon to “journey to the land of Missouri” where “the land of your inheritance” should be revealed to them. *History of the Church*, 1:177, 188; Doctrine and Covenants 52:3, 5. Joseph did not indicate whether this June 7 revelation is the same June vision mentioned in his 1835 letter to the elders.

35. Smith to the Elders, September 1835, 179; reprinted in *History of the Church*, 2:254. See also Doctrine and Covenants 52:3–5; 57:1–3.

36. Mary Elizabeth Lightner, in Karl Ricks Anderson, *Joseph Smith’s Kirtland: Eyewitness Accounts* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989), 112–13.

37. Doctrine and Covenants 76. See also Jessee, *Papers*, 1:372. Of this vision Joseph later said: “I could explain a hundred fold more than I ever have of the glories of the kingdoms manifested to me in the vision, were I permitted, and were the people prepared to receive them.” *History of the Church*, 5:402. Philo Dibble was present when Joseph and Sidney had the vision and later recounted the event in “Recollections of the Prophet Joseph Smith,” *Juvenile Instructor* 27 (May 15, 1892): 303–4.

38. Joseph Smith, *History*, 1839, in Jessee, *Papers*, 1:383–84; reprinted in *History of the Church*, 1:272.

39. Zebedee Coltrin, in “Salt Lake School of the Prophets Minute Book, 1883,” October 3, 1883, typescript, 56–57, BYU Archives. See also Zebedee Coltrin, in Utah Stake Minutes, Spanish Fork High Priest’s Quorum, February 5, 1870, LDS Church Archives; and *History of the Church*, 1:334–35.

40. Truman O. Angell to John Taylor and Council, March 11, 1885, John Taylor Presidential Papers, LDS Church Archives. Angell, who did much of the interior work on the Kirtland Temple, was informed by Frederick G. Williams, a member of the First Presidency and a participant in the vision. The First Presidency was given the vision in accordance with a promise given on June 1, 1833: “Let [the house] be built after the manner which I shall show unto three of you.” (D&C 95:14; see also D&C 94:1–2). Orson Pratt confirmed that the plan came through a vision. *JD*, 13:357, May 5, 1870; *JD*, 14:273, April 9, 1871. For more on the design of the Kirtland Temple, see Elwin C. Robison, *The First Mormon Temple: Design, Construction, and Historic Context of the Kirtland Temple* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1997), 7–25.

41. Joseph Smith, February 17, 1834, in Fred C. Collier and William S. Harwell, eds. *Kirtland Council Minute Book* (Salt Lake City: Collier's, 1996), 24. See also *History of the Church*, 2:25–26, 122–24.

42. Zebedee Coltrin, in Utah Stake Minutes, Spanish Fork High Priest's Quorum, February 5, 1870, LDS Church Archives. See also *History of the Church*, 2:50.

43. Nathan Tanner, "Reminiscences," in George S. Tanner, *John Tanner and His Family* (Salt Lake City: Publishers Press, 1974), 382.

44. Woodruff, *Journal*, 1:10 [June 1834]. See also *History of the Church*, 2:79–80. This vision came after the Prophet and the other members of Zion's Camp, including Woodruff, marching to Missouri, unearthed human remains from a burial mound located in Pike County, Ohio. For additional accounts of the vision, see Kenneth W. Godfrey, "The Zelph Story," *BYU Studies* 29, no. 2 (1989): 31–56.

45. *History of the Church*, 2:181–82. See also Doctrine and Covenants 107:93–97. Joseph Young recalled hearing Joseph Smith discuss this vision on February 8, 1835. "I have seen those men who died of the cholera in our camp," Joseph Smith told Young and his brother, Brigham. "At this relation he [Joseph Smith] wept, and for some time could not speak," said Joseph Young. When the Prophet regained his composure, Joseph Young believed the Prophet picked up where he left off, again relaying information he had received in vision. Addressing himself to Brigham, Joseph Smith continued: "I wish you to notify all the brethren living in the branches, within a reasonable distance from this place, to meet at a general conference on Saturday next." The Prophet then told Brigham Young that he would be one of twelve special witnesses—the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles—who would be called at the conference to "open the door of the Gospel to foreign nations." To Joseph Young the Prophet said, "The Lord has made you President of the Seventies." *History of the Church*, 2:181 n. See also Parley P. Pratt Jr., ed., *The Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1985), 97.

46. Stevenson, *Reminiscences of Joseph*, 6.

47. Doctrine and Covenants 137; Joseph Smith, *Journal*, January 21, 1836, in Jessee, *Papers*, 2:156–58; reprinted in *History of the Church*, 2:380–82. Heber C. Kimball said Joseph saw "Father Adam" admit people one by one through the "gate of the Celestial City" and thereafter "conduct them to the throne" where "they were crowned Kings and Priests of God." Heber C. Kimball, in *JD*, 9:41, March 17, 1861. See also Orson F. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball, An Apostle* (Salt Lake City: Kimball Family, 1888), 105–6. According to Joseph's journal for this period, others were present when Joseph had his vision, and some of them also had visions of the Savior and other heavenly beings. See Joseph Smith, *Journal*, January 21, 1836, in Jessee, *Papers*, 2:158. See also Leonard J. Arrington, "Oliver Cowdery's Kirtland, Ohio, 'Sketch Book,'" *BYU Studies* 12, no. 4 (1972): 419.

48. Joseph Smith, *Journal*, January 22, 1836, in Jessee, *Papers*, 2:160; reprinted in *History of the Church*, 2:383.

49. Joseph Smith, *Journal*, January 28, 1836, in Jessee, *Papers*, 2:164; reprinted in *History of the Church*, 2:387. Immediately before Joseph's vision, Zebedee Coltrin, one of the Seven Presidents of Seventy, saw the Savior "extended before him as upon the cross." Joseph Smith, *Journal*, January 28, 1836, in Jessee, *Papers*, 2:164; reprinted in *History of the Church*, 2:387.

50. Joseph Smith, *Journal*, January 28, 1836, in Jessee, *Papers*, 2:164; reprinted in *History of the Church*, 2:387.

51. Joseph Smith, *Journal*, March 27, 1836, in Jessee, *Papers*, 2:203; reprinted in *History of the Church*, 2:428. See also Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball*, 103.

52. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball*, 104.

53. Harrison Burgess, "Sketch of a Well-Spent Life," in *Labors in the Vineyard: Twelfth Book of the Faith-Promoting Series* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office,

1884), 67. Burgess, writing years later, dated this vision to 1835. The anointings he described in connection with the vision, however, did not begin until the Kirtland Temple neared completion in early 1836. Milton V. Backman, personal conversation with author, Provo, Utah, September 15, 1998. An entry from Joseph's journal on this date confirms the setting and content of the Burgess account. "The Savior made his appearance to some," said the Prophet, "while angels ministered unto others." Joseph Smith, Journal, March 30, 1836, in Jessee, *Papers*, 2:207; reprinted in *History of the Church*, 2:432.

54. Doctrine and Covenants 110; Joseph Smith, Journal, April 3, 1836, in Jessee, *Papers*, 2:209–10; reprinted in *History of the Church*, 2:435.

55. Caroline Barnes Crosby, *Memoirs*, as cited in Kenneth W. Godfrey, Audrey M. Godfrey, and Jill Mulvay Derr, eds., *Women's Voices: An Untold History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830–1900* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1982), 51.

56. Woodruff, *Journal*, 1:134 [April 6, 1837].

57. Mary Fielding to Mercy Thompson, July 1837, as cited in Dean Jessee, "The Spirituality of Joseph Smith," *Ensign* 8 (September 1978): 20.

58. Mary Fielding to Mercy Thompson and Robert Thompson, October 7, 1837, as cited in Godfrey, Godfrey, and Derr, *Women's Voices*, 67–68. In the letter, Fielding dated Joseph's vision to "soon before" his departure from Kirtland. He departed on September 27, 1836. *History of the Church*, 2:518.

59. Joseph Smith to the Presidency of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Kirtland, March 29, 1838, in Jessee, *Papers*, 2:223–24; reprinted in *History of the Church*, 3:10–12. Joseph described the vision in a letter dated March 29, 1838, written from Far West, to Marks and his counselors in the stake presidency at Kirtland. In the letter, Joseph reported events from January 12, 1836, when he departed from Kirtland, through his arrival in Far West on March 14, to the end of that month. Joseph's statement that the vision took place "while on the road" apparently means during the eight weeks he was traveling from Ohio to Missouri. For dates of Joseph's journey, see *History of the Church*, 3:1, 8.

60. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball*, 269–70. Heber C. Kimball died June 22, 1868.

61. Thomas B. Marsh to Wilford Woodruff, April 30, 1838, Wilford Woodruff Papers, LDS Church Archives. See also Doctrine and Covenants 115:13–16.

62. *History of the Church*, 3:316. By the time Joseph Smith was martyred, Willard Richards had written the *History of the Church*, under the Prophet's direction, through August 5, 1838. From that point, Thomas Bullock resumed the writing of the history in February 1845, and within two months he had completed through the year 1839. See Dean Jessee, "The Writing of Joseph Smith's History," *BYU Studies* 11, no. 4 (1971): 466–67. Bullock, who was not present with Joseph Smith at Liberty Jail or at the trial that immediately followed, relied on the testimonies of those who were—including Stephen Markham, the Prophet's bodyguard. Markham, present with the Prophet the first few days of the trial, April 9–12, 1839, informs Bullock's writing of *History of the Church* for this time period. For evidence of this, see *History of the Church*, 3:309–19.

63. *History of the Church*, 3:391. Joseph mentioned the vision in a discourse dated July 2, 1839. The account in *History of the Church* was written into the history by Thomas Bullock in 1845. See Jessee, "Joseph Smith's History," 467. Wilford Woodruff's account of this discourse was not, apparently, the only source Bullock used in his compilation. Compare the account in *History of the Church* with Ehat and Cook, *Words*, 6–8.

64. *History of the Church*, 4:89. On March 4, 1840, Joseph returned to Nauvoo from Washington, D.C., after seeking unsuccessfully to obtain redress from President Martin Van Buren for losses the Saints suffered in Missouri. Thomas Bullock wrote this portion of the history in 1845. See Jessee, "Joseph Smith's History," 467.

65. Anson Call, Statement [ca. 1854], LDS Church Archives; Anson Call, Autobiography and Journal, 22, LDS Church Archives. See also *History of the Church*, 5:85–86; Brigham Young, in *JD*, 3:257–58, March 16, 1856.

66. Joseph Smith to Emma Smith, August 16, 1842, in Jessee, *Papers*, 2:430; reprinted in *History of the Church*, 5:104. In a letter he wrote to Emma Smith while in exile from his enemies, Joseph mentioned the dream and vision. The “Pine country” was probably Joseph’s term for the region along the Black River of Wisconsin where the Saints obtained lumber for the Nauvoo Temple. See Dennis Rowley, “The Mormon Experience in the Wisconsin Pineries, 1841–1845,” *BYU Studies* 32, nos. 1, 2 (1992): 119–48.

67. Joseph B. Noble [1869] and Mary Elizabeth Lightner [1905], as cited in Danel W. Bachman, “A Study of the Mormon Practice of Plural Marriage before the Death of Joseph Smith” (master’s thesis, Purdue University, 1975), 74. See also Eliza R. Snow Smith, *Biography and Family Record of Lorenzo Snow, One of the Twelve Apostles of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1884), 69–70; Benjamin F. Johnson to George F. Gibbs, April–October 1903, in E. Dale LeBaron, *Benjamin F. Johnson: Friend to the Prophets* (Provo, Utah: Grandin Book, 1997), 227.

68. *History of the Church*, 5:254–55. Willard Richards and Thomas Bullock compiled this portion of the history during the winter months of 1845–46. Jessee, “Joseph Smith’s History,” 468.

69. Woodruff, *Journal*, 2:226–27 [April 16, 1843]; reprinted in *History of the Church*, 5:361–62.

70. *History of the Church*, 5:394. That portion of *History of the Church* where Joseph’s dream is recorded was completed under the direction of George A. Smith, who began his work on April 10, 1854, and finished in August 1856. Jessee, “Joseph Smith’s History,” 469–72.

71. Woodruff, *Journal*, 2:346–47 [February 3, 1844]; reprinted in *History of the Church*, 6:194–95.

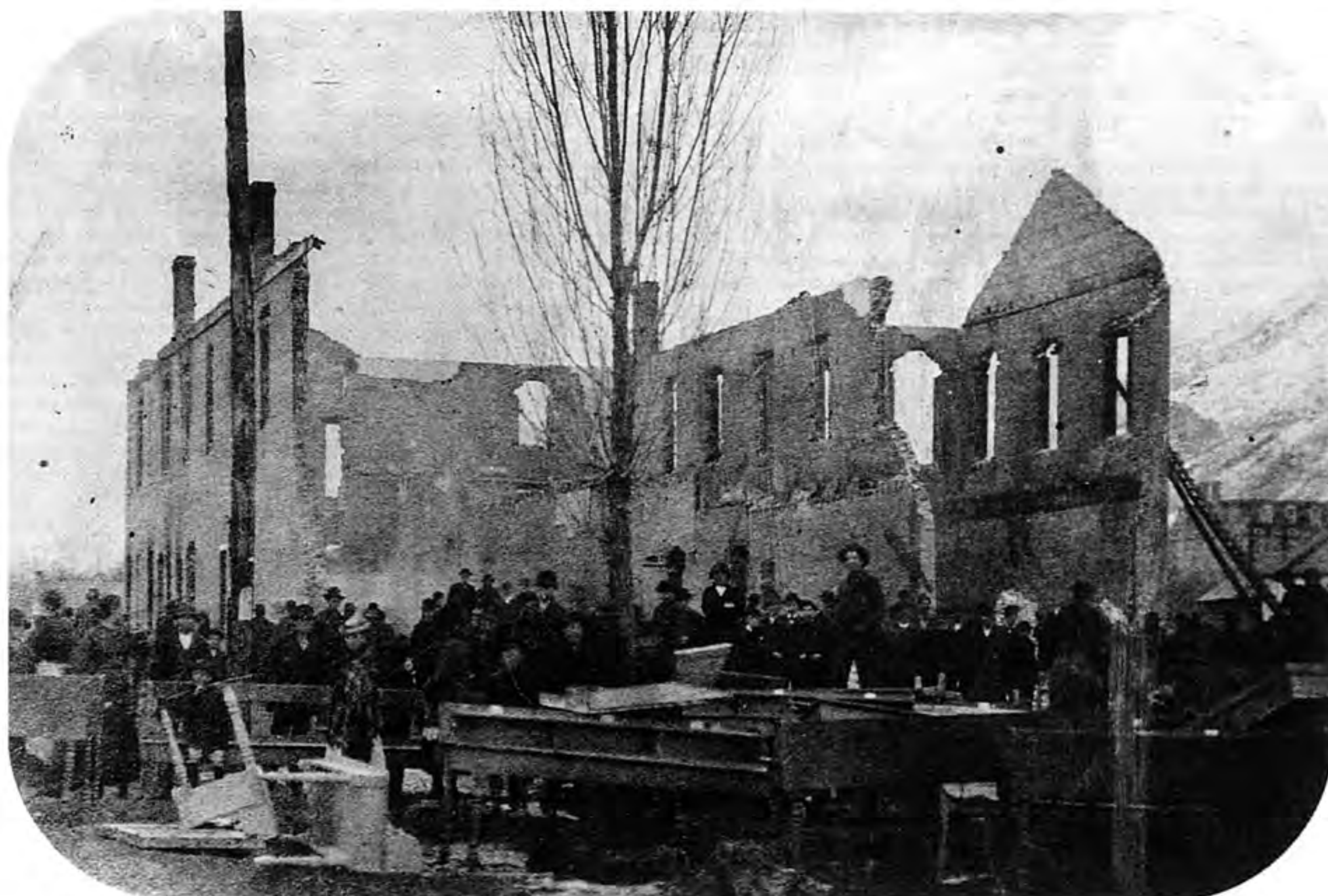
72. *History of the Church*, 6:196–97. Joseph Smith mentions this vision under the date of February 5, 1844, in a conversation with William Weeks, an architect of the Nauvoo Temple. Weeks, who lived in Utah Territory during the time George A. Smith compiled this portion of the history, could have easily supplied Smith with the 1844 conversation. See J. Earl Arrington, “William Weeks, Architect of the Nauvoo Temple,” *BYU Studies* 19, no. 3 (1979): 337–59. George A. Smith and Wilford Woodruff said that the clerks and historians who did this work were “‘eye and ear witnesses of nearly all the transactions recorded,’” and in cases where they were not, “‘had access to those who were.’” Jessee, “Joseph Smith’s History,” 473. The pretext to Weeks’s recollection is a revelation, dated January 19, 1841, in which the Lord promised, “I will show unto my servant Joseph all things pertaining to this house” (D&C 124:42).

73. George Laub, *Journal*, in Eugene England, ed., “George Laub’s Nauvoo Journal,” *BYU Studies* 18, no. 2 (1978): 160.

74. *History of the Church*, 6:461–62.

75. *History of the Church*, 6:609–10.

76. Heber C. Kimball, in *JD*, 5:215–16, September 6, 1856.



The Lewis Building. Fire destroyed Brigham Young Academy's only building late in the evening of January 27, 1884. In this photograph, students mill about the ruin the morning after the fire. Salvaged were benches, books, musical instruments, and the school's organ. Courtesy BYU Archives.

Refusing to Die: Financial Crisis at Brigham Young Academy, 1877–1897

Jed L. Woodworth

Led by a committed principal and dedicated board of trustees, the Brigham Young Academy survived twenty financially difficult years without solid fiscal resources.

Joy abounded at the Sixty-Seventh Annual General Conference of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints convened in the Salt Lake Tabernacle in April 1897. After fifty years of tension between the Church and the federal government, rapprochement had finally begun. The government had recently granted Utah statehood after returning much of the Church property it had earlier confiscated. This action had eased the Church's heavy financial burdens that had intensified over the previous decade.¹

This conference was an especially celebratory time for trustees of the Brigham Young Academy, the teacher-training (normal) school Brigham Young had founded in Provo in 1875. Since Brigham's death in 1877, the trustees had clawed for funds to keep the school from closing, running the school's debt to \$80,000² and incurring the wrath of outstanding creditors. Relief was secured once articles of incorporation for the school were prepared by Church authorities and sustained by the Saints. The First Presidency of the Church was "willing to assume said indebtedness" and henceforth "provide the necessary means to support and maintain said institution of learning."³

Given the numerous challenges to the academy's existence after Brigham Young's death, surviving twenty years on its own seemed nothing short of miraculous to those who had closely followed the school's history. This paper chronicles how Brigham Young Academy survived during these years (1877 to 1897) without a stable financial base. A principal and board of trustees, energized by a charge from Brigham Young, carried the school through troubled times when it might have otherwise closed. Yet, like many nonpublic school administrators of the nineteenth century who sacrificed financially to keep their schools afloat, academy officials did not work alone.⁴ The school could not have survived strictly on the efforts of its principal or trustees, for at critical junctures in the school's history, these officials were dependent on the aid of those whom they petitioned. Academy



Abraham O. Smoot (1815–1895) was president of the board of trustees of Brigham Young Academy from 1875 to 1895. President Joseph F. Smith once said Smoot's impact on the academy was second only to Brigham Young's. Courtesy BYU Archives.

officials welcomed assistance from students, parents, Church leaders, citizens, and even the late Brigham Young himself, appearing in vision. An entire community enabled the trustees to pull the academy through tumultuous times. In the end, the trustees believed God “gave the increase” (1 Cor. 3:6) to everyone’s efforts.

Four periods in academy history illustrate how the trustees and principal steadied the school when it teetered on the brink of suspending operations or closing down altogether. In each case, a series of critical factors brought the academy to a crisis, and academy officials acted decisively to pull the school through. More than simply fascinating, dust-covered episodes from the past, these events illustrate how individuals with resolve can form communities whose collective strength can overcome trying circumstances.

The Academy Is Created

Brigham Young Academy was the first of three schools Brigham Young founded toward the end of his life.⁵ His academy endowment came in three parts. The original endowment in 1875 consisted of a two-story brick schoolhouse (called the Lewis Building, after its original owner Jesse W. Lewis) and the acre of land on which the building stood. A second endowment came when he deeded to the school three acres of largely undeveloped land in the center of Provo City in the summer of 1877.⁶ Three months later, deeds for \$40,000 in property and bonds—the largest endowment yet—were carried to Brigham Young’s desk, awaiting his signature, on the very day he took fatally ill. He died three days later with the deeds unsigned, and the academy trustees were left to seek substitutes for the endowment that never materialized.⁷

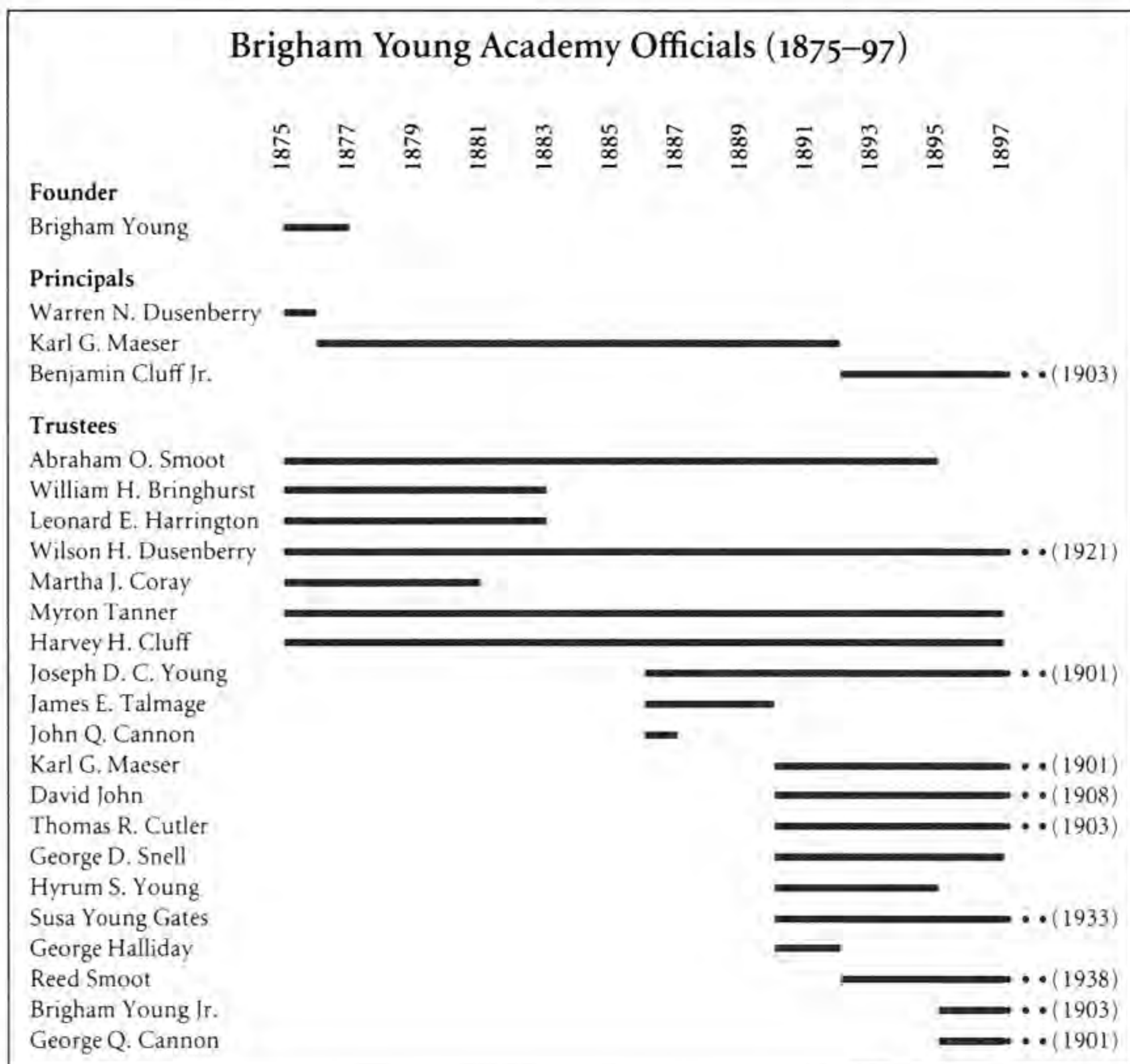
School administrators intent on keeping the academy open at all costs navigated the school around financial challenges. The president of the Brigham Young Academy board of trustees was Abraham Owen (A. O.) Smoot, a former territorial justice of the peace and mayor of Salt Lake City. Smoot had moved to Provo in 1868, at Brigham Young’s request, to unite local communities north and south whose squabbling threatened to divide the county. He was immediately installed as mayor of Provo City and as chief ecclesiastical officer of Utah County, an area coterminous with Utah Stake, which was not organized until 1877 with Smoot as president of ten thousand members who lived from Alpine to Santequin.⁸ Smoot led a board of seven trustees who were all handpicked by Brigham Young to manage his school. Four of the seven carried the burden of their callings for twenty years or more, and none of the trustees was remunerated for his or her service.⁹

To the trustees Brigham gave the task of preserving his highest values: a school whose “standard” texts were the Bible, Book of Mormon, and Doctrine and Covenants and whose forbidden text was any “that misrepresents, or speaks lightly of the Divine mission of the Savior, or of the

Prophet Joseph Smith, or in any way advances ideas antagonistic to the principles of the Gospel.”¹⁰ Echoing the rhetoric Brigham Young employed to describe his endearing commitment to his prophet-mentor, Joseph Smith, Smoot often told friends that he would be “ashamed” to face Brigham Young beyond the veil and there admit to having “fail[ed] . . . my trust.”¹¹ Smoot’s earnestness was animated by a charge Brigham Young issued to him, to the other trustees, and to Principal Karl G. Maeser to “turn your influence and energies to the building up of that Academy” and to “help it with [your] influence.”¹² This influence was pivotal in keeping the academy open, and later in extending its reputation, until the Church was in position to redeem the school from financial insolvency.

Surviving after Brigham Young’s Death: 1877–1883

Brigham Young died on August 29, 1877, two days after the beginning of the second academic year, leaving the academy trustees to mingle their tears with humble yearning to know exactly what Brigham would now have



them do. They were certain he would have the school remain open, with or without his pocketbook, but now his plans for funding had not matured. Brigham Young had never cowered from hardship; as guarantors of his wishes, neither would these trustees. So the school continued, limping out its next four terms, or forty weeks, until the end of the academic year in June 1878.

The academy trustees could suddenly no longer afford a Dr. Williams, “linguist and classical scholar,” hired shortly before Brigham died, to teach instrumental music and complement the salaried faculty of four.¹³ Somehow they wriggled free of the contract and instead hired James Daniels, a local journeyman, for \$50 a year.¹⁴ The trustees may have counted this savings large, but a tuition total of just \$1,700 for the 1878–79 school year allowed them to pay faculty only 60 percent of full salary.¹⁵

Tuition alone could never cover all the academy’s expenses, but higher enrollment would have helped. At this early point in the academy’s career, attracting students was a challenge. Many parents who had children of academy age were first- or second-generation Latter-day Saint immigrants who came out of traditions slow to adopt habits of formal secondary schooling. Other parents farmed land that for them typically required their children’s labor. Surviving from day to day was more important than paying to educate children; public clamor for fully tax-supported public schools would not rise for still another decade. In the late 1870s, less than two-thirds of Utah children ages six to sixteen were enrolled in school and less than half of the same population regularly attended.¹⁶ Only about 3 percent of young people nationally ages eighteen to twenty-one were enrolled in postsecondary schools.¹⁷ The academy drew from both these age populations: the younger population attended the primary and intermediate departments, which were often taught by the older students enrolled in the normal department. During the academy’s early years, tuition ranged from \$3 to \$8 per term, although most students, arriving late in the fall after harvest and leaving early in the spring before planting, paid a simple percentage, often in kind.¹⁸ Just eighty-eight of 333 enrollees remained through the end of the 1877–78 school year. Under such conditions, fiscal problems were inevitable.¹⁹

Teachers would have been worse off were it not for Smoot, an erstwhile farmer and lumber store owner whose reputed wealth was, like Brigham Young’s, always greater in popular imagination than it was in reality.²⁰ As chief Church and civic leader in Utah Valley, Smoot led out among his people when he gave \$320 to the academy during the school year after Brigham Young died. The cooperative over which Smoot presided, the Provo woolen mills, chipped in another \$70.²¹ Such gifts were certainly appreciated but could not fill the mammoth financial shortfall left by

Brigham Young's departure. Smoot's two bequests comprised all but \$20 of the total donations to the academy for the entire school year.²²

Solicitation Increases Attendance. Brigham Young had recognized that high ecclesiastical position could be utilized to promote the academy's interests. "Call upon the people to patronize" the school, he had counseled the trustees, four of whom were bishops of wards in principal settlements of Utah County.²³ Church leadership positions were valuable tools for academy trustees to call local Saints' attention to the academy's financial needs. Utah Stake and ward minutes before and after Brigham died record the trustees' pleadings for parents to support the academy as they might other Church programs, such as the Sunday Schools or Mutual Improvement Associations. Smoot and his fellow trustees believed the academy's founder, along with its gospel curriculum, hallowed the school enough to justify reminding congregations of the first day of an academy term. The school meshed seamlessly with official Church movements intended to create self-sustaining Saints.

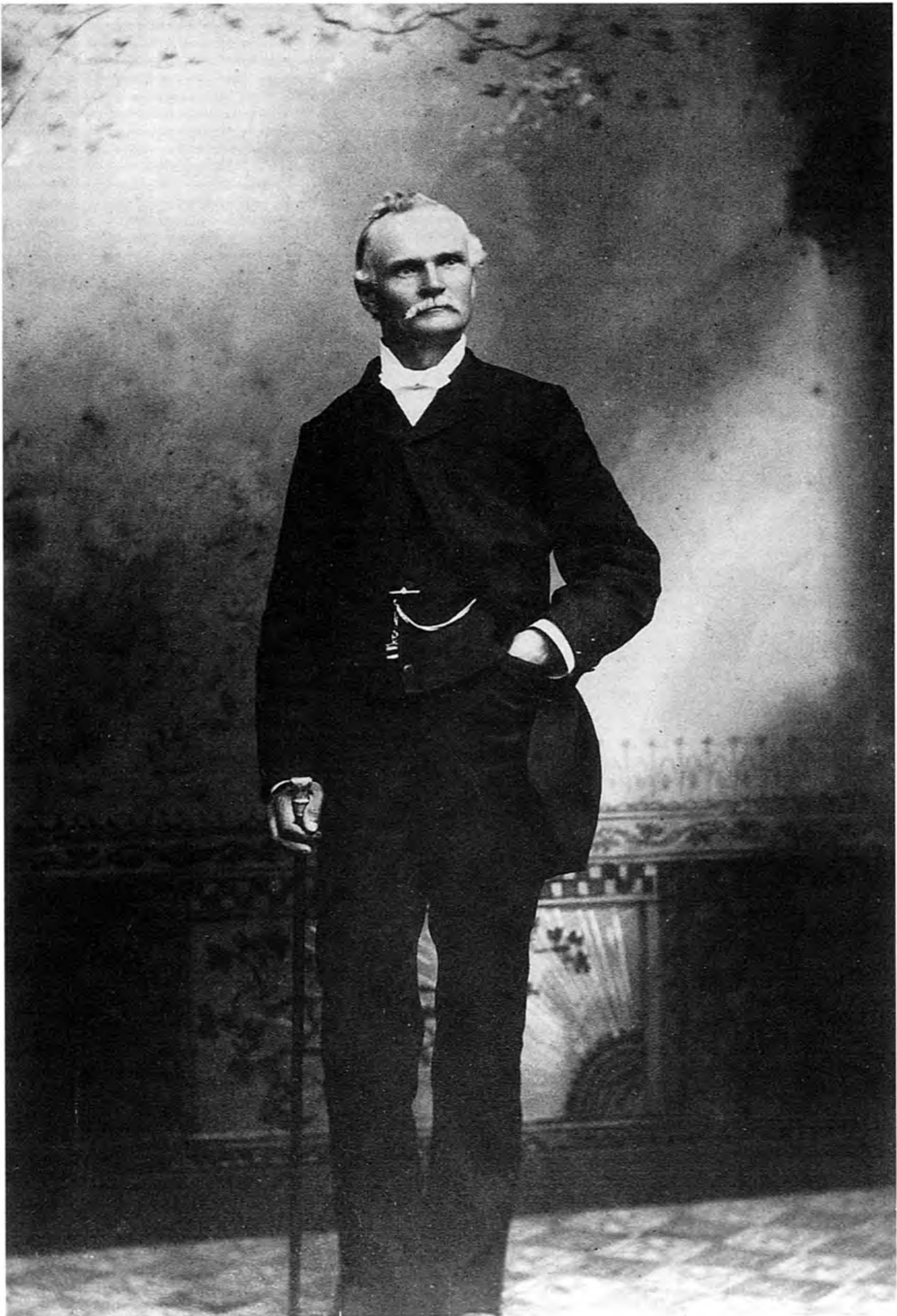
Sermonizing converged on either acquiring donations or increasing enrollment. "In great Earnestness," William Bringham called upon his congregation in Springville "to lend there [*sic*] aid for support" of the academy "not only as a duty but also as a great Privilege."²⁴ Smoot testified that it was "not God's plan" to "rule the Bible out of the Schools." He asked parents in Payson to "trust your children" to Principal Karl G. Maeser, a "true hearted, established Latter Day Saint" and "the best teacher in Utah."²⁵ Harvey Cluff solicited help from stake priesthood leaders "in the purchasing necessary improvements of ap[p]aratus" to "greatly facilitate" the academy's capabilities.²⁶ At stake conference, Leonard Harrington "spoke in eloquent terms of the blessings" awaiting students who attended the academy, and, of course, awaiting parents who sent them.²⁷ After seeing how the academy had cultured his eighteen-year-old son, Marion, who worked days at the woolen mills and studied Greek in the academy's night school, Myron Tanner even "exhorted parents to take a course" alongside their children at the end of the workday.²⁸ The undercurrent in all these public exhortations was the academy's financial condition, which the petitioners felt measured the righteousness of the Saints. A prosperous school evidenced a people doing God's will; a school financially stricken told the trustees and the people everyone had more work to do.

These petitions undoubtedly helped enrollment but resulted in no new donations. Not to be dissuaded, academy officials cut a wider swath when they published in the summer of 1879 a circular "to the Saints of Utah, Wasatch, Juab and Sanpete Stakes of Zion."²⁹ The circular requested Saints to join together "in the maintenance of this Academy as their central institution on the co-operative principle."³⁰ Maeser and Smoot presented

an early draft of the circular before the priesthood of Utah Stake, whose vote to raise \$2,000 for the academy was noted in the version of the circular published later in the month in the *Deseret News*.³¹ “By these means” and those contributed by the other stakes, the trustees “hoped that the anxieties until now attending the financial management of this institution will be avoided in the future.”³² The trustees had observed the public outpouring in response to recent calls for temple funds and were counting on similar results.

Temples were one thing, schools another. Donations for schools came begrudgingly on the cash-poor frontier, where homes often served as schools but where homes never served as temples. When the subscription circular brought in less than \$200 from the four stakes combined, academy officials abandoned their active quest for donations, took out a few small loans, and focused on increasing enrollment.³³ While the trustees took to the pulpit, Principal Karl Maeser seconded their pleas in private discussions. Maeser had spent several weeks out of each of his first four summer vacations at the academy in a horse and buggy, riding long stretches of dusty road in Utah County and counties south, where in prescheduled meetings he petitioned parents to send their children to Provo.³⁴ In the summer of 1880, after the circular failed to bring desired results, he recruited north of Salt Lake City for the first time, canvassing for six weeks in Davis, Weber, Box Elder, Cache, Rich, and Morgan Counties and even into southern Idaho.³⁵ Maeser held about forty meetings in all, captivating audiences with common gospel discourse in one breath, and arcane lectures, such as the “Pyramids of Egypt,” in the next.³⁶ He reassured suspicious parents with promises that he would shepherd their children and board them with the finest Latter-day Saint families in Provo.³⁷ Maeser’s barnstorming and the school’s growing reputation for excellence worked wonders. By 1882, almost half of the academy’s 461 students came from outside Provo—including 18 students from Idaho, Nevada, and Arizona.³⁸

The timing of all this solicitation was ideal. Utah’s school-age population burgeoned in the late 1870s, and the call for trained teachers was loud. Some teaching slots were filled from among an increasing number of non-Latter-day Saints who settled in Utah after the Transcontinental Railroad was completed in 1869. Some of these teachers came intent upon rescuing young Saints from the throes of Mormonism, and even those who did not were still looked upon with distrust. Simply the appearance of Protestant mission schools in Utah Territory was enough to alarm parents who still vividly remembered the persecutions they once suffered in the states at the hands of God-fearing Christians. Who could protect the children against encroaching Babylon? The academy’s daily theological instruction gradually became more of an essential alternative than simply an attractive



Karl G. Maeser (1828–1901) was principal of Brigham Young Academy from 1876 to 1892. His dignified bearing and teaching excellence attracted students at a time when enrollment in postsecondary schools was small. Courtesy BYU Archives.

one.³⁹ The context of sudden and unsettling change transformed the school into a symbolic bastion for the young and for parents who worried over them.

Maeser's personal appeal made decisions to send children to the academy easier. Some parents needed convincing because the concept of a boarding school was new and ran counter to the needs of farmers with few farmhands. Maeser's hearty German accent made him just human enough for fellow immigrants to trust him with their children, while his noble bearing and oratorical skills gave him a mysterious, almost irresistible allure. Maeser also eased the transition into the technocratic world Utah was rapidly entering as overpopulation across the Salt Lake Valley made farming an unlikely occupation for many of the rising generation.⁴⁰ His talents were in primarily nonscientific fields: small-town people could admire his learning without being fearful of it.⁴¹ Perhaps most important for gaining confidence, Maeser's learnedness never overshadowed his testimony.

The academy had become widely known within three years of Brigham Young's death. The school's excellence was both the creator and creation of public acclaim: Maeser's term statistical reports were included in the *Deseret News* by 1879. A near doubling of enrollment between 1877 and 1880 allowed the school to significantly cut into its debts to teachers.⁴² The academy's reputation for taking any student, even the poor, tuition in hand or not, spread far and wide. This was not ideal but still suited the trustees, since promises to pay later were always better than leaving desks empty with no better prospects of filling them. And yet a packed house brought no more donations than did an empty one. Without a trusted ally, the trustees had no real insurance against costs that tuition receipts could not meet.

Church Assistance Begins. Academy officials naturally looked to Brigham Young's successor, John Taylor, to help cover costs Brigham would have paid had he lived. The line dividing Brigham's private and Church business remained hazy for Principal Karl G. Maeser, whose pen nearly wept in a letter to President Taylor six weeks into the new school year early in October 1878. "Please, dear President, do something for us," Maeser pled, "for thus far I [have] had to strain my physical, mental, and private resources to their utmost capacity" and "must necessarily give out in all these directions" in a "comparatively short time."⁴³ Maeser insisted the academy "must be placed under the direct control of the Presidency of the Church, or it will perish of its undefined semipublic-private character."⁴⁴

President Taylor was not convinced—at least, not yet. The Church had struggled for a quarter of a century to pay for the Salt Lake Temple, still incomplete, and had recently invested in construction on temples in St. George, Manti, and Logan. Church funds were also increasingly applied to lobbying efforts against further antipolygamy legislation then under contemplation in Washington, D.C.⁴⁵ Although President Taylor lauded the academy's



Provo, Utah, looking west from the corner of Center Street and H Street (200 West), ca. 1875. The Lewis Building (far left) was home to the Brigham Young Academy until 1884. Courtesy BYU Archives.



Academy students at the Lewis Building, late 1883, at a time when about half of the academy's students came from outside of Provo, including some from Arizona, Idaho, and Nevada. At his own expense, board of trustees president A. O. Smoot erected a two-story addition on the back of the building (far left) in the summer of 1882. Tuition receipts paid for the brick addition erected (right) the following summer. Courtesy BYU Archives.

work both in public and in private, his attempts to meet large needs with small purses could not bring him to “look upon [schools] financially as exclusively Church matters.”⁴⁶ Were the Brigham Young Academy given special treatment, he reasoned, the Twelve would feel responsible for the “similar applications from other Stakes” sure to follow.⁴⁷ This stance was complicated by an elected office President Taylor then held: Utah Territorial Superintendent of District Schools, responsible for distributing territorial school funds. Tact and caution were required at this time when even unfounded rumors of favoritism could dash Utah’s chances for statehood.⁴⁸

President Taylor’s refusal to finance the academy did not prevent the trustees from keeping the school’s need in front of him. They invited him to commencements and consulted with him on curriculum, while, at the same time, waiting patiently upon the Lord to deliver financial assistance. The wait, as it turned out, was two years long. Zina Young Williams, Brigham Young’s daughter who taught needlework and drawing at the academy at that time, later remembered calling on President Taylor at his home, in 1881, “to relieve my mind upon the subject that had so distressed us all”—academy finances. Zina vented her frustration before a prophet as only a prophet’s daughter dared do. President Taylor, forever a British gentleman, listened until she finished and then kindly took her hand in his “fatherly way.”⁴⁹ “I have been visited by your father,” President Taylor began. “He came to me in the silence of the night clothed in brightness and with a face beaming with love and confidence told me many things of great importance.” Among these, “the school being taught by Brother Maeser was accepted in the heavens and was a part of the great plan of life and salvation.” Brigham’s message, as John Taylor recited it, riveted itself into Zina’s memory: “Christ himself was directing, and had a care over this school.”⁵⁰

Concern for privileging one stake’s schooling over another’s vanished. Shortly after the vision, President Taylor appeared at the academy’s 1881



John Taylor (1808–1887) was president of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles from 1877 to 1880. The last seven years of his life he was President of the Church. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

commencement exercises and there publicly announced a Church benefaction of \$200 cash, a rare commodity in those days.⁵¹ The following year, he established ten one-year tuition scholarships, to be given annually on the basis of merit and need, to students in the academy's normal department.⁵² These initial appropriations, modest in sum but colossal in import, brought the Church into the academy's family. The school now had an ally willing to lend assistance even when giving that assistance strained logic. More importantly for the trustees was their belief that God had confirmed both the desirability of the academy surviving at all costs and the trustees' ability to guide the school through crises. This was knowledge that the trustees could cling to through years to come.

Surviving Fire: 1884

Shouts of "Fire!" and peals from the academy bell pierced the frigid air at about 10:30 on the night of January 27, 1884. Locals who converged on smoke billowing from the center of town found flames dancing behind the Lewis Building's second-story windows. Provo, population 4,500, had no fire department.⁵³ Those first on the scene ran to the nearest well a block away, where a bucket brigade formed and was soon joined by every able body. "Can you for once imagine . . . the hor[r]or that consumed our minds" to see the school enflamed, asked an incredulous Lars Eggertson, the student janitor. Fire engulfing a solid brick structure—this of all Provo's buildings—was a sight least expected.⁵⁴

Students and townspeople conceded their defeat within an hour.⁵⁵ The blaze died only after it had ripped through both stories and charred the solid brick walls. At dawn, less than an empty shell remained. The front wall lay fallen and the other three stood smoldering. The interior walls were reduced to miserable rubble. Chattel snatched from the flames—benches from the lower rooms, books, laboratory apparatus, musical instruments, and the school organ—rested on a frozen icepack in the middle of Center Street. The *New York Times*, which was probably wired the story, estimated damage at \$30,000, though local estimates were about half that.⁵⁶ The school, of course, had no insurance.⁵⁷

Students doubted the academy would continue. On the night of the fire, they were told to return to the rubble the following morning, at regular school time, and there be instructed "what was going to be done." All "spark of hope had fled" from us that morning, recalled one student.⁵⁸ Nels L. Nelson, a teacher in the intermediate department, observed with the same gloom, "No note of hope left in the undertone conversation of the little knots grouped here and there. The only question seemed to be how soon they could get ready to start for home."⁵⁹

If ever academy officials needed an excuse to shut down, this was the perfect one. Questions with no easy answers abounded. Where could four

hundred students possibly be housed? Assuming temporary accommodations were found, at what cost and for what length of time could these be procured? Where could funds for a new building be located? Smoot had given \$3,000 out of his own pocket for an addition to the Lewis Building in the summer of 1882, although he was quick to acknowledge that this money came only after “the Lord had opened the way.”⁶⁰ Should the trustees now expect the Lord to open a much larger way? The third term of the academic year was to begin the morning after the fire. Should the students be dismissed now so they could enter other schools without getting behind in their studies? These were just some of many issues academy officials would no doubt have silently pondered in those early morning hours after the fire had jeopardized the very life of their school.

Temporary Quarters Arranged. The school was not dead. Loss of the Lewis Building, academy officials insisted, could no more kill the academy than death of the body could extinguish the spirit. “The *Academy* is not burned,” Maeser rallied his fellow teachers, “it lives forever.”⁶¹ Academy trustees agreed. They met early on the morning after the fire and resolved to continue classes “without delay.”⁶² Maeser conveyed the message while standing upon a chair, in the middle of the street, facing the students, whom he invited to a meeting to be held later in the morning, three blocks up the road in the Provo meetinghouse, where a plan for the school’s continuance would be announced.⁶³

Leaders roused support for the school’s continuance by making sense of the disaster. “Acknowledge the hand of the Lord” in this fire was the main message twenty-one-year old Ferdinand Ericksen took from the meeting. Maeser, Smoot, and Elders Erastus Snow and Francis M. Lyman of the Quorum of the Twelve wanted students to “leave it to Him from whom all blessings come, and He would see us through alright.”⁶⁴ A correspondent to the *Deseret News* heard Elder Lyman testify that “the Lord would not allow this institution to fail.” Lyman prophesied that in the disaster’s aftermath, “Brother Maeser should grow younger instead of older in body, and in spirit.”⁶⁵ Maeser, for his part, predicted the academy “should arise Phoenix-like from its ashes.”⁶⁶ Lars Eggertson affirmed how these powerful messages filled students with renewed hope “and a better determination to go forward and help their teachers to bare [*sic*] their burdens.”⁶⁷

Smoot’s influence on locating new accommodations was apparent. Like a concerned father, he assured that “all will be made as comfortable as possible” in the “places provided.”⁶⁸ The higher departments would meet in the upper rooms of the newly completed building of the First National Bank, of which Smoot was president and one of six directors.⁶⁹ Nels L. Nelson described how this “grand old man” waved off other competitors then vying for that very rental space and convinced his fellow directors to give



Downtown Provo in the 1890s. During the five months after fire destroyed the Lewis Building, classes were held in the First National Bank building (center) and the S. S. Jones store (extreme right, with two chimneys). This photograph was taken at the intersection of Center Street and J Street (University Avenue), looking northwest. Courtesy BYU Archives.

room to the academy at a modest price.⁷⁰ The lower departments were housed in the basement of the Provo meetinghouse for the next few days, until Samuel S. Jones's new mercantile store, located several doors down from the bank building, was fitted up for them.⁷¹ Jones, Smoot's close friend, leased space to the school at a cheap rate—provided his children received free tuition.⁷² Academy officials saw God's hand in these arrangements, for had the fire come weeks earlier or later than it did, space for the school would likely have been unavailable.

School began immediately, as the trustees had resolved. "Notwithstanding the burning of the Brigham Young Academy building last night," Smoot wired across the territory, "this institution will open regularly tomorrow morning."⁷³ Students turned out that afternoon and "with helping hands" hauled desks and books and chalkboards up the street into the classrooms.⁷⁴ Regular devotional was held the following morning in the Provo meetinghouse, located at the center of town, before students separated to classrooms as usual.⁷⁵ Maeser later credited "the spirit manifested by the board, the faculty, the students and friends of the Academy, [who] made it possible that only one day [of school] was lost."⁷⁶

Subscription for a New Building. No argument was necessary to convince people the academy needed help after the fire. Everyone knew the academy was poor. Prior to the fire, newspapers had often mentioned penury in their accounts of the school's history. The pitiable tone conveyed by reporters reminded parents that the humble beginnings of this school resembled those of the divinely sanctioned Church the school represented. In Ogden, far away from the academy's workings, the *Daily Herald* concluded less than twenty-four hours after the fire that "the people of Provo and of the Territory"—not the academy trustees—should "soon make up the loss and decide to build another structure for the school." This institution "has no funds," the paper reminded readers.⁷⁷ Elder Erastus Snow described the public sentiment when he compared rebuilding the academy to a "public work, of which all will feel the responsibility."⁷⁸

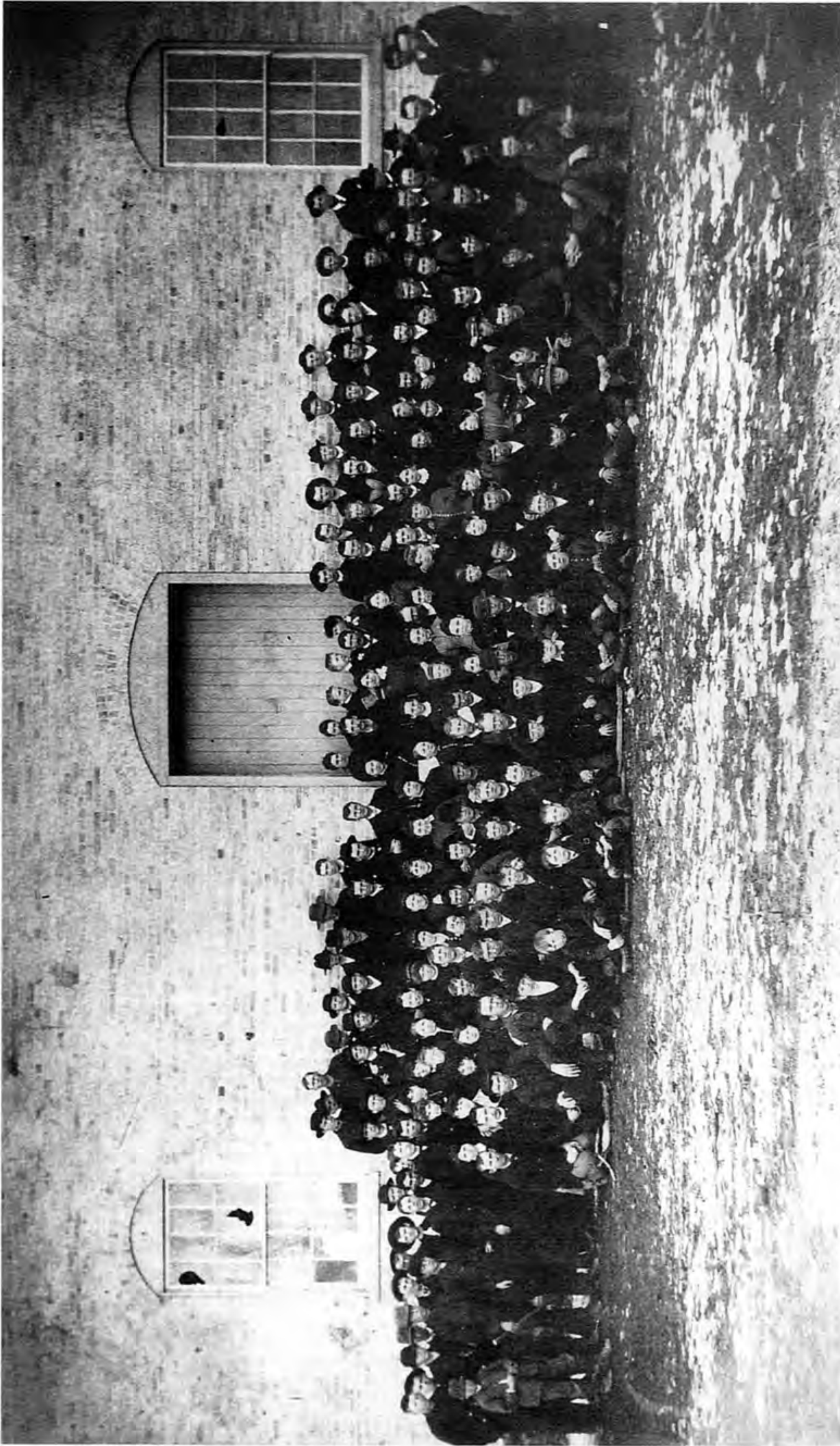
The trustees' responsibility after the fire, then, was more to channel than to create what Smoot called "wide-spread sympathy" for the school.⁷⁹ President Taylor immediately led the charge to rebuild by heading a subscription list with \$5,000, for and in behalf of the Church.⁸⁰ Prominent citizens Smoot and George Q. Cannon, first counselor in the First Presidency, each publicly committed to \$500.⁸¹ "Let the funds flow," encouraged a *Deseret News* editorialist, "that the academy may, as a creditable institution, be placed firmer than ever on its feet."⁸²

The trustees felt "compelled to appeal to the sympathies of their fellow citizens for help" in erecting a building worthy of the academy's reputation.⁸³ To every stake in the Church the trustees sent subscription lists, with an appeal signed by their representative, A. O. Smoot:

This institution has acquired such a reputation in the community for the excellence of its management, that the feeling for its loss is one of universal regret. The institution has struggled through many difficulties, and has been gradually growing in influence, and was emerging from serious embarrassments that had beset its pathway in the past, when this misfortune occurred.⁸⁴

Subscription promises soared to \$15,000 by mid-February through the assistance of Zina Young Williams, whom the trustees temporarily released from her teaching duties to solicit donations from among her many friends in Salt Lake City.⁸⁵ The Salt Lake Tabernacle held a benefit concert, and a traveling theatrical troupe split the proceeds on performances, for which Williams, her half sister Susa Young Gates, and trustee Harvey Cluff, representing the academy, sold tickets. Utah Southern Railroad officials enticed attendance at the theater by offering theatergoers half-price fares to Provo.⁸⁶ Rebuilding the academy became a rallying point for the entire territory.

ZCMI Rents Room to the Academy. Public optimism gave rise to grand expectations. Subscribed funds were reserved for a new schoolhouse costing an estimated \$40,000.⁸⁷ Rather than salvage the Lewis Building or



Academy students at the ZCMI Warehouse, where the school was housed for nearly eight years. Some Provoans felt the facility, with its broken windows and barnlike doors, was beneath the dignity of the school. Courtesy BYU Archives.

rebuild upon its property, the trustees scoured Provo for an entirely new lot. They narrowed their choices to two and then called on their chief beneficiary, President John Taylor, to decide between them. One proposed site, several acres of unplatted land a mile north of the center of town, was owned by Smoot and offered to the school free of charge. The other site, two blocks south of the Smoot lot, was a four-acre city block owned by Mary Lewis, widow of Jesse Lewis, who had built and later sold the Lewis Building to Brigham Young.⁸⁸ After visiting each site, President Taylor directed the trustees to purchase the Lewis property, which they did on March 24, 1884, for \$2,250.⁸⁹ Two months later, after volunteer teams had cleared the underbrush, the ground was dedicated and broken, and construction on the new academy building began immediately.⁹⁰ Two years was the estimated construction time.⁹¹

In the meantime, the trustees sought another location to hold school. Rooms in the bank building and the Jones store were notoriously cramped and may have been offered on condition the academy locate another home after the academic year ended in June.⁹² More attractive accommodations were in order when postfire enrollment slumped from the year before.⁹³ Seeking to consolidate students under one roof, the trustees wrote the president of Zion Cooperative Mercantile Institution (ZCMI) of Salt Lake City in early March 1884 asking to use a portion of the institution's massive Provo warehouse "for the ensuing [school] year and until a new building can be erected."⁹⁴ As for rates, the trustees requested "kind consideration of our recent heavy loss" and of the school's "benefits accruing to the public."⁹⁵

Fortuitously, President John Taylor was also president of ZCMI. His advocacy of the trustees' proposal was all the ZCMI directors needed to grant the school the entire second floor and back half of the first beginning August 1884.⁹⁶ The directors granted free rent for one year, after which "there shall be a charge made" at a figure "equitably determined" by the ZCMI superintendent and the academy trustees.⁹⁷ That summer an elated academy board prepared for entrance by plastering ceiling and walls, enlarging the staircase, and erecting pine partitions between rooms capable of accommodating four hundred students at any one time—about the same capacity as the Lewis Building.⁹⁸ That fall, classes opened in the warehouse, and once again at the trustees' behest, an academy advantage came as a community gift.

Shadows had not yet fallen on the academy's good fortunes as the summer of 1884 waned into fall. Saints inside the territory and out had promised to assist the trustees erect a building worthy of the school's reputation. These promises allowed construction to proceed on a plot Smoot had dedicated to God for the expressed purpose of erecting a "building unto Thy name for the purpose of the promotion of Thy Zion upon the earth."⁹⁹ Smoot knew that Zion would never be built without opposition.

Future fiery trials would rival those past, giving cyclical relevance to the handwriting specimen students were asked to copy in penmanship class three days after the fire: “The Academy can no more be destroyed by fire than can the soul of man by death.”¹⁰⁰

Surviving Antipolygamy Raids: 1885–1888

Academy trustees were not entirely surprised when school opened in the ZCMI warehouse with just ninety students. Enrollment always started small in the autumn months before growing through the winter. Enrollment the term before the fire, one of the highest ever at the school, could not be realistically expected so soon after disaster and so long as the academy convened in a building the public believed was better suited for wares than for school. Yet this fall also presented an unexpected challenge when a nationwide grain glut persuaded some farmers to hoard their yields and prevented others from selling them altogether.¹⁰¹ Some parents who ordinarily sent their children to the academy kept them home or sent them to tax-supported schools until times improved. Times would not improve soon. The grain glut was just the beginning of an economic crisis that would bedevil the Saints in Utah Territory for much of the 1880s.¹⁰² Here was another fire academy officials would be called to fight.

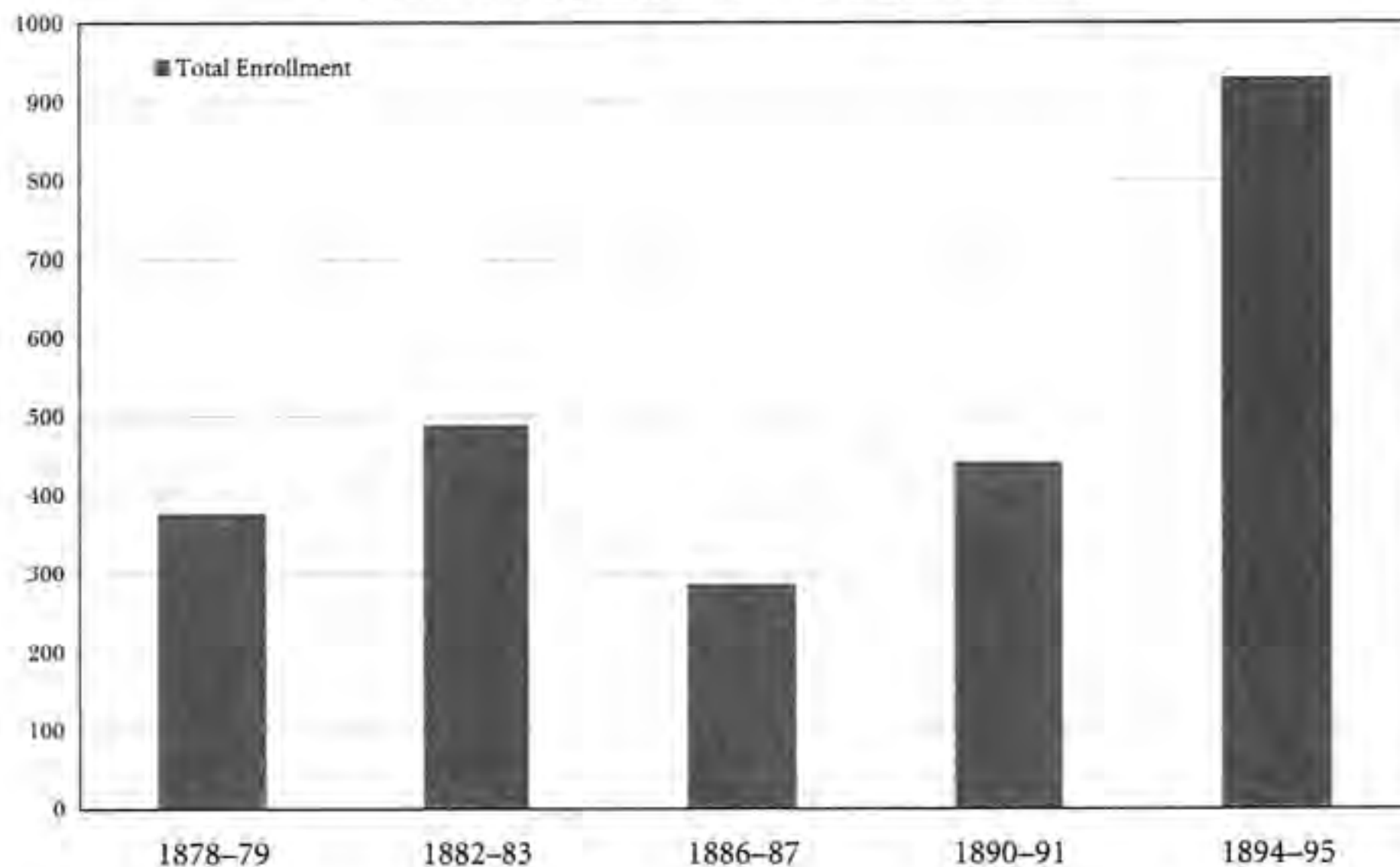
The trouble began when a territorial grand jury in October 1884 upheld Rudger Clawson’s conviction on charges of polygamy and unlawful cohabitation. Clawson, a bookkeeper from Salt Lake City, was the first polygamist tried under the Edmunds Act of 1882, which mandated severe punishment of those found guilty of polygamy. Clawson was sentenced to pay \$800 and serve three and a half years in prison.¹⁰³ This landmark conviction signaled the beginning of a six-year witch-hunt orchestrated by U.S. lawmakers and played out by federal marshals and their minions.¹⁰⁴ Some polygamists and sometimes their wives and children, bent on avoiding subpoena, left homes and businesses for the “underground.” In this confusion, crop yields shrunk, business volumes sagged, and cash evaporated across the territory.¹⁰⁵

Antipolygamy raids shorted the academy of a commodity essential to its livelihood: students. Some families, both polygamist and monogamist, needed their children, particularly older children, at home during this chaotic time; others who did not were still pressed for funds as was everyone else. The impact on the academy is clear: in 1884–85 enrollment dropped 25 percent from the year before, and tuition receipts dropped 33 percent. The ratio of tuition paid in cash to tuition in produce and merchandise fell from 3:1 to 2:1. Student dropouts, on the rise from past years, peaked at 26 percent during the early months of 1885, about the time President John Taylor and other polygamists went underground.¹⁰⁶ “When the ship Zion is passing under the dark shadows of hovering storm-clouds,” confessed Maeser,

“it cannot be expected otherwise but that an institution so closely identified” with the “fortunes of the whole Church, should experience the same depression of circumstances.”¹⁰⁷

The trustees sought help to pay bills the school’s treasury could not cover. President Taylor delivered his subscription as promised, but most of the others were never paid.¹⁰⁸ An empty building fund meant construction

Enrollment, Brigham Young Academy



Enrollment slumped during the antipolygamy raids of the mid-1880s.

on the new building halted indefinitely after 1884 with the basement floor complete six feet above ground level. The school remained in the ZCMI warehouse. A \$1,200 bill for rent came when the one-year free rent period expired in the fall of 1885.¹⁰⁹ Academy trustees could not pay the bill because they were already buried in debt from the new lot, construction, warehouse remodeling, and back pay to teachers.¹¹⁰ Instructor of sciences James E. Talmage lamented how his salary “to a very great extent unpaid” prevented him from meeting “a number of pressing debts.”¹¹¹ By the spring of 1886, the amount due teachers alone had run to about \$3,400, a sum equivalent to more than two-thirds the entire faculty payroll from the year before.¹¹²

As depressed as its own circumstance was, the Church became the academy’s last hope. Smoot declared the school would have to close unless outside assistance soon came, and Maeser wrote President Taylor on April, 14, 1886, with sobering news:

As all the teachers have been forced to incur debts, and the financial condition of the Academy gives them no hope of meeting their obligations, nor to support their families until the commencement of the new academic year in August, and there being even then no prospect of better times, they all will be under the necessity of seeking positions elsewhere immediately after the close of the present term, May 21.¹¹³

Maeser categorically placed the academy's future in President Taylor's hands. "Whichever manner you may direct" the school's labors, Maeser wrote, was the course the school would follow.¹¹⁴ Academy trustees asked President Taylor to direct them before May 1, when they expected to either rehire teachers for the coming school year or release them to locate new work.¹¹⁵

Tithing Block Rent from President Taylor. All was not lost for the academy. Maeser's letter was just one of a recent string of letters from academy officials to John Taylor describing the school's financial condition and suggesting ways to improve it. President Taylor's replies show he was eager for the school to survive and was willing to invest Church funds when necessary. His children Nephi and Maggie then attended the academy, and like any involved parent, he took special interest in the management of their school. Far from suddenly dumping the academy into John Taylor's lap, Maeser's letter functioned as an ultimatum for the President to decide on issues he had discussed with academy officials intensively for the last six months and occasionally over the past six years.

At issue in these discussions was the property Brigham Young had deeded to the trustees in the summer of 1877. This three-acre plot, called the "Tithing Block" because the Provo tithing office was located on the premises, was an untapped gold mine sitting in the middle of Provo City.¹¹⁶ The property sat dormant for years while the trustees haggled over ownership with Church leaders. Academy trustees had long claimed that Brigham Young made a verbal promise to Smoot that the school was free to collect \$1,200 rent annually from the Provo tithing office so long as the office remained on the premises.¹¹⁷

President Taylor had never been comfortable with this agreement. Academy officials collected rent on the office between 1879 and 1881 before the President (not yet converted to the academy's cause) demurred on the basis that the Church was never anyone's tenant and that verbal rental agreements were "not in accordance with . . . the way such business should be transacted."¹¹⁸ Academy trustees promptly stopped collection and left the issue unresolved. Rising attendance and the Church appropriation for academy normal students in the early 1880s made rent easy for the trustees to forget; plummeting attendance and mounting debt in the mid-1880s brought rent quickly to mind. Soon after ZCMI sent its bill to the academy in late 1885, the trustees sent President Taylor a bill of almost \$7,000 in back rent on the Provo tithing office.¹¹⁹

In return, President Taylor sent a genial, levelheaded reply to Smoot in December 1885. Still in seclusion from federal marshals, he expressed a "delicacy in launching out" financially under present circumstances.¹²⁰ "You and I have each our own responsibilities, and while you, Prest. Smoot,"

represent an institution of learning, “I feel that, I, as Trustee in Trust, am using the General funds of the whole Church.” In other words, this \$1,200 annual rent sum “outside of other considerations might be well enough,” but under the “present pressure of affairs” it was, quite simply, “exorbitant.” President Taylor offered instead what he believed was currently a just equivalent for annual rent: \$400. “If this is not satisfactory we will refer the whole subject to arbitration,” he added, half seriously, referring to a common method for members of the Church to settle disputes.¹²¹ In the meantime, while the trustees considered the offer, President Taylor gave them a down payment of \$2,000 to keep the school open another term.¹²²

The trustees were serious about paying all their debts and quickly accepted the invitation to arbitrate without counteroffering. “The Board feels that the Trust committed to their charge in the B. Y. Academy is a sacred one,” explained Smoot, “and should they due [*sic*] anything to retard its progress they would be recreant to their trust.”¹²³ Arbitration became a way for the trustees to protect that trust after they considered how “they would lay themselves open to just criticism” for taking President Taylor’s offer when lots across the street commanded much higher prices.¹²⁴ Smoot aimed to convince when he included these prices in a letter to the President in which he concluded, “ever praying for your welfare,” and signed, “your brother in the Gospel of Christ.”¹²⁵ Here were trustees who loved the school and the Church and had faith that God would rule equitably over both institutions through the judgment of a disinterested observer.

Discipleship, not disinterest, would eventually decide this case. Maeser’s ultimatum prompted each side to choose arbitrators, who together were to choose a third disinterested party. At this point President Taylor’s arbitrator, L. John Nuttall, refused to proceed further. Nuttall ignored letters from the academy’s arbitrator, John E. Booth, who wanted to decide on the third party; instead, Nuttall privately prodded academy officials to settle the matter without one.¹²⁶ Nuttall was a longtime Provo resident who had worked closely with Smoot and Maeser in civic and Church affairs and was also President Taylor’s son-in-law and personal secretary. Nuttall knew John Taylor about as well as any man living.¹²⁷ “Although the proposition to arbitrate was also proposed, I do not think that was expected,” Nuttall confided.¹²⁸ Making clear he wrote on his own responsibility, Nuttall pled with academy officials to settle the issue “by way of compromise” and thereby arrest this “coercive” and “forced” measure.¹²⁹

Smoot was persuaded gradually. “The more I reflect upon arbitration of such an important matter with the President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,” he confessed to Nuttall, “the less I feel like having anything to do with it.”¹³⁰ Smoot partially conceded when in mid-June 1886 he suggested that President Taylor choose all three arbitrators “and I

will agree to abide the results of their decision.”¹³¹ Concessions were total after he and the trustees motioned on June 26 to “rescind our acceptance of Arbitration” and leave the question of rent “entirely to the judgement of President John Taylor.”¹³² Discipleship had triumphed.

For the famished school, something was better than nothing. President Taylor’s judgment was an improvement on his original offer: \$450 per year in rent for the last nine years, or \$4,050 total, equally divided between cash, merchandise, and produce.¹³³ On the strength of this promise, Brigham Young Academy opened again in the fall.

Beneficiary Funds from Church Members. Tithing Block rent could not cover past debts or prevent future ones from accruing. Enrollment continued to plummet, reaching an eight-year low by the end of 1886. Poor tuition receipts prompted Maeser to make “one last desperate effort to save the Academy from breaking up next Christmas” 1886, just a few months away. I “cannot afford another sacrifice” like last year, he insisted, stung from losing more than half his salary from the previous year.¹³⁴ Maeser, always party to his own advice, had long encouraged academy teachers to consider themselves missionaries who joyfully served without thought for food or raiment.¹³⁵

Maeser was more concerned about how the academy would survive before Christmas than after. The Church had deferred half of the back rent on the Tithing Block until year-end local tithing returns were deposited at the general tithing office during the first few months of 1887.¹³⁶ Academy officials responded to the need by initiating two subscription drives during the first half of the academic year. These drives generated enough revenue to satisfy teachers until the remainder of the back rent could subsidize their salaries at the beginning of the new year.

Maeser initiated the first drive in August 1886 when he asked John Q. Cannon, a recently appointed trustee, to raise money for the academy to pay its operating expenses through the end of the school year. Since teachers always seemed to get shortchanged, the trustees agreed to give them all the tuition revenue (still not enough for full salary) and find some other way to raise money for heating, lighting, and incidentals.¹³⁷ Cannon gave \$100 himself and managed to scrape up another \$675 from concerned observers. Smoot, Elder Heber J. Grant, and three of Brigham Young’s heirs each gave \$100. Trustee Harvey Cluff gave \$75. Another Young heir gave \$50, as did venerable General Relief Society President Eliza R. Snow, now over 80 years old.¹³⁸

Smoot initiated the second subscription drive at a meeting of the Utah Stake high council in October 1886. He told the council that “soon, the school will have to close” unless the brethren present “use their means and influence to sustain” the academy teachers, still due about \$2,500.¹³⁹

Maeser detailed his own sacrifices before the council and described his “mission” to remain with the school “as long as it was possible for him to do so.”¹⁴⁰ Smoot warned the high council that “if [the academy] goes down,” council members “may bear a part of the responsibility as General Officers of the Church.”¹⁴¹

Council members acted on the message. Three councilors were appointed to “devise a plan to carry on the school” with help from the academy trustees.¹⁴² This joint committee concluded that since Provo’s businessmen benefited most from the estimated \$40,000 in annual student expenditures locally, they should give something back by “donating of their means to sustain” the school.¹⁴³ On November 29, 1886, about one hundred locals met with the council and subscribed over \$1,000 for students of their choice to attend the academy as beneficiaries.¹⁴⁴ The trustees encouraged subscription by promising to reopen the primary department, where children as young as age six could attend. Although the Beneficiary Fund was not the academy’s panacea, it was successful enough for the trustees to later initiate it in all the wards of Utah Stake.¹⁴⁵ Trustees and teachers alike were heartened by the collections. The reappearance of community support allowed the trustees to pay the teachers and thus keep the school open.

Back faculty salaries were eventually paid with help from the Church. President Wilford Woodruff, who led the Church after President John Taylor died in July 1887, gave the trustees \$2,500 in tithing produce accompanied by a special request to settle with teachers before other creditors.¹⁴⁶ This relief came during the 1887–88 school year, just as the academy and the territory was emerging from the fiscal strain of the antipolygamy raids. Although arrests continued through the Manifesto of 1890, economic fortunes were on the mend long before, at least as early as the spring of 1888, thanks in large measure to a land and credit boom that would later come back to haunt everyone, including the country at large.

Surviving Dispute with Brigham Young’s Heirs: 1888–1897

“Boom! Boom!! Boom!!!” The headline in Provo’s *Utah Enquirer* for March 20, 1888, marked a shift in the fortunes of an entire people and a school who drew its patronage. A growing perception that the Mormon kingdom was crumbling had enticed investors from the east to Utah. Some were mine speculators whose eastern capital now in circulation allowed local public confidence to soar. Credit stretched far, and investors began buying land at prices empty-pocketed pioneers had never dreamed of.¹⁴⁷ Suddenly the academy’s Tithing Block, vacated by the Church in 1887, was appraised at six-figure prices. Academy trustees needed no convincing: sell now. These three acres could provide all the revenue the school would need to complete the new building and create an ample endowment fund.

Funding the Academy Building. Such an idyllic ending was not to be. Brigham Young had stipulated in his Tithing Block deed that his “heirs or assigns” be given final approval after his death of all decisions pertaining to the “management and control” of academy property.¹⁴⁸ The deed did not say how long the heirs should have this control. Instead, to discover Brigham’s intentions the academy trustees read his final school deed, the deed to the Brigham Young College. Identical in other respects to the academy deed, the college deed stated that all the heirs’ power was to end at “the settlement of the estate.”¹⁴⁹ Even though the estate had been settled years before, the academy deed as a legal document never ended the heirs’ power. The academy trustees, therefore, even at this late date, were forced to go through the heirs to sell.¹⁵⁰ Believing that he was fulfilling Brigham’s wish, Smoot aimed to sever the heirs’ power by enlisting Susa Young Gates in 1889 for the grinding task of collecting the signatures of all the heirs—now over six dozen spread across the country—on a new deed of trust conveying all powers previously held by the heirs into the hands of the trustees.¹⁵¹

Three heirs who refused to sign created endless trouble for the academy. Two of these three daughters of Brigham Young and Emmeline Free had sued the Church in 1879 over the estate settlement and were later excommunicated for the act.¹⁵² At the time the Utah land market began declining precipitously in November 1890, only these three of all the heirs had refused to sign the new deed.¹⁵³ Academy officials could then wait no longer to sell. On November 12, the day after they officially accepted the new deed without the last of the signatures, the trustees placed the Tithing Block up for sale, hoping investors would ignore a clouded title and agree to buy upon a promise that a perfected one would shortly be provided.¹⁵⁴

For months the Tithing Block sat on a stagnant market until a large group of Provo businessmen formed a joint-stock company for the purpose of buying portions of the land and building upon them.¹⁵⁵ In April 1891, the company agreed to pay the academy \$15,000 for 8,000 square feet on condition the school provided a “clear and unencumbered” title within thirty days.¹⁵⁶ Academy trustees were optimistic they could provide such after they sent Ella Young Empey, the recalcitrant heirs’ older sister, to New York to persuade them in person.¹⁵⁷ Presumably on the strength of this visit, the trustees promptly signed for \$56,000 in building contracts before any word from the East had yet been received.¹⁵⁸ Construction on the basement floor of the new academy building resumed on May 18, 1891, seven years after it began, with what one trustee frankly described was “not yet a dollar in the treasury.”¹⁵⁹ Such a practice was not uncommon—in credit booms, school trustees both locally and nationally built first and acquired funds later.¹⁶⁰

The three heirs did not sign, and the school was stuck with the building contracts. Academy trustees delivered over the land they had promised

to the joint-stock company, though none of the \$15,000 was ever paid because the trustees could not deliver clear title. Other potential buyers shied away from the land for the same reason.¹⁶¹ The trustees were left to somehow raise funds to pay for building contracts by the time the initial contracts fell due in the spring of 1892. There was no turning back because the work was “under contracts and expenses had to be met,” recalled trustee and superintendent of construction H. H. Cluff.¹⁶² Even worse, money had to be found on a dull market and without help from the Church, for it too was in major debt and committed to allocating available resources elsewhere.¹⁶³

After several months of miserable success locating funds, Smoot nonetheless felt hopeful. He publicly recounted in 1892 that Brigham Young

appeared to me and during a brief conversation said Brother Smoot you need not worry about the Academy or about how means can be obtained to build the structures which have been commenced, for the way will be opened that means will be furnished to finish the work.¹⁶⁴

The trustees soon had the contracts covered. They secured a large mortgage with an eastern lender and wheedled loans from local banks amounting in aggregate to about \$44,000 in cash.¹⁶⁵ Subcontractors who were due payment in excess of this on-hand cash agreed to take promissory notes signed by the trustees for and in behalf of the school.¹⁶⁶ These loans and promissory notes were to be paid with interest sometime after the academy won the suit it filed against the three heirs in October 1891.¹⁶⁷ After victory, so the theory went, the Tithing Block could finally be sold and the creditors paid.

The academy won the suit, but still the land could not be sold for reasons never fully explained. Court transcripts of the decision, dated May 12, 1892, state the defendants were “forever barred” from “all right, interest, claim and demand of, in and to” academy lands on the basis of the 1890 deed, an absolute “relinquishment and release of all [the defendants’] rights” granted them in the original deeds.¹⁶⁸ But the defendants obviously knew they once possessed the rights the academy trustees had never called upon them to exercise. Perhaps by claiming that the trustees violated their rights before the creation of the 1890 deed, the defendants immediately threatened further action.¹⁶⁹ The trustees considered this threat legitimate and did not sell the land for fear more suits would result. The new building, meanwhile, erected almost entirely on credit, was completed, dedicated, and opened for classes in January 1892, despite the interest steadily compounding on a debt of \$50,000.¹⁷⁰

The academy trustees finally placated the three sisters by paying them each \$250 in return for their signatures on quit-claim deeds.¹⁷¹ But by the time the school had freed itself for good from the heirs, the Tithing Block

no longer commanded prices high enough to cover the building debt. Timing was everything. The last of the quit-claim deeds was signed on May 4, 1893, the very day a sharp fall in the New York Stock Exchange signaled the beginning of the deepest economic recession the United States had seen to date.¹⁷² Utah was hit particularly hard, cash dried up across the territory, and land prices were deflated for years. Once the academy's pot of gold, the Tithing Block remained unsold until after the turn of the century.¹⁷³

Brigham Young's appearance had filled Smoot with gratitude that the construction contracts were covered and with hope that the loans to pay them off still would be. Yet even Smoot's hope stretched thin as loan deadlines were not met and a creditor's judgment could mean forced marshal sale and the end of the school. The trustees were out of solutions at the point when Smoot informed President Woodruff in March 1893 of the "seeming impossibility of continuing the school under existing conditions."¹⁷⁴ Interest payments alone devoured almost half the previous year's tuition revenues, and expenses in the new building were expected to overshoot annual revenues at least \$10,000 annually.¹⁷⁵ Loans more than two years past due comprised a debt now \$81,000 and rising.¹⁷⁶

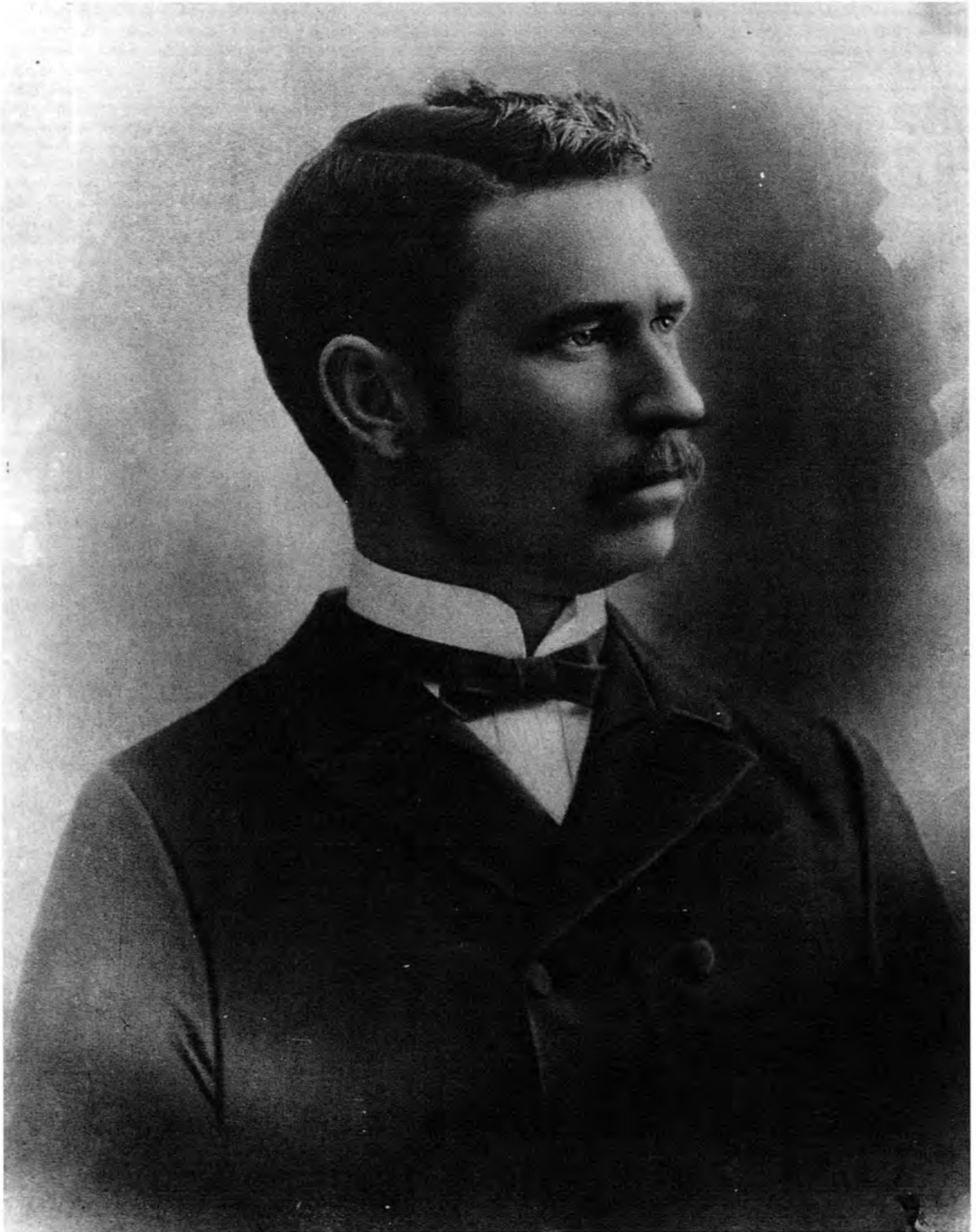
The academy's rescue was not automatically assured. Before 1888 the Church had given funds for the school to escape its financial crises. In that year, however, President Wilford Woodruff directed the Church's thirty-two stakes to open their own schools and promised to help subsidize them with annual appropriations from the newly created General Church Board of Education, a governing body of nine.¹⁷⁷ These appropriations were strictly nominal and were never large enough for sizable building construction—understandably so considering the Church's troubled financial condition. Stakes were expected to build within their means and not count on help from general Church funds. The existence of these other stake schools was by no means secure: twenty-five of the original forty schools shut down after the Church was unable to offer them financial assistance during the 1893–94 school year. Brigham Young Academy indebtedness was over twice the indebtedness of any other stake academy, pressing Church leaders to decide whether they would allow the school to be among those that closed.

The Church University. Resolution to this crisis took time. Church funds eventually paid the academy's indebtedness, but only after the school had become so integral to the Church educational system that Church leaders would not allow the school to collapse. Although the Brigham Young Academy was the acknowledged leader of the few Church schools that existed before 1888, this status was threatened when the Church decided to found a university to head the new system of schools.¹⁷⁸ The academy was suddenly one school among many. The task academy officials pursued was to work toward becoming a university

before the Church university opened and therefore regain their place at the head of the Church school system. Academy officials retained current faculty, erected the new building, offered free tuition to normals, expanded curriculum, lured in transfer faculty, hired new faculty, increased faculty salaries and expenditures, initiated theological lectures, and issued their first college degrees. These measures meant increasing the debt before it could be removed.

Church leaders initially seemed more eager to establish a new university than to rescue the academy from debt. The leading educational institution in the territory, the University of Deseret (renamed the University of Utah in 1892), had remained outside of the Church's influence since the days of Brigham Young, whose pleas to implement theological instruction at the school had fallen on deaf ears. The Church school system created in 1888 seemed to demand an organization crowned by an entirely new institution, a full-fledged university, located at Zion's center, Salt Lake City. The First Presidency had planned on founding the new university there for at least a year before the *Deseret News* officially announced a formal organization on June 2, 1891, just weeks after the academy trustees had entered into their initial building contracts.¹⁷⁹ At the head of the new institution was an intimidating twenty-six member board of trustees that included seven Apostles and the entire First Presidency, with President Wilford Woodruff as "chairman of the finance committee."¹⁸⁰ The following spring, April 1892, a resolution to found the "University of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints" was read and accepted from the pulpit at general conference, and an initial endowment of \$100,000 was penned into the deed of trust.¹⁸¹ About \$60,000 of that sum was given for the construction of a temporary school building to be used until the Church could acquire funds to launch a \$1,000,000 network of university buildings spread over an entire city block.¹⁸² By fall 1893, when the university opened classes in chemistry and natural theology in the temporary building, the academy had been in deep debt for two years.

Academy officials had rushed into construction, in part, as a means of consolidating their power against the encroaching university. A chagrined Smoot had watched for several years as the General Board consistently plucked the academy's most celebrated teachers for service in schools outside of Provo.¹⁸³ The last straw for him came in March 1891, when the General Board unexpectedly released Maeser's successor-in-waiting, Benjamin Cluff Jr., from his position at the academy, effective at the end of that school year. Cluff, the thirty-three-year-old assistant principal from Coalville, Utah, was the only teacher at the academy with a college degree.¹⁸⁴ His expertise in teacher training was needed in Salt Lake City during the coming year "contemplating the establishment of the University

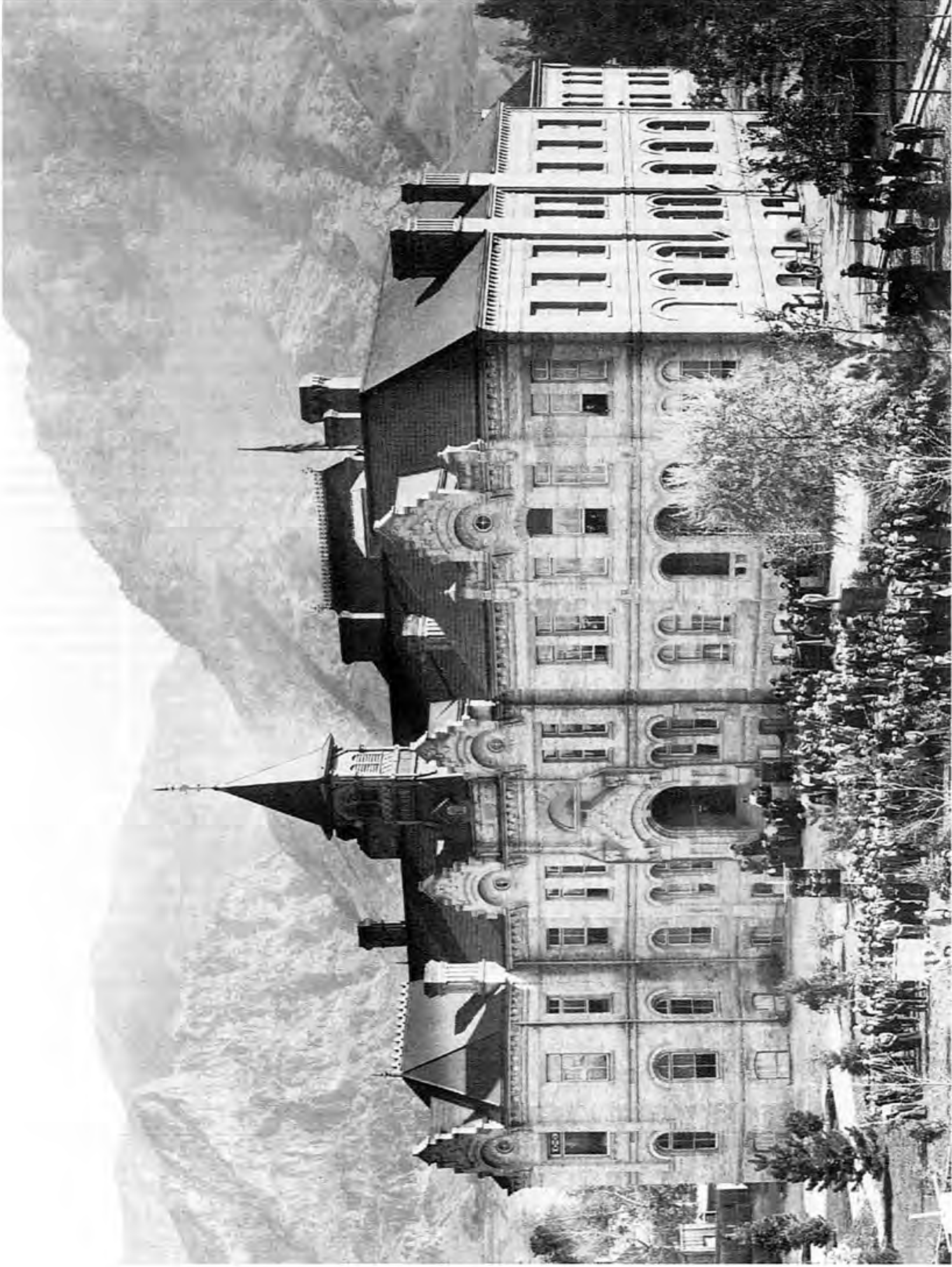


Benjamin Cluff Jr. (1856–1948) was principal (later president) of Brigham Young Academy from 1892 to 1903. His determined vision brought the school to the doorstep of metropolitan university status. This photograph (ca. 1890) was taken while Cluff was a student at the University of Michigan. Courtesy BYU Archives.

of Zion,” wrote President Wilford Woodruff, president of the General Board.¹⁸⁵ Smoot quickly led a delegation of academy trustees to the First Presidency’s office and there asked for a countermand. His charge that the General Board was “injuring” the academy by taking the school’s best teachers “in order to build up Salt Lake College” was denied by President Woodruff, Smoot’s former missionary companion.¹⁸⁶ Nevertheless, the call was suspended after the Presidency unitedly agreed that moving Cluff from Provo “would be imprudent under the circumstances.”¹⁸⁷ The circumstances were that a coalition of Provo businessmen had only days before agreed to purchase portions of the Tithing Block, and Smoot feared they would not follow through with their promises once this “new blow at the prosperity of the institution would become known.”¹⁸⁸

Cluff Spurs Growth amidst Debt. Cluff’s return to the academy stirred Provo to reassert the academy as the finest institution in Zion. “The new building now seems assured of completion for the next year,” the *Daily Enquirer* concluded as it announced Cluff’s suspended call.¹⁸⁹ The day after their meeting with the Presidency, the trustees viewed architect Joseph Don Carlos Young’s updated plans for the new building and then authorized Smoot and Harvey Cluff to negotiate for loans in advance of land sales to Provo businessmen.¹⁹⁰ The trustees would not be stopped from erecting a structure to command the respect of all Israel. The new building was completed in six months and dedicated at a grand celebration held on January 4, 1892.¹⁹¹ President Woodruff acknowledged the trustees’ success when he called the finished product “the finest building in Utah Erected for the Education of the Children.”¹⁹² The sheer breadth and grandeur of this structure, which was built to accommodate 1,200 pupils, exceeded any school building then in the territory.¹⁹³

Believing the finest building warranted the finest institution, academy officials began upgrading their curriculum to university standards even before the new building was complete—and before, of course, the Church university got off the ground. The main catalyst in this movement was Cluff, who had returned from the University of Michigan in 1890 with a degree in pedagogy and mathematics and a vision of what the academy might become. The most important of Cluff’s early changes came when he convinced the General Board in October 1891 to allow the academy to house the official “Church Normal Training School” until the Church university opened. This request aimed to reclaim the title of official Church normal school taken from the Brigham Young Academy in 1890 and given to the academy in Salt Lake Stake for no demonstrable reason other than location.¹⁹⁴ The request was reasonable since Cluff had remained in Provo and since the University of Deseret had begun offering free tuition to normals in the spring of 1891. Cluff’s request reflected the concern that the



The Academy Building (later the Education Building), dedicated in 1892, was the finest and largest school building in the Utah Territory. This photograph (ca. 1900) also shows the annex at the back of the building, added in 1898. Courtesy BYU Archives.

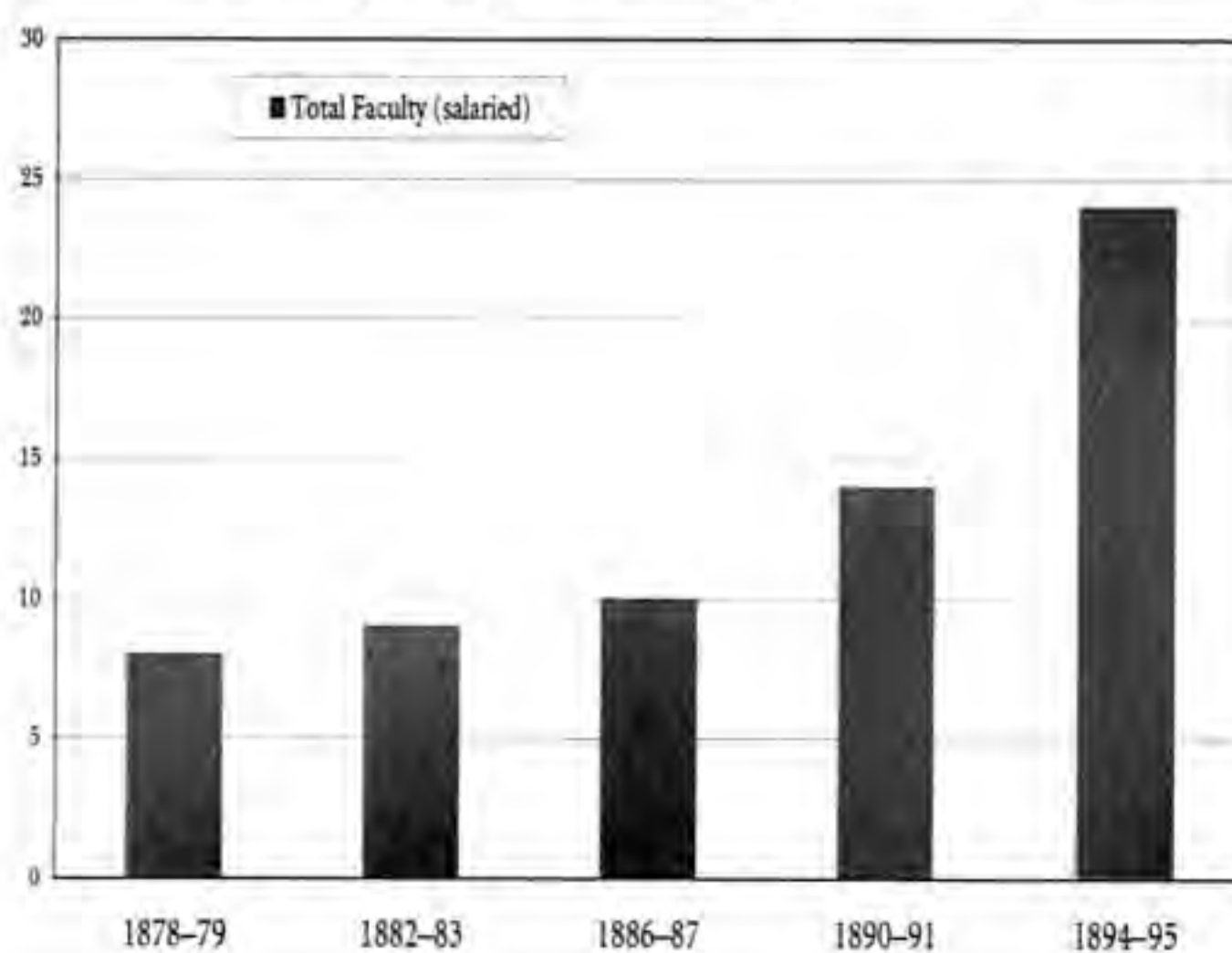
Church would lose its supremacy over teacher training in Utah. He asked the General Board for a \$5,000 appropriation so that the academy could keep pace and also make its tuition for normals free.¹⁹⁵ The appropriation was granted two months before Cluff became principal of Brigham Young Academy. Maeser retired from the position at the dedication of the new building, and under Cluff's leadership, the academy never relinquished its position as the premier teacher-training institution in Zion.

Cluff did not allow academy indebtedness to hamper his effort to enhance the academy's prestige. After becoming principal, he immediately expanded course work from two years to four, enlarged elective curriculum, and fought for the academy's right to begin conferring four-year degrees—and confer them independent of the General Board, which had proclaimed that the first and only institution to have the right to award degrees would be the Church university.¹⁹⁶ Cluff lured one of the country's top educators, Colonel Francis Parker from Cook County Normal School in Chicago, to the academy for two weeks of lectures in the summer of 1892, and in succeeding summers brought other nationally renowned educators to lecture at the school.¹⁹⁷ Even when it became clear that the Tithing Block could not be sold anytime soon, Cluff enlarged the faculty from sixteen to twenty-one, hiring professors of physical sciences, classical languages, and history, all of whom had degrees from eastern universities and had to be paid handsomely because of it.¹⁹⁸ Most faculty received substantial pay raises between Cluff's first and second term as principal, when total faculty salaries increased almost 50 percent.¹⁹⁹ The following year, in the middle of the financial panic, other faculty were given financial assistance while on furlough at eastern universities.²⁰⁰ "A narrow policy on the part of the Academy will kill the school," Cluff summarized, while "a broad, liberal policy will build it up until it will be the peer of any school in the Territory."²⁰¹

Cluff's endeavors were not without the trustees' approval. He typically presented his requests in person to the trustees, who then jointly motioned to

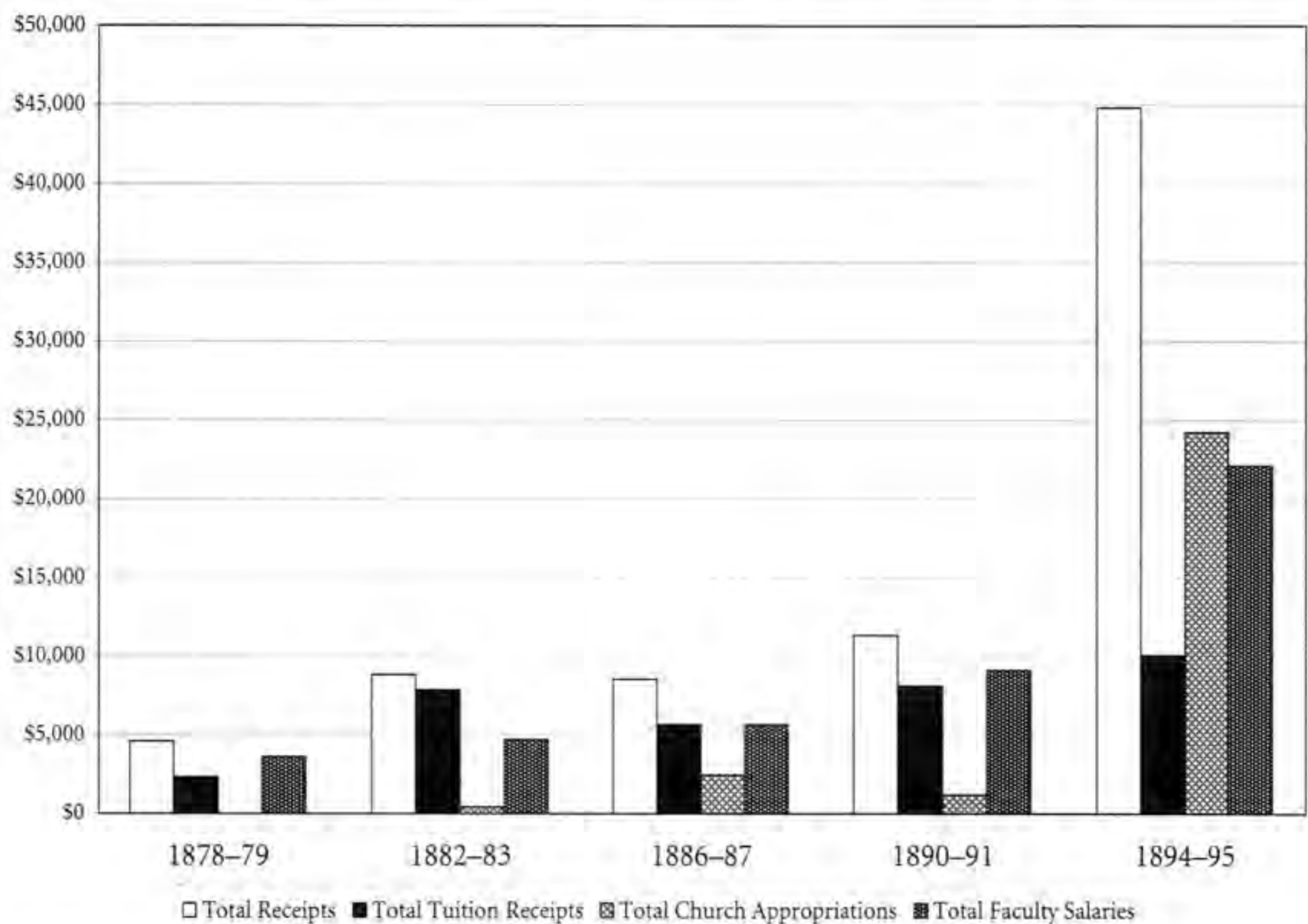
accept, reject, or amend them. When Cluff insisted that students be furnished with their own apparatus, such as chemistry sets, during this time

Faculty, Brigham Young Academy



The number of salaried faculty jumped (1894–95) during Benjamin Cluff Jr.'s administration.

Selected Receipts and Faculty Salaries, Brigham Young Academy



Tuition receipts increased only moderately compared to other receipts and expenditures in Benjamin Cluff Jr.'s administration.

when a retrenchment mind-set might have called for reservation, they assented to the request.²⁰² Maeser, who had retired as academy principal to devote himself full-time to his position as superintendent of Church schools, believed the academy's financial condition called for Cluff to "curtail" some of his "farreaching schemes."²⁰³ Yet with rare exceptions, those who controlled the purse—the trustees—were generally in accord with Cluff's aims. The trustees, ultimately, were the ones who contracted with teachers and agreed to pay their salaries on borrowed money.²⁰⁴

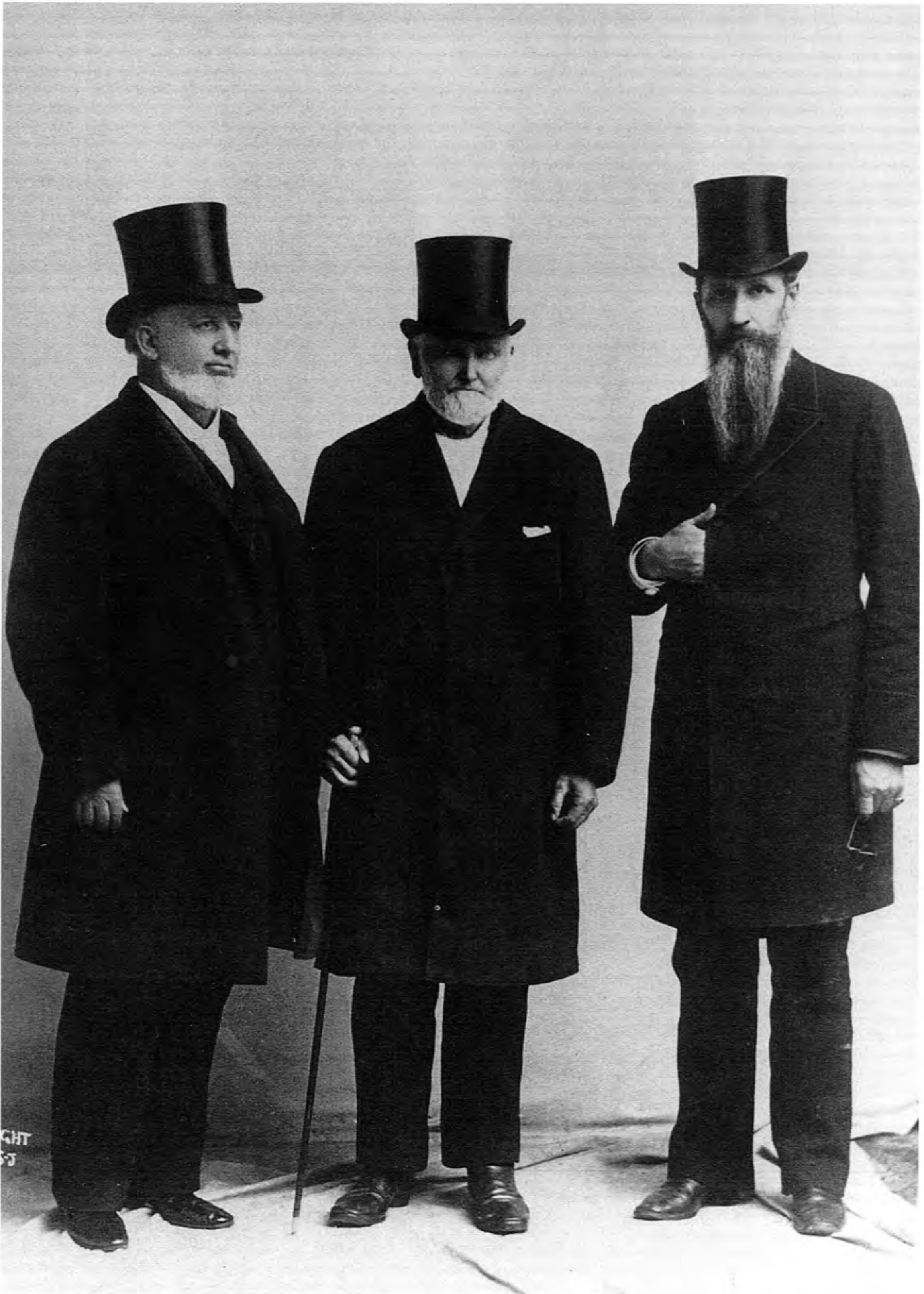
Cluff wisely involved the First Presidency in his program. He read drafts of his academy circulars to President Woodruff and incorporated suggested changes and additions before printing them. Cluff petitioned the First Presidency for weekly theological lectures given by prominent Church authorities, and the granted request resulted in regular lectures given by George Reynolds, secretary to the First Presidency, and lectures as schedule permitted given by Presidents Joseph F. Smith and George Q. Cannon.²⁰⁵ Cluff opened a four-week normal course to Mutual Improvement Association officers during his first term as principal and followed that up the next school year with a course for Sunday School officers. These courses brought no tuition initially, but some of the hundred or more students

who took the courses every year undoubtedly remained as full-time students. The semi-official prestige that came to the school through these programs was difficult for the Saints and their leaders to conflate with a simple stake academy.²⁰⁶ By the spring of 1893, Cluff was asking for and receiving from the First Presidency special appropriations for faculty salaries, teaching apparatus, and library volumes.²⁰⁷

As Cluff pushed the school into its future, Church leaders gradually recognized that Brigham Young Academy was becoming the kind of institution they wanted in a Church university. The General Board's May 1893 consent to allow the academy to award the Bachelor of Didactics (B. D.) degree was an admission that the Church university had been effectively bested. The Church university opened three months later, but after financial panic clipped its operations down to a few classes, President Woodruff closed the school for good on August 18, 1894.²⁰⁸ Two months later, the General Board issued its only two appropriations for the calendar year. Sanpete Stake, struggling to pay off the debts on its new school house in Ephraim, was given \$800; and Utah Stake, home of the Brigham Young Academy at Provo, was promised a staggering \$26,000.²⁰⁹

This decision to embrace the academy was both novel and familiar. Academy trustees had long believed their school, as the oldest of the Church schools, warranted the highest status, especially when they considered how she had through the years "proved her integrity to the President of the Church and to all Israel."²¹⁰ Church leaders began viewing the academy with similar affection once the school expanded into space the nascent university had neither the money nor the urgency to fill. The academy's rich tradition provided an unbroken link with a pioneer past Church leaders were eager to retain after the original rationale for the Church university collapsed before it even opened. The university's aim to cease the annual exodus of young Latter-day Saints to eastern universities lost its power after the Manifesto of 1890 started the Church along a path of assimilation into the American mainstream. The goal of monopolizing degrees for all conceivable subjects of higher learning soon became an insular and obsolete end. Church leaders could secure the academy's dominance in one realm—teacher training—while still encouraging the Saints to leave the territory for other studies. This conservative goal reflected the overall retreat of the temporal kingdom into the smaller spaces and simpler ends. Brigham Young Academy provided Church leaders everything they now needed in a school: leadership willing to move the school into the progressive future, a charter connecting the school to its pioneer past, and a history of commitment to Brigham Young's ideals through times of crisis.

Removal of the Debt. Lawsuits finally prompted an end to the academy's debt. The First Presidency promised the trustees forthcoming



George Q. Cannon, left (1827–1901), Wilford Woodruff, center (1807–1898), and Joseph F. Smith (1838–1918) comprised the LDS Church First Presidency from 1889 to 1898. This photograph was taken on April 6, 1893. Courtesy BYU Archives.

relief after four creditors were awarded civil-suit judgments against the school in January 1895. Smoot and seven other academy trustees who had signed notes were named as defendants.²¹¹ Smoot's death in March 1895 hastened the promised funds. His estate could not be settled until the academy's creditors were paid. They were due more than \$66,000 in promissory notes and loans Smoot and other academy trustees had signed for and in behalf of the school.²¹² Brigham Young's close friend and counselor George Q. Cannon, who had closely followed the school's fortunes from the time he wrote the original academy deed, described after Smoot's death how this indebtedness "appealed very strongly to my sympathies," considering "Brother Smoot endorsed these notes in consequence of counsel he says he received from President Young to stand by that Academy and do all in his power to sustain it."²¹³ President Woodruff, who had promised to "provide for early payment" of these notes, soon covered the court judgments and other of the most pressing academy debts. The other creditors agreed to take interest payments upon the First Presidency's promise of future payment.²¹⁴ President Woodruff later estimated the Church paid about \$75,000 in academy indebtedness—about the cost of the new academy building.²¹⁵

The academy's future was not secure until the Church absorbed the school. Smoot's successor as president of the Board of Trustees, Apostle Brigham Young Jr., informed Cluff at the close of the 1895–96 school year that the Church could not appropriate funds to the school for the upcoming year. Realizing that receiving no assistance "meant the death of the Academy," Cluff arrived at what seemed to him to be his only option:

One evening while returning from a walk down town and while studying deeply over the future of the Academy, the thought came to me like an inspiration. "Give the school to the Church." Immediately my mind was at rest. I knew that was the right thing to do.

Church leaders had so greatly invested in the academy by the summer of 1896 that even the prospect of pushing the Church further into debt could not dissuade them from turning down Cluff's unsolicited gift. They accepted the gift, prepared articles of incorporation dated July 18, 1896, and appropriated the needed funds. The following year, three new members of the board of trustees were sustained at the annual general conference of the Church, according to provision in the articles. The trustees had long hoped that the Church would take financial responsibility for the academy; now that the school had become an invaluable asset for building the kingdom, their wish was granted.²¹⁶

Brigham Young Academy's name was officially changed to Brigham Young University in 1903. The school had long been doing collegiate level work, training teachers for employment and for a decade awarding them with degrees. "The name Academy places the school in a bad light," Cluff

had concluded.²¹⁷ Changing the school's name was the last official move Cluff made. He retired from his position at Christmas break, 1903, never again to return to the field of education. His tenure culminated at the destination he envisioned from the start, and once the school had come of age, his mission was fulfilled.²¹⁸

Conclusion

Benjamin Cluff Jr. followed the tradition of Brigham Young Academy officials before him whose sense of mission carried the school out of crises. Karl G. Maeser guided the school out of a student-poor pioneer Utah; A. O. Smoot extended his credit as far as was needed for the academy to stand at the head of the Church school system; and Cluff poised the school to become a metropolitan university. The commitment academy officials had for the academy stemmed from their loyalty to Brigham Young. "My whole soul is in accord with [Brigham Young's] in this laudable and praiseworthy undertaking," Smoot once said of the school.²¹⁹ These were not empty words. They were written in the acts of academy officials who consistently manifested their love for Brigham Young and belief in his vision long after he was gone.

Jed L. Woodworth is research editor at *BYU Studies*.

1. See Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890–1930* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 3–15; James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 2d ed., rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 409–34.

2. This figure is the first of many nineteenth-century dollar figures cited in this paper. For those who wish to think of these figures in present-day dollar figures, two conversion rates will be helpful. To convert the 1875 dollar into the 1990 dollar, multiply by ten; to convert the 1895 dollar into the 1990 dollar, multiply by fifteen. Larry Wimmer, economic historian in the Department of Economics, Brigham Young University, who supplied me with these figures, reminds readers that these numbers give only approximate conversions and do not represent literal values.

3. Ernest L. Wilkinson, ed., *Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred Years*, 4 vols. (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1975): 1:536–37. The first of these four volumes offers the most comprehensive history of the Brigham Young Academy currently available. All four volumes are condensed into one, with some new material, in Ernest L. Wilkinson and W. Cleon Skousen, *Brigham Young University: A School of Destiny* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1976). Photographic treatment may be found in Edwin Butterworth Jr., *Brigham Young University: 1,000 Views of 100 Years* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1975). Student life is reviewed in Keith Lowell Smith, "A History of the Brigham Young University—The Early Years, 1875–1921" (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1972). For contemporaneous history of the academy covering the period before 1882, see the three-part series written by James E. Talmage and published in the *Contributor* in March, May, and June 1881. For

contemporaneous history after 1882, see Karl G. Maeser, *School and Fireside* (n. p.: Skelton, 1898), 159–92, and the brief historical summaries of the school found in yearly academy circulars beginning in 1884, located in Special Collections and Manuscripts, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter cited as BYU Archives).

4. Nonpublic schools in the United States are treated in Otto F. Kraushaar, *American Nonpublic Schools: Patterns of Diversity* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University, 1972). An interpretive discussion of nineteenth-century academies is found in Theodore R.Sizer, ed., *The Age of the Academies* (New York: Teacher's College, 1964). A superb study of the interplay between nonpublic schools, academies, and public schools is William J. Reese, *The Origins of the American High School* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995). Latter-day Saint academies are treated in John D. Monnett Jr., "The Mormon Church and Its Private School System in Utah: The Emergence of the Academies, 1880–1892," (Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1984), 98–116.

5. The Young Academy of Salt Lake City, the second of three schools Brigham Young founded, never opened its doors; the last of the three, the Brigham Young College of Logan, battled the Brigham Young Academy through the 1880s for the same sparse student clientele. The college never had similar financial problems, however, because its original deed conveyed over 9,000 acres of land, some of which was either rented or sold to subsidize tuition revenues. On the Young Academy, see D. Michael Quinn, "The Brief Career of Young University at Salt Lake City," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 41 (winter 1973): 69–89. On Brigham Young College, see Arnold K. Garr, "A History of Brigham Young College, Logan, Utah," (master's thesis, Utah State University, 1973). It is not clear why Brigham Young named two schools "academy" and the other "college." Stipulations for curriculum read identically in all three deeds, and the ages of those who actually attended were practically identical. In any case, Brigham Young College operated for many years as a college in name only. George Thomas, who attended the school from 1889 to 1891 and later became President of the University of Utah, called the college "a poor high school." [George Thomas], "School Days," Ralph Vary Chamberlin Papers, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City.

6. The original deeds were copied into Brigham Young Academy Trustees, Minutes, October 16, 1875, and June 15, 1877, BYU Archives. They were reprinted in Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 1:523–28.

7. Brigham Young, quoted in [Susa Young Gates], "President A. O. Smoot," *Young Woman's Journal* 3 (July 1892): 436; Karl G. Maeser, "A Retrospect," *Normal* 1 (January 4, 1892): 68.

8. Smoot functioned as president of the high council at Provo City until he was officially called as president of Utah Stake when the stake was formally organized in June 1877.

9. That is to say, the trustees were not paid as trustees. The academy treasurer received a small salary for bookkeeping.

10. These stipulations are found in the original deeds of trust, reprinted in Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 1:524, 527. The deed also called for teaching all branches of study "usually taught in an academy of learning."

11. A. O. Smoot, quoted in Joseph E. Taylor, "Abraham O. Smoot: Life and Labors of the Late President of the Board of Trustees of the B. Y. A.," [1895], 67, Abraham O. Smoot Collection, BYU Archives.

12. [Gates], "President A. O. Smoot," 435–36. These quotations come from Brigham Young's conversations with A. O. Smoot specifically. On another occasion Smoot said, "Brigham Young told Dr. Maeser and myself that the school had been given us as a charge to ourselves and the board of directors." "Brigham Young Academy," *Deseret*

News Weekly, January 9, 1892, 84. Maeser took over principalship in April 1876, after he completed his teaching obligation to the University of Deseret and Twentieth Ward School. Interim principal Warren N. Dusenberry and John E. Booth taught the academy's first term, which began in January 1876 and lasted until March. Dusenberry's interim status is discussed in Susa Young Gates to George H. Brimhall, June 12, 1920, draft three, Susa Young Gates Collection, Utah State Historical Society (hereafter cited as Gates Collection).

13. "Brigham Young Academy," *Utah County Enquirer*, August 29, 1877.

14. Brigham Young Academy Faculty, Minutes, October 5, 1877, BYU Archives; Brigham Young Academy Trustees, Minutes, July 6, 1878; "James E. Daniels," *Deseret Evening News*, July 24, 1897, 22.

15. Brigham Young Academy Trustees, Minutes, July 6, 1878. This percentage derives from total outstanding liabilities against faculty. Some of these liabilities may have been outstanding from past years.

16. "Report of the Territorial Superintendent of District Schools [1876–1877]," in J. C. Moffitt, comp., "Reports of the Superintendents of Schools of Utah, from 1861 to 1896," typescript, 122, BYU Archives.

17. Colin B. Burke, "The Expansion of American Higher Education," in *The Transformation of Higher Learning, 1860–1930*, ed. Konrad H. Jarausch (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 111.

18. Brigham Young Academy, Circular, 1878–79, BYU Archives.

19. Brigham Young Academy Faculty, Minutes, June 14, 1878; Wilkinson and Skousen, *School of Destiny*, 99.

20. This is not to say that Smoot was not wealthier than most. See J. R. Kearl, Clayne L. Pope, and Larry T. Wimmer, comps., *Index to the 1850, 1860 & 1870 Censuses of Utah: Heads of Households* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1981), 333. The point about Brigham Young's wealth was made in David James Croft, "The Private Business Activities of Brigham Young, 1847–1877," *Journal of the West* 16 (October 1977): 49. Smoot's multitudinous business activities are treated in C. Elliott Berlin, *Abraham Owen Smoot: Pioneer Mormon Leader* (master's thesis: Brigham Young University, 1955). Smoot's early life and family history may be found in Loretta D. Nixon and L. Douglas Smoot, *Abraham Owen Smoot: A Testament of His Life* (Provo, Utah: A. O. Smoot Family Organization, 1994).

21. "Statistical Report of the Utah Stake of Zion, Utah Territory, for the Month Ending October 1877," in Utah Stake Historical Record, 1877–1888, January [13], 1878, microfilm of holograph, Archives Division, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives); Brigham Young Academy Trustees, Minutes, July 6, 1878.

22. Brigham Young Academy Trustees, Minutes, July 6, 1878. This figure does not include \$570 given by the Utah County Court (predecessor to the Utah County Commission) for the tuition of student beneficiaries. In 1876, the court agreed to allocate funds for the yearly tuition of twenty-six students from each of the principal settlements of Utah County. The complete appropriation was never made, beneficiaries were cut to ten in 1882, and appropriations had ceased altogether by 1885. For the initial appropriation, see Utah County Court, Minutes, September 5, November 10, 1876, microfilm of holograph, microfilms office, Utah County Court, Provo, Utah.

23. Brigham Young, quoted in [Gates], "President A. O. Smoot," 435. The bishops were: William Bringham, Springville; Leonard Harrington, American Fork; Myron Tanner, Provo 3rd Ward; Harvey Cluff, Provo 4th Ward. Cluff was called as Smoot's second counselor in the Utah Stake presidency after the stake was officially organized in

June 1877. See Utah Stake Historical Record, 1877–1888, June 3, 1877. For the involvement of nineteenth-century LDS bishops in local schools, see Donald Gene Pace, “Community Leadership on the Mormon Frontier: Mormon Bishops and the Political, Economic, and Social Development of Utah before Statehood” (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1983).

24. Springville Ward, Utah Stake Historical Record, 1875–1879, July 30, 1876, microfilm of holograph, LDS Church Archives. Bringhamurst asked his congregation to show their willingness to sustain the school by calling for a raise of the right hand.

25. Payson Ward, Utah Stake Historical Record, 1875–1879, August 27, 1876, July 15, 1877, microfilm of holograph, LDS Church Archives. Bible-reading in public schools was still acceptable in Utah and in most schools across the nation, although the practice was coming under increasing attack as several major U.S. cities had recently banned the practice and the Supreme Court of Ohio sustained a lower court ruling in Ohio in 1873. See Lloyd P. Jorgenson, *The State and the Non-Public School, 1825–1925* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1987), 132–33. Picking up on Smoot’s theme, other local bishops asked their congregations to sustain the academy. See, for example, Spanish Fork Ward, Utah Stake Historical Record, 1877–1882, August 4, 1878, microfilm of holograph, LDS Church Archives. Academy students were also sent to wards to speak about the school’s merits. See, for example, Utah Stake Historical Record, 1874–1884, November 10, 1878, July 27, 1879.

26. Utah Stake Historical Record, 1877–1888, July 6, 1878, August 3, 1878.

27. Utah Stake Historical Record, 1874–1884, March 7, 1880.

28. Margery W. Ward, *A Life Divided: The Biography of Joseph Marion Tanner, 1859–1927* (Salt Lake City: Publishers, 1980), 9; Payson Ward, Utah Stake Historical Record, 1875–1879, July 15, 1877. Latin and Greek were taught at the academy, but unlike many antebellum academies these studies were never considered a vital part of the curriculum.

29. “The Brigham Young Academy,” *Deseret Evening News*, July 29, 1879.

30. “The Brigham Young Academy,” *Deseret Evening News*, July 29, 1879.

31. The draft version is found in A. O. Smoot, Myron Tanner, and Wilson H. Dusenberry to the Saints in Zion, June 20, 1879, photocopy of holograph, Centennial History Project Papers, BYU Archives. The Centennial History Project Papers contains primary and secondary source documents used in writing the four-volume history *The First One Hundred Years*. All documents cited from this collection are typescripts unless otherwise noted. The draft circular was presented to the priesthood in Utah Stake Historical Record, 1877–1888, July 5, 1879. The week before the priesthood meeting, Maeser sent the draft to President Taylor, who after the meeting returned it with changes suggested for publication. Among the deletions in the published version were the phrases calling the academy’s “natural patron” the “People of The Latter-day Saints” and a reference to President Taylor consenting to subscription committees “for every Stake of Zion.” Karl G. Maeser to John Taylor, June 25, 1879, photocopy of holograph, Centennial History Project Papers; Smoot, Tanner, and Dusenberry to the Saints in Zion, June 20, 1879. See Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 1:117, for a large excerpt from this draft mistaken to be a published circular.

32. “The Brigham Young Academy,” *Deseret Evening News*, July 29, 1879.

33. Brigham Young Academy Trustees, Minutes, November 27, 1880.

34. Brigham Young Academy Trustees, Minutes, July 17, 1876; Springville Ward, Utah Stake Historical Record, 1875–1879, July 30, 1876; Milton H. Hardy, Diary, July 2, 1877, BYU Archives; “Routes and Appointments for Elders Karl G. Maeser and John Taylor Jun[ior],” photocopy of 1878 holograph, Karl G. Maeser Papers, BYU Archives

(hereafter cited as Maeser Papers); "Educational Tour," *Deseret News Weekly*, September 4, 1878, 494–95; Leonard E. Harrington, Journal, July 27, 1879, quoted in "Journal of Leonard E. Harrington," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 8 (January 1940): 56.

35. Karl G. Maeser to John Taylor, June 23, 1880, photocopy of holograph, Maeser Papers. For a detailed account of this journey, see James E. Talmage, Journal, June 29–August 10, 1880, microfilm of holograph, James Edward Talmage Papers, BYU Archives.

36. James E. Talmage, Journal, July 4, August 9, 1880.

37. Brigham Young Academy Domestic Department, Minutes, January 15, 1880, BYU Archives; Utah Stake Bishop's Meetings, Minutes, August 24, 1880, Centennial History Project Papers.

38. "Brigham Young Academy Examination," *Territorial Enquirer*, June 21, 1882, Journal History of the Church, June 21, 1882, 5, microfilm of holograph, LDS Church Archives. Few issues of Provo's *Territorial Enquirer* are extant. Unless otherwise noted, all subsequent citations of Journal History refer to excerpts of the *Territorial Enquirer* found therein.

39. See Monnett, "Emergence of the Academies," 98–116. For a recent interpretive essay on the origins of the Church school system, see Frederick S. Buchanan, "Mormon Response to Secular Education," *Religious Education* 81 (fall 1986): 643–54.

40. The problem of overpopulation during this time is discussed in Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830–1900* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1958), 354–56. Realization of the limits of the land did not eliminate Utah's pro-agricultural bias, however. See Davis Bitton and Linda Wilcox, "The Transformation of Utah's Agriculture, 1847–1900," in *The Twentieth Century American West: Contributions to an Understanding*, eds. Thomas G. Alexander and John F. Bluth (Provo, Utah: Charles Redd Center for Western Studies, 1983), 57–83.

41. See Douglas F. Tobler, "Lecture on Karl G. Maeser," September 18, 1980, typescript, BYU Archives. Maeser biography may be found in Reinhard Maeser, *Karl G. Maeser: A Biography* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1928), and Alma P. Burton, *Karl G. Maeser: Mormon Educator* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1953). Helpful insights into Maeser's German upbringing and educational training are located in Douglas F. Tobler, "Karl G. Maeser's German Background, 1828–1856: The Making of Zion's Teacher," *BYU Studies* 17, no. 2 (1977): 155–75, and Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 1:77–87. For contemporary biography, see "Dedicatory," *Daily Enquirer*, January 4, 1892. The best source for understanding Maeser's thought remains his own *School and Fireside*.

42. Wilkinson and Skousen, *School of Destiny*, 99; compare Brigham Young Academy Trustees, Minutes, December 23, 1879, November 27, 1880.

43. Karl G. Maeser to John Taylor, October 8, 1878, John Taylor Presidential Papers, LDS Church Archives (hereafter cited as Taylor Papers).

44. Maeser to Taylor, October 8, 1878. Maeser thought \$2,000 per year was sufficient to "lift the institution out of its present dilemma." Karl G. Maeser to John Taylor, October 4, 1878, Taylor Papers.

45. The St. George Temple was dedicated in 1877. Temples were under construction in Salt Lake, Manti, and Logan. Temple costs and contributions are listed in Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 339–41. The Church's struggle with the federal government during this time is chronicled in Edwin Brown Firmage and Richard Collin Mangrum, *Zion in the Courts: A Legal History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830–1900* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988). Church leaders asked local leaders to collect donations for a "Defense Fund" assisting to pay litigation expenses. See, for example, Utah Stake Historical Record, 1877–1888, November 1, 1879, November 5, 1886.

46. “Biennial Report of the Territorial Superintendent of District Schools [1878–1879],” in Moffitt, “Reports of the Superintendents,” 137–39; John Taylor, in *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1855–86), 20:47–48, August 4, 1878; John Taylor to A. O. Smoot and Karl G. Maeser, July 15, 1879, Centennial History Project Papers.

47. Taylor to Smoot and Maeser, July 15, 1879.

48. For a recent assessment of John Taylor’s involvement with schools in Utah, see Newell G. Bringhurst and Frederick S. Buchanan, “The Forgotten Odyssey of Obadiah H. Riggs: Early Pioneer for Education Reform,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 66 (winter 1998): 55–57. Early attempts at statehood are reviewed in Edward Leo Lyman, *Political Deliverance: The Mormon Quest for Utah Statehood* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 7–40.

49. [Zina Young Williams Card], “Short Reminiscent Sketches of Karl G. Maeser,” typescript, 3, Zina Young Williams Card Papers, BYU Archives.

50. [Card], “Short Reminiscent Sketches of Karl G. Maeser,” 3. President Taylor “told her he had been visited by her father who had asked that the school be fostered and cared for.” J. Marinus Jensen and others, “History of the Brigham Young University,” 1942 draft, 31, BYU Archives.

51. “Brigham Young Academy,” *Deseret Evening News*, June 20, 1881; Brigham Young Academy Trustees, Minutes, November 4, 1881. A later history mistakenly places the donation at \$500. Jensen and others, “History of the Brigham Young University,” 31.

52. Karl G. Maeser to L. John Nuttall, August 18, 1882, Centennial History Project Papers; L. John Nuttall to Karl G. Maeser, August 28, 1882, L. John Nuttall Letterpress Copybooks, L. John Nuttall Papers, BYU Archives (hereafter cited as Nuttall Papers).

53. John Clifton Moffitt, “A History of Provo, Utah,” bound 1970 typescript, 136, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; Provo City Council, Minutes, January 28, 1884, Provo City Recorder’s Office, Provo, Utah.

54. Lars E. Eggertson to Simon P. Eggertson Jr., February 10, 1884, photocopy of holograph, BYU Archives. For a description of the Lewis Building, see Jensen and others, “The History of the Brigham Young University [1875–1942],” 89.

55. Eggertson to Eggertson Jr., February 10, 1884; Arretta Young to Evadna Young, January 28, 1884, typescript, BYU Archives.

56. “A Mormon Academy Burned,” *New York Times*, January 29, 1884, 4; “The Fire at Provo,” *Deseret Evening News*, January 29, 1884; “Fire at Provo,” *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, January 29, 1884; “B. Y. Academy Gone,” *Salt Lake Daily Herald*, January 29, 1884.

57. “A Great Loss,” *Journal History*, January 29, 1884, 7.

58. Eggertson to Eggertson Jr., February 10, 1884.

59. Nels L. Nelson, “Homes of the School,” *White and Blue* 11 (October 16, 1907): 5.

60. *Circular to the Heirs of the Late President Brigham Young* [1884]; American Fork Ward, Utah Stake Historical Record, 1883–1894, October 21, 1883, microfilm of holograph, LDS Church Archives.

61. Karl G. Maeser, quoted in Milton H. Hardy, “The Faculty Performs a Pleasant Duty,” *Normal* 1 (March 18, 1892): 118.

62. Brigham Young Academy Trustees, Minutes, January 28, 1884.

63. Nelson, “Homes of the School,” 5; “The Fire at Provo,” *Deseret Evening News*, January 29, 1884.

64. Ferdinand Ericksen to Zina Young Williams, February 2, 1884, photocopy of holograph, Centennial History Project Papers.

65. “The Fire at Provo,” *Deseret Evening News*, January 29, 1884.

66. “The Fire at Provo,” *Deseret Evening News*, January 29, 1884. Maeser later said the school fulfilled this prediction: “And like a Phoenix the B. Y. Academy emerged out of the flame with renewed vigor.” [Karl G. Maeser], “The Brigham Young Academy,” *Normal* 1 (November 13, 1891): 43.

67. Eggertson to Eggertson Jr., February 10, 1884.
68. "The Fire at Provo," *Deseret Evening News*, January 29, 1884.
69. Brigham Young Academy Faculty, Minutes, January 29, 1884; First National Bank of Provo, Utah, Minutes, January 28, 1882, microfilm of holograph, Family History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.
70. Nelson, "Homes of the School," 5; "The Academy Fire," *Deseret Evening News*, January 31, 1884. Nelson said rent for the bank rooms was free, but the fee was in fact \$100 through the end of the school year in June. Brigham Young Academy Trustees, Minutes, July 28, 1884; Brigham Young Academy Receipts and Disbursements, 1880–1888, 59, BYU Archives. This price covered rooms upstairs and a room downstairs rented to the school beginning in mid-February. Brigham Young Academy Faculty, Minutes, February 15, 1884. The academy also rented Smoot's storeroom and a room from local resident G. W. Smith. Brigham Young Academy Receipts and Disbursements, 1880–1888, 57, 59; Brigham Young Academy, Accounts, 1880–1888, 79, BYU Archives; "A Great Loss," *Journal History*, January 29, 1884, 7. For other locales where classes may have been held, see Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 1:133. A mid-February 1884 summary of the academy's accommodations noted a dozen rooms but did not give their locations. "B. Y. Academy!" *Journal History*, February 22, 1884, 7.
71. Brigham Young Academy Trustees, Minutes, February 9, 1884.
72. Brigham Young Academy Faculty, Minutes, February 15, 1884. The academy paid Jones \$50.00 plus free tuition for his children for the use of his store through the end of the school year in June. Brigham Young Academy Disbursements, 1880–1889, 117, BYU Archives; Brigham Young Academy Accounts, 1880–1888, 67; For examples of Smoot's friendship with Jones, see S. S. Jones, *Diary*, August 25, 1875; January 1, 1876; December 25, 1881, Samuel Stephens Jones Papers, BYU Archives. Maeser later thanked the bank directors and Jones for "placing their premises almost free of charge." "The B. Y. Academy Examination," *Journal History*, April 4, 1884, 9.
73. "Brigham Young Academy Burned," *Deseret Evening News*, January 28, 1884.
74. Eggertson to Eggertson Jr., February 10, 1884.
75. "A Great Loss," *Journal History*, January 29, 1884, 7.
76. Maeser, "The Brigham Young Academy," 43.
77. "The Provo Fire," *Ogden Daily Herald*, January 28, 1884.
78. "The Fire at Provo," *Deseret Evening News*, January 29, 1884.
79. "Priesthood Meeting," *Journal History*, February 8, 1884, 7.
80. "A Good Prospect," *Deseret Evening News*, January 30, 1884; [no title] *Journal History*, February 1, 1884, 6.
81. [no title], *Journal History*, February 1, 1884, 6; "The B. Y. Academy Fund," *Journal History*, February 5, 1884, 6.
82. "A Good Prospect," *Deseret Evening News*, January 30, 1884.
83. "The B. Y. Academy," *Deseret Evening News*, February 6, 1884.
84. "The B. Y. Academy," *Deseret Evening News*, February 6, 1884.
85. Brigham Young Academy Faculty, Minutes, February 22, March 14, 1884; "Our Salt Lake Letter," *Utah Journal*, February 9, 1884.
86. "Choir Concert and Ball," *Deseret Evening News*, February 6, 1884; "Concert and Ball," *Deseret Evening News*, February 27, 1884; "The B. Y. Academy Benefit," *Deseret Evening News*, March 14, 1884.
87. "B. Y. Academy," *Salt Lake Daily Herald*, March 14, 1884.
88. L. John Nuttall, *Diary*, March 2, 1884, typescript, BYU Archives; "Fragments," *Deseret Evening News*, March 11, 1884.
89. L. John Nuttall, *Diary*, March 2, 1884; A. O. Smoot and H. H. Cluff to William B. Preston, April 18, 1887, in Harvey Harris Cluff, *Autobiography*, microfilm of holograph,

1:272 [April 18, 1887], Family History Library; Utah County Deeds Record, Book P, 483, Utah County Recorder's Office, Provo; Brigham Young Academy Building Fund Day Book, March 24, 1884, 1, BYU Archives. See also "The Land Secured," *Journal History*, March 25, 1884, 7. A recent history erroneously arrived at a purchase price of \$4,800 by mistaking a discussion of another piece of property for the Lewis property. Compare Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 1:131, with John Taylor to A. O. Smoot and others, December 14, 1885, Centennial History Project Papers.

90. "Provo Points," *Salt Lake Daily Herald*, March 9, 1884; Utah Stake Historical Record, 1877–88, May 31, 1884; Benjamin Cluff Jr., Diary, May 25, 1884, BYU Archives. The entire dedicatory prayer was printed in "Ground Broke," *Journal History*, May 21, 1884, 11.

91. "Fragments," *Deseret Evening News*, June 17, 1884.

92. Academy trustees countered the claim that the rooms were not cramped in "B. Y. Academy!" *Journal History*, February 22, 1884, 7–9.

93. Third term enrollment was down 18 percent from the year before. Compare "B. Y. Academy Examination," *Journal History*, March 30, 1883, 5, and "The B. Y. Academy Examination," *Journal History*, April 4, 1884, 9.

94. W. H. Dusenberry to the President and Directors of Zions Cooperative Mercantile Institution, March 21, 1884, in Brigham Young Academy Trustees, Minutes, March 17, 1884.

95. Dusenberry to the President and Directors, March 21, 1884.

96. Taylor to Smoot and others, December 14, 1885; Maeser, *School and Fireside*, 169. For a physical description of the ZCMI warehouse and rooms occupied by the academy there, see "The Academy," *Academic Review* 1 (October 1884): 3.

97. Zions Cooperative Mercantile Institution Board of Directors, Minutes, April 10, 1884, microfilm of holograph, LDS Church Archives, courtesy of the President of ZCMI, currently Richard Madsen (hereafter cited as ZCMI Directors).

98. "The B. Y. Academy," *Journal History*, August 12, 1884, 7; Samuel Liddiard, *Autobiography*, 34, Utah State Historical Society.

99. "Ground Broke," *Journal History*, May 21, 1884, 11.

100. Quoted in Eggertson to Eggertson Jr., February 10, 1884. See also 1 Peter 4:12.

101. For examples of this problem, see "Sevier," *Salt Lake Daily Herald*, August 1, 1884, "Condition of Crops," *Ogden Daily Herald*, August 11, 1884; "The Grain Prospect," *Deseret Evening News*, August 20, 1884.

102. See Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 353–79.

103. See Stan Larson, ed., *Prisoner for Polygamy: The Memoirs and Letters of Rudger Clawson at the Utah Territorial Penitentiary, 1884–87* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 2–6.

104. For a history of antipolygamy legislation during this time, see Firmage and Mangrum, *Zion in the Courts*, 160–209.

105. See Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 360. For antipolygamy raids in general, see Tracey E. Panek, "Search and Seizures in Utah: Recounting the Anti-Polygamy Raids," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 62 (fall 1994): 316–34. For women on the underground, see Kimberly J. James, "'Between Two Fires': Women on the 'Underground' of Mormon Polygamy," *Journal of Mormon History* 8 (1981): 49–61. For children on the underground, see Martha Sonntag Bradley, "'Hide and Seek': Children on the Underground," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 51 (spring 1983): 133–53.

106. These statistics derive from the principal's reports for the first three terms of the 1883–84 and 1884–85 academic years, located in BYU Archives, and from Brigham Young Academy Receipts and Disbursements, 1880–1888, 42–74.

107. "Brigham Young Academy," *Territorial Enquirer*, April 7, 1885, in Brigham Young Academy Faculty Minutes, April 7, 1885.

108. In December 1884, after the trustees reported how they found it "very difficult to collect means, under the present circumstances," President Taylor sent the last installment on the \$5,000 donation from the Church. A. O. Smoot, H. H. Cluff, and W. H. Dusenberry to John Taylor, December 27, 1884, Centennial History Project Papers; George Reynolds to A. O. Smoot, December 29, 1884, photocopy of holograph, BYU Archives. For evidence that most other subscriptions were never paid, see Brigham Young Academy Building Fund Day Book, 1–9; A. O. Smoot, David John, and H. H. Cluff to John Taylor, December 1, 1886, in Cluff, *Autobiography*, 1:245 [December 1886]; Liddiard, *Autobiography*, 44; Brigham Young Academy Receipts and Disbursements, 1880–1888, 93.

109. A. O. Smoot and others to John Taylor, November 19, 1885, Centennial History Project Papers. The trustees later affirmed they expended \$11,000 in round numbers on the 1884 construction. This figure probably included the price of land. A. O. Smoot and others v. O. W. Andelin and others, 1703 First District Court, Utah (March 27, 1891), Fourth Judiciary District Court, Provo, Utah.

110. Smoot and others to Taylor, November 19, 1885; Smoot, John, and Cluff to Taylor, December 1, 1886, in Cluff, *Autobiography*, 1:245 [December 1886]; A. O. Smoot and H. H. Cluff to John Taylor, May 2, 1887, in Cluff, *Autobiography*, 1:278 [May 2, 1887].

111. James E. Talmage, *Journal*, August 14, 1886.

112. Karl G. Maeser to John Taylor, April 14, 1886, Centennial History Project Papers; Brigham Young Academy Accounts, 1880–1888, 39, 47, 56, 61, 74, 76, 88, 94.

113. Maeser to Taylor, April 14, 1886.

114. Maeser to Taylor, April 14, 1886.

115. Maeser to Taylor, April 14, 1886.

116. The property was located on the block immediately north and east of the intersection of Center Street and J Street (later University Avenue). For a description of the Tithing Block, see Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 1:111–12.

117. Brigham Young Academy Trustees, Minutes, December 23, 1879; Taylor to Smoot and others, December 14, 1885.

118. Brigham Young Academy Trustees, Minutes, December 23, 1879, November 27, 1880, November 4, 1881, August 22, 1882; John Taylor, George Q. Cannon, and Joseph F. Smith to A. O. Smoot, May 10, 1881, Centennial History Project Papers; Taylor to Smoot and others, December 14, 1885.

119. Smoot and others to Taylor, November 19, 1885.

120. Taylor to Smoot and others, December 14, 1885. All quotations in this paragraph are from this source.

121. For more on arbitration in nineteenth-century Utah, see Firmage and Mangrum, *Zion in the Courts*, 281–83, 328, 350–53.

122. A. O. Smoot to John Taylor, May 3, 1886, Taylor Papers.

123. A. O. Smoot to L. John Nuttall, June 19, 1886, Nuttall Papers.

124. Smoot to Nuttall, June 19, 1886.

125. A. O. Smoot to John Taylor, January 5, 1886, Taylor Papers.

126. L. John Nuttall to A. O. Smoot, June 7, 1886, L. John Nuttall Letterpress Copybooks, Nuttall Papers; L. John Nuttall to Karl G. Maeser, May 21, 1886, L. John Nuttall Letterpress Copybooks, Nuttall Papers.

127. For Nuttall biography, see Clarence G. Jensen, "A Biographical Study of Leonard John Nuttall, Private Secretary to Presidents John Taylor and Wilford Woodruff" (master's thesis: Brigham Young University, 1962).

128. Nuttall to Smoot, June 7, 1886.
129. L. John Nuttall to Karl G. Maeser, June 8, 1886, L. John Nuttall Letterpress Copybooks, Nuttall Papers; Nuttall to Smoot, June 7, 1886.
130. Smoot to Nuttall, June 19, 1886.
131. Smoot to Nuttall, June 19, 1886.
132. Brigham Young Academy Trustees, Minutes, June 26, 1886; A. O. Smoot to John Taylor, June 30, 1886, Taylor Papers.
133. John Taylor to A. O. Smoot, July 5, 1886, Centennial History Project Papers.
134. Karl G. Maeser to L. John Nuttall, August 21, 1886, Nuttall Papers.
135. For an example of Maeser's line of reasoning, see James E. Talmage, Journal, August 30, 1880. See also Luke 10:4 and Matthew 6:31.
136. H. H. Cluff to John Taylor, January 17, 1887, Centennial History Project Papers; John Taylor to James Jack, January 25, 1887, typescript, Samuel W. Taylor Collection, Utah State Historical Society.
137. Maeser to Nuttall, August 21, 1886; Cluff, Autobiography, 1:235 [October 16, 1886].
138. Karl G. Maeser to L. John Nuttall, November 20, 1886, Nuttall Papers; Brigham Young Academy Receipts and Disbursements, 1880–1888, 94, 96.
139. Utah Stake High Council, Minutes, 1865–1889, October 25, 1886, microfilm of holograph, LDS Church Archives.
140. Utah Stake High Council, Minutes, 1865–1889, November 2, 1886.
141. Utah Stake High Council, Minutes, 1865–1889, November 2, 1886.
142. Utah Stake High Council, Minutes, 1865–1889, October 25, 1886.
143. Utah Stake High Council, Minutes, 1865–1889, October 25, November 20, 1886.
144. Utah Stake High Council, Minutes, 1865–1889, November 29, 1886. See also Smoot, John, and Cluff to Taylor, December 1, 1886, in Cluff, Autobiography, 1:245 [December 1886], and James Talmage, Journal, November 29, 1886.
145. Utah Stake High Council, Minutes, 1865–1889, January 31, 1888.
146. The figures are found in Brigham Young Academy Receipts and Disbursements, 1880–1888, 104; Karl G. Maeser to Wilford Woodruff, October 25, 1887, photocopy of holograph, Maeser Papers. See also L. John Nuttall to Karl G. Maeser, August 17, 1887, L. John Nuttall Letterpress Copybooks, Nuttall Papers; Karl G. Maeser to Wilford Woodruff, February 29, 1888, photocopy of holograph, Maeser Papers. ZCMI directors also helped the academy by cutting the rent due in half. ZCMI Directors, Minutes, March 12, 1888.
147. Ron Walker, "Crisis in Zion: Heber J. Grant and the Panic of 1893," *Arizona and the West* 21 (autumn 1979): 258; Odell E. Scott, "Economic History of Provo, Utah, 1849–1900," (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1951), 181–86.
148. Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 1:527. The heirs also had power to fill vacancies on the board of trustees. The same powers were granted the heirs in the 1875 deed.
149. Cache County, Deeds Record, Book D, 592–602, Cache County Recorder's Office, Logan, Utah. A typescript of this deed is located in Special Collections and Manuscripts, Merrill Library, Utah State University, Logan, Utah.
150. The trustees had attempted to rewrite their deed to include the same clause in the Brigham Young College deed, but several heirs rejected the move. See Brigham Young Academy Trustees, Minutes, December 2, 1882, June 25, 1883.
151. [Susa Young Gates], "Items of Susa Young Gates," draft 9, Autobiographical Notes, Gates Collection; [Susa Young Gates], "My Appeal to the Young Family to deed over the B. Y. A. Property to the Church After B. Y. Tried 1889," Emma Lucy Gates Bowen Collection, BYU Archives. Gates counted eighty-three heirs. [Gates], "President A. O. Smoot," 437. Seventy-nine names were listed on the 1890 deed. Wilkinson, *First*

One Hundred Years, 1:529–30. The names and birth dates of first-generation heirs are listed in Leonard J. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), 420.

152. The heirs were Emmeline Young Crosbie, Louise Young Ferguson, and Ruth Young Healy. Crosbie and Ferguson sued and were excommunicated. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses*, 429; Leonard J. Arrington, "The Settlement of the Brigham Young Estate, 1877–1879," *Pacific Historical Review* 21 (February 1952): 1–20.

153. Hyrum Young to A. O. Smoot, April 30, 1890, Abraham O. Smoot Collection, BYU Archives; LeGrand Young to W. H. King, December 4, 1890, Abraham O. Smoot Collection; LeGrand Young to A. O. Smoot, September 30, 1891, Abraham O. Smoot Collection. For the declining market, see "The Scarcity of Money," *Daily Enquirer*, December 4, 1890.

154. Brigham Young Academy Trustees, Minutes, November 11, 1890; "Placed on Market," *Daily Enquirer*, November 12, 1890. Potential buyers were aware of the problem with title; this newspaper article pointed out that not all the heirs had signed the deed. See also the discussion of the heirs in Utah Stake High Council, Minutes, 1865–1889, November 2, 1886.

155. "Brigham Young Academy," *Daily Enquirer*, February 25, 1891; "B. Y. Academy Building," *Daily Enquirer*, March 17, 1891; "A New Building for Provo," *Daily Enquirer*, April 10, 1891.

156. Utah County Deeds Record, Book 11, 331–32, 490.

157. Brigham Young Academy Trustees, Minutes, August 29, 1891. Smoot later said the trustees "immediately proceeded in good faith"—and at "great expense and inconvenience"—to "procure the abstract of title" after the final agreement with the joint-stock company was arranged on April 8, 1891. *Central Building Company v. A. O. Smoot and others*, 2802 First District Court, Utah (August 9, 1893), Fourth Judicial District Court, Provo, Utah. Two days after the final agreement, trustee Myron Tanner departed from Provo for a six-week trip through seventeen eastern states, including New York. Tanner's purpose for making this trip, according to the *Daily Enquirer*, was to visit relatives and "various other points of interest." Tanner may have visited the heirs in New York. "City and County Jottings," *Daily Enquirer*, April 10, 1891; "Jottings," *Daily Enquirer*, May 25, 1891. Smoot had contemplated making the trip to New York himself before local business concerns held him back. Reed Smoot to Annie Smoot, January 11, 1891, photocopy of holograph, Reed Smoot Papers, BYU Archives; First District Court, Utah, Minutes, 1890–1892, 64, 81, 147, 153–54.

158. Cluff, *Autobiography*, 2:62 [April 24, 25, 1891]; Brigham Young Academy Executive Committee, Minutes, January 12, 1893, BYU Archives; Brigham Young Academy Accounts, 1889–1904, 41, 82, BYU Archives.

159. Cluff, *Autobiography*, 2:70 [January 4, 1892]. See also Karl G. Maeser, "Church School Papers—no. 13," *Juvenile Instructor* 27 (February 1, 1892), 97.

160. Two instances of overbuilding in Utah will illustrate the point. In the fall of 1891, trustees of the Latter-day Saints' College (formerly Salt Lake Stake Academy) signed their names for a mortgage and loans totaling \$30,000 to pay for land and remodeling on their new school building. They were unable to raise the money and petitioned the Church for help. Salt Lake County Mortgage Record, 3–E, 9–10; 3–H, 140, Salt Lake County Record's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah; Angus M. Cannon and others to Wilford Woodruff and others, March 14, 1892, Centennial History Project Papers. In the winter of 1890, trustees of the Ogden Stake Academy "obligated themselves by signing notes as individuals in several sums aggregating \$11,500." This money went toward a \$22,000 school building whose construction was suspended throughout

1891 for want of funds. Weber Stake Board of Education, Minutes, September 5, 1891, June 15, 1892, microfilm of typescript, LDS Church Archives.

For instances of overbuilding during the late 1880s, see John Rydjord, *A History of Fairmount College* (Lawrence, Kans.: Regents Press, 1977), 13–16; Michael E. Arrington, *Ouachita Baptist University: The First 100 Years* (Little Rock, Ark.: August House, 1985), 39–41.

161. A. O. Smoot and W. H. Dusenberry to Wilford Woodruff, March 25, 1893, Centennial History Project Papers. The joint-stock company began construction on the Tithing Block before the thirty-day period expired. The trustees' failure to provide clear title and the growing scarcity of money dissuaded shareholders from paying the majority of their capital stock. Unable to bond for want of title, the company went bankrupt, lost the property to marshal's sale, and later sued the academy for breach of contract. The school was acquitted. Liddiard, *Autobiography*, 43; "Central Building," *Evening Dispatch*, April 29, 1891; *Central Building Company v. A. O. Smoot and others*, 2802 First District Court, Utah (August 9, 1893). For a summary of Smoot's defense, see "The \$20,000 Damage Suit," *Deseret Evening News*, November 27, 1894, 6. The suit came after academy officials outbid prospective buyers at the marshal's sale and reobtained the property in December 1892 for \$8,000. This purchase was probably motivated by concern for a new owner suing the school for its inability to provide clear title. Brigham Young Academy Trustees, Minutes, December 15, 19, 1892; Brigham Young Academy Executive Committee, Minutes, December 15, 1892.

162. Cluff, *Autobiography*, 2:70 [January 4, 1892].

163. "Provo Finances," *Daily Enquirer*, April 18, 1891; "Don't Go in Debt," *Daily Enquirer*, April 27, 1891; Walker, "Crisis in Zion," 258–61. For a summary of Church finances during this time, see Thomas G. Alexander, *Things in Heaven and Earth: The Life and Times of Wilford Woodruff, a Mormon Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Signature, 1991), 283–87.

164. A. O. Smoot, quoted in Cluff, *Autobiography*, 2:70 [January 4, 1892]. Susa Young Gates published a contemporaneous biographical sketch of Smoot written from "personal conversations" with her subject. She called the communication between Smoot and Brigham Young a "dream or vision." As she retold the story she heard Smoot tell at the academy's 1892 commencement exercises, he "met and joyfully greeted, in his vision, with President Young, who commended him for his labor in this Academy. [Brigham Young] bade him [to] rise above his mental concern as to the completion of the Academy, assuring him that the money would be forthcoming when it was needed." [Gates], "President A. O. Smoot," 437. The context of the Cluff account seems to date the Brigham Young communication to early July 1891, when the school had located just \$1,000 to pay off its building contracts. Compare Cluff, *Autobiography*, 2:63 [July 1, 2, 3, 1891] and 2:70 [January 4, 1892].

165. The mortgage brought \$25,000. Cluff and his wife Emily initially inked the deal before he and the other nine trustees signed in behalf of the school. For terms, see Utah County Mortgage Record, Book 8, 397, and Utah County Deeds Record, Book 16, 53. Smoot and Cluff, acting as the academy's executive committee, signed for a \$15,000 loan with Zion's Savings Bank in early October 1891, due three months from that date. Utah County Deeds Record, Book 29, 85; Zion's Savings Bank and Trust to A. O. Smoot, December 18, 1891, Abraham O. Smoot Collection. Smoot and Cluff signed for two other loans, totaling \$4,000, earlier in summer. The only other cash used to erect the new building came from land sales with two creditors who did not demand clear title: Provo Cooperative Institute, over which Smoot presided, paid \$3,000 for a portion of the Tithing Block; and a local furniture store paid just over \$700 for a portion of

the old Lewis Building property. All of these receipts are recorded in Brigham Young Academy Receipts and Disbursements, 1889–1902, 21–33, BYU Archives. See also Brigham Young Academy Accounts, 1889–1904, 4. For another instance of trustees and their wives signing as security for loans, see Weber Stake Board of Education, Minutes, February 27, 1891.

166. After cash ran out, Smoot, Cluff, W. H. Dusenberry, and David John, acting as an executive committee, signed ten promissory notes, totaling about \$9,500, before the new building was dedicated in January 1892. Brigham Young Academy Trustees, Minutes, July 11, 1891; Brigham Young Academy Executive Committee, Minutes, July 11, November 14, 23, December 11, 18, 22, 26, 1891. During the first three months of 1892, the committee signed another six notes for almost \$19,000. Brigham Young Academy Executive Committee, Minutes, January 8, 20, 30, February 24, 1892. All of these promissory notes are recorded in Brigham Young Academy Receipts and Disbursements, 1889–1902, 30–37, and Brigham Young Academy Accounts, 1889–1904, 4. For the sentiment of two committee members on signing notes, see Nixon and Smoot, *Abraham Owen Smoot*, 247; David John, Journal, December 28, 1891, January 9, 1892, microfilm of holograph, BYU Archives.

167. A. O. Smoot and others v. Bryant Young and others, 1901 First District Court, Utah (October 5, 1891), Fourth Judicial District Court. Winning suit was only one funding possibility. Academy trustees attempted a long-shot measure in December 1891 when they submitted a petition to federal attorney Charles C. Varian for \$65,000 (the debt on the new building) of the funds taken from the Church in consequence of the Edmunds-Tucker Act of 1887. This claim was rejected by the fall of 1892. See “Brief of J. W. Judd, for the Petitioners, the Trustees of Brigham Young Academy, at Provo, Utah County,” in *United States v. The Late Corporation of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and Others*, Utah State Historical Society; “The Church Case,” *Daily Enquirer*, September 3, 1891.

168. A. O. Smoot and others v. Bryant Young and others, 1901 First District Court, Utah (October 5, 1891).

169. Action is threatened in Brigham Young Academy Trustees, Minutes, March 4, 1893, and dated to the time of the decision based upon circumstantial evidence found in Wilford Woodruff, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833–1898*, typescript, ed. Scott G. Kenney, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983–84) 9:200 [May 13, 1892] (hereafter cited as Wilford Woodruff, *Journal*); George Q. Cannon, Journal, May 13, June 24, 1892, typescript, courtesy of Cannon family; and Brigham Young Academy Executive Committee, Minutes, July 30, 1892.

170. “Memorandum of Liabilities: Brigham Young Academy [June 23, 1892],” photocopy of holograph, Centennial History Project Papers.

171. Brigham Young Academy Trustees, Minutes, March 4, 1893; Brigham Young Academy Receipts and Disbursements, 1889–1902, 56, 60; Utah County Deeds Record, Book 26, 149–52.

172. Ronald W. Walker, “The Panic of 1893,” in *Utah History Encyclopedia*, ed. Allan Kent Powell (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 413. For a study of the effects of this depression in Utah, see Leonard J. Arrington, “Utah and the Depression of the 1890’s,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 29 (1961): 2–18. For effects across the nation, see Nell Irvin Painter, *Standing at Armageddon: The United States, 1877–1919* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1987), 110–40.

173. The only purchase before the turn of the century was made before the settlement with the heirs. Academy trustee Reed Smoot, A. O. Smoot’s son, bought 5,000 square feet of the Tithing Block for \$5,000 in August 1892. He took the land without a

deed. The agreement was later changed to \$4,000. Brigham Young Academy Executive Committee, Minutes, August 29, 1892; Utah County Deeds Record, Book 22, 360; Book 25, 424. See also “The Smoot Block,” *Daily Enquirer*, September 1, 1892.

174. Smoot and Dusenberry to Woodruff, March 25, 1893.

175. Brigham Young Academy Receipts and Disbursements, 1889–1902, 34–50; Brigham Young Academy Record of Tuition Receipts, 1889–1895, 63, 85, BYU Archives; Utah Stake High Council, Minutes, 1889–1910, September 2, 1892.

176. Anthon Lund, Journal, March 28, 1893, microfilm of holograph, LDS Church Archives.

177. The original members of the General Church Board of Education were Wilford Woodruff, president; Karl G. Maeser, general superintendent; George Q. Cannon, Anthon H. Lund, Lorenzo Snow, Amos Howe, George W. Thatcher, Willard Young, Horace S. Eldredge. An initial organization is found in “Fourth Day,” *Deseret News Weekly*, April 11, 1888, 205. George Reynolds, secretary for the board, also functioned as a member. Karl G. Maeser split time as academy principal and superintendent of the General Board of Education until he retired as principal in 1892. For more on this board, see Monnett, “Emergence of the Academies,” 114–15, 222–23.

178. These early schools included Brigham Young College in Logan and stake academies organized with Maeser’s assistance in the mid-1880s in Salt Lake, Sanpete, and Millard Stakes.

179. Quinn, “The Brief Career,” 76–78; “Young University,” *Deseret Evening News*, June 2, 1891.

180. “Young University,” *Deseret Evening News*, June 2, 1891.

181. Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 1:229–30; George Q. Cannon, Journal, April 12, 1892.

182. The temporary building is discussed in Abraham H. Cannon, Journal, October 9, 1893, BYU Archives, and George Q. Cannon, Journal, August 9, 1893. The cost of the entire complex is found in John A. Widtsoe to Annie Widtsoe, February 7, 1892, trans. Amy Tolk, microfilm of holograph, Widtsoe Family Papers, LDS Church Archives.

183. James E. Talmage, Journal, June 25, July 1, 1888. Smoot specifically objected to the removal of James Talmage and Joseph Marion Tanner from the academy and to the partial removal of Karl G. Maeser, who doubled as BYA principal and superintendent of the General Church Board of Education. David John to Benjamin Cluff Jr., April 9, 1890, in Benjamin Cluff Jr., Diary, April 20, 1890. Willard Done and Joseph Nelson also taught at Brigham Young Academy in the mid-1880s but by the end of the decade were teaching at the academy in Salt Lake Stake. For instances of the General Board privileging Salt Lake Stake, see James E. Talmage, Journal, July 16, 1888, May 15, 1889; Angus M. Cannon, Diary, April 28, 1890, May 11, 1891, microfilm of holograph, Angus Munn Cannon Collection, LDS Church Archives.

184. For Cluff biography, see Eugene L. Roberts and Eldon Reed Cluff, “Benjamin Cluff Jr.: Scholar, Educational Administrator, and Explorer,” typescript, BYU Archives. For contemporary biography, see Walter Wolfe, “Benjamin Cluff, B. S., B. M. D.,” *Young Woman’s Journal* 3 (September 1892), 528–31.

185. Wilford Woodruff to A. O. Smoot, and to the Board of Trustees, Brigham Young Academy, [March 18, 1891], in Brigham Young Academy Trustees, Minutes, March 25, 1891.

186. George Q. Cannon, Journal, March 24, 1891.

187. George Q. Cannon, Journal, March 24, 1891. See also Wilford Woodruff, *Journal*, March 24, 1891; L. John Nuttall, Diary, March 24, 1891; Cluff, *Autobiography*, 2:61 [March 24, 1891]. Benjamin Cluff Jr., Diary, Christmas 1894, confirms that the call was suspended, not revoked.

188. "B. Y. Academy Building," *Daily Enquirer*, March 17, 1891; Karl G. Maeser to Wilford Woodruff, March 21, 1891, photocopy of holograph, Maeser Papers.

189. "Church Education," *Daily Enquirer*, March 25, 1891.

190. Brigham Young Academy Trustees, Minutes, March 25, 1891.

191. See "Dedicatory," *Daily Enquirer*, January 4, 1892; "Brigham Young Academy," *Deseret News Weekly*, January 9, 1892, 83–84.

192. Wilford Woodruff, *Journal*, January 4, 1892.

193. See P. Bradford Westwood, "The Early Life and Career of Joseph Don Carlos Young (1855–1938): A Study of Utah's First Institutionally Trained Architect to 1884" (master's thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1994), 131–37; and C. Mark Hamilton, *Nineteenth-Century Mormon Architecture and City Planning* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 125–27.

194. The transfer in title is recorded in Angus M. Cannon, *Diary*, April 28, 1890. The original name of this academy, Salt Lake Stake Academy, was changed to Latter-day Saints' College in 1889 to avoid confusion with the Congregationalist school called Salt Lake Academy and to advance the "intention of the general authorities to make the institution in this stake a leading one for Zion." James E. Talmage, *Journal*, May 15, 1889. Church leaders originally intended to make the Latter-day Saints' College the Church university. By late 1890, however, they had decided to found a university independent of the college. The college retained its name but functioned essentially as an academy. See Quinn, "The Brief Career," 76.

195. Benjamin Cluff Jr. to Karl G. Maeser, June 4, 1891, photocopy of holograph, Centennial History Project Papers; A. O. Smoot and W. H. Dusenberry to the General Board of Education, October 29, 1891, photocopy of holograph, Centennial History Project Papers; George Reynolds to A. O. Smoot and W. H. Dusenberry, November 11, 1891, General Church Board of Education, Letterpress Copybooks, LDS Church Archives.

196. Karl G. Maeser to George Reynolds, November 12, 1891, photocopy of holograph, Maeser Papers; "Course in Pedagogy," *Normal 1* (December 7, 1891), 49; Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 1:225–29; Benjamin Cluff Jr., *Diary*, Christmas 1894. The hierarchy of schools is most clearly laid out in *Circular No. 8 of the General Board of Education of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Cannon, 1892). See both versions of the circular, including the one printed after Cluff and others raised objections.

197. The academy paid the wages of these instructors through receipts from the county teacher associations in attendance.

198. The professors with degrees from the east were: Walter Wolfe, Williams College; George Phillips, Glasgow University; and Joseph Whitley, Queens College. Each started at the academy at \$1,200 per year. This was the same salary as N. L. Nelson, who had been teaching literature full-time at the school since the late 1880s.

199. Figures include paid faculty who taught between the second term of 1891–92 and the first term 1892–93. Cluff also hired perhaps the first non-LDS teacher in the Church educational system, Anna K. Craig. See "Ex-President Benj. Cluff Jr.," *White and Blue* 7 (January 22, 1904): 1.

200. These teachers included at least Cluff and Alice Louise Reynolds, students at the University of Michigan. Cluff took temporary leave from the academy during the 1893–94 school year, when he returned to Michigan and completed his master's degree. See Benjamin Cluff Jr. to George H. Brimhall and Joseph B. Keeler, November 25 and 29, 1893, Benjamin Cluff Jr. Papers, BYU Archives (hereafter cited as Cluff Papers).

201. Benjamin Cluff Jr. to George H. Brimhall, December 3, 1893, Cluff Papers.

202. "Provo Letter," *Deseret Evening News*, December 16, 1892, 5.

203. Karl G. Maeser to Wilford Woodruff, May 27, 1892, photocopy of holograph, Maeser Papers. Cluff was aware of such accusations. “We are already accused of ‘spreading out too much,’” he explained to a fellow faculty member. Benjamin Cluff Jr. to George H. Brimhall, October 22, 1893, Cluff Papers.

204. This is not to say that teachers did not ever receive less than full salary. Promises were big but not always kept. During the 1892–93 year, for example, faculty were disbursed about \$1,300 less than the total faculty payroll of \$16,500. Some faculty were also asked to take pay cuts. See Brigham Young Academy Executive Committee, Minutes, September 12, 13, 1892. Nearly every faculty member took a substantial pay cut at the beginning of the 1894–95 school year.

205. George Q. Cannon, Journal, July 21, 1892.

206. See Brigham Young Academy Circulars for 1891–92, 1892–93, and 1893–94 for descriptions of these courses.

207. George Q. Cannon, Journal, May 2, 1893; Brigham Young Academy Trustees, Minutes, August 29, 1893. See also General Church Board of Education, Minutes, August 11, 1893, photocopy of holograph, BYU Archives.

208. “Official Announcement,” *Deseret Evening News*, August 18, 1894, 4. When financial stringency decimated their student enrollment, University of Utah officials asked the Church to close the Church university and in return offered to install James E. Talmage as president of the University of Utah. The First Presidency agreed to the deal. See Ralph V. Chamberlin, *The University of Utah: A History of Its First Hundred Years, 1850 to 1950* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1960), 197–207; Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 1:230–32. Michael Quinn asserts the Church leaders made this move because they “clung to the hope of having the Church University in Salt Lake City,” while leaving the “salvation” of Brigham Young Academy, including the payment of its debt, “primarily to residents of Utah Valley.” Quinn, “The Brief Career,” 88. My argument here is the opposite. Church leaders had abandoned the idea of a Church university in Salt Lake City and were now content to throw their weight behind the academy because it was well along the way to becoming the university they then envisioned. In my view, the academy’s prominence, and not the University of Utah’s location in Salt Lake City, was a greater motivator in the decision to close the Church university.

209. General Church Board of Education, Minutes, October 23, 1894. At least twice the First Presidency had attempted to help the academy pay off its building debt using local funds. The first attempt came in July 1892, when the Presidency held a special meeting with the priesthood holders of Utah Stake and asked them to shoulder the trustees’ burden. The plan was for between fifty and one hundred men to jointly pay \$35,000 in academy promissory notes. The priesthood did not follow through, and Smoot sadly concluded, “The people of this Stake will not support the academy. They are not worthy of it.” George Q. Cannon, Journal, June 24, July 17, 1892; Wilford Woodruff, *Journal*, July 17, 1892; “Priesthood Meeting,” *Daily Enquirer*, July 18, 1892; “The Conference,” *Daily Enquirer*, January 16, 1893; Utah Stake High Priests Quorum, Minutes, 1874–1913, October 15, 1892, microfilm of holograph, LDS Church Archives. The First Presidency’s second attempt came in March 1893 after the academy trustees threatened suspension unless the Church gave immediate assistance. The Presidency allowed the academy \$30,000—covering the school’s mortgage—from Utah Stake tithing returns beginning April 1, 1893. Returns came slowly in the wake of financial panic, and by the spring of 1895 the figure was still not entirely collected. Substantial aid from general Church funds was in order after the academy’s mortgage agent was “notified to foreclose the Academy Loan unless paid at once.” Anthon Lund, Journal, March 28, 1893; William B. Preston to A. O. Smoot, March 30, 1893, and William B. Preston to

James W. Bean, April 5, 1893, Presiding Bishopric Letterbooks, LDS Church Archives; James R. Bacon, quoted in Brigham Young Academy Trustees, Minutes, September 7, 1894. See also Brigham Young Academy Trustees, Minutes, August 29, 1893.

210. Maeser to Woodruff, March 21, 1891.

211. George Q. Cannon, Journal, December 21, 1894, February 19, 1895; *Deseret National Bank v. Brigham Young Academy and others*, 3397 First District Court, Utah (November 14, 1894); *George C. Whitmore v. Brigham Young Academy and others*, 3410 First District Court, Utah (November 26, 1894); *Joseph D. Jones v. Brigham Young Academy and others*, 3412 First District Court, Utah (November 28, 1894); *Belmont & Kinney v. Brigham Young Academy and others*, 3416 First District Court, Utah (December 1, 1894). All of these court records are located in the Fourth Judicial District Court, Provo. Smoot, Wilson Dusenberry, and S. S. Jones endorsed promissory notes in these suits; Smoot, Dusenberry, Jones, David John, Myron Tanner, George Snell, Thomas Cutler, and H. H. Cluff signed notes as security.

212. A list of these notes was printed in Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 1:603–4.

213. George Q. Cannon, Journal, August 14, 1895. After searching civil court records from 1891 to 1895, I can find no evidence to support the claim that Smoot, in order to protect his bank, “institute[d] suits against individuals who had borrowed funds to assist the Brigham Young Academy.” Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 238. This source uses two examples to support the claim, and both examples misread documents. First, the conclusion that Smoot sued S. S. Jones is based on a document in which Jones complains to the First Presidency of a suit that “has been brought against me, in connexion with Prsdt A. O. Smoot and W. H. Dusenberry.” S. S. Jones to the First Presidency, November 30, 1894, Centennial History Project Papers. This document does not say Smoot and Dusenberry sued Jones; it says suit was brought against Jones, Smoot, and Dusenberry, who jointly signed for a loan in the academy’s behalf. The suit is found in *George C. Whitmore v. Brigham Young Academy and others*, 3410 First District Court (November 26, 1894). Second, the conclusion that Smoot’s bank sued Harvey H. Cluff is based on a document in which Cluff pleads for Smoot to “drop the matter and let us not impair the fellowship between us.” H. H. Cluff to A. O. Smoot, November 20, 1893, Abraham O. Smoot Collection. This “matter” refers not to the academy, but to a joint business venture going back to 1887. Smoot invested \$3,000 in the Provo Foundry and Machine Company, of which Cluff was President, and when the business failed Smoot demanded compensation for his losses. Smoot rejected Cluff’s offer of land in lieu of cash and threatened to have the Utah Stake High Council decide the case. Two Apostles eventually settled the dispute. See A. O. Smoot to H. H. Cluff, January 21, 1893, Abraham O. Smoot Collection; Abraham H. Cannon, Journal, March 16, 25, 1894.

I have also found no support for the claim that A. O. Smoot mortgaged personal assets, including his own home, to raise money for the academy. Evidence for this claim rests primarily on a statement Smoot purportedly made to his wife Annie, handed down in Smoot family lore: “I haven’t a piece of property that is not mortgaged. I have had to do it to raise money to keep the Brigham Young Academy going.” Berlin, “Abraham Owen Smoot,” 161; Smoot Family Scrapbook, Reed Smoot Papers. Public land records do not list any contemporaneous mortgages on the property where Smoot’s Provo homes were located. Loans from local banks appear on the academy financial record books, but the books do not indicate whether this money came from mortgages of private property. Smoot may have offered personal property as security when signing promissory notes for the academy, though without the actual promissory notes,

which are no longer extant, this claim is difficult to substantiate. Several extant promissory notes he signed in private business dealings list his own property as security; he may have done the same with notes in the academy's behalf. This seems to be what Benjamin Cluff Jr. had in mind when he included Smoot among academy trustees who "pledged their private property that the institution might have quarters adequate for its needs." Brigham Young Academy, Catalogue, 1901–2, BYU Archives, 4; Nixon and Smoot, *Abraham Owen Smoot*, 247. Smoot's own assessment in 1894 was that he was "security" for \$60,000 to \$70,000 dollars in academy indebtedness. Springville 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th Wards, Utah Stake Historical Record, July 1, 1894, LDS Church Archives.

Academy financial records show that Smoot was reimbursed for the interest he paid on the school's loans and promissory notes. This is not to say, however, that Smoot could not have used his own money to make interest payments for which he was never reimbursed. If Smoot contributed his own money to the school, these contributions are not recorded on the academy receipt books, which record his last contribution during the 1886–87 school year of \$100. Contribution does not include the tuition fees Smoot paid for his own children and several indigent children to attend the academy.

214. Brigham Young Academy Trustees, Minutes, June 3, 1895; John Henry Smith, Journal, August 16, 1895, photocopy of holograph, Special Collections, Manuscripts Division, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City; Wilford Woodruff, *Journal*, August 16, September 6, 1895; George Q. Cannon, Journal, August 21, 1895. Some of the First Presidency's payments are found in Brigham Young Academy Receipts and Disbursements, 1889–1902, 105, 108, 111. Regular interest payments on the Presidency's long-term promissory notes are found in Benjamin Cluff Jr.'s papers located in the BYU Archives. Church promises and payments do not support the recent assertion that Smoot's estate "was divided and sold to meet the Academy obligations" totaling \$66,000. Nixon and Smoot, *Abraham Owen Smoot*, 217, 250. Smoot's assets were in fact divided and sold to meet \$33,000 in claims against his estate, but there is no reason to assume these claims were academy obligations. Smoot's businesses suffered greatly as result of the panic of 1893. Most of his personal assets were tied up in irredeemable stock or land, leaving him with almost no disposable income. The best reason to question this recent assertion is simple: claims made against the Smoot estate do not match the claims made against the academy. Compare Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 603–4; Nixon and Smoot, *Abraham Owen Smoot*, 236–37; Brigham Young Academy, Accounts, 1889–1904, 4.

215. George Q. Cannon, Journal, January 6, 1898. This was the cost after construction resumed in 1891. The academy invested an additional \$11,000 in 1884.

216. This desire is most clearly expressed in George Q. Cannon, Journal, June 24, 1892.

217. Brigham Young Academy Trustees, Minutes, September 22, 1903.

218. Cluff took a management position with the Utah-Mexican Rubber Company, of which the Church was a major investor.

219. Smoot, quoted in Taylor, "Abraham O. Smoot," 67.

From a River Road

Where the river bends the road
bends. When terrain steepens the river cuts
through stone and the road

winds inland, up
for the view, the narrow turnouts:
cliffs stand downward

in their own shadows.
I think of farm roads
built around fields,

right-angle turns and long
miles to town, irrigated nights
with unfading constellations.

The river turns color
by the hour, the fainter the breeze
the clearer its voice.

Even in the cold, the current
far below is a silver memory
that curves and ripens as light lifts

and the sky goes the geode dark
of waterstone, its inside
silica of stars.

—Dixie Partridge

A Touch of Refinement: Pioneer Graining

Doris R. Dant

Visitors to the Salt Lake Tabernacle are often stunned to learn that the pillars supporting the gallery are not marble but are pine painted to look like marble and that the “oak” benches and organ case are also pine with simulated oak graining. The Tabernacle woodwork and furniture are the most visible reminders of the practice of graining, a technique widely used in Utah Territory’s furniture to imitate the look of marble, hardwood, and even leather.¹

Before the coming of the railroad in 1869, Utah’s inhabitants were restricted to what could be freighted across the plains and what could be made locally. Because furniture was bulky and heavy, immigrants usually made or purchased furniture after their arrival, encouraged in this “home manufacture” by Brigham Young and the Apostles.² Although some furniture could be constructed from the hardwood packing boxes the pioneers used for carrying supplies in their wagons,³ local furniture production depended primarily on the trees indigenous to the area. The pine, cottonwood, willow, and other Utah woods were all unfashionable softwoods with plain grains. Designers solved this problem by substituting grained softwood for the more desirable hardwoods. Faux marble was created in the same way, since the alternatives were importing it or doing without.

This desire for fashion and beauty among a people displaced to undeveloped and isolated deserts had cultural, political, and religious roots. American culture valued the respectability deriving from refined manners and clothes and from homes improved by touches of gentility. “The realm of beauty and taste,” writes Richard Bushman, was promoted as having “no bounds. The farmer’s cottage could exhibit taste as surely as the rich man’s mansion.” Ideally, such refinement was to be “acquired at little expense by industry and rational planning.”⁴ Utah was not unaffected by these values. Marilyn Barker, an expert on Mormon furniture, points out that the populace wanted the newest fashion in furniture; “an attitude of simple refinement pervaded.”⁵ According to a contemporaneous observer, Utah’s notions of what was necessary changed from having “an old chest or empty barrel for a table” to a home decorated with “pretty patterns and tasteful colors.” In an ordinary Utah farmhouse, “the fundamental basis for all the tasteful objects . . . [was] the sense of beauty and artistic diligence.”⁶ Even utilitarian objects such as pie safes and meal bins were decorated (plates 2, 3).⁷

Refinement was practiced in Utah Territory for its political benefits as well. Because gentility was “a resource for impressing and influencing powerful people [and] frequently a prerequisite for inspiring trust,” it was an important tool for public relations.⁸ Taking their cue from the Prophet Joseph Smith’s vision of hospitality in Nauvoo, Utah’s Mormons wanted to impress visitors with their refinement. As Richard Bushman notes, “Besides [their desire for] respect from eastern cultural centers, control over their government hung in the balance.”⁹

If their religion had opposed beautification, many Latter-day Saints probably would have settled for plainly finished pine furniture as a moral obligation, but glorifying Zion with the workmanship of their hands was a religious imperative. And should the Saints succeed in adorning and beautifying their homes, they were implicitly promised, angels might visit them there.¹⁰ For C. C. A. Christensen, a pioneer artist and grainer, art—including home crafts developed “to the highest level of perfection”—draws individuals closer to the perfect sensibilities and abilities of the Creator, thus preparing them for their eternal work.¹¹

Graining flourished when European furniture makers immigrated to Utah. Trained in the aesthetic conventions of their countries of origin, they brought with them the tradition of imitating fashionable and exotic materials—for disguising unfashionable woods in this manner was the vogue even among the wealthy in Europe and the American East. In keeping with Brigham Young’s policy of creating self-sustaining colonies by relocating immigrants with needed skills, the European immigrants and other furniture makers were sent to almost all of the major communities.¹² In this manner, grained furniture—a touch of refinement—became available in much of the territory.

The ranks of men skilled in graining included Brigham Young, who in Utah served as patron rather than practitioner. Many of his commissions were given to European master furniture makers, particularly to English immigrants William Bell and Ralph Ramsey. Bell was a supervisor in the Great Salt Lake Public Works from 1854 until 1869, when he was sent to Heber, Utah, on a furniture-making mission. In his own shop, he made furniture exclusively for the Young family. Bell’s washstand for Emmeline F. Young (plate 12) led to similar commissions for four other Young wives. During the eighteen years Ramsey spent in Salt Lake City, he ran his own cabinet-making shop, collaborated with Bell (plate 8), and made the Tabernacle organ case, assisted by Edmund Fuller Bird. He was then called on a mission to Richfield, Utah. Nathaniel Spens, a native of Scotland, did graining on the Tabernacle’s benches and pillars and the woodwork in the Salt Lake and Manti Temples as well as many Sanpete County houses. Other skilled

grainers—Andrew George, Christian Mathias Funk, John L. Anderson, and Moroni Faulkner—worked in the cooperative furniture factory of the Brigham City Mercantile and Manufacturing Company (plates 2, 4, 11).¹³

Master furniture makers were not the only people to do skillful graining. European artists were often trained in graining and other decorative painting skills as well as in easel painting. Three who employed their graining talents in Utah were John Tullidge, from England; Danquart A. Wegge-land, from Norway but trained at the Royal Academy in Denmark; and C. C. A. Christensen, from Denmark, also trained at the Royal Academy. Christensen would farm in Mt. Pleasant summer and fall and then in winter and early spring employ whatever artistic skills, graining included, that could find a market.¹⁴

The process of graining wood (plate 1) began with the application of a base coat of thin-bodied paint to seal the wood. Next came a ground coat for the lighter tones of the simulated grain. With the third coat, always a darker one, the pattern of the grain was created. For finishes such as oak (plate 7) and maple, this coat was applied to the entire surface. Then before it dried, some of it was removed with the fingertips, combs, dry brushes, feathers, or rollers. For finishes such as rosewood (plate 8), mahogany (plates 5, 10), and maple burl, the grain was directly painted on using the darker, third coat. For marble (plate 12), several coats of a pigmented thin wash were necessary to “create the illusion of depth.”¹⁵ Only then was veining added. For a walnut finish (plates 2, 4, 6, 9, 11), both the subtractive and additive techniques were necessary. Different parts of a grain required different tools; in the case of burl, a cloth roll was used as a stamp, and the grain between was painted with a dry brush. One of the ingenious nineteenth-century tools is a checker roller, made of notched washers on a shaft with smaller washers serving as spacers. With it, an artisan could craft the fine, dark grain lines of rosewood, mahogany, and walnut. To protect the finish and complete the color, a slightly pigmented varnish or shellac was added.¹⁶

In several instances, a leather effect was painted not on the wood itself but on canvas glued to the wood. The canvas variation required the base coat and several coats of varnish to be sanded to provide a smooth surface and the graining coat to be lightly sanded to simulate leather’s stippled look. Another graining variant was simulating intricate parquetry (plate 6). Although all graining was “slightly exaggerated or enhanced to be more convincing,”¹⁷ the usual desired effect was that of authenticity. Some pioneer pieces, however, were highly expressive (plates 5, 7).¹⁸ Whatever the specific approach used, graining reflected the Utah Saints’ desire to live in beauty while making do.

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1. All three graining variations are found in a four-sided clerical desk made in 1867. Richard G. Oman, "The Foundation of Latter-day Saint Art, 1835–1890," in *Images of Faith: Art of the Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1995), 16.

2. Richard G. Oman, "The Homemade Kingdom: Mormon Regional Furniture," in *Nearly Everything Imaginable: The Everyday Life of Utah's Mormon Pioneers*, eds. Ronald W. Walker and Doris R. Dant (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1999), 157, 174 n. "Home manufacture" referred in pioneer times to producing goods locally either for sale or for private use.

3. Marilyn Conover Barker, *The Legacy of Mormon Furniture: The Mormon Material Culture, Undergirded by Faith, Commitment, and Craftsmanship* (Salt Lake City: Gibbs Smith, 1995), 51, 52.

4. Richard L[yman] Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), 269, 274.

5. Barker, *The Legacy*, 37, 54.

6. C. C. A. Christensen, "The Fine Arts," translated with an introduction by Richard L. Jensen, *BYU Studies* 23, no. 4 (1983): 404–5.

7. Oman, "The Homemade Kingdom," 171.

8. Bushman, *The Refinement of America*, xix; Richard Lyman Bushman, "Was Joseph Smith a Gentleman? The Standard for Refinement in Utah," in *Nearly Everything Imaginable*, 40–41.

9. Bushman, "Was Joseph Smith a Gentleman?" 29, 40–42.

10. Brigham Young, in *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1855–86), 9:283–84, February 23, 1862; 17:53, May 3, 1874; John Taylor, in *The Gospel Kingdom*, comp. G. Homer Durham (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1943), 283–84.

11. Christensen, "The Fine Arts," 405–7.

12. Barker, *The Legacy*, 70, 121, 122; Oman, "The Foundation," 18.

13. Barker, *The Legacy*, 50, 53, 83, 134; Oman, "The Foundation," 18; Oman, "The Homemade Kingdom," 173; Richard G. Oman, labeling for the exhibit *The Homemade Kingdom: Mormon Pioneer Regional Furniture*, Museum of Church History and Art, March 6, 1998, to January 18, 1999.

14. Oman, "The Foundation," 23, 33; Richard L. Jensen and Richard G. Oman, *C. C. A. Christensen, 1831–1912: Mormon Immigrant Artist* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1984), 2, 3, 12–15; on page 51, Jensen and Oman have a photograph of a mantel marbled by Christensen.

15. Stephen Shepherd, "Faux Painting and Graining Techniques," in *The Legacy*, 142.

16. Oman, "The Homemade Kingdom," 165; Shepherd, "Faux Painting," 138–42.

17. Shepherd, "Faux Painting," 141.

18. Oman, "The Homemade Kingdom," 166.

PLATE 1. How graining was done
Painted by Ron Wheat, 1998

carrera
marble



Julian jade
marble



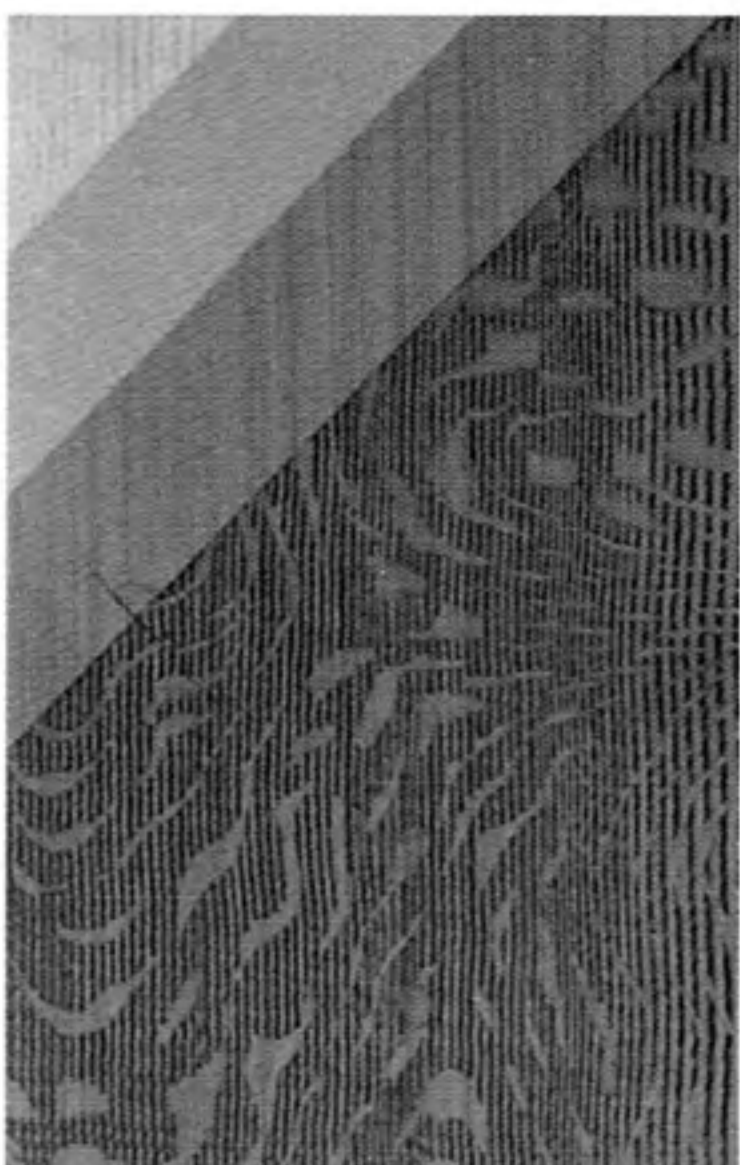
crotch
mahogany



walnut



quartersawn
oak



bird's-eye
maple

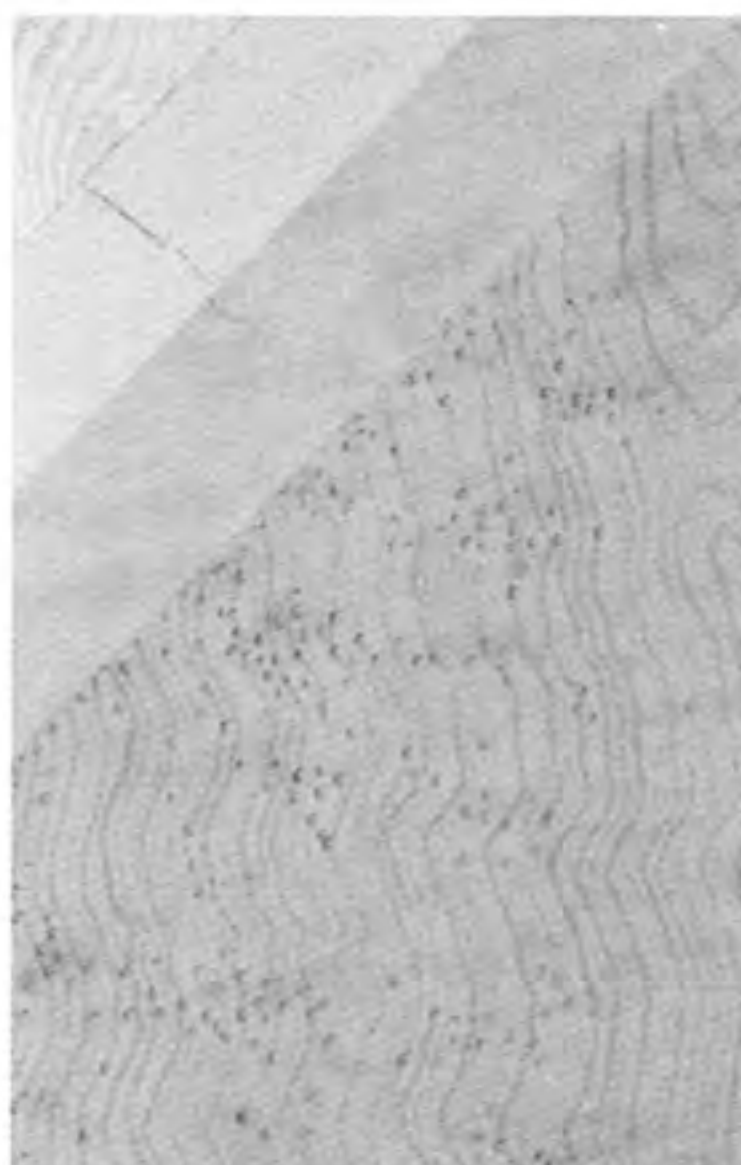


PLATE 2. Pie safe, Brigham City Cooperative Furniture Factory, Brigham City, Utah, about 1875, pine, which has been hand grained to look like walnut, and tinned sheet metal. Museum of Church History and Art, loaned by Lorenzo and Elma Hansen.



PLATE 3. Meal bin, maker unknown, location unknown, 1865–1885, wood, which has been hand grained to simulate bird's-eye maple; metal; and porcelain. Museum of Church History and Art.



PLATE 4. China cupboard, probably made by the Brigham City Cooperative Furniture Factory, Brigham City, Utah, about 1875, pine hand grained to look like walnut and burl. Museum of Church History and Art, gift of Paul Jensen.



Plate 5. Kitchen table, maker unknown, Manti, Utah, about 1875, pine hand grained to look like mahogany. Museum of Church History and Art, loaned by John Told.



PLATE 6. Table and detail of its top, maker unknown, Mt. Pleasant, Utah, about 1875, pine hand grained to look like walnut parquetry. Museum of Church History and Art.



PLATE 7. Wardrobe, unknown maker, Sanpete County, Utah, probably about 1885, pine hand grained to look like frame-grain oak. Museum of Church History and Art, gift of Scott Evans.

PLATE 8. Regency couch, attributed to William Bell (1816–1886) and Ralph Ramsay (1824–1905), Salt Lake City, 1856, pine, which has been hand grained to look like rosewood, and fabric. Museum of Church History and Art.





PLATE 9 (*opposite page*). Mormon couch, Ole Swensen (no dates), Manti, Utah, after 1870, wood hand grained to look like walnut. Museum of Church History and Art.

PLATE 10 (*opposite page*). Chest of drawers, A. Swensen (1834–?), Mt. Pleasant, Utah, January 30, 1873, pine hand grained to look like mahogany. Museum of Church History and Art.

PLATE 11. Bedstead, Brigham City Cooperative Furniture Factory, Brigham City, Utah, about 1875, pine hand grained to look like walnut and burl. Museum of Church History and Art, loaned by the Brigham City Museum Gallery.





PLATE 12. Washstand, William Bell (1816–1886), Salt Lake City, about 1860, pine hand grained to look like mahogany and marble. Museum of Church History and Art, loaned by the Beehive House.

Toward the Folkloristic Study of Latter-day Saint Conversion Narratives

Eric A. Eliason

Frequently told among Latter-day Saints, conversion stories—both one's own or those of one's ancestors—constitute an important and overlooked genre at the core of Mormon narrative folklore.

My mother smoked her last cigarette in the car on the way to her baptismal interview. When the bishop asked her if she had stopped smoking, she replied quite truthfully that she had. She never smoked again.

This anecdote is only one of several that make up my mother's larger conversion story, and hers is only one among millions of conversion stories that constitute an overlooked genre at the core of Mormon narrative folklore.¹ This essay is a preliminary exploration of the place of these stories in Mormon culture. It is a declaration of scholarly opportunity that sketches the outlines of what I hope will become a much larger project utilizing the approach of folkloristics (which studies, among other things, face-to-face oral narratives particular to certain cultural groups) in order to illuminate the practice of telling conversion stories among Latter-day Saints.

The Study of Folklore in a Religious Context

The term *folklore* has an unfortunate popular pejorative connotation that can make people nervous in religious contexts. So I should make clear that to approach conversion narratives from a scholarly folkloristic perspective is not to question their veracity, but rather to analyze their contexts, histories, structures, functions, meanings, and performative and aesthetic features. In fact, approaching this topic as folklore does not cancel its religious nature; rather, acknowledging these stories' sacredness allows one to come to an even richer understanding of their meanings for those who tell them.

The importance of conversion stories to Latter-day Saints and the lack of scholarly research about the stories suggest that it is time to take a serious look at such narratives. The field of folklore studies is today particularly ripe for the study of conversion narratives due to several developments: LDS folklorists such as Wayland Hand, Austin and Alta Fife, and

William A. Wilson as well as non-LDS scholars who have written about Mormon folklore such as Richard Dorson and Barre Toelken have significantly shaped the field of folklore.² Today Mormon studies enjoys a prominent place in folkloristics, perhaps more than it does in any other discipline except American religious history.

The “big three” genre classifications of traditional folkloristics—myth, legend, and folktale—for many years had been used to describe oral-narrative traditions throughout the world. However, in the 1960s, scholars determined these classifications were extrapolated from, and thus perhaps best suited to, older European oral traditions.³ Following this lead, a wave of folklorists have augmented these “universal” generic categories with culture-specific “native” genre systems.⁴ Conversion narratives, overlooked in traditional generic taxonomies, emerge as a central “native Mormon” oral-narrative genre along with other forms of Mormon narratives, such as prayers, talks, blessings, testimonies, pioneer stories, missionary discussions, and faith-promoting experiences and rumors.

In the 1970s, scholars widened the focus of folklore to include not only third-person oral narratives, but first-person narratives as well.⁵ Of these first-person narratives, the “personal experience narrative” (PEN) has attracted attention in part because this genre remains vibrant in the face of new media technologies that have severely eroded the prevalence of traditional oral genres such as ballads, folktales, and epic legends. Also, PENs have been discovered to be not merely idiosyncratic, but also as grounded in the tradition of a culture’s verbal arts as are third-person narratives. PENs relate individual experience, but they nevertheless bear deep imprints from the larger social and ideological contexts in which the individual storytellers live.

Further, a subcategory of PEN called *memorates*, which are individuals’ accounts of religious and supernatural happenings, have enjoyed renewed attention since the 1980s.⁶ Today’s memorate analysis is a radically empirical “experience-centered” phenomenology.⁷ In other words, rather than attempting to explain away memorate experiences using preconceived naturalistic assumptions, as was done in the past, contemporary folklorists seek to better understand the human condition through close examination and comparison of memorate accounts in the context of ideologies of the narrators.⁸ Experience-centered studies show memorate occurrence to be much more widespread among mentally healthy people from a broad cross section of society than was ever before thought by secular scholars. However, many people still hesitate to discuss their memorate experiences in most settings because of the false assumption that only the deranged and culturally backward have such experiences.⁹

These studies are unlikely to surprise committed Latter-day Saints and are one evidence of an important paradigm shift taking place, not without controversy, in all scholarly disciplines that study religion.¹⁰ That religious experience is increasingly thought by scholars to be best examined respectfully in context greatly facilitates meaningful analysis of conversion narratives.

Even as this shift takes place, yet another obstacle to the fruitful study of conversion stories—folklorists' long infatuation with only the most sensationalistic of religious lore—shows signs of weakening. In the past, everyday accounts of divine assistance, as well as nonspectacular conversion stories, have been overlooked in favor of dramatic subjects such as snake handling, angelic and demonic apparitions, stigmata, possession, and glossolalia. In a recent *Western Folklore* special issue, William Wilson called on scholars to cease ignoring religious folkgroups' common central narrative types simply because they do not fit with preconceived scholarly notions about what religious folklore *should* be.¹¹ Only by looking at what religious groups themselves consider important will we come to a richer ethnographic understanding of the values and beliefs forming the inner dynamics of religious folkgroups.

Because of these recent developments, folkloristics can now contribute to a serious discussion of LDS conversion narratives. Likewise conversion-story studies potentially have much to offer folklore at a time when the field is open to new approaches.

Conversion Narratives

Conversion stories are frequently long—too long to allow for a transcription of many here. However, the following two stories from my own family history display some key features that my students and I have observed in transcribing conversion narratives from many sources. These stories are not exemplary or outstanding in any particular way. I use them simply because their social and cultural contexts are familiar to me—thus allowing me to make a more meaningful preliminary analysis of this complex and important topic. In so doing, I employ generic conventions from both the traditional scholarly monograph as well as the personal essay. This particular blending of genres seemed to me the best way to articulate both the critical importance and deeply personal sentiment this subject holds for others who have experienced it.

The Conversion of Ivar Sandberg. Like Per Hanse, the heroic Scandinavian homesteader in O. E. Rølvaag's *Giants in the Earth*,¹² Ivar Sandberg came to the United States with a sense that immigration would require a transformation of his whole person. On his farm in Gettysburg, South Dakota, Ivar approached this transformation with gusto, consciously

refashioning himself from a fisherman into a farmer, from a Swede into an American, and from a cultural Lutheran into a . . . he didn't know what. For some time, he was a frustrated seeker. He acquired a reputation as the village intellectual from his vigorous questioning of his pastor and from his frequent forays into the town library's religious book section.

In 1932, Ivar asked the librarian for a copy of the Koran. The librarian did not have one but offered him another "heathen" book instead—the Book of Mormon. He thanked her but grumbled that he was only interested in major heathen religions. Ivar was just about to leave empty-handed when he took the book on a whim, figuring he would have to get to it eventually if his search for the truth were to be thorough.

Having read Mark Twain's *Roughing It*,¹³ he did not have high expectations for the Book of Mormon. To his surprise, by his own account, "I had not read many pages before . . . tears started to run down my cheeks and the most sweet spirit seemed to be present."¹⁴ He removed his cap as he read—an act of reverence he had previously reserved only for the Bible.

He found the address for a Salt Lake City Deseret Book Store and ordered all of the LDS books he could. He tried several times to contact missionaries in South Dakota but failed. (He once saw a newspaper photo of the LDS mission president and wondered why the man did not get a priesthood blessing to heal him of his need to wear glasses.)

In 1934, Ivar decided to drive to Salt Lake City to present himself for baptism. He was somewhat shaken by his first experience with a flesh-and-blood Latter-day Saint—a smoking, jack-Mormon gas-station attendant in Coalville who only wanted to talk about deer hunting. Ivar followed a tour group through Temple Square, barely keeping his emotions contained. Assuming this was the standard procedure for joining the Church, he told the startled man at the information kiosk that he was ready to be baptized. After an interview with the temple president, he was baptized in the Tabernacle font in front of a group of tourists to whom he bore his testimony.

In those days, confirmations happened a day or so after baptism. In this liminal time, a sense of doom seized Ivar as he pondered his last chance to escape before an eternity of having to be wary of "sinning against the Holy Ghost." In retrospect he realized Satan had been trickily trying to dissuade him from his decision.

Ivar stayed in Salt Lake City until spring, when he was ordained an elder and sent back to his farm in Gettysburg. There he established one of the first branches in South Dakota. Among his first converts were his wife-to-be and my father's mother and father. Ivar's wife was my grandmother's sister. Ivar's daughter Kathleen, my father's cousin, may have been the first child born under the covenant of eternal marriage in South Dakota. Today, hundreds of Latter-day Saints trace their membership to Ivar's conversion.

Some readers may recognize this story from Deseret Book's edited collection *Converted to Christ through the Book of Mormon*.¹⁵ I know it from my "family novel" passed down orally with help from a much-photocopied, four-page account written by my great-uncle Ivar.¹⁶ The style and tone of Ivar's written narrative suggests that he had polished his oral version into a humorous, self-deprecating performance. Ivar's making fun of his own lack of theological sophistication underscores the purity and innocence of the early days of his conversion.

The Conversion of LeAnn Eliason. My mother's conversion story is quite different from Uncle Ivar's. She left rural Indiana to live the glamorous life in Manhattan Beach, California. As a TWA stewardess, she met a dashing young Corvette-driving South Dakotan fighter pilot at a party in Montana. Sparks flew between these two adventure-seeking refugees from midwestern farm life, and a protracted long-distance relationship ensued.

My father was more committed to his denomination than she was to hers. After studying with several sets of missionaries, she decided she didn't mind switching religions if it was going to be a prerequisite to marriage. After her last cigarette and her baptism, LeAnn Shafer married Dan Eliason on July 18, 1965, at Frank Lloyd Wright's Wayfarers' Chapel, just off the Pacific Coast Highway. One year later, they married again and made it eternal in the St. George Temple. Mom says she cannot quite put her finger on the time when her conversion of convenience led to a real testimony. She says, "Had Dan died after a few years of marriage, I might have drifted away," but she has always been an active, participating member and for decades has known herself to be a committed, true believer.

Conversion Stories as Folklore Narratives

Family members usually relate both Ivar's and LeAnn's conversion stories without reference to written documents. In fact, there is no written version of my mother's story—only various oral ones. Rather than transcriptions of others' oral versions of these narratives, both of these accounts are my own written renditions based on my own oral versions of the stories. I chose to present them this way to acknowledge the living nature of these stories and my position as a member of the family folk-groups in which they are found. For me to excise myself from the process through which these stories circulate and by which they are shaped would be artificial. Telling these stories in my own words seemed the best way to capture the flavor of how they might be told in a natural setting.

These two stories give a taste of the range of narrative possibilities that emerge from LDS conversion experiences. Approaching them analytically, we can begin to look at conversion stories in the ways folklorists examine narratives—for their contexts, histories, structures, functions, performance qualities, and meanings.

Contexts. LDS culture is rife with conversion-storytelling occasions. The Church's missionary force may relate the Joseph Smith story and personal conversion stories upwards of a hundred thousand times a day to people all over the world.¹⁷ The children of converts learn their parents' stories around the dinner table or at family home evening. People moving into a ward are routinely interrogated by the friendly question, "So, did you grow up in the Church or are you a convert? . . . Oh really! So tell us your conversion story."¹⁸ In "mission field" wards in particular, conversion stories are a familiar part of testimony meeting. Given our interest in telling and hearing conversion stories, it is not surprising that several LDS conversion-story websites have emerged on the internet. Being blessed with a particularly interesting conversion has put several Latter-day Saints on the fireside-youth conference speaker circuit.

The way in which these various contexts might affect how a conversion story is told is an issue to explore in the future: To what degree do storytellers adapt their narratives based on such factors as whether their audience is LDS, if they have a lot or a little time, if the occasion is serious or light, if they are engaged in conversation geared toward proselytizing the hearer, and if they are with familiar people in a comfortable setting?

Histories. In tracing the history of particular story types, folklorists have largely given up the search for *ur-narratives* (prototypes) as highly speculative and oblivious to a story's likely multiple ancestry. However, in the case of LDS conversion stories, the canonized version of Joseph Smith's 1820 vision of God the Father and Jesus Christ may be the great prototype that many Latter-day Saint conversions recapitulate. Mormon literary scholars Neal Lambert and Richard Cracroft say the First Vision marks the "center" of Mormonism because of its place in LDS self-conception.¹⁹ This apt evaluation reflects the historical development of the First Vision's place in LDS thought.²⁰

As is well known, Joseph Smith related several different versions of the First Vision for different audiences and purposes,²¹ and the event's place in members' conception of Church history grew from obscurity to surpass even the coming forth of the Book of Mormon in its significance to Mormons.²² As in studies of First Vision narratives, historicizing Latter-day Saint conversion stories collectively and individually may uncover the patterns and meanings of their variation through time and in different narrative contexts.

Structures. Oral narratives do not occur in random arrangements but follow patterns particular to their genres. Many LDS conversion narratives, including Ivar Sandberg's, share with the canonized account of Joseph Smith's First Vision the following main motifs or building blocks:²³

1. Individual finds self in a situation that raises concern about a lack of correct religious knowledge—a revival for Joseph Smith; immigration for Ivar.

2. Individual encounters a long, frustrating search for true religion—both Joseph Smith and Ivar had run-ins with local clergy and underwent great soul searching.
3. Individual experiences an epiphany that suggests that the seeker is on the right track—reading James 1:6 for Joseph Smith; reading the Book of Mormon for Ivar.
4. Adversary attempts dissuasive intervention—Satan’s assault at the Sacred Grove; Ivar’s fear of sinning against the Holy Ghost.
5. Individual receives the gift of true religious knowledge and a connection with God—Joseph Smith’s vision; Ivar’s baptism at Temple Square.

Amy Ward, a folklore student at BYU, conducted a fieldwork project comparing the conversion stories of converts from outside the Church to the stories of those who grew up in the Church but decided at a certain point to find their own testimonies. In her limited sample, she found that the stories of the people who were already Church members closely followed the Joseph Smith pattern. Those who were converts from outside the Church were more likely to describe their conversion as the result of being “surprised by the truth” or as a long process in which they did not realize that they were actually searching for something, rather than as the result of a quest such as Ivar’s. She also found that converts from within the Church were much less likely to have ever been asked to relate their conversion experiences and were surprised and delighted to be asked by her.²⁴

While many conversion stories of converts from outside the Church do not fit the canonical structure of the Joseph Smith narrative, perhaps the ones most likely to elicit retellings by the community are those, like Ivar’s, that do show a familiar structural pattern. My mother’s story follows Amy Ward’s observations in that it shares nothing but the last motif in the Joseph Smith sequence above. However, I imagine my mother’s experience is not an uncommon one even if it is not a commonly related story type. Stories left untold relate cultural information as well as stories told, though “untold stories” present a definite interpretive challenge to folklorists.

A bright student in my American folklore class mentioned that the tellings of stories like my mother’s should mention the subjects’ continuously held Church callings. Otherwise, by the expectations of the genre, her story might be judged as lacking experiential authenticity. I think he is right. Still, I suspect that as conversion stories are collected and compared, multiple structural patterns will turn up. Parley P. Pratt’s Ivar-Sandberg-like experience and Brigham Young’s two years of mulling before conversion provide widely different models from impeccably orthodox early Saints.

Functions. The proselytizing function of conversion narratives should interest scholars seeking to understand the dynamics of folkgroup formation and cohesion. Telling one's own conversion story maintains one's position within a culture's center by commemorating a boundary-crossing movement from liminality to *communitas* and, in some circumstances, encourages others to make the same commitment. I am convinced that Ivar's story, told from the heart, was a crucial instrument in bringing my ancestors and many others to the gospel.

Conversion stories also increasingly share the same function as nineteenth-century Mormon pioneer narratives. They form an inspirational and faith-promoting popular historical consciousness for Latter-day Saints. For many Saints, family history *is* pioneer history. However, an increasing percentage of Church members are neither descendants of plains-crossing pioneers, nor first generation LDS. Rather they are descended from twentieth-century converts. The westering epic can be accessible to them as Church history but not as family history. "Family Church history" for these Latter-day Saints begins with parents' or grandparents' conversion stories. Elder L. Tom Perry recently suggested that it is Latter-day Saints' duty to record their conversion stories for posterity. By so doing, the descendants of the convert are connected to the community.²⁵

My family's Church history proved useful as I was courting my wife. Her Smith-family, veterinarian grandfather places a high value on pedigree, not only in animal husbandry, but also in predicting the religious stalwartness of human beings. So one can imagine my relief when he said of Ivar Sandberg, "Why, your family were Church pioneers in South Dakota!" My experience concurs with performance-studies theorist Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's emphasis on narrative's role as a personal resource.²⁶ Her work shows how an individual's properly deployed repertoire of lore can smooth interpersonal relationships and integrate extended family units.

Performance Qualities. The dominant theoretical paradigm in folkloristics since the 1970s evaluates folklore as discrete artistic activity produced by creative performers in the situational context of specific events.²⁷ Various audiences evaluate performances for their adherence to, or innovative transcendence of, community-situated aesthetic and moral principles that emerge and are maintained through performer-receptor interaction. Performers adjust their repertoire, content, and style for varying audiences, who are in turn transformed through their reception of the performers' lore. As more attention is given to conversion stories, we can begin to ask questions such as, What are Mormon folklore's aesthetic and artistic principles? How are these principles conveyed, maintained, and shaped by telling conversion stories?

Some preliminary observations can be made using Ivar's account. His seemingly odd use of humor in such a profoundly religious topic—the quips about the “heathen” Book of Mormon and the bespectacled mission president that came directly from his account—may be a more common performative aspect of conversion stories than one might expect, especially in settings where the audience is not LDS. Effective humor makes stories more listenable. When of a self-deprecating variety as is Ivar's, a light-hearted telling also helps protect a conversion-story narrator against audience accusations of self-righteousness and self-aggrandizement. As a means of acknowledging how incredible elements of his or her conversion experiences might sound to one who has not had any such experiences, humor also protects the narrator against ridicule and rejection. Humor allows stories to succeed on levels other than the conversion of the hearer. In situations where the audience is comprised of fellow Saints likely to believe, humor seems to be less prevalent.²⁸

These performative features might seem akin to what sociologist Erving Goffman has called strategies of face preservation.²⁹ Perhaps those face-saving elements are sometimes present in LDS conversion-narrative telling events, but these features can also be understood as emerging from central LDS values such as seeking to share the gospel in the most effective way possible, avoiding pride (also a strong Scandinavian ethic of Ivar's generation), and protecting sacred things from ridicule by the teller retaining effective, friendly control over the humor of the story.

It should be noted, too, that Latter-day Saints often evaluate conversion narratives and testimonies based on an antiperformance aesthetic. Stories that seem contrived, melodramatic, self-centered, or manipulative can be deemed in violation of the principles of this genre's *raison d'être*.³⁰ Undoubtedly, some conversion-narrative tellers may attempt to affect “unaffected” speech patterns, thus making nonperformance into a kind of performance. However, regarding the performance-centered approach as an explanatory panacea runs the risk of incorrectly casting simple, sincere religious narrations as contrived performances of nonperformance. LeAnn's story, for example, is a definite nonperformance. Because it is almost an anticonversion story with no hint of affected spirituality or retrospective dramatics, it carries a sense of simple honesty.

Meanings. Perhaps the most important observation to be made about conversion stories is that they convey, in narrative form, fundamental Latter-day Saint epistemological and metaphysical propositions. The body of LDS conversion stories provides countless personal witnesses to the idea that anyone, through humble study and prayer (Ivar before baptism and LeAnn after) can receive direct revelation of the truths that God lives and loves us so much that he sent his Son, established a Church, and provided scriptures to teach us the principles of salvation. The heavens remain open and

light pours out into the souls of those who seek it. The Restoration continues to unfold, penetrating more and more lives through the same principles employed by Joseph Smith and the ancients.

This corpus of down-to-earth personal experience narratives told by those who have found the gospel lays out and vivifies Latter-day Saint religiosity better than any systematic abstract theological treatise ever could.³¹ Non-LDS scholars Harold Bloom and Nathan Hatch suggest that LDS belief in the centrality of personal revelation in conversion and ongoing religious life is the genius of Latter-day Saint success and its most significant “ground level” difference from other streams of Christianity.³²

Future Directions

Currently, the BYU folklore archive contains only a smattering of conversion narratives, but it is prepared to receive many more for scholarly and public use as collectors learn to regard conversion stories as a key Mormon narrative genre. These observations are a call to begin a more vigorous collecting and examining of conversion narratives. Questions to pursue as more data come in might include the following:

- ◆ How, if at all, are women’s conversion narratives different from men’s? South Americans’ from Africans’ or Pacific islanders’? Missionaries returning from Haiti tell me that dreams and angelic visitations are almost a standard element there, while such occurrences are uncommon and rarely shared in the United States. BYU graduate student Amy Nelson’s research suggests that in Taiwan, and perhaps Asian culture in general, converts prefer not to relate their conversion experiences in terms of a personal narrative. Rather, they favor nonnarrative allegories that illustrate the benefits and general principles of religious enlightenment while only obliquely, if at all, referring to their own experiences. Nelson suggests that differing Chinese and American notions about the nature and importance of the self seem to be at the root of these different evaluations of “self”-centered discourse.³³
- ◆ How do “I grew up in the Church but found my own testimony” and reactivation conversion stories compare with those of converts from outside the Church?
- ◆ Will written personal narratives become the literary genre through which Mormons most contribute to world literature, as some have suggested?³⁴ Since personal narratives have their roots not only in the especially significant LDS practice of journal writing, but also in the oral traditions of bearing testimony and relating conversion narratives, what kind of role might conversion narratives play in the development of written Mormon literature?

- ◆ How do Mormon conversion stories illuminate the process of religious change generally?³⁵ In 1990 the most sophisticated survey of American religiosity in decades suggested that one-fourth to one-third of all Americans have converted to a new religion, switched denominations, lost faith, gained faith, or otherwise undergone a transformation of their world view.³⁶
- ◆ Some questions of applied folklore that BYU is especially equipped to handle are, How might fostering the telling of conversion stories in faith-affirming contexts aid in convert retention and long-term testimony growth? In what ways can a better understanding of conversion-narrative functions and processes contribute to the worldwide missionary program? While few tellings of a conversion story directly result in a convert baptism, what was the effect of conversion stories on those who did decide to join the Church? How do investigators respond to personal-experience conversion stories versus third-person conversion stories versus simple, declarative testimonies in nonnarrative form? Preliminary research suggests that telling conversion stories almost *always* has a powerful effect on the *teller*—recalling the same emotions and spirit present at the time of the events described.

We will not know the answers to such questions until more stories begin rolling into the archives. Brigham Young University is well poised to undertake this task. Those interested in submitting conversion stories to the BYU Folklore Archive can contact archivist Kristi Bell for submission information at 1-801-378-6041 or send a letter of inquiry to BYU Folklore Archive, Box 44, HBLL, Provo, UT 84602.

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1. This study is based on my own research and that of students in my folklore classes at Brigham Young University. All living people whose conversion stories or whose reaction to conversion stories appear in this essay have read this manuscript prior to its publication. Some suggested minor changes that I have incorporated. All agreed to let me use their names and stories.

2. For bibliographic information concerning Mormon contributions to folkloristics as well as the study of Mormons by folklorists, see Jill Terry, "Exploring Belief and Custom: The Study of Mormon Folklore," *Utah Folklife Newsletter* 23 (winter 1989): 1–4; William A. Wilson, "A Bibliography of Studies in Mormon Folklore," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 44 (fall 1976): 389–94.

3. Dan Ben-Amos, ed., *Folklore Genres* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1969); Dell Hymes, "Introduction toward Ethnographics of Communication," *American Anthropologist* 66, no. 6, part 2 (1964).

4. A fine collection of this kind of scholarship can be found in Richard Bauman and Joel Sherzer, eds., *Explorations in the Ethnography of Speaking*, 2d ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

5. Sandra K. D. Stahl, "Personal Experience Stories," in *Handbook of American Folklore*, ed. Richard M. Dorson (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983): 268–76; Barbara Allen, "Personal Experience Narratives: Use and Meaning in Interaction," *Folklore and Mythology Studies* 2 (1978): 5–7.

6. For a comparative description of various religious-narrative genres including memorates, see Juha Pentikäinen, "The Pre-Literate Stages of Religious Tradition," in *Shamanism and Culture: Essays by Juha Pentikäinen* (Helsinki: Etnika, 1997): 14–16.

7. For a collection of research on memorates, see Barbara Walker, ed., *Out of the Ordinary: Folklore and the Supernatural* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1995).

8. For a classic example of naturalistically "explaining" away memorates, see Lauri Honko, "Memorates and the Study of Folk Beliefs," *Journal of the Folklore Institute* 1 (1964): 5–19.

9. For a lengthy discussion of this issue, see David J. Hufford, *The Terror That Comes in the Night: An Experience-Centered Study of Supernatural Assault Traditions* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982).

10. For an impressive scholarly challenge to the traditional forces that argue against the validity of religious experience, see Caroline Franks Davis, *The Evidential Force of Religious Experience* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989).

11. William A. Wilson, "Folklore, a Mirror for What? Reflections of a Mormon Folklorist," *Western Folklore* 54 (January 1995): 13–21.

12. O. E. Rølvaag, *Giants in the Earth* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1929).

13. "The book [of Mormon] is a curiosity to me, it is such a pretentious affair, and yet so 'slow,' so sleepy. . . . It is chloroform in print." Mark Twain, *Roughing It* (New York: Penguin Book, 1962), 102.

14. Karl Ivar Sandberg, "My Conversion to the Mormon Church," unpublished manuscript in author's possession, n.d., unpagged.

15. Eugene England, ed., *Converted to Christ through the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989), 65–70.

16. William A. Wilson, "In Praise of Ourselves: Stories to Tell," *BYU Studies* 30, no. 1 (1990): 21; Sandberg, "My Conversion."

17. This estimate is based on 50,000 missionaries multiplied by an estimated two first discussions given per day. This may seem high, but recently returned missionaries tell me that the imperative of sharing a "five-minute first discussion" at every contact is being increasingly stressed.

18. With the rapid growth of the LDS Church, particularly in the last few decades, the likelihood that any given member of the Church is a convert is very high—perhaps over two-thirds of Church membership. For the worldwide Church, approximately three converts are baptized for every one eight-year-old Mormon child baptized. In the western United States, this ratio is about one to one. See Tim B. Heaton "Vital Statistics," in *Latter-day Saint Social Life: Social Research on the LDS Church and Its Members*, ed. James T. Duke (Provo: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1998), 117, 118.

19. Neal E. Lambert and Richard H. Cracroft, "Literary Form and Historical Understanding: Joseph Smith's First Vision," *Journal of Mormon History* 7 (1980): 31–42.

20. James B. Allen, "Emergence of a Fundamental: The Expanding Role of Joseph Smith's First Vision in Mormon Religious Thought," *Journal of Mormon History* 7 (1980): 43–61.

21. See Dean C. Jessee, "The Early Accounts of Joseph Smith's First Vision," *BYU Studies* 9, no. 3 (1969): 275.
22. Jan Shipps suggests that the First Vision rose to prominence in Latter-day Saint consciousness as a way of keeping the martyred prophet-founder at the center of Mormon sacred history during the time "those who knew Joseph" passed away. Jan Shipps, *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985), 32–33.
23. This necessary sequential motif structure is similar to what Russian folklorist Vladimir Propp calls "functions" in his studies of Russian folktales. Vladimir Propp, *Morphology of the Folktale*, 2d ed., trans. Laurence Scott (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968), 25–65.
24. Amy Ward, "The Performance of Conversion Narratives in the Mormon Community," student fieldwork project, Brigham Young University, December 1997, BYU Folklore Archives, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.
25. Michael Smart, "Good Family Name Can Influence Generations, Apostle Says," *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 15, 1997, sec. D.
26. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "A Parable in Context: A Social Interactional Analysis of Storytelling Performance," in *Folklore: Performance and Communication*, ed. Dan Ben-Amos and Kenneth S. Goldstein (The Hague: Mouton, 1975), 105–30.
27. Essays on the history and various aspects of the "performance-centered approach" to folklore can be found in Richard Bauman, ed., *Folklore, Cultural Performances, and Popular Entertainments: A Communications-Centered Handbook* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).
28. Amy Ward found that her informants did not use humor in their interviews with her. Rather they told the stories in a solemn manner that often resulted in tears and manifestation of deep emotions. This fervent approach is very different from Ivar's tellings. A possible reason may be that Ivar's story took shape during his life as a member-missionary in contexts where the story might not be believed. In their interviews with Amy, the conversion-narrative tellers were in a one-on-one setting with a friendly, believing Latter-day Saint as their only audience.
29. Erving Goffman, "On Face-Work: An Analysis of Ritual Elements in Social Interaction," *Psychiatry: Journal for the Study of Interpersonal Processes* 18 (1955): 213–31. See also Erving Goffman, *Forms of Talk* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981).
30. This observation was first brought to my attention by Mormon anthropologist Richard Bounforte, who has completed unpublished research on the sociolinguistics of LDS testimony bearing.
31. An excellent illustration of the importance of conversion stories to understanding the Mormon experience can be found in Gary Browning, *Russia and the Restored Gospel* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1997). Browning is a professor of Russian at Brigham Young University and former mission president of the Helsinki East and Russia Moscow Missions. His book uses conversion-story accounts written by Russian converts to the Church as the basis for telling the history of the first years of Mormonism in post-Soviet Russia. See review in this issue, 203–6.
32. Harold Bloom, *The American Religion: The Emergence of the Post-Christian Nation* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1992), 79–128; Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 113–22.
33. Amy Nelson, "Cross-Cultural Conversion Narratives: Telling the Story My Way" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, in progress).

34. Eugene England, conversation with author, Provo, Utah, 1995; Steven Walker, conversation with author, Provo, Utah, 1998.

35. Studies of the conversion narratives and the conversion processes undergone by Scientologists and by Evangelical Protestants have been undertaken in Harriet Whitehead, *Renunciation and Reformulation: A Study of Conversion in an American Sect* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987); and Peter G. Stromberg, *Language and Self-Transformation: A Study of the Christian Conversion Narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

36. Barry A. Kosmin and Seymour P. Lachman, *One Nation under God: Religion in Contemporary American Society* (New York: Crown Trade Paperbacks, 1993), 1, 239.

“I Love All Men Who Dive”: Herman Melville and Joseph Smith

Richard Dilworth Rust

Herman Melville and Joseph Smith were two “deep thinkers” linked by time and place. But these men had different experiences that led to different conclusions about life and hope.

“I love all men who *dive*,” wrote Herman Melville to a friend. “Any fish can swim near the surface, but it takes a great whale to go down stairs five miles or more; & if he dont attain the bottom, why, all the lead in Galena can’t fashion the plummet that will. I’m not talking of Mr Emerson now—but of the whole corps of thought-divers, that have been diving & coming up again with blood-shot eyes since the world began.”¹ Although Herman Melville probably never met Joseph Smith, he would have loved him as a “thought-diver.” Melville said in his review (1850) of Nathaniel Hawthorne’s *Mosses from an Old Manse* (1846), “For genius, all over the world, stands hand in hand, and one shock of recognition runs the whole circle around.”²

Why might one want to consider Herman Melville and Joseph Smith together? This juxtaposition helps illuminate striking similarities as well as significant differences in the lives and responses to life of two of the nineteenth century’s most remarkable men, both pioneers in their respective fields. What editor James G. Bennett of the *New York Herald* wrote about Joseph Smith could apply to Herman Melville as well: he was “undoubtedly one of the greatest characters of the age.”³ Future generations, observed Josiah Quincy, the mayor of Boston, might well identify Joseph Smith as the American of the nineteenth century who “has exerted the most powerful influence upon the destinies of his countrymen.”⁴ Likewise, Melville’s place today as one of the greatest writers of American literature is undisputed. These two contemporaries have given to the world enduring works in the *Book of Mormon* (1830) and *Moby-Dick* (1851).

Both Melville and Smith pondered the deep questions of existence, such as the relationship of man to God, the nature and degree of agency, and the purpose of life. Their writings range widely in examining problems of mortality and immortality, the brotherhood of man, self-realization, response to either earthly or heavenly authority, deception and hypocrisy,



Joseph Smith, artist unknown, attributed to David W. Rogers, ca. 1842. Courtesy Museum of Church History and Art.

with a genuinely myth-making imagination.”⁵ Joseph Smith similarly has been considered by the distinguished literary critic Harold Bloom to be “an authentic religious genius [who] surpassed all Americans, before or since, in the possession and expression of what could be called the religion-making imagination.”⁶ Yet Melville belonged to what Lewis called the party of Irony, while Smith could be considered to belong to the party of Hope. Melville had deeply probing questions; Smith, thinking as deeply but also calling on revelation, had answers to many of the very questions Melville posed. Both were willing to examine the questions thoroughly and honestly. Melville surely had himself as well as Hawthorne in mind when he said, “We think that into no recorded mind has the intense feeling of the visible truth ever entered more deeply than into this man’s. By visible truth, we mean the apprehension of the absolute condition of present things as they strike the eye of the man who fears them not, though they do their worst to him.”⁷ Melville engaged, as critic Stan Goldman puts it, in “the painful struggle between the human and the divine. As Jacob wrestled with the angel, as Job wrestled with God—‘but I will maintain mine own ways before him’ (Job 13:15)—Melville also wrestled with ‘contraries.’”⁸ On his part, Smith believed that “‘by proving contraries,’ ‘truth is made manifest,’ and a wise man can search out ‘old paths, [’] wherein righteous men held communion with Jehovah, and were exalted through obedience.”⁹

and good and evil. (By “writings,” I am considering all that came from them: the translations and revelations of Joseph Smith as well as his letters, journals, and recorded sayings; and Herman Melville’s letters and literary works.) They both grew up in New York state—Melville in Albany and Smith in Palmyra, locations separated by more than two hundred miles but connected by the Erie Canal. And while they were misunderstood and harshly judged during their lifetimes, their fame has increased in the twentieth century.

Herman Melville, according to noted literary critic R. W. B. Lewis, was “the one novelist in nineteenth-century America gifted

Melville and the Mormons

While there is no record that he and Joseph Smith ever met, Melville was aware of the Book of Mormon and was informed (or misinformed) about the Latter-day Saints. Probably the nearest Melville ever came to Smith was in 1840, when a twenty-one-year-old Melville took a steamboat from Galena to Cairo, both in Illinois, passing the fledgling Mormon settlement at Nauvoo, where Smith then resided.¹⁰ Melville's one overt reference to the Book of Mormon is in his novel *Pierre* (1852), where he puts the volume in a packet of great books a wealthy admirer has delivered to Plotinus Plinlimmon.

This foreign scholar has sent Plin-

limmon "a very fine set of volumes,—Cardan, Epictetus, the Book of Mormon, Abraham Tucker, Condorcet and the Zend-Avesta."¹¹ As Robert Rees has pointed out, one characteristic these books have in common is their emphasis on benevolence.¹² But selfish Plinlimmon leaves the books untouched. Rather than accepting the wine contained in the new bottle of the Book of Mormon, Plinlimmon tells the scholar he would have preferred "some choice Curaçoa from a nobleman like you." After the scholar probes him, saying, "I thought that the society of which you are the head, excluded all things of that sort," Plinlimmon responds hypocritically, "Dear Count, so they do; but Mohammed hath his own dispensation."¹³

That Melville found something commendatory in the Book of Mormon is also suggested, as Rees argues quite persuasively, by his use of the name Alma for his prophet-Christ figure in *Mardi* (1849). Melville's Alma "was an illustrious prophet, and teacher divine," who came to instruct the Mardians "in the ways of truth, virtue, and happiness; to allure them to good by promises of beatitude hereafter; and to restrain them from evil by denunciations of woe."¹⁴ Melville also identified his misunderstood novel *Mardi* with Mormons:

Again: (as the divines say) political republics should be the asylum for the persecuted of all nations; so, if *Mardi* be admitted to your shelves, your bibliographical Republic of Letters may find some contentment in the thought, that it has afforded refuge to a work, which almost everywhere else has been driven forth like a wild, mystic Mormon into shelterless exile.¹⁵



Herman Melville, 1861.
Courtesy Berkshire Athenæum.

Melville alluded to Mormons again in *The Confidence-Man: His Masquerade* (1857). One of the passengers on the steamboat *Fidèle* supposes that the lamblike man in cream colors is a “Green prophet from Utah.”¹⁶ At one point in the novel, the swindling confidence man tries to interest a collegian in the New Jerusalem, which he says is “the new and thriving city, so called, in northern Minnesota. It was originally founded by certain fugitive Mormons. Hence the name.”¹⁷ This “new and thriving” city founded by the Mormons calls to mind Nauvoo, although the northerly location and the reference to “fugitive” Mormons may also have reference to an apostate colony at Beaver Island, Wisconsin, once designated the New Jerusalem by colony leader James J. Strang, whose assassination in 1856 received national attention. The narrator of the novel implies skepticism about the city’s “perpetual fountain” and “lignum-vitæ rostrums”—that is, “the fountain of the water of life” and the tree of life in the New Jerusalem as described in the book of Revelation (see Rev. 21:1–6). Melville might have had in mind as well the New Jerusalem and the tree of life described in the Book of Mormon. And the narrator includes “Mormons and Papists” in his catalog of the “Anacharsis Cloots congress of all kinds of that multiform pilgrim species, man.” After listing “happiness-hunters” and “truth-hunters,” he probably thought of himself as belonging to the category of “still keener hunters after all these hunters.”¹⁸

Backgrounds

There was much about the backgrounds of Melville and Smith that significantly colored their approaches to life. “Call me Ishmael,” Melville begins his most famous novel, *Moby-Dick*, presenting a character with a number of parallels to himself, just as he had previously done in the title characters of his novels *Redburn* (1849) and *White Jacket* (1850). An orphan (one who, judging by his name, had been cast out by his father), Ishmael goes to sea as a substitute for suicide. Even then, conditioned by his Calvinistic training, he considers his voyage fated. The writer behind the character was also bereft of his father, who had died raving when Melville was twelve. One analysis of Melville supposes that he first knew the punitive Calvinist God “chiefly through the image of his own father.”¹⁹ Melville had a difficult relationship with his mother, Marie Gansevoort Melville, a member of the neo-Calvinist Dutch Reformed Church. In fact, Herman Melville said that she hated him.²⁰

The opening of the Book of Mormon, which Joseph Smith translated, is both roughly parallel to “Call me Ishmael” and significantly different from it. It starts, “I, Nephi, having been born of goodly parents . . .” (1 Ne. 1:1), declaring that Nephi is the narrator’s real name and not just a name to be used on the occasion, and emphasizing the closeness of parents and son. Joseph Smith continually affirmed that he, too, had been born of

goodly parents. His father, Joseph Smith Sr., was his confidant and friend, and his mother, Lucy Mack Smith, provided the constant support of love and belief. “Blessed of the Lord is my father,” said Joseph,

for he shall stand in the midst of his posterity and shall be comforted by their blessings when he is old and bowed down with years, and shall be called a prince over them, and shall be numbered among those who hold the right of Patriarchal Priesthood. . . .

And blessed also, is my mother, . . .

. . . for her soul is ever filled with benevolence and philanthropy; and notwithstanding her age, she shall yet receive strength and be comforted in the midst of her house: and thus saith the Lord. She shall have eternal life.²¹

Heavenly knowledge began for Joseph Smith at age fourteen, when he earnestly prayed vocally for the first time to ask God for wisdom—and received it directly from the Deity. When he was fourteen, the boy Melville worked in a bank in Albany and then briefly on his uncle’s farm in Pittsfield, Massachusetts. But his major learning experiences came later. “Until I was twenty-five, I had no development at all,” Melville confided to Hawthorne. “From my twenty-fifth year I date my life. Three weeks have scarcely passed, at any time between then and now, that I have not unfolded within myself.”²² At that point he had just returned from the sea with a store of whaling and naval experiences that he would use in his fiction and poetry to the end of his life. As with Ishmael, the whaling ship had been his “Yale College and [his] Harvard.”²³ In his twenty-fifth year, Joseph Smith published the Book of Mormon and organized The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. One could say that Joseph Smith’s most important “Harvard” experience was the instruction he received from heavenly visitants.

By age thirty, Melville was writing *Moby-Dick*; at that age, Smith had organized the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles and dedicated the Kirtland Temple, among other accomplishments. Just eight years later, Joseph Smith was cruelly cut down at the height of his creativity. With the appearance of his skeptical work *The Confidence-Man*, in his thirty-eighth year Melville ended his career of writing fiction for publication.

During that year, 1857, with the support of his family, Melville went abroad to the Mediterranean and the Holy Land to recoup his health and to see if he could regain some faith. The book-length poem *Clarel: A Poem and Pilgrimage in the Holy Land* (1876) is an imaginative account of that experience, featuring a variety of characters expressing diverse views on religion and other topics. Though no single character fully represents Melville, Clarel’s question seems to be at the heart of Melville’s quest: “‘Christ lived a Jew: and in Judaea / May linger any breath of Him?’”²⁴ Subsequently, thinking of the disciples on the road to Emmaus, Clarel

expresses a longing for divine counsel: “I too, I too; could I but meet / Some stranger of a lore replete, / Who, marking how my looks betray / The dumb thoughts clogging here my feet, / Would question me, expound and prove, / And make my heart to burn with love— / Emmaus were no dream to-day!”²⁵

On his way to the Holy Land, Melville told Hawthorne of his “noble doubts” and desires. In his journal account of their visit near Liverpool in November 1856, Hawthorne muses:

Melville, as he always does, began to reason of Providence and futurity, and of everything that lies beyond human ken, and informed me that he had “pretty much made up his mind to be annihilated”; but still he does not seem to rest in that anticipation; and, I think, will never rest until he gets hold of a definite belief. It is strange how he persists—and has persisted ever since I knew him, and probably long before—in wandering to-and-fro over these deserts, as dismal and monotonous as the sand hills amid which we were sitting. He can neither believe, nor be comfortable in his unbelief; and he is too honest and courageous not to try to do one or the other. If he were a religious man, he would be one of the most truly religious and reverential; he has a very high and noble nature, and better worth immortality than most of us.²⁶

Likewise an honest and courageous person, Joseph Smith at age thirty-eight was solidly sure in his belief. As he announced in his masterful King Follett discourse, he intended to edify his audience “with the simple truths from heaven.”²⁷

While their family relations and background were different, Herman Melville and Joseph Smith were alike in their thirst for knowledge. Merton M. Sealts’s *Melville’s Reading* and Mary K. Bercau’s *Melville’s Sources* show that Melville, like Ishmael, “swam through libraries.”²⁸ The journals of Joseph Smith transcribed in the *History of the Church* and *The Papers of Joseph Smith* show a man who, despite enormous demands on his time, was constantly learning new languages (such as German, Greek, and Hebrew), engaging in extended discussions such as took place in the School of the Prophets, and receiving revelation upon revelation. In their desire for truth, both men gained ever-expanding knowledge.

The search for truth is a theme found throughout Melville’s writings. “You must have plenty of sea-room to tell the Truth in,” he said in his review of Hawthorne’s *Mosses*, and in that review he implicitly includes himself with Hawthorne and Shakespeare as a master “of the great Art of Telling the Truth,—even though it be covertly, and by snatches.”²⁹ Identifying Hawthorne in that review as “a seeker, not a finder yet,” Melville allies with him, proclaiming, “I seek for Truth.”³⁰ Nearly the same age as Melville’s friend Hawthorne, Joseph Smith, too, prized truth. He subscribed to the prophet Jacob’s view in the Book of Mormon: the righteous “love the truth and are not shaken” (2 Ne. 9:40).

Diving out of Sight and Coming into View

Both during and after their lives, these forthright and genuine men were seriously misunderstood, their true characters unknown to many. One review of Melville's novel *Pierre* bore the bold headline, "HERMAN MELVILLE CRAZY!"³¹ In *The Confidence-Man*, Melville acknowledged that "the acutest sage [is] often at his wits' ends to understand living character."³² Only the most eagle-eyed readers, Melville said, could come close to understanding him. Even his family hardly knew his inner life. This point is made somewhat humorously in the sketch "I and My Chimney" (1856) in which the narrator protects the base of his chimney—symbolically, his ego—from being threatened or exposed.³³ Isabel's last words concerning *Pierre* could well apply to Melville: "'All's o'er, and ye know him not!'"³⁴ Similarly, Joseph Smith stated, "You don't know me; you never knew my heart. No man knows my history. I cannot tell it: I shall never undertake it. I don't blame any one for not believing my history. If I had not experienced what I have, I could not have believed it myself."³⁵ Nor could he tell it all. "I have handled, heard, seen and known things which I have not yet told," he revealed.³⁶ Melville lamented, "What a madness & anguish it is, that an author can never—under no conceivable circumstances—be at all frank with his readers."³⁷

Yet both Melville and Smith left significant bodies of writings from which one can approach their personal histories. I grant that Melville is complex and ambiguous and that no one character in his fiction represents him in any direct way. I also acknowledge that during his lifetime he stated or implied changing and sometimes conflicting views on religious and other matters. Still, it could be said that Melville wrote out his life in his works, from his Polynesian adventures in *Typee* (1846) and *Omoo* (1847) through his anguished experiences as an author in *Pierre* to his examination of the relationships of a father and son in *Billy Budd* (1924; posthumous). As noted frequently, Melville's works involve some form of a journey with a quest—for beauty in *Mardi*, for truth in *Moby-Dick*, for virtue in *Pierre*.

To learn about Joseph Smith's life, one turns primarily to his journals and sermons; indeed, his 1839 history with the account of his First Vision is the core story of his life—which, as he puts it, is inextricably related to "the rise and progress of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints" (Joseph Smith—History 1:1). As with Melville's life story, Smith's is a repeated account of journeys: the migrations of the Smith family and the Latter-day Saints as a people. These journeys replicate those found within the Book of Mormon: the journeys of the Jaredites, of the people of Lehi, and of Alma's people. Experiencing and writing about the journey archetype, both Melville and Smith could consider themselves wanderers.

In his journeyings, Smith could affirm, "Go forward and not backward. Courage, brethren; and on, on to the victory!" (Doctrine and Covenants 128:22). Melville, though, wrote about a series of incomplete or failed journeys and placed elements of himself in Redburn, who felt "in early youth . . . the pangs which should be reserved for the stout time of manhood,"³⁸ and in Ishmael, who at times had "a damp, drizzly November" in his soul.³⁹

Experiencing Darkness and Light

The emotional cloud over Melville is often represented as blackness. What Melville found in Hawthorne certainly was true of himself: "This great power of blackness in him derives its force from its appeals to that Calvinistic sense of Innate Depravity and Original Sin."⁴⁰ As Melville biographer Edwin Haviland Miller believes:

Only a man who himself had experienced the despair that accompanies the blackness of depressions, where grievances or hurts are magnified against the background of overwhelming feelings of helplessness, could have created Ahab, Pierre, and Bartleby. These characters, in overwrought rhetoric or in its opposite, silence, are imprisoned in despair, feelings of ineffectuality, self-destructive rages, teetering on the brink of complete loss of control. If they are poised perilously at the abyss, Melville had preceded them there.⁴¹

Yet Melville found that "profoundest gloom" sometimes allows one to discover "deeper truths in man." "Utter darkness is then his light," he says, "and cat-like he distinctly sees all objects through a medium which is mere blindness to common vision."⁴² "Every night, when the curtain falls," he says in "The Piazza" (1856), "truth comes in with darkness."⁴³ As with the tortoise of the Enchanted Isles with its bright yellow underside and dark back, Melville believed that one should "enjoy the bright, keep it turned up perpetually if you can, but be honest and don't deny the black."⁴⁴

Joseph Smith knew darkness. Regarding the Sacred Grove experience, he writes, "Thick darkness gathered around me, and it seemed to me for a time as if I were doomed to sudden destruction" (JS-H 1:15). Yet Satan's darkness is superseded in Smith's first vision by "a pillar of light . . . above the brightness of the sun" (JS-H 1:16). As there is a power of darkness in Melville, there could be called a power of light in Smith. Despite his persecutions, Joseph Smith prophesied that he would "stand and shine like the sun in the firmament."⁴⁵ He was like Gazelem's stone, "which shall shine forth in darkness unto light" (Alma 37:23). "That which is of God is light," he wrote, "and he that receiveth light, and continueth in God, receiveth more light; and that light groweth brighter and brighter until the perfect day" (D&C 50:24). Conversely, "He that will not receive the greater light, must have taken away from him all the light which he hath; and if the light which is in you become darkness, behold, how great is that darkness!"⁴⁶

These perspectives of Melville and Smith regarding darkness and light correlate with their views on human agency. The blighted Melville with his early Calvinistic training struggled with matters of fate and free will. Surely there were times in his life when he felt the plight of a Pierre who “was not arguing Fixed Fate and Free Will, now; Fixed Fate and Free Will were arguing him, and Fixed Fate got the better in the debate.”⁴⁷ Acknowledging a parallel between Melville and Ishmael, literary scholar Paul Brodtkorb says, “Whenever Ishmael contemplates time, fatality is the aspect of it that is most apt to concern him.”⁴⁸ In contrast, Joseph Smith’s position was that of Lehi in the Book of Mormon, who said:

And because that [the children of men] are redeemed from the fall they have become free forever, knowing good from evil; to act for themselves and not to be acted upon. . . . And they are free to choose liberty and eternal life, through the great Mediator of all men, or to choose captivity and death, according to the captivity and power of the devil. (2 Ne. 2:26–27)

Smith found through divine instruction that Presbyterianism with its Calvinistic base was wrong. And while living in the world of time, Smith “let the solemnities of eternity” rest upon his mind (D&C 43:34).

Whether they were dominantly pessimistic or optimistic, both men understood evil. Melville describes Ishmael at the tiller at night, perceiving that “the rushing Pequod, freighted with savages, and laden with fire, and burning a corpse, and plunging into that blackness of darkness, seemed the material counterpart of her monomaniac commander’s soul.”⁴⁹ Transfixed into a doze in which he nearly capsizes the vessel, Ishmael gives himself this admonition: “Look not too long in the face of the fire, O man!”⁵⁰ Smith, too, had a sight of what Ishmael calls “fiend shapes.”⁵¹ An angel showed him “the prince of darkness, surrounded by his innumerable train of associates.” The heavenly messenger then said, “All this is shown, the good and the evill [*sic*], the holy and impure, the glory of God and the power of darkness, that you may know hereafter the two powers and never be influenced or overcome by that wicked one.”⁵² At another time, Smith beheld “Satan, that old serpent,” and saw “a vision of the sufferings of those with whom he made war and overcame” (D&C 76:28–30). In the Book of Moses, translated by Joseph Smith, Enoch had a similar experience: he “beheld Satan; and he had a great chain in his hand, and it veiled the whole face of the earth with darkness; and he looked up and laughed, and his angels rejoiced” (Moses 7:26).

In discerning the good and the evil, both men were exceptionally honest; they were maskless men in a world too often appearing as a masquerade.⁵³ As such, they were totally committed to seeking for and speaking the truth. “I mean to give the truth of the thing, spite of this,” Melville wrote to a friend.⁵⁴ Yet he knew only too well how little the world rewarded

truth-tellers: “Try to get a living by the Truth—and go to the Soup Societies,” Melville commented to Hawthorne.⁵⁵ For his part, Smith affirmed, “Water, fire, truth and God are all realities. Truth is ‘Mormonism.’ God is the author of it.”⁵⁶

Doubt and Faith

While seeking for the truth, Melville pondered how one can be sure of it, especially as pertains to the unseen world. The degree to which he worked out his own questionings and grapplings in his fiction is evident in his novels. He has Pierre lamenting “the everlasting elusiveness of Truth.”⁵⁷ In varying degrees through his life, Melville struggled with questions of doubt and faith.⁵⁸ “Own, own with me, and spare to feign,” he has Clarel say; “‘Doubt bleeds, nor Faith is free from pain!’”⁵⁹ “Doubts of all things earthly, and intuitions of some things heavenly; this combination . . . makes a man who regards them both with equal eye,” Melville’s narrator says in *Moby-Dick*.⁶⁰ One can easily see Melville’s alignment with this position expressed in *Mardi*: “‘I am dumb with doubt; yet, ‘tis not doubt, but worse: I doubt my doubt. . . . Would, would that mine were a settled doubt, like that wild boy’s, who without faith, seems full of it. The undoubting doubter believes the most. Oh! that I were he.’”⁶¹ Doubting his doubt, Melville was never bound to just one position. As he puts it in *Moby-Dick*:

There is no steady unretracing progress in this life; we do not advance through fixed gradations, and at the last one pause:—through infancy’s unconscious spell, boyhood’s thoughtless faith, adolescence’ doubt (the common doom), then skepticism, then disbelief, resting at last in manhood’s pondering repose of If. But once gone through, we trace the round again; and are infants, boys, and men, and Ifs eternally. Where lies the final harbor, whence we unmoor no more?⁶²

A critical difference in Joseph Smith’s life was personal revelation. For him, revelation was new wine in new bottles. Smith’s response to objections of Latter-day Saints

not admitting the validity of sectarian baptism, [was that] . . . to do otherwise would be like putting new wine into old bottles, and putting old wine into new bottles. What! new revelations in the old churches? New revelations would knock out the bottom of their bottomless pit. New wine into old bottles! The bottles burst and the wine runs out!⁶³

As for the benefit of new revelations, he said, “Could you gaze into heaven five minutes, you would know more than you would by reading all that ever was written on the subject [of a future state].”⁶⁴ And he spoke from experience. “The heavens were opened upon us,” he testified on another occasion, “and I beheld the celestial kingdom of God, and the glory thereof, whether in the body or out I cannot tell.”⁶⁵

Heights and Depths

This searching out the things of God is often presented in images of descent and ascent. For instance, Smith said:

A fanciful and flowery and heated imagination beware of; because the things of God are of deep import; and time, and experience, and careful and ponderous and solemn thoughts can only find them out. Thy mind, O man! if thou wilt lead a soul unto salvation, must stretch as high as the utmost heavens, and search into and contemplate the darkest abyss, and the broad expanse of eternity—thou must commune with God.⁶⁶

Joseph experienced the abyss in the jail at Liberty, Missouri, where, in his anguish, he was told by the Lord:

And if thou shouldst be cast into the pit, or into the hands of murderers, and the sentence of death passed upon thee; if thou be cast into the deep; if the billowing surge conspire against thee; if fierce winds become thine enemy; if the heavens gather blackness, and all the elements combine to hedge up the way; and above all, if the very jaws of hell shall gape open the mouth wide after thee, know thou, my son, that all these things shall give thee experience, and shall be for thy good. The Son of Man hath descended below them all. Art thou greater than he? (D&C 122:7–8)

Melville experienced and described adversity too. Like Wellingborough Redburn, Melville lamented that “there is no misanthrope like a boy disappointed; and such was I, with the warm soul of me flogged out by adversity.”⁶⁷ Through his character Babbalanja in *Mardi* he says:

He knows himself, and all that’s in him, who knows adversity. To scale great heights, we must come out of lowermost depths. The way to heaven is through hell. We need fiery baptisms in the fiercest flames of our own bosoms.⁶⁸

In *Mardi* Melville further affirms, “If after all these fearful, fainting trances, the verdict be, the golden haven was not gained;—yet in bold quest thereof, better to sink in boundless deeps, than float on vulgar shoals.”⁶⁹

Melville’s movement through heights and depths is perhaps best illustrated in *Moby-Dick* by the “Catskill eagle in some souls that can alike dive down into the blackest gorges, and soar out of them again and become invisible in the sunny spaces. And even if he for ever flies within the gorge, that gorge is in the mountains; so that even in his lowest swoop the mountain eagle is still higher than other birds upon the plain, even though they soar.”⁷⁰ “All truth is profound,” he further expounds in the same novel. “Winding far down from within the very heart of this spiked Hotel de Cluny where we here stand. . . . Wind ye down there, ye prouder, sadder souls! question that proud, sad king!”⁷¹ In its extreme, this plunging into the depths takes a person from sanity to insanity: witness Pip, the black boy aboard the *Pequod*, who, left alone on the sea, has his soul

carried down alive to wondrous depths, where strange shapes of the unwarped primal world glided to and fro before his passive eyes; and



“Pull, pull, my fine hearts alive; pull, my children; pull, my little ones!” by Mead Schaeffer. Illustration for Herman Melville, *Moby Dick, or The White Whale* (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company, 1923).

the miser-merman, Wisdom, revealed his hoarded heaps; and among the joyous, heartless, ever-juvenile eternities, Pip saw the multitudinous, God-omnipresent, coral insects, that out of the firmament of waters heaved the colossal orbs. He saw God's foot upon the treadle of the loom, and spoke it; and therefore his shipmates called him mad. So man's insanity is heaven's sense; and wandering from all mortal reason, man comes at last to that celestial thought, which, to reason, is absurd and frantic; and weal or woe, feels then uncompromised, indifferent as his God.⁷²

Melville's spiritual quest to see "God's foot upon the treadle of the loom" is most fully developed in his poem *Clarel*, which follows the pattern of his excursion to the Holy Land and culminates—to that point—a lifetime of questioning. As Stan Goldman shows, Melville's religious outlook in *Clarel* paradoxically combines doubt and faith, despair and hope, anger and love, seriousness and scathing irony in an attempt to find or to establish the limits within which faith is possible, within which life endures and has meaning. Melville's characters in the poem have a full range of views on these matters. One character, the Anglican churchman Derwent, thinks that Clarel struggles with these issues too much. "Alas, too deep you dive," he says. "But hear me yet for little space: / This shaft you sink shall strike no bloom: / The surface, ah, heaven keeps *that* green; / Green, sunny: nature's active scene, / For man appointed, man's true home."⁷³

Voyaging in Deep Water

Yet Melville finally had little sympathy with surfaces or land-based security. In *Mardi* he identifies himself as one who has "chartless voyaged" and who says, "Those who boldly launch, cast off all cables; and turning from the common breeze, that's fair for all, with their own breath, fill their own sails."⁷⁴ In *Moby-Dick* he admires Bulkington, who sees "that mortally intolerable truth; that all deep, earnest thinking is but the intrepid effort of the soul to keep the open independence of her sea."⁷⁵ "Of all divers," Ahab recognizes, the whale "hast dived the deepest. That head upon which the upper sun now gleams," he says, "has moved amid this world's foundations."⁷⁶ The end of that great novel is descent with no compensating ascent: the ship and all but one of its crew sink to "one common pool."⁷⁷ And Ishmael—with Melville standing behind him—sees himself as a bereft Job, the one "who wrote the first account of our Leviathan."⁷⁸ The epigraph to the epilogue of *Moby-Dick* is the sad message repeatedly brought to Job by the four persons announcing the loss of his possessions and family: "And I only am escaped alone to tell thee."⁷⁹

Joseph Smith, too, kept the open independence of his sea. "Deep water is what I am wont to swim in," he said.⁸⁰ He was familiar with sea stories from the Book of Mormon accounts of the voyages of the Lehites and the

Jaredites. In the latter narrative is even recorded the potential danger of a destructive whale:

And it came to pass that they were many times buried in the depths of the sea, because of the mountain waves which broke upon them, and also the great and terrible tempests which were caused by the fierceness of the wind. . . . And thus they were driven forth; and no monster of the sea could break them, neither whale that could mar them; and they did have light continually, whether it was above the water or under the water. (Ether 6:6, 10)

The significant difference between the *Pequod* and the Jaredite barges is that the latter emerge unscathed. As well, in contrast to Ahab's fire-ship plunging into a "blackness of darkness,"⁸¹ divine help to the Jaredites includes light for their vessels when they are "swallowed up in the depths of the sea" (Ether 2:25).

Melville and Smith differ in their comprehensions of Job, however. When the Prophet cries in anguish, "O God, where art thou? And where is the pavilion that covereth thy hiding place?" (D&C 121:1), he is comforted with this revelation:

My son, peace be unto thy soul; thine adversity and thine afflictions shall be but a small moment. . . . Thy friends do stand by thee, and they shall hail thee again with warm hearts and friendly hands. Thou art not yet as Job; thy friends do not contend against thee, neither charge thee with transgression, as they did Job. (D&C 121:7, 9–10)

Smith's suffering is not useless, for God speaks with and comforts man. Melville's Ishmael alone emerges to tell his lonely tale of plummeting Job's depths. Smith's loneliness is arrested in the voice of God, foreshortening his suffering.

A Voice out of Silence?

A thought-diver along with Melville, Smith nevertheless affirmed much more the clear path to ascent—which, in Smith's writings and thought, invariably comes after the descent. This is often paradoxically so, as in the repeated accounts in the Book of Mormon of the condescension of the Savior in coming down to the level of humanity and then suffering ignominy on the cross so that his people could be lifted up. "My Father sent me," he said, "that I might be lifted up upon the cross; and after that I had been lifted up upon the cross, that I might draw all men unto me, that as I have been lifted up by men even so should men be lifted up by the Father, to stand before me, to be judged of their works" (3 Ne. 27:14; see also 1 Ne. 11:16–33).

As far as the narrator in *Pierre* represents the author, Melville holds a bleaker view of communications with God. "Silence," the narrator says, "is the general consecration of the universe. Silence is the invisible laying on of the Divine Pontiff's hands upon the world. Silence is at once the most

harmless and the most awful thing in all nature. It speaks of the Reserved Forces of Fate. Silence is the only Voice of our God.”⁸² “How can a man get a Voice out of Silence?” he asks later.⁸³ Yet written scripture had great importance for him. The Bible, he says, is “the truest book in the world” and the Sermon on the Mount the “greatest real miracle of all religions. . . . This is of God! cries the heart, and in that cry ceases all inquisition.”⁸⁴

Silence is found in Joseph Smith’s world, too, but with this profound difference: a divine voice emerges from that silence.⁸⁵ In a grove of trees near his father’s farm, Joseph hears, as did John the Baptist, the voice of God the Father testifying, “This is My Beloved Son” (JS-H 1:17). Subsequently, he is commanded to “listen to the voice of Jesus Christ, your Lord, your God, and your Redeemer, whose word is quick and powerful” (D&C 27:1). Reflecting back on the early history of the latter-day Church, Smith affirms: “Now, what do we hear in the gospel which we have received? A voice of gladness!—A voice of mercy from heaven; and a voice of truth out of the earth; glad tidings for the dead; a voice of gladness for the living and the dead; glad tidings of great joy” (D&C 128:19)!

Again, this response from heaven points to the most essential difference in the outlook of Melville, with his noble doubts, and that of Smith, who knew what he had seen of heavenly matters—and who knew God knew it (see JS-H 1:25).

Melville’s fullest exploration of matters of faith is in *Clarel*, discussed earlier. The epilogue to that poem merits some attention in an examination of Herman Melville’s religious explorations, especially as defined by juxtaposition with Joseph Smith’s. Responding in part to Darwin’s *The Origin of Species* (1859), which came out two years after Melville returned from the Holy Land, he says:

If Luther’s day expand to Darwin’s year,
Shall that exclude the hope—foreclose the fear?

Unmoved by all the claims our times avow,
The ancient Sphinx still keeps the porch of shade;
And comes Despair, whom not her calm may cow,
And coldly on that adamantine brow
Scrawls undeterred his bitter pasquinade.
But Faith (who from the scrawl indignant turns)
With blood warm oozing from her wounded trust,
Inscribes even on her shards of broken urns
The sign o’ the cross—the spirit above the dust!

Yea, ape and angel, strife and old debate—
The harps of heaven and dreary gongs of hell;
Science the feud can only aggravate—
No umpire she betwixt the chimes and knell:
The running battle of the star and clod
Shall run forever—if there be no God.⁸⁶

Yet with all his questionings, Melville here expresses his belief that there is a God and that

Even death may prove unreal at the last,
And stoics be astounded into heaven.

Then keep thy heart, though yet but ill-resigned—
Clarel, thy heart, the issues there but mind;
That like the crocus budding through the snow—
That like a swimmer rising from the deep—
That like a burning secret which doth go
Even from the bosom that would hoard and keep;
Emerge thou mayst from the last whelming sea,
And prove that death but routs life into victory.⁸⁷

Seeking the Ultimate

“I love all men who *dive*,” Melville said, and dive he did. “Deep, deep, and still deep and deeper must we go,” he writes in *Pierre*, “if we would find out the heart of a man; descending into which is as descending a spiral stair in a shaft, without any end, and where that endlessness is only concealed by the spiralness of the stair, and the blackness of the shaft.”⁸⁸ Again, speaking in the review of *Mosses*, Melville says: “There is no man in whom humor and love are developed in that high form called genius; no such man can exist without also possessing, as the indispensable complement of these, a great, deep intellect, which drops down into the universe like a plummet.”⁸⁹ “A seeker, not a finder yet,” Melville thought deeply about the divinity of man, marking scriptures on the subject in his Bible. He annotated Jesus’ response to the unbelieving Jews, “Is it not written in your law, I said, Ye are gods?” (John 10:34) with the following thought, for which no author is given: “In our idea of man there can be no inconsistency with our idea of God: and if we often feel a certain disagreement with Him and remoteness from Him, it is but the more on that account our duty . . . to seek out every property and beauty, by which our pretension to a similarity with the Divinity may be made good.”⁹⁰

Joseph Smith had an absolute conviction of humanity’s connection with divinity. Speaking of a potential ultimate ascension, he taught:

We consider that God has created man with a mind capable of instruction, and a faculty which may be enlarged in proportion to the heed and diligence given to the light communicated from heaven to the intellect; and that the nearer man approaches perfection, the clearer are his views, and the greater his enjoyments, till he has overcome the evils of his life and lost every desire for sin; and like the ancients, arrives at that point of faith where he is wrapped in the power and glory of his Maker and is caught up to dwell with Him.⁹¹

Finally, near the close of his life, this diver, seeker, and finder affirmed in the King Follett discourse his understanding of an upward heavenly movement:

Here, then, is eternal life—to know the only wise and true God; and you have got to learn how to be Gods yourselves, and to be kings and priests to God, the same as all Gods have done before you, namely, by going from one small degree to another, and from a small capacity to a great one; from grace to grace, from exaltation to exaltation, until you attain to the resurrection of the dead, and are able to dwell in everlasting burnings, and to sit in glory, as do those who sit enthroned in everlasting power.⁹²

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51. *Moby-Dick*, 423.
52. Jessee, *Papers*, 1:87. Compare Matthew 6:23.
53. In *Confidence-Man*, Melville ironically says, "Life is a pic-nic *en costume*; one must take a part, assume a character, stand ready in a sensible way to play the fool. To come in plain clothes, with a long face, as a wiseacre, only makes one a discomfort to himself, and a blot upon the scene" (133). Here Melville presents a view he assumed others would have had when he appeared without a costume at a local costume party in the Berkshires (Watson Branch et al., "Historical Note," in *Confidence-Man*, 295). For an extensive treatment of Melville's maskless men, see James Edwin Miller Jr., *A Reader's Guide to Herman Melville* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1998).

54. Herman Melville to R. H. Dana Jr., May 1, 1850, in *Correspondence*, 162.
55. Melville to Hawthorne, June 1?, 1851, in *Correspondence*, 191.
56. Smith, *Teachings*, 139.
57. *Pierre*, 339.
58. For critical explorations of Melville's religious struggles, see William Braswell, *Melville's Religious Thought: An Essay in Interpretation* (New York: Octagon Books, 1973); Stan Goldman, *Melville's Protest Theism*; Walter Donald Kring, *Herman Melville's Religious Journey* (Raleigh, N.C.: Pentland, 1997); Vincent Kenny, *Herman Melville's Clarel: A Spiritual Autobiography* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1973); Lawrance Thompson, *Melville's Quarrel with God* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952); and William Hamilton, *Melville and the Gods* (Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1985).
59. *Clarel*, 347.
60. *Moby-Dick*, 374.
61. *Mardi*, 339.
62. *Moby-Dick*, 492.
63. Smith, *Teachings*, 192.
64. *History of the Church*, 6:50.
65. Smith, *Teachings*, 107.
66. Smith, *Teachings*, 137.
67. *Redburn*, 10.
68. *Mardi*, 594.
69. *Mardi*, 557.
70. *Moby-Dick*, 425.
71. *Moby-Dick*, 185–86.
72. *Moby-Dick*, 414.
73. *Clarel*, 347.
74. *Mardi*, 556.
75. *Moby-Dick*, 107.
76. *Moby-Dick*, 311.
77. *Moby-Dick*, 572.
78. *Moby-Dick*, 111.
79. *Moby-Dick*, 573.
80. Jessee, *Papers*, 2:456. Compare Doctrine and Covenants 127:2.
81. *Moby-Dick*, 423.
82. *Pierre*, 204.
83. *Pierre*, 208.
84. *Pierre*, 262, 207–8.
85. The different uses of silence in the arts and in religion has been explored in Jon D. Green, "The Paradox of Silence in the Arts and Religion," *BYU Studies* 35, no. 3 (1995–96): 94–131.
86. *Clarel*, 498.
87. *Clarel*, 499.
88. *Pierre*, 288–89.
89. Melville, "Hawthorne and His Mosses," 242.
90. As quoted in Braswell, *Melville's Religious Thought*, 27.
91. Smith, *Teachings*, 51.
92. Smith, *Teachings*, 346–47.



Eugene, playing with the smaller children (*tamaiti*), outside the chapel-school in the middle of the Church village of Vaiola on the island of Savai'i in Western Samoa. September 1954.

Mission to Paradise

Eugene England

When we woke early in the morning, we looked out on a world such as we had often yearned for but never quite imagined. We were at anchor inside the bay at Apia, Western Samoa, the waves sounding faintly on the reef behind us, the town's main buildings reflecting white straight back at the barely risen sun, and beyond the town, every shade of green, solid mats of life growing even up the vertical cliffs to peaks that touched the bottoms of a few bright white clouds. I knew that at the top of the first hill beyond the town, at Vailima (Five Streams), was the whitewashed monument for the grave of Robert Louis Stevenson, who told the assembled Samoan chiefs when he built his home there in 1890, "I have chosen the land to be my land, the people to be my people, to live and die with."

Charlotte and I were on a small steamer, the *Matua*, coming from Suva, Fiji, where we had waited ten days after the long voyage from San Francisco via Hawaii on the British liner *Oronsay*. We had been called as missionaries for the LDS Church in January 1954, just a month after our marriage, had left in June, and now, in July, had arrived, with two huge trunks, to spend two and a half years preaching to the "natives."

When we first got our call, a personally signed letter from the Church's President, David O. McKay, we had looked up Samoa in reference books at the University of Utah library and read about those natives in Margaret Mead's *Coming of Age in Samoa*. We had learned about the London Missionary Society, an interdenominational group who Christianized Samoa in the 1830s and, with Catholics and Mormons, who came later, now made up the three largest religious groups; about the population of one hundred thousand on the three main islands and their economy—copra, cocoa, and subsistence farming; about the history of European intervention, which culminated in gunboat posturing between Germans and British and Americans in 1889 that was stopped only by an unexpected hurricane (we could now see, at the edge of the harbor, the rusted remains of one of the ships sunk sixty-five years before); about the loss of German influence after the Great War and the division into Western Samoa (the two largest islands), now a UN protectorate under New Zealand, and the Territory of American Samoa (one large island fifty miles to the east). And we had learned from Margaret Mead about the varieties of adolescent sex, including *moetotolos*, the "sleep-crawlers"—unpopular boys who slipped into the open-sided *fales* at night, essentially to rape young girls under the noses of their parents.

At eight o'clock, the white-suited president of the mission, Howard Stone, and his wife, Maureen, came on board to greet us. Most of his seventy missionaries were young, single elders who were assigned away from the Church headquarters at Pesega (near Apia, the only large town) to train and supervise Church leaders and to teach school in small villages; the fifteen single "sisters" were all kept at Pesega to teach at the large Church high school there. A married couple was a novelty, and President Stone was probably tempted to keep us in Pesega teaching school, but he had the courage to send us, after a few days rest, to Vaiola (Living Water), on the largest and most "primitive" island, Savai'i.

We were escorted by Elder Martin Stephens, a shy, tall, red-haired man whose job was driving trucks and tractors in building roads and helping build chapels, and Elder Leroy Nalder, a wiry little cowboy from Wyoming who supervised the Church plantation at Vaiola. We took a bus to the west end of Upolu, then a ferry seven miles across to Savai'i, where a huge (480 pounds we learned later), scowling police official, in a starched, white uniform and backed by two aides, met us at the pier and asked for our papers—which he proceeded to confiscate while sternly speaking to us in rapid, incomprehensible Samoan. The elders let us squirm awhile, even



The chapel-school in Vaiola, where Charlotte and I taught each weekday at opposite ends of the one large room. Tusimau, Charlotte's student, is practicing baton twirling, using a stick. September 1954.

told us we'd have to go to the police station, then all three officials—and also the elders—broke up laughing.

The policeman handed back our papers and, in impeccable English, invited us to his home for dinner. There, while he devoured plates of fruit and whole baked pigeons, we learned that this man, Fitisemanu, was of the Samoan royalty but had attended the Church's Pesega school as a teenager and had become a Mormon. After college in New Zealand, he had been exiled to this minor post because the state religion was Protestant and it would be unacceptable for a Mormon to remain in royal circles, but he continued to educate himself and served the Church as a translator (I remembered seeing his credit inside the cover for having translated the Pearl of Great Price).

We talked for an hour, sitting on his veranda and looking out through the tall palms that leaned over the calm lagoon, discussing local Church problems and Samoan culture (he laughed about Margaret Mead, who didn't learn the language and therefore wasn't trusted, and was, in fact, fed outrageous stories—about such things as *moetotolos*—that ended up as sober facts in her book). We discussed the exciting ideas about the universe revealed to Joseph Smith in the Pearl of Great Price—that God did not create the world out of nothing but from matter and energy that have existed forever, just as our own essential selves have; that with God's redemptive love and guidance we can increase in intelligence and goodness, as God himself has done, until we become like him; indeed, that his purpose, his “work and glory,” is to bring to pass our immortality and eternal life. We talked about the revelation that Adam and Eve did not ruin God's plan in the garden but understood and fulfilled God's purposes by choosing to partake of the tree of knowledge and thus to depart an innocent but static paradise and begin to progress through making and overcoming mistakes, with the aid of God's love expressed through the teachings and life and death of Christ. He read to me, in Samoan and then English, his favorite passage, where Eve exclaims to Adam: “Were it not for our transgression we never should have had seed, and never should have known good and evil, and the joy of our redemption” (Moses 5:11).

Then the elders from Vaiola arrived with horses to take us up the four-mile trail, and we were soon immersed for the first time in old-growth jungle, with its huge, dense canopy of life and constant smell of decay. The elders told us the Samoan names of the various ferns and orchids and banyan trees and lizards and bats and wild pigs and had us repeat them—*pili, pua'a, pe'a vao*. We passed a few small plots of banana trees and elephant-ear-shaped taro plants, islands cut out from jungle along the edge of the road, and just below the village we passed through the large



Charlotte, with A'iga, the branch president's wife who "adopted" her, standing outside A'iga's *fale* on the coast of Savai'i. September 1954.

plantation of coconut palms, evenly spaced, all of them sixty feet high, with a clipped lawn underneath for ease in the harvesting of the soccer-ball-sized nuts.

We settled into one room of an ancient wood-frame house (which also contained four elders in two other bedrooms) and the next week began teaching school at opposite ends of the one-room, open-sided frame church in the center of the circular village. Charlotte taught nine fifteen- and sixteen-year-olds, and I had fourteen slightly younger students (while Samoan teachers taught the younger children in the native-style *fales* that made a huge circle around the central village green, or *malae*). Our schedule quickly settled into routine: up at 5:30, private Book of Mormon study until 6:30, then language class with the elders until 7:30, breakfast and then school assembly, with patriotic song and prayer, at 8:00, then class periods (religion, arithmetic, reading, English grammar, lunch, spelling, health and physical education, voluntary study period) until 3:00, lesson preparation for next day and private language study until 6:00, supper—and the evening for training meetings with school teachers and Church leaders and some private reading.

Saturdays we often traveled by horseback down to the coast to visit branches of the Church, encouraging members and giving our little memorized talks in Samoan at the Sunday meetings. On these trips, I became



The village green (*malae*) in Vaiola, circled by *fales*, with a cricket pitch just behind the children, who are carrying firewood from the jungle. September 1954.

friends, through occasional timid visits, with Fitisemanu, and Charlotte was adopted by A'iga, the wife of the president of the branch along the coast in Falemua, where we most often stayed. Her arm was swollen to a foot in diameter with elephantiasis, and she spoke no English but seemed to delight in serving Charlotte food, opening her face to her, and holding Charlotte's hand in her own enlarged one in the long evenings as we tried to speak our few Samoan sentences with her. One Sunday afternoon, as we rode in the back of a truck along the coast, I was hit in the back of the head by a rock thrown from the jungle.

Vaiola is situated at the island's center on a tract of about two hundred acres that was given to the Church by an early convert who was a land-owning chief, or *matai*; it had been developed in the 1920s as a Church school and plantation, with a new-built village to house the plantation workers, who would also board pupils from all over the island for the school terms. Only a mile away was an ancient village, Tapu'ele'ele, whose residents, passing occasionally on their way to the coast, seemed fierce and alien. They were nearly all tattooed in the traditional way—exfoliating plant designs across the back and down the legs and sometimes abstract marks on the face, a custom going out of favor with the Mormons.

Elder Phillip Hanks, our school principal as well as supervising elder, had been invited to teach the gospel to a young woman in Tapu'ele'ele who had married the brother of one of our teachers. We went with him to sit cross-legged on the mats placed over the rock foundation of the

open-sided *fale* and struggled to follow the language we were still learning very slowly because we taught our classes in English. The young woman, Si'usi'u, was demure, fed us lavishly, and—it seemed to Charlotte and me—listened only politely. But one Saturday we were invited to her baptism.

I led Charlotte on horseback along the muddy trail, the elders and Kalosi Pe'a, president of the Savai'i district, walking ahead. We saw a fruit-eating bat or “flying fox” hanging upside-down in a tree. It was as big as a cat, with orange-brown fur. We passed through the village in the evening quiet, with a few swallows still darting through the circle of open houses, from one of which came Si'usi'u, in a plain white dress with a double-blossomed, scarlet hibiscus behind her ear, followed by her relatives and many curious friends. We left the horse and walked down into a steep ravine and up along a stream to a large pool surrounded on three sides by fifty-foot rock walls, with flowered vines looping down each cliff face from the jungle that rose at the top, except where the stream came over the cliff in a waterfall. Elder Hanks went behind some rocks to change into white, then led us, standing on the rock ledges, in a hymn, and President Kalosi gave a short talk on the gift of the Holy Ghost.

By now it was dusk, the sun down but still lighting the clouds with orange and purple. After Elder Hanks helped Si'usi'u wade out into the



Elder Hanks, our supervising elder, and school children, walking ahead of us up the “road” to Vaiola. August 1954.

pool and baptized her, she turned and swam out to the small waterfall. A friend threw her a huge round lemon from the bank, and she used it to wash her hair.

As Christmas approached, we found ourselves more and more accepted (we had a daily “clinic” with our sparse first-aid supplies, mainly treating cuts and bruises and lots of boils) and planned a school Christmas party. Charlotte made a Christmas tree for the chapel-school from a well-shaped breadfruit tree branch stuck upright in a sturdy round section of banana tree trunk. We stripped off the breadfruit leaves to make room for decorations made from crepe paper and star and angel shapes cut from tin can lids.

A week before Christmas I developed a little sore on my right ring finger, and it seemed to be irritated by the dust from the chalk I used each day until it spread into an open wound over most of the side of the finger. I didn’t pay much attention, just disinfected it and wrapped it in gauze, but one morning while Charlotte changed the wrapping, she noticed that there were red streaks up along my veins to the lymph node in my armpit—blood poisoning. The elders gave me a priesthood blessing, using consecrated olive oil; I invited a local native healer in, and she treated the wound with coconut oil and various herbs; and Charlotte fasted for three days and prayed over me. The redness slowly withdrew, and the hand was healing when we went into Pesega for Christmas and were sent to a doctor in Apia, who gave me a penicillin shot. About twice a year (at no regular times) for the forty-five years since then, the finger has developed tiny, irritating sores, and I remember the wound and the healing.

In the missionwide meetings at Christmastime, President Stone gave us new assignments that separated us for a month—Charlotte to work with a sister missionary tracking down inactive members near Apia and I to live with a supervising elder in Sauniatu, where there was another Church village, plantation, and school, and travel all around the coast of Upolu, instructing Church leaders. On one extended trip, we had to travel by large outrigger canoe around the impassable cliffs on the far eastern end of the island. Two young members of the local Church branch carried us through the surf out to the canoe (one of the customs of exaggerated respect that resulted when the original Christian missionaries established themselves at parallel rank with the Samoan chiefs). The crew, who all seemed very pleased with the chance to convey heavy-tipping *palagis* (white men), included a steersman and four rowers, one of whom was totally blind.

We stayed three days in the *fale* of a branch president at Fagaloa, on the extreme western tip of Upolu, while a huge tropical storm passed through. I spent the time copying in my journal the long list of Old Testament prophecies concerning Christ that were listed in the back of an ancient



The reef off Savaii, with a Samoan Latter-day Saint bringing in his day's catch in an outrigger canoe (*paopao*) made from a hollowed-out log.

Protestant Bible that had been given to the branch president's grandfather by one of the first Mormon missionaries.

As we walked the narrow trail along the southern coast that would take us from the more isolated eastern section to the road where we could catch a bus around to Apia, we occasionally encountered groups of teenage girls wearing only the traditional waist-high *lavalavas*. We chastely stood looking out into the jungle as they passed, giggling, behind us. At midday a young boy passed, and my companion asked him, "*Pe mafai, sina niu?*" The boy nodded, quickly braided a vine into a loop that he twisted around his feet to hold them together at the ankles, and hoisted himself in a hopping motion straight up an eighty-foot coconut palm—arms around the trunk (with machete in one hand) and feet braced straight in and held from slipping apart by the loop. He chopped out two green coconuts from the cluster just under the fronds, hopped back down, sliced open the tops of the coconuts with his machete, handed them to us, and was on his way in less than two minutes. Holding the large nuts in both hands, we drank that unique, slightly milky liquid that fills the coconut before the familiar white meat actually forms—and that tastes a little like almonds, like ginger ale, like nothing else—until we were full.

A few days later, we were traveling back to Apia by bus from Sauniatu to report to President Stone. As the bus stopped briefly in Fagaloa, I heard my name called and saw that Charlotte and her companion were sitting on the mats in an open *fale* across the road. I opened the window and called back to her, and she ran out to the road and stood, quite still, without waving, as the bus pulled slowly away along the road in a long curve to the left so I could see her for several minutes.

In January, President David O. McKay and Sister McKay visited Samoa—the first time a General Authority had been there since he had come himself as a young Apostle on his world tour in 1921 and had made a great prophecy at Sauniatu about the future success of the Church in Samoa (later commemorated with a stone monument that stood between our missionary *fale* and the pool where we bathed). This time he was greeted by government figures and royalty, who gathered in the huge metal-roofed *fale* near the mission home, together with all our Samoan Church leaders, to give him a *fesilafa'iga fa'atupu*, a formal *kava* ceremony originally designed for visiting kings. The various dignitaries welcomed him with speeches (especially long, highly allusive orations by their “talking chiefs”—men appointed and trained in traditional myths and language



President David O. McKay, being introduced to one of the Samoan royalty by Samoan Mission President Howard B. Stone, with Elder Lafi Toelupe translating and other missionaries waiting in the background. January 1955.

and diplomacy), followed by the drinking in turn of traditional libations, presided over by a young maiden who dispensed the tangy, slightly anesthetic drink made from the 'ava plant's root.

President McKay responded by admiring the participants' ornate costumes and traditions and poetic, stylized speeches and then reminding them that there was something greater—their Christian faith and callings. We young missionaries were confused by the graciousness with which the President drank the *kava*, imitating the ceremonial flourish of pouring a few drops on the ground while expressing thanks, and later at the feast as he drank the Samoan "cocoa"—both of these native drinks had seemed to us questionable under the Church's Word of Wisdom. (Fitisemanu expressed his opinion, with scholastic fervor, that there was no need for concern but admitted, on my prodding, that the "cocoa" was extremely effective in helping fishermen stay awake all night.)

We had three days of conferences and testimony meetings with President McKay and then bid him farewell with a huge traditional Samoan gift-giving ceremony, where each Church congregation paraded across the school's playground their variety of gifts, most prominently the huge, precious, finely woven and decorated mats called *'ietoga*, and then piled them at his feet. Each group also sang or danced, and when one district presidency, three venerable men in full traditional costume, moved out in the remarkable Samoan style of individualistic movements of hands and feet that gathered slowly to a crescendo of joyful twists and body slaps, I was tempted to join them and felt perhaps President McKay, whose feet I could see keeping rhythm, was also tempted.

At the end of the ceremony, he arose and picked up two of the gifts, a carved, six-foot staff and a large ceremonial fly whisk, woven of coconut husk string, both of which he had seen the talking chiefs use in the *kava* ceremony. He stood forth holding the staff before him, swung the whisk over his shoulder in the precise ceremonial fashion, and proceeded to thank and bless the people. He ended with a promise that they would before long have a temple they could go to for sacred instruction and ordinances that would exalt them as eternally married husbands and wives and potential gods.

Charlotte and I were able to spend the next six months together, assigned to teach Church leaders in two separate villages on Upolu. We were away from other missionaries for the first time and from anyone who spoke English, and we felt we had divine help as we learned Samoan quickly by the direct method—sitting in the members' *fales*, pointing to things, and asking questions. We prayed and studied and improvised ways to help the local members teach each other, conduct meetings,

and serve the needs of everyone, including the children. We found what seemed an automatic generosity and often an emotional directness and openness in the people, especially, it appeared, in those who were still relatively distant from *palagi* influence. Such uninhibited, passionate life, with all feelings quite close to the surface when we had gained trust, was deeply at odds with our own Utah Mormon, Anglo-Saxon upbringing and was troubling, frightening—and sometimes joyful to the point of intoxication.

In Vailu'utai, I helped the young men put up a basketball standard and taught them how to play (complicated by their occasionally having to hold their *lavalavas* on with one hand while dribbling with the other on a fast break). Charlotte designed wire and crepe paper petals to frame each child's face as they stood at the front of the chapel, like a carefully tended garden (including even a crepe paper white picket fence), and sang to their parents, under a huge sign she made, "*O 'ai e sili 'i le malo o le lagi?*" (Who is greatest in the kingdom of heaven?). But once we were asked to conduct a funeral for a baby that had died for no apparent reason and seemed to us, when we saw it simply laid on a mat, to have a large black bruise on its head, with a green fungus beginning to cover it. Then one day we heard a scream, and I rushed out of our house to see a man chasing a child with a huge rock lifted in both hands. I ran in front of him and saw his eyes appear to come back from madness as he barely stopped himself from smashing me in the head with the rock and then dissolved into tears and apologies, which went on into the evening, including his throwing a huge, ostentatious feast for us.

When we had first received our call, we had been students at the University of Utah, taking basic courses, sometimes together, in music and anthropology and political science and golf. In some of our courses, we had



President McKay, holding a ceremonial high chief's staff, with a ceremonial talking chief's fly whisk over his shoulder (both from among the gifts that have just been given him), blessing the Samoan Saints and telling them they would have a temple near them before long. Elder Lafi Toelupe is translating, and they are standing by the Church's large school in Pesega, near Apia, Western Samoa. January 1955.



Primary children from the Vailu'utai Branch on the island of Upolu, Western Samoa, posing on the chapel-school steps just after they presented a sacrament meeting on the theme, "Who is greatest in the kingdom of heaven?" They are dressed as flowers, with petals framing their faces, and each is holding a ray from the sun at the center, representing the light of Christ that helps them grow. March 1955.

discussed cultural relativism in general and specifically the ethics of intruding on other cultures with our American values and customs or particular religious doctrines and prescriptions. When we got our call and read Margaret Mead, we wondered together how we might avoid the various forms of "imperialism" and were determined to be very careful. And we did find, in Samoa, there were severe temptations toward racism and classism, as well as garden variety cultural snobbery. We matter-of-factly allowed ourselves, ignorant twenty-year-olds, to be addressed in the higher form of Samoan traditionally reserved for chiefs and distinguished elders, to be given the chief seats at feasts and served delicacies—and to be carried through the surf to a canoe. We were part of conversations that discussed the "curse" that was on these native peoples, whom we believed (and found confirmation in the origin myths they shared with us about ancestors coming from the east and living only on the cool and high peaks like those they came from) were descended from the Book of Mormon peoples of America—and even found ourselves occasionally stereotyping the Samoans as unambitious or childlike or easily angered. We were much sobered when people we tried to encourage in difficult new tasks and skills

sometimes reflected these ingrained notions back to us, excusing themselves as “unable” because they were “Lamanites.”

We came to a decision together to stop sending our clothes out to be washed by members because this missionary custom seemed, especially the way it was often just assumed to be the Samoans’ duty, to perpetuate the class structure imposed by the first white men. When we tried to explain our decision, we were severely criticized for being self-righteous (which we probably were) and went tearfully to a leader of the Samoan work missionaries who had been especially gracious and helpful to us, Lafi Toelupe. He shared with us the story of his own father, who had served as a missionary for the Church (called to take his family far from his home and serve as the president of a weak congregation there) for over forty years—with no opportunity to build any economic security for his family and while enduring much patronizing and even degrading racial comments from visiting white supervisors. And he counseled patience, pointing to his own somewhat better life as a Church missionary, called to teach music and translate for visiting authorities like President McKay and be a respected leader of native missionaries—and good friend to people like us.

We went away somewhat ashamed and began to look more closely at what the Church influence was doing: The Samoan work missionaries, under Lafi’s guidance, were doing proselyting in the evenings, with much success. Elders who used racial stereotypes in one sentence could express profound love and gratitude for specific Samoans in the next. But especially we began to see that teaching new values and even cultural structures could be beneficial rather than imperialistic. We were first embarrassed somewhat by the constant harping on getting the many young Samoan couples who lived in traditional common-law marriages to be “legal,” that is, to submit to a formal civil ceremony performed by a supervising elder. This was expressly a requirement before they could be baptized and sometimes involved hasty efforts toward what looked almost like shotgun weddings. But most often we found that teaching respect for marriage as a formal, public commitment, with ongoing responsibilities, covenanted to and witnessed by a community of loving family and friends who would work to help those duties be fulfilled, did in fact make for more loving and nurturing relationships between the couple and with their children. We became convinced that some things *were* universal, that we weren’t perfect in sorting them out (we realized, with a rueful laugh, that we had joined the elders in teaching the members to celebrate the Fourth of July and that we weren’t nearly as keen to learn to play cricket as we expected them to be about basketball), but that the gospel, carefully attended to, helped us do so.

In September, when we told President Stone that Charlotte was two months pregnant, we were transferred to American Samoa, where he felt

medical care with a Hungarian obstetrician who had been trained in the States would be best for Charlotte. We were sent to live in the Church village of Mapusaga, a few miles inland from the deep, sheltered U.S. naval port at Pago Pago, and to serve as the first full-time proselyting missionaries in Samoa for many years. Just before Christmas, we began teaching a woman named Taligū E'e, who had Mormon relatives and who had agreed to meet us each Wednesday afternoon. We would walk to her *fale* and teach her one of the lessons from the systematic missionary teaching guide—"the Apostasy," "the Restoration," "redemption from sin through the Atonement," and so on. She would listen politely and impassively, her eyes looking down at the mats we sat on, and after we finished she would serve us the meal she had prepared.

One Wednesday we taught Taligū the plan of salvation lesson. We told her how we had all once lived with God and had chosen to come to earth with Christ, who had offered himself as our Savior, and how important it was to follow him if we knew him. Then I told her how, by doing temple work, we could help those who had died without knowing Christ but who were now being taught about him in the spirit world. Her head came up as I told this story. Timidly she asked about her own ancestors who lived before Christian missionaries came to Samoa: she had believed they must be damned because they did not know Christ and were not baptized.

I repeated what I realized right then was indeed the gospel, the Good News. I assured her that God loves everyone equally who comes to earth and had provided a way for all, including her ancestors, to come to him. She kept her eyes on my face, and they slowly filled with tears. I sensed that a deep sorrow, a long-standing wound, was being healed in her, and I kept repeating, "*O le Atua, alofa tele ia 'i latou uma lava,*" which I hoped adequately conveyed, "God really loves them all."

Taligū was baptized the day after we left Samoa. We had been transferred, because of divine inspiration to President Stone I believe, to Hawaii for our baby to be born where there were medical facilities that turned out to be needed to save Charlotte's life in her very difficult delivery. We have heard that Taligū became the matriarch of a great Church family in Samoa, and we trust that she has done the saving work for her ancestors in the temple that was built, in fulfillment of President McKay's promise, a few years later in New Zealand.

We left on January 29, 1956, on the first scheduled airline flight from the new airport near Mapusaga. We watched the rich jungle drop below us, then the quiet water inside the reef surrounding much of Tutuila. Charlotte, eight months pregnant, couldn't bear to sit in her narrow seat, so I made a bed for her across two empty seats at the back of the plane and then watched through the window as we passed high over Upolu and Savai'i



Charlotte, on the beach near Pago Pago, American Samoa, the day before we left for Hawaii, where, about seven weeks later, she would deliver our daughter Katherine.

heading east to the first stop in Fiji. I thought with joy and soberness of the life in Charlotte and the life being born in Taligū and the seeds of life and death, of good and evil, growing in me.

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August 10, 1995

No one kept me from picking blackberries
that clear, sunlit August morning.

No one stopped me or called my name
when I stepped from the small cement porch,
ringed with morning glories and portulaca,
the small white dog running ahead of me
toward old man Guyowski's field.

Guyowski was dead now, but I knew him long ago,
when he was the janitor at the Polish Club
and his daughter Stella married my uncle Paul.
Every Friday night he stood at the entry
to the club, drunk and singing—
sometimes in broken English, sometimes in Polish.
I can see his small, crooked body still.
But that was in 1959, when I was someone else,
with no thought that I would ever leave
this small town with its muddy brown river,
oil-slicked, flowing through its center.

I followed the dog up the sloping hill,
past old Guyowski's pigsty,
a pile of odorless rocks and bricks
and ancient straw moldering in the cool air,
past his faded red barn, its double doors
crossed with gray splintered wood,
past the old fallow apple trees,
bent and heavy, the small windfall apples
with soft brown rotten spots dotting
their green translucent skin.
Was my skin green too that morning,
green with the sickly pallor
of days spent in the hospital, green
from the nights without sleep?
But I was alive, and I reached the field
below the barn, the dog still ahead of me.
Two rabbits, small and brown,
sprang from the bushes fringing the field,
and the dog started after them.

This was the place I'd longed all my life
 to reach, the time and the place
 where everything coalesced, as if I'd
 been destined from birth to come here,
 picking blackberries in the warm sun,
 while my father breathed slow
 and shallow breaths into a respirator,
 making the float inside a plastic jar
 rise a few scant inches at a time.

Yellow jackets swarmed in and out
 of the shade, while I wandered along the field's
 periphery, snatching the ripe blackberries
 and piling them in my open palm,
 sometimes mistaking the yet-unripened
 red berries for raspberries,
 until I tasted one and found it bitter.
 All that I'd lost there—there in that town,
 in that other life—all that I'd lost
 suddenly rushed back, and I knew
 that even those losses hadn't erased this place,
 hadn't erased me from the place.
 I was there in that field picking blackberries,
 I was there in that cemetery,
 some of my names engraved
 on barely legible white stones,
 and I was there in that hospital,
 breathing up and down with my father.

At a time in my life when I feared
 everyone I loved would leave me,
 I came back to myself. I carried
 my handful of berries back to the house
 before the mother bear and her two cubs
 caught me pilfering, or before
 old man Guyowski's ghost floated
 from the pigsty to tell me it was time,
 while the sun still shone, to forgive my father.

—Susan E. Gunter, Park City

This poem was winner of the College of Humanities 1998 Eisteddfod
 Poetry Chair Competition for the "Losing One's Way" theme.

The following, is a short history of my travels to the state of Missouri, and of a bloody tragedy acted at Haunns Mills, on Shoal creek Oct 30th 1838.

On the sixth day of July last, I started with my family, from Portland Ohio, for the state of Missouri, the county of Caldwell in the upper part of the state, being the place of my destination.

On the 13th of Oct, I crossed the Mississippi, at Louisiana, at which place I heard vague reports, of the disturbances in the upper country, but no thing that could be relied upon. I continued my course westward till I crossed Grand River, at a place called Comptons ferry, at which place I heard for the first time, that if I proceeded any further on my journey, I would be in danger of being stopped, by a body of armed men. I was not willing however while treading my native soil and breathing republican air, to abandon my object, which was to locate myself, and family in a fine healthy country, where we could enjoy the society of our friends and connections. Consequently I prosecuted my journey, till I came to Whitneys mills, situated on Shoal creek, in the eastern part of Caldwell county. After crossing the creek and going about three miles, we met a party of the mob, about 40 in number, armed with rifles and mounted on horses who informed us that we could go no farther, west, threatening us with instant death if we proceeded any farther. I asked them the reason of this prohibition, to which they replied, that we were Mormons, and that every one who adhered to our religious faith would have have to leave the state in ten days or renounce their religion, accordingly they drove us back to the mills above mentioned.

Here we tarried three days and on Sunday the 26th we recrossed the creek, and following up its banks, we succeeded in eluding the mob for the

Holograph of the affidavit of Joseph Young, sworn on June 4, 1839. Courtesy BYU Archives.

Joseph Young's Affidavit of the Massacre at Haun's Mill

Alexander L. Baugh

Joseph Young, an eyewitness to the 1838 attack on Haun's Mill, gave his testimony of that event as a sworn affidavit on June 4, 1839. The original manuscript of that affidavit is presented here in unedited, annotated form.

Introduction

In March 1839, while imprisoned in Liberty Jail, Joseph Smith wrote a letter to the Saints in Quincy, Illinois, counseling them to gather “a knowledge of all the facts, and sufferings and abuses put upon them by the people of this State; And also of all the property and amount of damages which they have sustained, both of character and personal injuries, as well as real property; And also the names of all persons that have had a hand in their oppressions, as far as they can get hold of them and find them out” (D&C 123:1–3). The Saints responded to these directions by producing nearly eight hundred redress petitions and sworn affidavits.¹

Perhaps the most widely published petition was Joseph Young's. Young, older brother of Brigham Young, was an eyewitness to the October 30, 1838, attack at the Mormon settlement of Haun's Mill. His statement, sworn before Adams County Circuit Court Judge C. M. Woods on June 4, 1839, provides a descriptive narrative of the tragic events of that fateful afternoon.

Within a few weeks after this affidavit was sworn, it was published by Joseph Young's brother-in-law, John P. Greene. At a Church conference held during the first week of May 1839, Greene was called to preside over the Saints in New York City.² At the time of his departure a month later, Greene had in hand several Mormon documents recounting the 1838 Mormon conflict, including Young's deposition. En route to New York, Greene stopped in Cincinnati, where sometime in late June or July 1839 he published the documents in a forty-three-page pamphlet, under the title *Facts Relative to the Expulsion of the Mormons from the State of Missouri, under the “Exterminating Order.”*³

Joseph Young's account was not only the first account of the Haun's Mill Massacre to appear in the press, but his narrative continued to be published in other works as the principal testimony describing the tragedy. For example, during the summer and fall of 1839, Sidney Rigdon prepared a



Joseph Young (1797–1881) provides the earliest published account of the Haun's Mill Massacre. The June 4, 1839, affidavit sworn before Adams County Circuit Court Judge C. M. Woods may be the most widely published description of the events of the October 30, 1838, attack on the Mormon community. Photograph ca. 1880 by George H. Johnson. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

1968, when it was acquired by Steve A. Kovacich. In 1996, David J. Whitaker, Harold B. Lee Library Curator of Nineteenth Century Western and Mormon Americana, acquired the document in behalf of Brigham Young University.⁹ This remarkably well-preserved manuscript consists of two lined sheets, folded in half, making eight sides each measuring 31 x 20 cm. The first two sides are blank, and the last six contain text written in brown ink in an unidentified hand. To the side of Young's signature at the bottom of the final page is the imprinted seal of the circuit court of Adams County, Illinois, confirming that this petition was indeed sworn before a court of law.

A close examination and comparison of the Young affidavit manuscript with the first published version, Greene's *Facts Relative to the Expulsion of the Mormons*, shows minor editorial changes, evidently made by either Greene or his Cincinnati publisher. Most of the changes are in punctuation, spelling, paragraph structure, and word abbreviations. A few word changes appear, none of which significantly alter the meaning of the original. An original document recounting an important event, Joseph Young's manuscript affidavit is here produced.

manuscript, similar in many ways to Greene's pamphlet, giving additional documented testimony concerning the Mormon troubles in Missouri. Rigdon's work, published in early 1840, also in Cincinnati, included Young's narrative.⁴ In August of that same year, Ebenezer Robinson and Don Carlos Smith, editors of the Church newspaper *Times and Seasons*, incorporated Young's affidavit as part of the Church's first published history.⁵ Still later, Church historians assigned to edit and compile Joseph Smith's official record included Young's sworn statement as part of the Prophet's documentary history.⁶ Young's statement was also included in an 1886 volume on Missouri history,⁷ and is still cited by modern American historians.⁸

The manuscript version of the affidavit remained in the possession of the John P. Greene family and his descendants until about

The Document

The following, is a short history of my travels to the state of Missouri, and of a bloody tragedy acted at Haunns Mills, on Shoal creek Oct 30th 1838.

On the sixth day of July last, I started with my family, from Kirtland Ohio, for the State of Missouri the county of Caldwell in the upper part of the state, being the place of my destination¹⁰

On the 13th of Oct, I crossed the Mississippi, at Louisiana, at which place I heard vague reports, of the disturbances in the upper country, but nothing that could be relied upon.—I continued my course westward till I cross'd Grand River, at a place call'd Comptons ferry, at which place I heard for the first time, that if I proceeded any further on my journey, I would be in danger of being stopped, by a body of arm'd men. I was not willing however while treading my native soil and breathing republican air, to abandon my object; which was to Locate myself, and family, in a fine healthy country, where we could enjoy the society of our friends and connections. Consequently I prosecuted my journey, till I came to Whitney's Mills, situated on shoal creek, in the eastern part of Caldwell county.¹¹ After crossing the creek and going about three miles, we met a party of the mob, about 40 in number, armed with rifles and mounted on horses¹² who inform'd us that we could go no farther, west, threatning us with instant death if we proceeded any farther. I asked them the reason of this prohibition, to which they replied, that we were Mormons, and that every one who adher'd to our religious faith would have have [*sic*] to leave the State in ten days or renounce their religion. Accordingly they drove us back to the mills above mentioned.¹³

Here we tarried three days and on Fryday the 26th we recrossed the creek, and following up its banks, we succeeded in eluding the mob for the [p. 2] time being, and gained the residence of a friend in Myers Settlement.¹⁴—On Sunday 28th Oct we arrived about 12 O'clock at¹⁵ Haunns Mills, where we found a number of our friends, collected together, who were holding a council, and deliberating on the best course for them to pursue, to defend themselves against the mob who were collecting in the neighborhood under the command of Col Jennings¹⁶ of Livingston and¹⁷ threatning them with house burning, and killing.—The decision of the council was, that our friends there should place themselves in an attitude of self defense.¹⁸ Accordingly about 28 of our men arm'd themselves and were in constant readiness for an attack of any small body of men that might¹⁹ come upon them. The same evening for some cause best known to themselves, the mob sent one of their number to enter into a treaty with our friends, which was accepted of, on the condition of mutual forbearance, on both sides, and that each party as far as their influence extended should exert themselves to prevent any further hostilities, upon either party²⁰

At this time however there was another mob collecting on Grand river, at William Manns²¹ who were threatning us, consequently we remained under arms on, Monday the 29th, which pass'd away without molestation²² from any quarter. On Tuesday the 30th²³ that bloody tragedy was acted, the scenes of which I shall never forget! More than three fourths of the day had pass'd in tranquillity as smiling as the preceeding one. I think there was no individual of our company that was apprized of the sudden and awful fate that hung over our heads like an overwhelming torrent, which was to change the prospects the feelings and circumstances of about 30 families.—The banks of shoal creek on either side teem'd with children, sporting and playing, while their mothers were engaged in domestick employments; and their fathers employed in [p. 3] guarding the mills and other property, while others where engaged in gathering in their crops, for their winter consumption. The weather was very pleasant, the sun shone clear; all was tranquil; and no one express'd any apprehensions of the awful crisis that was near us even at our doors.

It was about 4 O'clock, while sitting in my cabbin with my babe in my arms, and my wife standing by my side. The door being open, I cast my eyes on the opposite bank of Shoal creek, and saw a large company of arm'd men on horses directing their course towards the mills with all possible speed.—As they advanced through the scattering trees that stood on the edge of the prairie they seem'd to form themselves into a three square position forming as vanguard in front.

At this moment David Evans²⁴ seeing the superiority of their numbers, (There being 240 of them according to their own account) swung his hat and cried for peace. This not being heeded they continued to advance, and their leader Mr Comstock²⁵ fired a gun, which was followed by a solemn pause of ten or twelve seconds. When all at once they discharged about 100 rifles aiming at a blacksmiths shop into which our friends had fled for safety; and charging up to the shop the cracks of which between the logs were sufficiently large, to enable them to aim directly at the bodies of those who had there fled for refuge from the fire of their murderers.

There were several families tented in rear of the shop whose lives were exposed and amidst a shower of bullets fled to the woods in different directions.—After standing and gazing on this bloody scene for a few minutes, and finding myself in the utmost danger, the bullets having reached the house where I was living, I committed my family to the protection of Heaven, and leaving the house on the opposite side, I took a path which led up the hill, following in the trail of three [p. 4] of my brethren that had fled from the shop. While ascending the hill we were discovered by the mob, who immediately fired at us and continued so to do, till we reach'd the summit²⁶ In descending the hill, I secreted myself in a thicket of bushes

where I lay till eight o'clock in the evening, at which time I heard a female voice calling my name in an under tone telling me that the mob had gone, and there was no danger.—I immediately left the thicket and went to the house of Benjamin Lewis,²⁷ where I found my family, (who had fled there) in safety and two of my friends²⁸ mortally wounded, one of whom died before morning.

Here we pass'd the painful night, in deep and awful reflections, on the scenes of the preceeding evening,—After day light appeared, some four or five men, with myself, who had escaped with our lives from the horrid massacre, repaired as soon as possible, to the mills, to learn the condition of our friends, whose fate, we had but too truly anticipated.

When we arrived at the house of Mr Haun we found Mr Merricks²⁹ body lying in rear of the house Mr. Mc.Brides³⁰ in front, literally mangled from head to foot. We were informed by Miss Rebecca Judd,³¹ who was an eyewitness, that he was shot with his own gun, after he had given it up and then was cut to pieces with a corn cutter by a Mr Rogers,³² of Daviess County, who keeps a ferry on Grand river, and who has since repeatedly boasted [*sic*] of this act of savage barbarity. Mr York's³³ body we found in the house, and after viewing these corpses, we immediately went to the blacks smiths shop, where we found nine of our friends 8 of whom were already dead, the other Mr Cox³⁴ of Indiana struggling in the agonies of death who expired. We immediately prepared and carried them to the place of inter[n]ment. This last office of kind[p. 5]ness due to the relicts of departed friends, was not attended with the customary ceremonies, nor decency for we were in jeopardy every moment, expecting to be fired upon by the mob, who we supposed were lying in ambush, waiting for the first opportunity to dispatch the remaining few who were providentially preserved from the slaughter of the preceeding day

However we accomplished with out molestation this painful task.—The place of burying was a vault in the ground formerly intended for a well, into which we threw the bodies of our friends promiscuously.³⁵

Among those slain I will mention Sardius Smith,³⁶ son of Warren Smith,³⁷ about 9 years old who through fear had crawl'd under the bel-lowses in the shop where he remained till the massacre was over when he was discovered by a Mr. Glaze of Carroll county who presented his rifle near the boys head and litterly blow'd off the upper part of it. Mr Stanley of Carroll told me afterwards that Glaze boasted of this fiendlike murder, and heroick deed all over the country³⁸

The number killed and mortally wounded in this wanton slaughter was 18 or 19 whose names as far as I recollect were as follows, Thomas M[c]Bride³⁹ Levi Merrick,⁴⁰ Elias Benner,⁴¹ Josiah Fuller,⁴² Benjamin Lewis,⁴³ Alexander Campbell,⁴⁴ Warren Smith,⁴⁵ Sardius Smith,⁴⁶

George Richards,⁴⁷ Mr Napier,⁴⁸ Mr Hammer,⁴⁹ Mr Cox,⁵⁰ Mr. Abbott,⁵¹ Mr York,⁵² William Merrick,⁵³ (a boy 8 or 9 years old), and three or four others, whose names I do not recollect as they were strangers to me⁵⁴

Among the wounded who recovered were Isacc Laney,⁵⁵ Nathan K. Knight,⁵⁶ Mr Yokum,⁵⁷ two brothers by the name of Myers,⁵⁸ Tarlton Lewis,⁵⁹ Mr Haunn⁶⁰ and several others.⁶¹ Miss Mary Stedwell while fleeing was Shot through the hand, and fainting fell over a log into which they shot up wards of twenty balls⁶² [p. 6] To finish their work of of [sic] destruction this band of murderers composed of men from Daviess, Livingston Ray, Carroll and Chariton led by some of the principal men of that section of the upper country, (among whom I am inform'd were Mr Ashby from Chariton member of the State Legislature,⁶³ Col Jennings of Livingston,⁶⁴ Thomas O. Bryon clerk of Livingston county⁶⁵ Mr Whitney⁶⁶ Sr. Randal⁶⁷ and many others) proceeded to rob the houses, wagons and, tents, of bedding and clothing drove off horses, and wagons, leaving widows and orphans destitute of the necessaries of life, and even stripped the clothing from the bodies of the slain!

According to their own account they fired seven rounds in this awful butchery, making upwards of sixteen hundred shots at a little company of men about thirty in number

I hereby certify the above to be a true statements of facts according to the best of my knowledge

[signed] Joseph Young

State of Illinois

County of Adams

I hereby certify that Joseph Young this day came before me and made oath in due form of law that the statements contained in the foregoing Sheets are true according to the best of his knowledge and belief

In testimony wherof I have hereunto Set my hand and affixed the Seal of the Circuit Court at Quincy this fourth day of June in the year of our Lord One thousand Eight hundred And thirty-Nine

[Seal]

C. M. Woods, Clerk
Circuit Court Adams C^o
Illinois

Alexander L. Baugh is Assistant Professor of Church History and Doctrine at Brigham Young University.

1. These petitions and affidavits have been compiled and published in Clark V. Johnson, ed., *Mormon Redress Petitions: Documents of the 1833–1838 Missouri Conflict* (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1992).

2. Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 2d ed., rev., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1971), 3:347–48.

3. John P. Greene, *Facts Relative to the Expulsion of the Mormons from the State of Missouri, under the "Exterminating Order"* (Cincinnati: R. P. Brooks, 1839), 22–24. For a description of the Greene publication, see Peter Crawley, *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Mormon Church, Volume One, 1830–1847* (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1997), 86–88.

4. Sidney Rigdon, *An Appeal to the American People: Being an Account of the Persecutions of the Church of Latter Day Saints; and of the Barbarities Inflicted on Them by the Inhabitants of the State of Missouri* (Cincinnati: Glezen and Shepard, 1840), 52–56. See also Crawley, *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Mormon Church*, 103–4.

5. "A History of the Persecution, of the Church of Jesus Christ, of Latter Day Saints in Missouri," *Times and Seasons* 1 (August 1840): 144–47.

6. The statement appears in *History of the Church*, 3:183–86.

7. *History of Caldwell and Livingston Counties, Missouri, Written and Compiled From the Most Authentic Official and Private Sources, Including a History of Their Townships, Towns and Villages* (St. Louis: National Historical, 1886), 151–54.

8. For example, Richard Hofstadter and Michael Wallace, eds., "Anti-Mormon Riot, 1838," in *American Violence: A Documentary History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), 301–4. Joseph Young's account is also among the 218 petitions located in the National Archives and recently published in Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*. The Young account reproduced in that source (720–24), unlike the manuscript affidavit printed below, was not sworn before the law, is signed by Joseph and his wife, Jane, and includes a half dozen words and phrases, most with strikeouts running through them, not included in the manuscript affidavit. The two accounts also differ in punctuation, paragraphing, and the spelling out of numbers, but the several additions in the National Archives version appear to be the only substantial textual differences between the two accounts. These additions will be noted in these endnotes beginning with the designation "National Archives version reads." Although most of the affidavits in the National Archives are dated 1840, no date appears on the Young account located there. It is not clear whether the Young account in the National Archives is the source for the manuscript affidavit, or whether the manuscript affidavit is the source for the Young account in the National Archives.

9. See David J. Whittaker, "Register to Joseph Young's Narrative of the Haun's Mill Massacre," Special Collections and Manuscripts, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter cited as BYU Archives).

10. Joseph Young's family, consisting of five persons, left Kirtland, Ohio, on July 6, 1838, with the company called the Kirtland Camp, consisting of approximately 515 Latter-day Saints. The main body arrived in Far West, Missouri, on October 2, then relocated to Adam-ondi-Ahman, where they arrived two days later. *History of the Church*, 3:87–148; "Kirtland Camp," *Historical Record* 7 (July 1888): 593–603. Young and several other families became separated from the main group and arrived several weeks later.

11. Whitney's Mill was operated by an early Livingston County resident and land owner named Joshua Whitney. The mill site was situated on Shoal Creek in Livingston County downstream from Haun's Mill. *History of Caldwell and Livingston Counties*, 146, 705, 1188. This source corrects the recent misplacement of Whitney's Mill in Caldwell County. See the inside cover of Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, and Clark V. Johnson, "Northern Missouri," in S. Kent Brown, Donald Q. Cannon, and Richard H. Jackson, eds., *Historical Atlas of Mormonism* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994), 42–43.

12. National Archives version reads “horses ~~back~~.”

13. Amanda Barnes Smith, a member of Young’s company, wrote:

We came to Caldwell County. . . . Whilst we were traveling, And minding our own business we were stopt by a Mob. they told us that if we went another step they would kill us all. They then took our guns from us. (As we were traveling into a new country we took guns along with us.) They took us back five miles, placed a guard around us, And there kept us three day[s], then let us go. . . . The names of the Heads of this mob were Thomas O Brion, County Clerk, Jefferson Brion, William . . . [Ewell] Esqr. And James Austin all of Livingston County Mo. After they let us go, we travelled ten miles when we came to . . . eight or ten houses belonging to our Brethren. Here we stopped for the night. (Amanda Smith affidavit, in Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 538)

This account is also in *History of the Church*, 3:323–24. See also Amanda Smith, quoted in Edward W. Tullidge, *Women of Mormondom* (New York: n.p., 1877), 121; and “Amanda Smith,” *Woman’s Exponent* 9 (April 1, 1881): 165. William H. Walker’s wagon company was stopped in the same area. Every wagon was searched and raided of all firearms, and company members were warned if they proceeded further they would be killed. [William H. Walker], *The Life Incidents and Travels of Elder William Holmes Walker and His Association with Joseph Smith, the Prophet* (n.p.: Elizabeth Jane Walker Piepgrass, 1943), 6. Captain William Mann and a group of Livingston County guards were the likely culprits in these two detainments. *History of Caldwell and Livingston Counties*, 146; Burr Joyce, “The Haun’s Mill Massacre,” *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, October 6, 1887, quoted in *The History of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Volume 2: 1836–1844* (Independence, Mo.: Herald House, 1951), 227. Burr Joyce was Return I. Holcombe’s penname.

14. The Myers settlement was situated a few miles east of Haun’s Mill and was founded by Jacob Myers Sr.

15. National Archives version reads “at noon.”

16. Young may have been referring to either William O. Jennings or Jennings’s father, Thomas. In *History of Caldwell and Livingston Counties*, William O. Jennings was initially described as chief in command of the massacre (146–47). However, an errata section towards the end of the book corrects this characterization:

In the account of the massacre at Haun’s Mill, and in other pages of this volume, it is stated that the so-called Gentile forces, or State troops, were commanded by Col. Wm. O. Jennings of Livingston county. So many statements were made to the compiler to this effect that the fact was not questioned. Too late to insert the correction in the proper place, comes the assertion of two or three parties, who ought to and doubtless do know the truth of the matter, that it was Col. *Thomas* Jennings, the father of Wm. O. Jennings, who was the chief in command. Wm. O. Jennings was the captain of the leading company and bore a most conspicuous part, and being a prominent citizen and well known, it came to be believed, after a lapse of so many years, that he was the commander. This correction is made mainly upon the authority of Robt. Lauderdale, who was at Haun’s Mill. (*History of Caldwell and Livingston Counties*, 1263–64. See also Walter Williams, ed., *A History of Northwest Missouri*, 3 vols. [Chicago: Lewis, 1915], 1:560)

William Jennings was active in politics, government, and civic affairs and was “one of the best known citizens of the county.” He was killed by an unknown assailant on January 30, 1862, at the age of 60. *History of Caldwell and Livingston Counties*, 775–76. In

1861, Thomas Jennings shot and killed two men in Chillicothe, Missouri. One shooting was deliberate, the other accidental. He was committed to jail, escaped, recaptured, and tried and acquitted in 1862. *History of Caldwell and Livingston Counties*, 767–71.

17. National Archives version reads “~~and Mr. Ashby of Ca a member of the State Legislature.~~”

18. On October 25, Jacob Haun met with Joseph Smith at Far West. Joyce, “The Haun’s Mill Massacre,” 226. Recognizing the volatility of the situation, the Mormon leader told Haun to abandon the settlement so as to not risk the lives of the Saints in the area. [Daniel Tyler], “Recollections of the Prophet Joseph Smith,” *Juvenile Instructor* 27 (February 1, 1892): 94–95. However, when Haun returned to the settlement he reported that Joseph’s instructions were for them to stay and protect the mill. David Lewis, a Haun’s Mill resident, believed Jacob Haun deliberately misrepresented the Prophet’s position and deceived the community members. According to Lewis, when Haun returned to the community he

said if we thought we could ma[i]ntain the mill it was Josephs council for us to do so, if we thought not to come to Farewest and we thought from the way the thing was represented it would be like cowards to leave and not try to maintain it . . . [and] we thought to guether [*sic*] up all our affects and leave our houses would be useless, for we did not know that it was Josephs decided council for us to do so. (David Lewis, Autobiography, microfilm of holograph, 11–12, Archives Division, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City [hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives])

On another occasion, Joseph Smith reportedly said, “None had ever been killed who abode by my counsel. At Hauns’ [*sic*] Mill the brethren went contrary to my counsel; if they had not, their lives would have been spared.” *History of the Church*, 5:137. Ultimately, the Haun’s Mill Saints should not bear the blame for rejecting Joseph Smith’s instruction. Had Haun reported truthfully, presumably most of the community members would have followed the Prophet’s recommendation and moved into Far West. If responsibility is to be affixed to anyone, that individual must be Jacob Haun, and not the members of the community at large.

19. National Archives version reads “that ~~should~~ might.”

20. On October 25, five days before the assault, a number of Livingston County raiders rode into the Haun’s Mill settlement and demanded that the Mormons give up their arms. Ellis Eamut, Account, in *Journal History of the Church*, October 30, 1838, photocopy of holograph, LDS Church Archives, 11–12; Lewis, Autobiography, 11; Isaac Leany affidavit, Isaac Leany petition, and Jacob Foutz petition, in Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 266–67, 486, 694. After confiscating what weapons they could from both Mormon settlers and emigrants, vigilante leaders entered into peace negotiations. David Lewis wrote, “We then sent delegates to them to see if we could not compermise with them and live in pease, they met our delegates with guns and in a hostile manner, but fineally they agreed with our men that they would be at pease with us.” Lewis, Autobiography, 10. Leaders at Haun’s Mill negotiated with leaders of several vigilante groups on different occasions. In these exchanges, both sides agreed to leave the other alone and live peaceably. Historical sources suggest that confiscation of the Saints’ weapons, followed by peace negotiations, were part of the overall plan of the Missouri regulators to ensure the eradication of the Mormon community. Saints without weapons minimized possible resistance in the event of an attack and reduced the risk of casualties among the attacking forces. The pretended truce was intended to lead the Saints to

believe that an attack was unlikely. The Saints, however, were neither naive nor totally unsuspecting of their enemies' intentions. One witness said that after peace negotiations, the Saints "felt more satisfied, having, as we thought, a perfect understanding of their intentions, but at the same time we though[t] it best to keep up a watch at the mills for fear any individuals might come privately and burn them." Eamut, Account, 13.

21. William Mann lived in Mooresville township, Livingston County. According to Amanda Barnes Smith, Mann entered the blacksmith shop after the initial assault and stripped the boots from the feet of the injured Warren Smith, Amanda's husband. Warren Smith died soon afterwards. Amanda Smith, quoted in Tullidge, *Women of Mormondom*, 127. Following the Mormon surrender, Mann visited Far West, where he pointed to Warren Smith's boots on his own feet and boasted, "Here is a pair of boots that I pulled off before the d—d Mormon was done kicking!" Mann, quoted by Amanda Smith, in Tullidge, *Women of Mormondom*, 127. See also "Amanda Smith," *Woman's Exponent* 9 (April 15, 1881), 173; Amanda Smith affidavit, in Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 538; also in *History of the Church*, 3:324.

22. National Archives version reads "without ~~any~~ molestation."

23. National Archives version reads "thirtieth ~~of Oct.~~"

24. David Evans was captain of the Mormon forces at Haun's Mill and president of the local branch of the Church. He lived about two miles from the mill. He was one of only four men who escaped from the blacksmith shop without injury. The day after the attack, he helped bury the dead. *History of Caldwell and Livingston Counties*, 145–51; Artemisia M. Foote, "Artemisia Sidnie Myers Foote's Experience in the Persecutions of the Latter Day Saints in Missouri," typescript, 2, BYU Archives; Isaac Leany petition, in Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 486; Joyce, "The Haun's Mill Massacre," 229.

25. Nehemiah Comstock lived in Mooresville township, Livingston County, and was captain of one of the three companies that attacked the mill community. Prior to the attack, his company confiscated weapons from the Haun's Mill Saints. Following the massacre, Comstock claimed possession of the mill and confiscated animals and personal possessions of the Saints. Amanda Smith, quoted in Tullidge, *Women of Mormondom*, 131–32; *History of Caldwell and Livingston Counties*, 146–47, 150–51; Williams, *A History of Northwest Missouri*, 1:561; Thomas J. Kirk, *The Mormons and Missouri: A General Outline of the History of the Mormons from Their Origin to the Present, (Including the Late Disturbance in Illinois;) and a Particular Account of the Mormon Disturbance in Missouri, or the Mormon War: With an Appendix, Containing an Epitome of the Book of Mormon, with remarks on the Nature and Tendency of Mormon Faith* (Chillicothe, Mo: J. H. Darlington, 1844), 42–43; Joyce, "The Haun's Mill Massacre," 226–28, 232–33.

26. National Archives version reads "summit ~~of the hill.~~"

27. Benjamin Lewis was mortally wounded while trying to escape from the blacksmith shop. David Lewis, Benjamin's brother, carried Benjamin to David's home, where he died a few hours later. Benjamin was not buried in the dry well along with the other victims; David buried him apart from the others. Lewis, *Autobiography*, 14, 16. Photographic historian George Edward Anderson later reported that Benjamin's body was exhumed and reinterred in a nearby cemetery. Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, T. Jeffery Cottle, and Ted D. Stoddard, eds., *Church History in Black and White: George Edward Anderson's Photographic Mission to Latter-day Saint Historical Sites* (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1995), 101. If this was indeed the case, Lewis's body was probably buried in the White Cemetery, a local cemetery just east of the Haun's Mill property.

28. National Archives version reads "my ~~brethren~~ friends."

29. Levi N. Merrick (also given as Myrick) was one of eight men killed in the blacksmith shop. Following the attack, his body was transported to Haun's home. Philindia Myrick affidavit, in Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 505; Lewis, *Autobiography*, 17.

30. Thomas McBride was wounded while attempting to escape from the blacksmith shop. He was later discovered by Jacob S. Rogers, who mutilated and then killed him. *History of Caldwell and Livingston Counties*, 149; Joyce, "The Haun's Mill Massacre," 229–30; Willard G. Smith, quoted in Alexander L. Baugh, "A Rare Account of the Haun's Mill Massacre: The Reminiscence of Willard Gilbert Smith," *Missouri Mormon Frontier Foundation Newsletter* 18/19 (summer/fall 1998): 2. The McBrides lived about three-fourths of a mile from the mill site. Some sources mistakenly report that Thomas McBride was a Revolutionary War veteran. This error was corrected by Thomas McBride's son, James McBride, who stated that his father was born in March 1776, the year the Revolution began. James McBride, *Autobiography*, typescript, BYU Archives, 5, 11.

31. Information on Rebecca Judd could not be located, suggesting that Young may have misidentified her. The family of Arza Judd Jr. was living in Caldwell County in 1838. Arza's two oldest daughters, Mary (age 19) and Rachel (age 16), could have been in the area at the time of the attack. Either of these two might be the young woman Young mentions.

32. Jacob S. Rogers was a Daviess County resident. Joseph H. McGee indicated that Rogers "settled on Grand River, just below the mouth of Honey Creek, at a point known for years after as Rogers' Ferry on the Grand River." Joseph H. McGee, "History of Daviess County: Incidents and Reminiscences in its Early Settlement," *North Missourian*, February 28, March 14, 1888. See also Joyce, "The Haun's Mill Massacre," 230.

33. John York was mortally wounded while trying to escape from the blacksmith shop. He was reportedly shot in the head. He died the day after the attack. John Hammer, quoted in Lyman Omer Littlefield, *Reminiscences of Latter-day Saints* (Logan, Utah: Utah Journal, 1888), 69–70; Lewis, *Autobiography*, 17.

34. Simon Cox, the first to be shot, was mortally wounded in the blacksmith shop. He lived until the next day. Like most of those who died on the day of the massacre, he was buried in the well. Foote, "Experience in the Persecutions," 2; Lewis, *Autobiography*, 13.

35. The well, unfinished and still dry, measured twelve feet deep. Lewis, *Autobiography*, 17. Fourteen of the victims were buried in the well. Joseph Young supervised the burying of the bodies there and was assisted by a few others, many of whom lived in the vicinity but were not involved in the attack. Most of the dead were placed on a plank, one at a time, carried to the well, and slid into the community grave. For nine-year-old Artemisia S. Myers Foote, the display was horrifying. "Every time they brought one, and slid him in I screamed and cried, it was such an awful sight to see them piled in the bottom in all shapes." Foote, "Experience in the Persecutions," 2. David Lewis called the burial "the most heart rending seen [*sic*] that my eyes ever witnessed." Lewis, *Autobiography*, 17.

36. Sardius Smith (sometimes Sardis), son of Warren and Amanda Barnes Smith, was just ten years of age. His gruesome death is noted in a number of historical sources. See n. 38 below.

37. Warren Smith was mortally wounded while in the blacksmith shop. He died shortly after the Missourians stormed the building. Amanda Smith, quoted in Tullidge, *Women of Mormondom*, 121–23, 127; "Amanda Smith," 173; Amanda Smith affidavit, in Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 538–39; Willard G. Smith, quoted in Baugh, "A Rare Account," 2; S. M. Smith to Lilburn W. Boggs, March 21, 1839, in *Document Containing the Correspondence, Orders, and Et cetera in Relation to the Disturbances with the*

Mormons; And the Evidence Given before the Hon. Austin A. King, Judge of the Fifth Judicial Circuit of the State of Missouri, at the Court-House in Richmond, in a Criminal Court of Inquiry, Begun November 12, 1838, on the Trial of Joseph Smith, Jr., and Others, for High Treason and Other Crimes against the State (Fayette, Missouri: Boon's Lick Democrat, 1841), 8.

38. Historical sources are divided on who killed Sardius Smith. According to Joseph Young and Amanda Barnes Smith, Ira Glaze was the culprit. Amanda Smith, quoted in Tullidge, *Women of Mormondom*, 127. Local history attributes the killing to William Reynolds. *History of Caldwell and Livingston Counties*, 149, 149 n. 2; Joyce, "The Haun's Mill Massacre," 229. David Lewis, a Haun's Mill resident, heard Stephen Reynolds boast of killing the boy. David Lewis petition, in Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 275–76. Nathan Knight claimed he heard Jesse Maupin claim responsibility for the murder. Nathan K. Knight petition, in Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 260.

39. See n. 30 above.

40. See n. 29 above.

41. Elias Benner was probably killed in the blacksmith shop.

42. Josiah Fuller was killed in the blacksmith shop. Lewis, *Autobiography*, 17; Catharine Fuller affidavit, in Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 451. The Fuller family apparently did not remain with the Church following the Missouri episode. In 1887, Fuller's son, a resident of Adair County, Missouri, assisted by C. R. Ross, located the well site and marked it with a millstone from the site. Andrew Jenson, *Autobiography of Andrew Jenson* (Salt Lake City: *Deseret News*, 1938), 160.

43. See n. 27 above.

44. Alexander Campbell was probably killed in the blacksmith shop.

45. See n. 37 above.

46. See n. 36 and n. 38 above.

47. George S. Richards was the fifteen-year-old son of Phineas and Wealthy Dewey Richards. He was killed in the blacksmith shop. His brother said that he was shot in the head and died instantly. Franklin D. Richards, "Apostle F. D. Richards' Narrative," *Juvenile Instructor* 20 (July 1, 1885): 206.

48. William Napier (sometimes Naper) was killed in the blacksmith shop. He was shot in the head and the chest. Ruth Naper affidavit, and Reuben Naper affidavit, in Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 296, 505–6.

49. Austin Hammer was mortally wounded while defending the blacksmith shop. He lived three or four miles from Haun's Mill and was guarding the site at the time of the attack. After he was shot, his assailants dragged him out of the shop and stripped his boots off him. After the ordeal he was transported to Jacob Haun's home, where he died around midnight. He received seven bullets, breaking both thigh bones. Hammer, quoted in Littlefield, *Reminiscences of Latter-day Saints*, 67–70. Joseph Young incorrectly identified him as Augustine Hammer.

50. See n. 34 above.

51. Hiram Abbot was mortally wounded while trying to escape from the blacksmith shop. He died after David Lewis cared for him for five weeks. Prior to the attack on the community, Abbot refused to turn over his gun to the vigilante company, who attempted to confiscate all of the Mormon weapons. Lewis, *Autobiography*, 11, 14; Rufus Abbot affidavit, and Isaac Leany petition, in Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 412, 486, 488.

52. See n. 33 above.

53. Young incorrectly identified the Merrick (sometimes Myrick) boy as William; his name was actually Charles. Charles, age nine, son of Levi Merrick, who was also

killed at Haun's Mill, was the youngest victim. During the attack, he hid behind the bellows in the blacksmith shop along with Sardius and Alma Smith. After the hiding spot was discovered, young Charles received three wounds while trying to run from the shop. He died about four weeks later. Tarlton Lewis affidavit, Philindia Myrick petition, Alma Smith petition, and Amanda Smith petition, in Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 491, 505, 537, 539; Williams, *A History of Northwest Missouri*, 1:560.

54. Young recalled 18 or 19 killed, but gave the names of only 15. The actual number killed was 17. The two men Young did not list among the dead were John Byers and John Lee, both of whom were probably killed in the blacksmith shop.

55. Isaac Leany received ten bullet wounds while trying to escape from the blacksmith shop. Four balls passed entirely through his body. He was also grazed by two more bullets resulting in flesh wounds to each arm. He lived 35 years to the day after the massacre. Lewis, *Autobiography*, 16; McBride, *Autobiography*, 13–14; Isaac Leany petitions, in Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 266–68, 486–88; William Leany, *Autobiography*, typescript, 6, BYU Archives.

56. Yelling for quarter, Nathan Knight had one finger shot off and another injured. He was also wounded in his leg and back while making his escape. Nathan K. Knight affidavit, in Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 259–60, 476–77; *History of Caldwell and Livingston Counties*, 157–58.

57. William Yokum (also Yocum) was wounded in the face, head, and leg while trying to escape from the blacksmith shop. The leg was later amputated. Lewis, *Autobiography*, 16–17; Hyrum Smith, quoted in *History of the Church*, 3:412.

58. The two brothers were George and Jacob Myers Jr. George was wounded in the right shoulder while trying to escape from the blacksmith shop. After he was injured, he crawled back to his home. Jacob Myers Jr., who worked at the local mill, was also wounded while trying to escape from the blacksmith shop. His leg was broken by a bullet that lodged halfway between his knee and ankle. He also received a flesh wound to the thigh. A year after the attack, his leg was amputated. Foote, "Experience in the Persecutions," 1–2; Margaret Foutz, quoted in Tullidge, *Women of Mormondom*, 172; Warren Foote, *Autobiography*, typescript, 27, BYU Archives.

59. Tarlton Lewis was wounded in the shoulder while trying to escape from the blacksmith shop. Lewis, *Autobiography*, 14; Tarlton Lewis affidavit, in Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 490–91.

60. Jacob Haun, founder of the mill and the community, was wounded, probably while trying to escape from the blacksmith shop. Lewis, *Autobiography*, 17; Jacob H. Potts and Levi Stiltz affidavit, in Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 320.

61. Five additional men and one boy were also wounded in the attack. Jacob Foutz was wounded in the thigh while in the blacksmith shop and escaped being killed by pretending to be dead. Foutz, quoted in Tullidge, *Women of Mormondom*, 172–74; Jacob Foutz affidavit, Jacob Foutz petition, and Isaac Leany petition, in Johnson, *Missouri Redress Petitions*, 208, 487–88, 694–95. Charles Jimison (sometimes Jameson), Gilman Merrill, and Jacob Potts were each wounded while trying to escape from the blacksmith shop. Isaac Leany affidavit, and Jacob Potts affidavit, in Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 268, 319–20; Lewis, *Autobiography*, 14, 16; and Eamut, *Account*, 15 (Eamut misidentified Gilman Merrill as Elimar Merrill). John Walker was wounded in his right arm while in the blacksmith shop. The wound disabled him from reloading his rifle, so he ran from the shop down to the creek, where he found safety in seclusion. Jane Walker Smith, "Jane Walker Smith's Story," in *Our Pioneer Heritage*, comp. Kate B. Carter, 20 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1958–77), 19:205; Lucy Walker Kimball, quoted in Littlefield, *Reminiscences of Latter-day Saints*, 38–39. Alma

Smith, age six, went into the blacksmith shop at the time of the attack and hid behind the bellows along with his brother Sardius and Charles Merrick. A Missourian who could apparently see his whereabouts from between the cracks shot at him, wounding him in the hip. He fully recovered. Alma Smith affidavit, and Amanda Smith affidavit, in Johnson, *Missouri Redress Petitions*, 537, 538–39; Amanda Smith, quoted in Tullidge, *Women of Mormondom*, 121–28; “Amanda Smith,” 173; Willard G. Smith, quoted in Baugh, “A Rare Account,” 1–3.

62. Information about Mary Stedwell could not be found. Numerous sources confirm that she was shot through the hand while trying to escape as the attack began. See, for example, David Lewis petition, and Amanda Smith affidavit, in Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 274, 538; Amanda Smith, quoted in Tullidge, *Women of Mormondom*, 122, 126; “Amanda Smith,” 173; “Amanda Smith,” *Woman’s Exponent* 9 (May 1, 1881): 181.

63. Daniel Ashby, a company member, was an early resident of Chariton County but was a Livingston County resident at the time of the attack at Haun’s Mill. He had been a captain in the state militia during the Big Neck War of 1829. Following the Mormon surrender, he submitted written testimony to General John B. Clark detailing what he observed during the attack. He was also a member of the state legislature and later testified in the Missouri House of Representatives concerning the massacre, stating that the assault occurred because some Missourians living in the area of Haun’s Mill, as well as Mormon dissenters, told the Livingston County residents that the Mormons were planning to attack. *History of Caldwell and Livingston Counties*, 688–89; Daniel Ashby to John B. Clark, November 28, 1838, in *Document Containing the Correspondence*, 82–83; Daniel Ashby, quoted in “Letter to the Editor,” *Missouri Republican*, December 24, 1838, 2.

64. See n. 16 above.

65. Thomas R. Bryan was a resident of Monroe township, Livingston County. Prior to the attack, he was a captain of a vigilante company that stopped Mormons en route to Far West. He also was a member of a Livingston County committee who negotiated what was to have been a treaty with the Mormons a few days prior to the attack. Bryan was born on November 4, 1806, in Tennessee. He moved to Livingston County in 1835 and married in 1840. He was the first county clerk and served for 21 years. This respected citizen died on September 29, 1877, at the age of 70. *History of Caldwell and Livingston Counties*, 146, 1164; Amanda Smith affidavit, in Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 538.

66. See n. 11 above.

67. Information on Randal[I] could not be found.

Book Reviews

GARY BROWNING. *Russia and the Restored Gospel*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1997. xxii, 377 pp. Index, chronology. \$11.99.

Reviewed by Kahlile Mehr, cataloging supervisor, Family History Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Many Americans that grew to maturity during the Cold War were conditioned to think of Russia as an implacable and eternal enemy. Few expected to see the collapse of the Communist system and the way opened for missionary labor in a such a short space of time. However, after interviewing a number of the early missionaries to Russia, I am impressed that many of them had nurtured a desire to serve there even when the chances of doing so were still remote. Even now, Russia seems to possess a mystique for Americans unlike any other country in the world. It is thus very satisfying that a chronicle of the first mission president in Russia should be published so soon after the unfolding of what, in future years, may well be ranked among the historic epics of the restored Church.

A professor of Russian language and literature at BYU for two decades and a lifelong observer of Russian life, Gary Browning was prepared to understand and work with Russians as well as anyone in the Church. *Russia and the Restored Gospel* is a careful and detailed account of the Brownings' mission experience, providing a balanced picture of the first mission in Russia that includes the embarrassing as well as the satisfying, the failures as well as the successes. This volume is not a glossy paean to unimpeded progress but a reflective and sober account of someone who loves Russia in spite of the difficulties encountered there.

During his first visit to Russia as mission president, Browning sat in a Sunday service in Vyborg "astonished at being in a meeting of the Church in Russia" (57). Twenty-seven years earlier, he had visited that same city never imagining that he would return in a missionary capacity. President Browning describes the tender and touching scene at that service: six Primary girls singing in Russian "I Am a Child of God." He concludes the book on a similar note, describing a gathering at Izmailovskii Park, when two hundred members met shivering in the wet grass on a soggy day to bid farewell to the Brownings. Suddenly, Browning recalls, the sun broke through the clouds and "everything appeared radiant, cleansed, and pure, just as I would like always to remember Russia and Russians" (336).

However, when Browning writes of a "thin, 'golden' layer" of people who are spiritually prepared to receive religious truth, he enunciates what is for me the theme of the book (18). Between his portrait of the Sunday service

at Vyborg and the farewell at Izmailovskii Park, Browning has gathered together personal narratives of Saints from Russia's golden layer, many describing in their own words their conversion and commitment to the gospel.

These personal accounts are tied into a running chronicle of mission events, usually corresponding to the time of each narrator's baptism. The accounts most often speak of simple joys that are, it would seem by many accounts of Russian history, experienced infrequently. One sister summarizes her feelings by writing, "Do you know how Russian Mormons differ from an ordinary Russian person? We have learned to smile. And this is simply wonderful" (95). Another sister writes, "The joy I had inside me was like a fountain. I smiled, not knowing what for. I laughed, not knowing why. And for the first time I really felt that these people around me were indeed my brothers and sisters" (205). Describing her first impressions of the Church, another woman states, "Do you know what struck me? The happy, joyful, and friendly smiles. The joy of associating with one another" (301).

The humility of these new converts is profoundly refreshing. On one occasion, while President Browning was interviewing a brother concerning his worthiness to hold the Melchizedek Priesthood, the man, without offering any excuses, confessed that he had not paid tithing for three months. Pursuing the inquiry further, the president learned that the man had received no wages for three months. It is hard not to be touched by the guileless purity of an innocent victim of a troubled society.

The overall result of these personal accounts is that the book focuses on the "restored gospel" in Russia rather than on the history of the Church in Russia. Indeed, the book may disappoint a reader looking for a well-conceived historical narrative emphasizing the salient aspects of the Church's entry into Russia. Browning includes some of this information, but it is shoehorned between the personal narratives. For example, mention of the fall of the Soviet Union, the crucial event that accelerated the opportunity to spread the gospel in Russia, is sandwiched between an account of a sister from the United States who sends welfare packages to Russia and a conversion story. Also, a significant Church reorganization in Moscow on the 150th anniversary of the first appointment of missionaries to Russia, during which President Browning felt the presence of the Prophet Joseph, is somewhat obscured—placed between the story of a woman whose nightmares cease after her baptism and the stories of two converts from the city of Saratov.

The book simply is not organized to emphasize what is historically significant and what is not. Instead, it is a month-by-month chronicle. What may seem significant or insignificant are juxtaposed with little or no transition to help the reader sort it out. This structure is awkward for another reason. On occasion, people who play a significant role in the Church are introduced at one place in the book but their contributions are related

elsewhere. For example, an account of the conversion of Grigorii Fomin is on page 186, while his contribution to the history of the Church is related on page 235. The casual reader may not readily make this connection.

There are other problems that lessen the effectiveness of the narrative. At times the account gets bogged down in excessive detail: the visit of Robert L. Backman as part of a Boy Scout delegation (119), a discussion of training topics at a leadership meeting (239), or the visit of a Church official to determine the effectiveness of the Missionary Training Center in preparing missionaries for Russia (254). Finally, there is one unavoidable problem. After a while, the similarity of conversion accounts tends to lessen their impact. In the latter half of the book, the accounts all begin to sound the same.

These weaknesses, however, are minor and pale in comparison to the book's many important contributions. For instance, Browning describes the first missionaries into Russia—not young, single men or women but Finnish couples who functioned much like stake missionaries. Their role was supremely important in the early days when the Church was not yet officially recognized and Church presence needed to be low-key (24).

The book also provides invaluable insight into President Browning's dealings with Russian officials when the Church's legal status was still tenuous (78, 85). In 1993 an outcry arose over what was described as "the avalanche of foreign churches entering Russia . . . 'to free the benighted natives from their atheism and ignorance.'" It seems that "many groups from abroad had behaved irresponsibly in Russia, raising unreasonable expectations at mass rallies, baptizing hundreds, and then leaving the newly 'saved' without ongoing church support or organization" (286). The result of the furor was proposed legislation that would have caused a near shutdown of religious freedom in Russia. The role the Church played in forestalling that restrictive legislation is documented in Browning's account.

The book also provides insights into the development of Russian Church leaders and Church organization in Russia. Viacheslav Efimov, the first president of the Russia Yekaterinburg Mission, was called as mission president only five years after his baptism. He and others who will undoubtedly play significant roles in the future of the Church in Russia are people the reader comes to know through the narratives. Browning also notes that "the philosophy of the Area presidency . . . [was] to build outward from centers of strength" (180). The Church has expanded slowly into new cities in Russia as well as elsewhere in Eastern Europe, first building a strong membership in the larger cities before spreading to smaller cities throughout the country.

Russia and the Restored Gospel corrects the historical record. Some stories of early missionary experiences in Russia have been inaccurately recounted, dramatized, and retold. The personal accounts of the actual

participants set the record straight. The story has been frequently told of a Russian woman who found a Russian Bible in a park in Helsinki and later met a Church member who gave her a Book of Mormon. Actually, the woman found the Bible in a Russian forest while picking mushrooms. Later, an LDS Finnish friend whom she had met the previous year in a park in Helsinki gave her a Book of Mormon, and she soon was baptized in Helsinki (41). The real story is just as touching but not quite so dramatic as the fabled version. In addition, many Church members have been told that the Russian government granted the Church official recognition during the Tabernacle Choir's 1991 visit to Russia. However, Browning makes it clear that even though recognition was announced publicly during the visit of the choir, official recognition had been granted the month prior to the choir's visit (156).

Just as Browning is not hesitant to dispel a few myths, neither does he shy away from sensitive issues. He includes an account of an unapproved missionary outing for which he was reprimanded (248), comments about the one-third inactivity rate among Russian converts (258), mentions the gunpoint robbery of two sister missionaries (268), and discusses the problems of distributing welfare (328–29). Consequently, the reader gets an honest picture not only of the triumphs, but also of the tribulations and setbacks of the first Russian mission.

Throughout the book, Browning also sprinkles fascinating insights into Russian life, including the description of a flea market in Izmailovskii Park where artistic treasures are set up on mats draped over the muddy ground. Browning comments on this stark contrast: "The two extremes seemed to symbolize the resplendent but frequently unkempt Russia we so earnestly love. Deep waters of authentic beauty flow from under surface grime and coarseness" (224). The reader is also surprised to learn that representatives of Soviet television came to President Browning in 1993 requesting permission to videotape a performance of BYU's Young Ambassadors to replace tapes of BYU performing groups they had been broadcasting since 1978 (166, 305). The cultural isolation through decades of communism was indeed profound. Throughout the book, the results of Russia's self-imposed isolation from the West and the country's ever-present hardships are poignantly evident.

Russia and the Restored Gospel is primarily a collation of sources loosely tied together in a chronological format. The book will be enjoyed by many, like myself, who have a long-term fascination with Russia and who, in seeing the Church established there, have witnessed an event we never expected to occur in our lifetimes. An honest and accurate account, the book is a treasure of information for present readers and future historians who will try to assess more fully the record of the Church in Russia.

DONALD W. PARRY and JOHN W. WELCH, eds. *Isaiah in the Book of Mormon*. Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1998. x; 548 pp. Scripture citation index, index. \$24.95.

Reviewed by Roger R. Keller, Professor of Church History and Doctrine, Brigham Young University.

As students of the Bible are aware, Isaiah is not always an easy book to understand, and those portions of it that appear in the Book of Mormon can be equally difficult to interpret. However, by applying various interpretive tools, the authors of the nineteen articles in *Isaiah in the Book of Mormon* offer readers a clearer understanding of the function and message of Isaiah as presented by the Book of Mormon authors.

“Overviews,” the first of four parts in the volume, presents four essays. In “‘More Fully Persuaded’: Isaiah’s Witness of Christ’s Ministry,” Elder Jeffrey R. Holland highlights the ways in which the Book of Mormon authors use Isaiah’s prophecies to emphasize aspects of Jesus’ ministry.

In the second essay, “Getting through Isaiah with the Help of the Nephite Prophetic View,” John Welch provides a framework derived from the Book of Mormon within which to read the Isaiah passages. Welch contends that Nephi foresaw the future in four stages: the coming of Christ, his attention to scattered Israel, the day of the Gentiles, and the events at the end of time. When Nephi and other Book of Mormon authors quoted Isaiah, the quotations applied to one of these stages. Three helpful charts classify by their appropriate stage all the chapters and verses of Isaiah used in the Book of Mormon.

Demonstrating that two people can read the same material and arrive at different although ultimately complementary conclusions, Donald Parry’s essay “Nephi’s Keys to Understanding Isaiah (2 Nephi 25:1–8)” suggests five keys for unlocking Isaiah that are more personal and spiritual than the framework suggested by Welch. However, Parry’s keys also lead us into the historical setting of Isaiah, especially as Parry focuses on symbolism, poetic parallelism, and prophetic speech forms.

In the fourth essay, “‘Choose the Things That Please Me’: On the Selection of the Isaiah Passages in the Book of Mormon,” John Gee’s intent is fourfold: to show how the Isaiah text is divided, why certain blocks of text were chosen by Book of Mormon authors, how the Nephite prophets interpreted these texts, and how the authors revealed their reasons for using the texts. Readers may find this chapter difficult, largely because so much material is covered—any one of the sections could have been expanded into a separate article.

The heart of the book is the second part—eight articles which offer explanations of the Isaiah texts. The centerpiece is Robert Cloward's article entitled "Isaiah 29 and the Book of Mormon." He begins with a verse-by-verse exposition of Isaiah 29, focusing on the meaning that the text would have had to Isaiah's listeners. Cloward treats several themes from Isaiah, but perhaps his conclusions about the sealed book will be of greatest interest to Latter-day Saints. According to Cloward's reading, the sealed book Isaiah spoke of is not a literal book that will speak from the dust, but rather the voice of Jerusalem that will *symbolically* whisper from the dust. "It was Nephi who made Isaiah's symbolic book into a literal book" (201).

Cloward's strength is that he takes seriously Isaiah's historical meaning and only then turns to the Book of Mormon to see how Isaiah is treated there. He discovers that Nephi first quotes from Isaiah and then in 2 Nephi 25–30 "likens it" to his own people and their situation. Nephi calls this likening his "own prophecy" (204) and includes a commentary on Isaiah 29. In these chapters, Nephi interprets Isaiah's symbolic book as a literal book—the Book of Mormon—which will play a role in restoring the Jews and the New World peoples to their rightful places before God. The fulfillment of Nephi's own prophecy occurs with the Restoration. Cloward's conclusion is instructive:

Isaiah foresaw both the fate and the future restoration of Jerusalem and her people. Nephi . . . likened Isaiah's words to his people in a new prophecy, showing how Nephite writings would advance the Lord's work in the latter days. . . . Then, the Savior and the resurrected Moroni taught the significance of Nephi's likening for this dispensation to the Prophet Joseph Smith. Joseph Smith, in turn, replaced Isaiah's words in his inspired translation of the Bible with his new understanding of how they had been likened to him and to the Lord's latter-day work.

In this process, Isaiah's sealed book was reinterpreted as Nephi's gold plates and as Joseph Smith's Book of Mormon. Isaiah's dust of death was reinterpreted as Nephi's source of renewed life and as Joseph Smith's Cumorah. . . . This is the process of likening. Prophets do it readily. . . . There is no impropriety in their giving old scripture new meaning for their lives (233–34).

Cloward takes seriously both Isaiah and Nephi in their historical contexts. The potential weakness in Cloward's approach is that he may not leave enough room for a fuller meaning in Isaiah than the merely historical. Even so, his methodology is one from which we can all learn.

Of the remaining seven articles in the second section of the book, three others strike a balance between the historical and interpretive elements, as does Cloward's work. "Nephi's Lessons to His People: The Messiah, the Land, and Isaiah 48–49 in Nephi 19–22," by Andrew Skinner, adds insight into textual differences between biblical Isaiah and Book of Mormon Isaiah. David Seely focuses on the issue of pride in both Isaiah and Nephi

in “Nephi’s Use of Isaiah 2–14 in 2 Nephi 12–30.” In “‘How Beautiful upon the Mountains’: The Imagery of Isaiah 52:7–10 and Its Occurrences in the Book of Mormon,” Dana Pike explains various ways in which the passage may be understood as he considers Isaiah’s historical context, as well as typology and multiple fulfillments of prophecy.

Stephen Ricks and John Thompson employ form-critical tools (seeking the historical situation in life that gave rise to a particular text or saying) to explore issues. Ricks examines prophetic call narratives and provides some interesting insights in “Heavenly Visions and Prophetic Calls in Isaiah 6 (2 Nephi 16), the Book of Mormon, and the Revelation of John.” Thompson explores religious festivals in the Book of Mormon in “Isaiah 50–51, the Israelite Autumn Festivals, and the Covenant Speech of Jacob in 2 Nephi 6–10.” His conclusions are possible, albeit somewhat speculative, since the Book of Mormon does not seem to be concerned enough with religious festivals to mention them explicitly.

John Welch gives an interesting exposition of Isaiah 53 in “Isaiah 53, Mosiah 14, and the Book of Mormon,” focusing particularly on Abinadi’s use of the text. However, the article shows a tendency to Christianize Isaiah without asking what he might have meant in his historical context. Finally, Cynthia Hallen provides a womanist perspective on Isaiah in “The Lord’s Covenant of Kindness: Isaiah 54 and 3 Nephi 22.” Her essay goes significantly beyond the text with free association and questionable parallels.

The third section, “Isaiah and the Restoration,” contains Ann Madsen’s “Joseph Smith and the Words of Isaiah,” Royal Skousen’s, “Textual Variants in the Isaiah Quotations in the Book of Mormon,” and Andrew Hedges’s “Isaiah in America, 1700–1830.” Madsen treats Isaiah in a restorationist context; Skousen provides solid conclusions about the texts of Isaiah as found in the Bible and in the Book of Mormon; and Hedges competently shows how Isaiah was used by contemporaries of Joseph Smith, indicating that Isaiah was less important for them than it was for the prophet Joseph.

“Words Ancient and Modern” contains the final four articles. In “Vocabulary in Isaiah 2–14, 48–54,” Donald Parry and Janet Garrard Willis provide a chapter-by-chapter glossary of KJV terms with explanations of their meanings. Most of these linguistic difficulties could also be solved by consulting various modern translations. Both John Welch in “Authorship of the Book of Isaiah in Light of the Book of Mormon” and John Hilton in “Wordprinting Isaiah and the Book of Mormon” deal with the long-standing question of the unity of Isaiah. Welch concludes that Isaiah is most probably written by one author. Hilton indicates that the poetic form makes a conclusive wordprint difficult. He notes, however, a slight shift between the first and second halves of the book, but the shift occurs ten chapters before the traditionally suggested break between chapters 39 and 40.

Finally, John Thompson and Eric Smith provide one of the most interesting articles, "Isaiah and the Latter-day Saints: A Bibliographic Survey." This annotated bibliography of Latter-day Saint treatments of Isaiah begins with an Orson Pratt discourse given in 1855 and concludes with Hoyt Brewster's *Isaiah, Plain and Simple: The Message of Isaiah in the Book of Mormon*, published in 1995. The reader gains an appreciation of the various ways in which Isaiah has been interpreted by Latter-day Saints over the past 140 years and the degree to which historical interpretation, typology, fuller meaning, and future prophecy intertwined in LDS hermeneutics.

Isaiah in the Book of Mormon forces readers to examine the way in which Isaiah can be understood, both in his historical context and as interpreted by Book of Mormon prophets. The reader leaves the book with the understanding that there are many levels of meaning in Isaiah and that there may be several "correct" interpretations of a given passage. The reader also concludes that there is yet much in Isaiah that will be understood only after future events occur, when we will see that Isaiah also spoke of these.

DAN VOGEL, comp. and ed. *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 1. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996. xvi; 708 pp. Map, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$34.95.

Reviewed by Craig L. Foster, research specialist, Family History Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Dan Vogel, an independent researcher, writer, and author of works such as *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon* and *Religious Seekers and the Advent of Mormonism*, is the editor of a collection of documents concerning early Mormon history. Vogel's book, the first of what promises to be a multivolume work involving over 450 documents, focuses on the Joseph Smith family and the emergence of Joseph Smith Jr. as a religious leader.

Early Mormon Documents gives "priority to documents produced either by Smith family members or by others recording their statements" (xi). Documents include official histories, diary entries, memoirs and reminiscences, personal letters, and newspaper reports as well as civil, business, and church records. The book is divided into two parts: (1) the Joseph Smith family and (2) Mormon origins in Vermont and New Hampshire. The Smith family section includes documents by and about Joseph Smith Jr. as well as his parents, siblings, spouse, and even extended family members. The documents relate Joseph Smith's early spiritual experiences and subsequent development as a prophet.

Unfortunately, the book's focus on original and contemporary documents causes it to bog down in some parts, particularly the 239-page section encompassing the widely available Lucy Mack Smith history. Vogel has done a good job of placing the 1845 manuscript and the 1853 published edition side by side for comparison and annotating the text with references and biographical background. Even so, this and several other sections of the book are long and tedious reading.

However, some of the documents are fascinating, insightful, indeed poignant. Along the lines of the Lord's statement that "a prophet is not without honour, but in his own country, and among his own kin, and in his own house" (Mark 6:4), Jesse Smith's letter to his nephew Hyrum Smith painfully demonstrates the ambivalence and even open tension experienced among members of the extended Smith family. Jesse was particularly vocal in his skepticism and anger over the coming forth of the Book of Mormon (551–54). In sharp contrast to Jesse Smith's rejection of his nephew's prophetic calling, John Smith studied the newly published scripture, listened to the teachings of his brother Joseph Smith Sr., and ultimately, along with several other members of the Smith family, was converted to Mormonism (555, 564).

These and other documents created by members of the Smith family and their acquaintances create an intimate picture of the Prophet Joseph

Smith, his family, and early background. Entries from the Smith family Bible, as well as civil, land, and census records, help round out this personal view of the Smith family that goes beyond the usual history and adds depth to our understanding.

Although not all the documents are complimentary of Joseph Smith, his mission, or his family, Vogel has made a noticeable attempt to produce a scholarly and unbiased work. Indeed, in several cases he rejects statements made by individuals and demonstrates their inaccuracy. A good example is the statement made by Daniel Woodward claiming that Joseph Smith Sr. had been involved in counterfeiting with a Jack Downing but had escaped punishment by turning state's evidence. Vogel showed that a Joseph Smith of Royalton, rather than being a fellow conspirator, was listed as a victim of accepting counterfeit money from a Beniah Woodward, a relative of Daniel Woodward. Moreover, Vogel searched for a Jack Downing and was unable to find any mention of one in the Vermont Supreme Court records for Windsor County (625).

The previous example demonstrates one of the stronger points of the book. As an editor of a volume of documents, Vogel has gone the extra mile by providing explanatory notes on statements made within the text, bibliographic citations, and biographical information on people mentioned in the documents. A significant percentage of Vogel's biographical and other information is the result of original research. However, one of the potential weaknesses of the book is the dependence upon a large amount of secondary sources for biographical information. This was particularly noticeable in the Joseph Smith Jr. and Lucy Mack Smith sections of the book.

Another potential problem is that while the book boasts an impressive 150 sources in its bibliography, there are some notable absences. For example, while Henry Caswall's *The City of the Mormons; or Three Days at Nauvoo in 1842* is quoted in the book (220–21), this document is not in the bibliography. What is more, biographical information for Caswall is not provided. At least one article, available in *BYU Studies* (1996), gives information on this influential anti-Mormon writer.

These and some other noticeable omissions should give the reader cause to carefully read and analyze the documents and information in the book, as one would with any other compiled source. Further research would in fact be in line with the author's hope that this book will "not only facilitate but accelerate the scholarly examination of Mormon origins" (xi).

Notwithstanding the weaknesses and problems mentioned, this volume offers a wonderful selection of documents as well as interesting background information. Indeed, the strengths and potential value of the work far outweigh the problems. This book should be a part of the collection of any serious Mormon scholar or any library with a Mormon Americana collection.

SCOT FACER PROCTOR and MAURINE JENSEN PROCTOR, eds. *The Revised and Enhanced History of Joseph Smith by His Mother*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1996. xxxvii; 506 pp. Illustrations, notes, appendixes, bibliographic note, index. \$19.95.

Reviewed by Glen M. Leonard, director, Museum of Church History and Art.

When Lucy Mack Smith stood before a congregation of the Saints in Nauvoo, Illinois, in October 1845 at the invitation of Brigham Young, she presented three related messages, all of them centered around family—especially her own. Mother Smith, as she was lovingly known, counseled parents to raise their children in love and kindness, reflected on her own children and her extended family, and talked to the attentive congregation about the life of her prophet son, including a recitation of her family’s “hardships, trials, privations, persecutions, sufferings, etc.; some parts of which melted those who heard her to tears.”¹

Though the aging Lucy Smith stayed behind in the removal from Nauvoo, her family story remained of great interest to the Saints. Many times before that final public commentary, Lucy had responded to invitations to speak of her son Joseph’s early religious experiences. To save her lungs, she said, and at the invitation of the Twelve, she invited Martha Jane Knowlton Coray to record her memoirs. Lucy’s dictations during the winter of 1844–45 resulted what is now called the preliminary manuscript of her history.² From this 214-page manuscript, Coray and her husband, Howard, one of the Prophet’s former scribes, trimmed perhaps 10 percent and added material from Joseph’s own history published not long before in the *Times and Seasons*. The product was a revised manuscript, “History of Mother Smith, by Herself.” In securing a copyright on the work, Lucy identified it as “The History of Lucy Smith. . . .”³

The Twelve compensated the Corays for their efforts late in 1845. One copy of the revised manuscript remained with Mother Smith. The Twelve carried a second, leather-bound copy west. Lucy Smith’s copy was entrusted to her son William and found its way to Isaac Sheen, a former Latter-day Saint living in Wisconsin. Orson Pratt purchased the copy from Sheen while en route to England and published it in Liverpool in 1853 under the title *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet, and His Progenitors for Many Generations*.

Copies of the book were welcomed in Salt Lake City, but not without reservations. Some readers doubted the accuracy of some of Lucy’s recollections; others looked askance at her favorable views of William, a lukewarm supporter of the Twelve’s leadership. Church historians George A. Smith and Wilford Woodruff began checking the book for accuracy. In

1865, Brigham Young invited Church members to turn in their copies of the 1853 volume so that they could be destroyed and replaced with a forthcoming corrected edition. His revision committee, George A. Smith and Elias Smith, found the 1853 volume generally reliable (and more recent reviewers have agreed).⁴ The new edition did not find a publisher until Joseph F. Smith made the manuscript available to the *Improvement Era*. It was issued first in installments, then in 1902 as a book.⁵ A generation later, in 1945, Stevens and Wallis issued another edition, with minor editorial work by Preston Nibley.⁶

One or another of the published versions of Lucy's biography has been available over most of the past century. The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints published *Biographical Sketches* in 1880, with another edition in 1908, reprinted four years later. The 1853 volume was issued in a photomechanical edition by Grandin Book of Orem, Utah, in 1995. Bookcraft has kept Preston Nibley's version of the *Improvement Era* edition in print since its publication in 1945.

In the *Revised and Enhanced History*, the Proctors promise a first look for most readers at the information in the copy of the preliminary manuscript preserved in the Church Archives in Salt Lake City. That promise is kept, but not always in a way to satisfy specialists in Latter-day Saint history.

The editors, part-time institute teachers, are known to Latter-day Saint readers for their trilogy—the “light” series on Church history, the lands of the Book of Mormon, and the Holy Land—and their recent pioneer sesquicentennial offering, *The Gathering: Mormon Pioneers on the Trail to Zion*. Their version of Lucy Mack Smith's history is handsomely illustrated. Scot Proctor created most of the nearly one hundred photographs, including many useful images of locations specific to the narrative. The hand-drawn maps imitate familiar sources in recently published atlases. An old-style table of contents summarizes the key points of each chapter and specifies the dates covered. Chapter endnotes add clarifying explanations. The Proctors include the family genealogy from the 1902 edition, improved by their own corrections. A second appendix presents a simplified one-page four-generation chart beginning with the Prophet's grandparents. Appendix 3 consists of a seven-page chronology focused on Joseph Smith's life. For the first time, an index makes searching for names and events possible, and it is a thorough offering.

All of these aids assist the reader. In addition, a twenty-page introduction reviews the process by which Lucy's history was created, edited, and published. The editors introduce and comment on their amalgamated text by drawing upon the analytical work of Howard Searle and Richard Anderson (xxii, xxvi, xxix).⁷ An occasional chapter endnote draws attention to differences between the preliminary manuscript and other editions. More

complete comparisons appear in the introduction as examples. These glimpses may satisfy readers interested only in the digested enhancement, but only by examining the preliminary manuscript itself can a reader learn exactly what the Proctors have done editorially. A convenient place to begin is the first volume of Dan Vogel's *Early Mormon Documents*, where about half of the original 1845 manuscript is presented in parallel columns with the 1853 edition.⁸

A comparison soon reveals that, using the preliminary manuscript as a foundation, the Proctors have deleted selected words, phrases, and sentences and added other words, phrases, sentences, and paragraphs. The additions are often from the 1853 and 1945 editions but also include their own words. This editorial procedure preserves most of the information added by the Corays but eliminates some material not previously published. Many choices seem based on readability. The following example from chapter 8 illustrates the evolution of the manuscript:

Preliminary manuscript (1845):

I remained with my b<r>other 1 <more> year after which I made a visit to my Parents in Gilsom and My Uncles and Aunts ~~at~~ in Marlow then my brother came and upon his urgent request I went again to tunbridge and was with him untill the ensueing January when I was married by Colon[el] Austin esquire—⁹

Biographical Sketches (1853) and History of Joseph Smith (1945):

I continued with my brother one year, then went home. I was at home but a short time, when my brother came after me again, and insisted so hard upon my returning with him, that I concluded to do so. And this time I remained with him until I was married, which took place the next January.¹⁰

Revised and Enhanced History (1996):

I remained with my brother one year, then went home to visit my parents in Gilsom and my uncles and aunts in Marlow. After a short time, my brother came, and upon his urgent request I went again to Tunbridge, and was with him until the ensuing January when I was married. (42)

The product of the Proctors's editorial effort is a readable narrative that preserves much of the flavor of the dictated manuscript, along with the additional information, chapter divisions, and transitions borrowed from the revised manuscript and 1853 edition. The Proctors rightly assert that in their *Revised and Enhanced History of Joseph Smith*, "Lucy's voice is heard more clearly, her sentiments and perceptions explored more openly than ever before" (xxx). Their amalgamation will suffice for many readers, but the scholar who wishes to understand all of the nuances of the preliminary manuscript will turn to Vogel's more exact transcription or to the preliminary manuscript itself. Only in that earliest version does the

History of Joseph Smith by His Mother become “The History of Mother Smith, by Herself.”

1. Joseph Smith Jr., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 2d ed., rev., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1971), 7:470–71.
2. Richard L. Anderson posits that Coray first collected information in a notebook as loose sheets (preserved at Brigham Young University) and then expanded it into the preliminary manuscript. Anderson, “Circumstantial Confirmation of the First Vision through Reminiscences,” *BYU Studies* 9, no. 3 (1969): 388. The Proctors accept Lucy Smith’s statements that Coray served only as an amanuensis and do not attempt an alternative explanation for Coray’s notebook (xx–xxi). Could it have been used for collecting information during the revision process? Dan Vogel follows Anderson’s interpretation. Dan Vogel, ed., *Early Mormon Documents* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996), 1:227. None of the commentators explain how the preliminary manuscript got into the LDS Church Archives. The Proctors only say it was discovered there in the 1960s (xxi).
3. The title page of the book reads: *The History of Lucy Smith Wife of Joseph Smith the First Patriarch of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Who Was the Father of Joseph Smith, Prophet, Seer and Revelator;—containing an Account of the Many Persecutions, Trials and Afflictions Which I and My Family Have Endured in Bringing Forth the Book of Mormon, and Establishing the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints; and Also an Account of Many Remarkable Dreams and Visions Never Before Published; a Genealogy of Our Family for Many Generations and the History of the Murder of My Sons Joseph and Hyrum Smith in Carthage Jail*. Copyright Records, 1821–48, Illinois, vol. 18, July 18, 1845, Library of Congress, Washington D.C., in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 230.
4. Richard Lloyd Anderson, “The Reliability of the Early History of Lucy and Joseph Smith,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 4 (summer 1969): 13–28.
5. Lucy Smith, *History of the Prophet Joseph*, rev. George A. Smith and Elias Smith (Salt Lake City: Improvement Era, 1902).
6. This outline of the book’s history is drawn mostly from the Proctors’s introduction (xvii–xxiv). Additional information comes from somewhat different versions of the story found in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:227–30; and from Joseph F. Smith’s introduction to the 1902 edition, taken from *Improvement Era* 5 (November 1901): 1–2, and reproduced in Lucy Smith, *History of the Prophet Joseph*, rev. Smith and Smith, iii–iv; Nibley, *History of Joseph Smith*, vii–viii; and in later editions reprinted by Bookcraft.
7. See Howard Clair Searle, “Early Mormon Historiography: Writing the History of the Mormons 1830–1858” (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1979); Richard Lloyd Anderson, “His Mother’s Manuscript: An Intimate View of Joseph Smith,” Brigham Young University Forum address, January, 27, 1976; and Anderson, “Reliability of the Early History.”
8. Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:231–450. Vogel does not include chapters 1–7 (the ancestry section), nor anything beyond the New York period.
9. Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:236.
10. Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:236; Nibley, *History of Joseph Smith*, 31.

ELAINE CANNON and SHIRLEY A. TEICHERT. *Minerva! The Story of an Artist with a Mission*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1997. 156 pp. Index. \$19.95.

Reviewed by Robert C. Freeman, Assistant Professor of Church History and Doctrine at Brigham Young University.

Enthusiasts of the art of Minerva Teichert will welcome the book *Minerva!* Elaine Cannon's collaboration with Minerva's daughter-in-law Shirley Teichert brings an abundance of personal detail to the story of one of Mormonism's truly gifted artists.

Cannon's narrative, written as if Minerva herself were telling the story, paints Minerva's life in vivid detail and takes us beyond the art and into the heart and mind of the woman and the artist. As readers we come to see that everything about Minerva is unusual—her tastes, her passions, and her vision. We see her spirited youth and her early fascination with art. While we are not surprised by her preoccupation with the color red, we are nevertheless enamored by it. We observe her talent developing as she matures into adulthood and watch as others begin to realize what she has known all along—that God has endowed her with an unusual gift of vision and expression.

Cannon and Teichert portray a woman who seems misplaced in time and tradition. Although raised in humble circumstances, Minerva eventually finds her way to distant centers of art such as San Francisco, Chicago, and New York City. In these places and under the tutelage of renowned artists, Minerva's skills are trained and honed. The most notable of these mentors is Robert Henri, who takes an unusual interest in the young artist's work and who challenges Minerva to fulfill her "birthright" to tell the "Mormon story" in art (67).

Minerva! takes the reader on a journey to remote and hidden places on the western frontier and confronts the reality of Teichert's obstacle-filled life. Minerva's path towards fame as an artist is not an easy one. Her life is spent in the world of cattle and cowhands, and in some ways her mission seems to be at odds with the reality of her life as a rural Mormon woman.

We admire Minerva's patience in waiting for the harvest of her superb training and her conviction that her talent was to be used in God's own due time. Realizing her challenges and poor health, we are especially inspired by Minerva's capacity to bless countless family and friends through her art. At times, we sense the tension between her call as a wife and mother and her contribution as an artist. We admire her determination that family would always come first, even when she is enticed by a unique opportunity to advance her training (87).

We experience with Minerva her disappointment as her goal to convey the story of the Book of Mormon in art is dealt a setback as another's

paintings are published first (112). We rejoice at the eventual harvest of Minerva's creative genius as she is invited to paint murals for the Manti Temple at an age when most would be preparing for retirement.

As any work about the life of an artist should, this story of Minerva gives context and meaning to her art. It enriches our appreciation for the master painter that she was. We gain insights into her use of color, symbols, and patterns. We come to understand why particular themes in art attracted her attention, and we feel her affinity for the Book of Mormon. Finally, we understand her focus on faithful women as key figures in her art. Cannon's effort is a tribute to a woman who dedicated her full faith and energy, even at the expense of her own health (109), to fulfill her mission as an artist and as a daughter of God.

Although Elaine Cannon met Minerva Teichert only once, her collaboration with Shirley Teichert brings an intimacy to this volume that allows the reader to accept Cannon's creative use of first-person narrative. There are attendant risks with writing a story such as this in semi-autobiographical style. One such risk is certainly the constant tension between reality and creation. Nevertheless, telling Minerva's story in the first person may well be the most palatable and direct way of introducing the reader to this remarkable woman. Another approach simply might not have captured Minerva.

Any who may be hesitant about Cannon's choice to write in the first person may benefit by starting at the back of the book. The addenda, chronology, acknowledgments, and sources are quite helpful and reassuring. Parenthetically, the index for this text could have been strengthened. Some index pagination is incomplete (Manti Temple), some topical listings are vague, and some interesting topics are omitted (Arnold Friberg, BYU). On the whole, however, the resources found in the back will likely assist the reader in gaining confidence that the story line is rooted in fact and that even creative expressions are at least close to the real thing. A comment made by one of Minerva's sons after reading a draft of the book speaks to the integrity of this work as he said, "It is as if Mother were speaking to me again!" (xiv).

Like the woman Minerva, this book is a special kind of success. It incorporates the human element with an appropriate and proportionate amount of attention being given to the raw accomplishments of this colorfully brilliant artist. A great sense of appreciation must accompany a work such as this, for without the participation of the Teichert family and the literary talent of Elaine Cannon we may well have missed the celebration of a unique and gifted life that is *Minerva!*

Brief Notices

Alexander William Doniphan: Portrait of a Missouri Moderate, by Roger D. Launius (University of Missouri Press, 1997)

“It is cold-blooded murder. I will not obey your order. . . . [I]f you execute these men, I will hold you responsible before an earthly tribunal, so help me God” (64). So runs one of the most spine-chilling lines in LDS history, spoken by a non-Mormon, Missouri State Militia Brigadier General Alexander Doniphan, whose refusal to obey the order of his superior, General Samuel Lucas, during the Mormon War of 1838 preserved the life of Joseph Smith and six of his associates.

In this fascinating volume, RLDS historian Roger D. Launius fills in the picture of Doniphan’s life as lawyer, politician, and military tactician. A portrait emerges of a man who tenaciously held to principles of honesty and decency throughout his life, yet who also “symbolized reason, understanding, and moderation” (280) in an era deeply divided by sectional conflict. This elegantly written biography argues that Doniphan’s moderation “speaks to the present crisis in American politics” where extremism crowds out “room in the middle for interchange and compromise” (xiii).

The bulk of this work chronicles major themes in Missouri political history before Doniphan retired from public life in the 1870s. Only one entire chapter in thirteen and parts of two others—or about 15 percent of the book—have anything to do with Mormons. Still, the seven years (1833–39) covered in these chapters were momentous in the movement of the Church and even today continue to swirl in misinformation and minor historical controversy. Some readers will observe that this work, building on the work of Stephen LeSueur (*The 1838 Mormon War in Missouri* [Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1987]), corrects

some inaccuracies about this period; others may feel that it creates a few of its own, in part because of its overreliance upon LeSueur and its persistent attempt to show bias on the part of the early Mormon leaders. Overall, Launius’s narration of the Mormon War is moderate, becoming of the evenhanded spirit of Doniphan himself.

—Jed L. Woodworth

The American Inns of Court: Reclaiming a Noble Profession, compiled and edited by Paul E. Pixton (Matthew Bender, 1997)

In August 1979, Chief Justice Warren E. Burger met with his administrative assistant Mark Cannon at a Utah summer cabin for a rest stop to visit with Dallin H. Oaks, then president of Brigham Young University, and Rex E. Lee, dean of the BYU law school. Out of that auspicious encounter emerged a nationwide program called the American Inns of Court. The Chief Justice had long campaigned to improve the professionalism and civility of lawyers practicing in the courts of the United States. Today, less than twenty years later, over three hundred law schools in the United States sponsor a chapter of the American Inns of Court to inculcate in future litigators high qualities of ethical skills in legal advocacy.

BYU law school was the first school to embrace the concept. Thanks to Judge Sherman Christensen, Clifford Wallace, and many others, the charter unit of the program was inaugurated in Provo in 1980. Pixton’s book tells the story of that founding of the American Inns of Court, which prepared the way for the program’s proliferation throughout the nation. Thoroughly documented with numerous memos, letters, and recollections, this interesting institutional history, produced

at BYU, shows how this national organization received its constitutional underpinnings from the work of its charter unit.

—John W. Welch

Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History: California, edited by David F. Boone, Robert C. Freeman, Andrew H. Hedges, and Richard Neitzel Holzapfel (Department of Church History and Doctrine, Brigham Young University, 1998)

Inspired by the 1996 sesquicentennial of the arrival of the *Brooklyn*, the ship that brought almost two hundred Latter-day Saints to the shores of the Golden State, *California* is an impressive addition to the Regional Studies series and has many interesting stories to tell. Since the arrival of those first Saints, California has witnessed important events in both national and Church history. The book's fifteen articles treat subjects as diverse as the march of the Mormon Battalion, the 1906 San Francisco earthquake, and the riots that erupted in Los Angeles following the Rodney King trial. Organized chronologically, the essays present a myriad of images, each one adding a distinctive flavor. Eliminating any single essay would leave the work incomplete.

The contributors bring to the volume numerous approaches and perspectives, giving the reader a taste of the richness and variety that has characterized the Saints' experiences in California. With some articles focusing on individuals, others on groups or events, and all demonstrating the Golden State's significant role in the past, present, and future of the Church, *California* is never boring. However, with the exception of the article by Richard Holzapfel, the volume might have benefited from illustrations that would give life to lengthy descriptions of people and places.

California makes a valuable addition to the growing body of works on Church

history, reminding the reader that the Church is not confined to the Wasatch Front. The volume offers satisfying and enlightening reading for anyone interested in learning more about the complex and compelling story of the Latter-day Saints.

—Amber Esplin

My Servant Brigham: Portrait of a Prophet, by Richard Neitzel Holzapfel and R. Q. Shupe (Bookcraft, 1997)

"The heart of this book is the images" (3), assert the authors of this brief but attractive volume. Providing "some lesser-known word pictures and visual images, photographs and artifacts" (3) from the life and world of Brigham Young, this work skillfully weaves together a well-documented running text with visual images, often ingeniously utilizing images as text.

Many images are seen here in print for the first time, such as the handsome portrait of Brigham Young featured on the cover (also 107). Rare views were dug out of nineteenth-century national copy, the Library of Congress, or private hands. There are no earth-shattering discoveries—no long-hoped-for photograph of Brother Brigham out among his people—but even the expert will learn something new from this collection. In particular, images of Brigham Young's carriage, his death mask, and a document listing the measurement of his physical lineaments (120, 141, 142) will interest both scholar and layman alike. Scholars will benefit from corrections and clarifications on the dating of portraits and will puzzle over an image purported to be a fragment of Brigham Young's original membership certificate (59), dating his baptism to April 9, 1832, five days earlier than his own recollected date of April 14.

Telling a story through images, as this book attempts to do, inevitably leaves out elements of the story where images are lacking or do not get the point across.

Toward the end of his life, Brigham Young formally introduced the United Order of Enoch, which he considered to be the culmination of his prophetic leadership. No information on that order is included, nor is his endowment for three schools broached. A delightful, familiar image of Brigham Young's daughter in a "retrenchment" dress accompanies a discussion of the young women's society (111), but no image of the young men's movement Brigham Young initiated in 1875 apparently exists.

Over one hundred images are interspersed throughout the book. Its standard-size format allows this significant work to give only a snapshot of Brigham Young's world, but it will rightly bring that world into the hands of a larger audience.

—Jed L. Woodworth

Nephite Culture and Society: Collected Papers, by John L. Sorenson (New Sage Books, 1997)

The Book of Mormon is a record left by real people, who lived in real families, who sailed across real oceans, and who behaved in anthropologically reasonable ways. John Sorenson, known to many for his insights into Book of Mormon geography, culture, and society, collects in this volume eight of his miscellaneous papers, two of which are previously unpublished.

Sorenson is at his best when he describes such things as the individuals in Lehi's party and what can be known about the elusive substratum of Mulekite culture in Zarahemla. Perhaps most memorable in this book are his arguments that when Lehi and Mulek arrived in the Western Hemisphere, they found other people already there. Sorenson's hallmark is finding patterns of civilization, and this book offers insightful generalizations about Book of Mormon settlements, conflicts, and political economics.

Learning to read the Book of Mormon with utmost attention to detail is an art.

When it comes to culture and society, no one has mastered that art of cultural realism or applied it more sensitively than Sorenson.

—John W. Welch

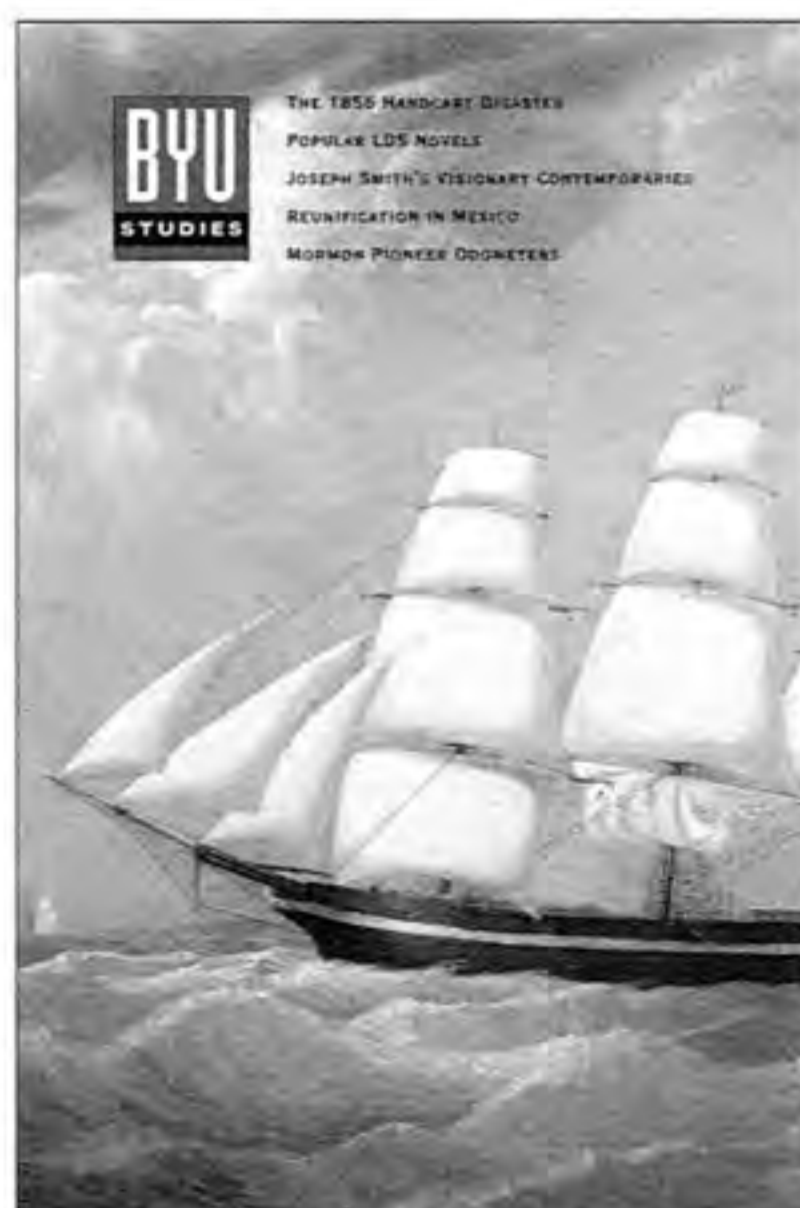
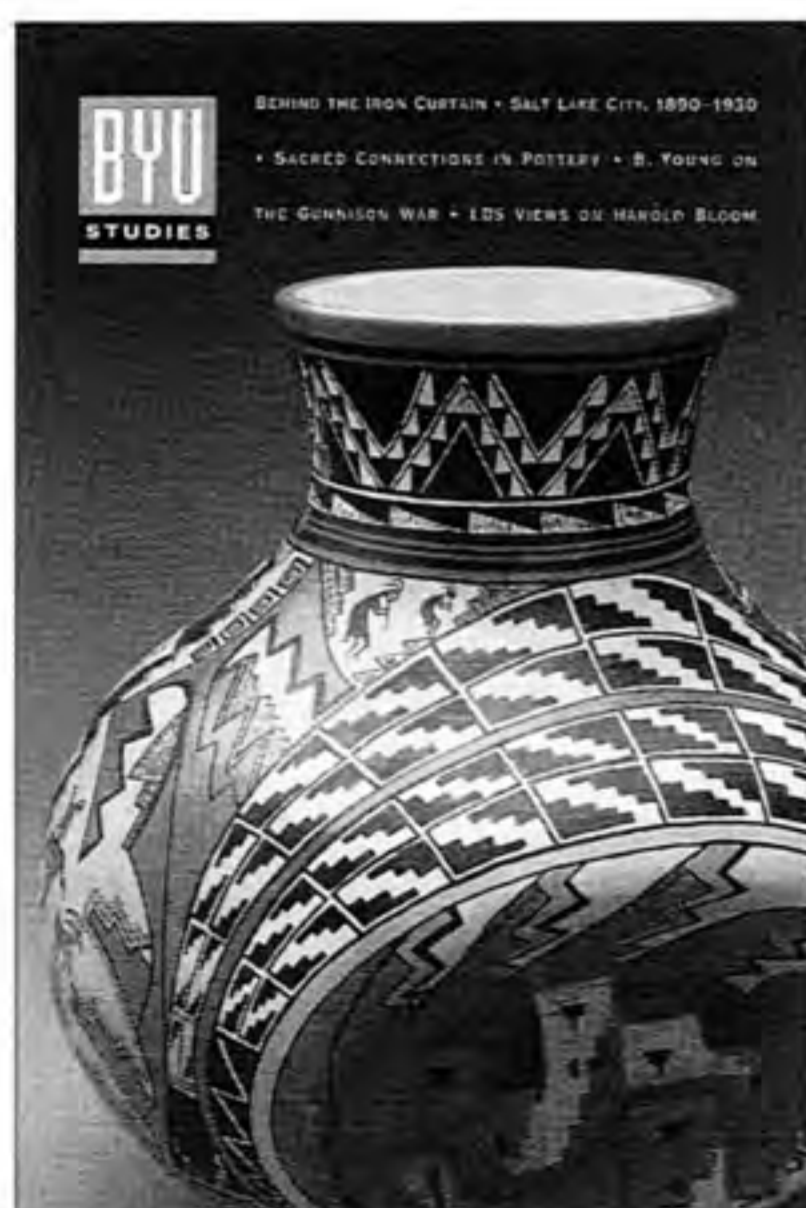
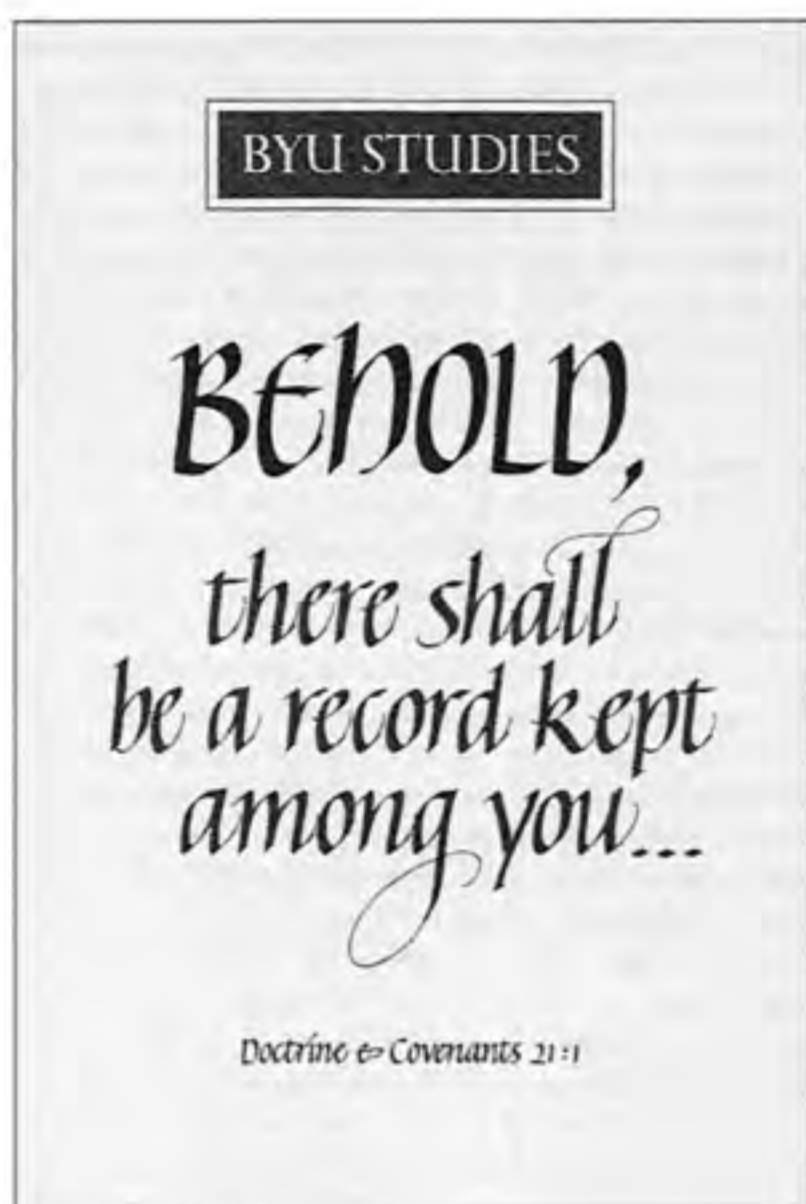
All Things Testify of Him: Inspirational Paintings by Latter-day Saint Artists (Bookcraft, 1998)

Landscapes, the heavens, objects, portraits, and events—all testify of Christ in this handsome, large-format volume. Featuring the works of twenty-eight contemporary LDS artists and illustrators, the book is both a visual and a spiritual feast. By having the artists introduce themselves and write their own commentary, the unnamed compilers have carefully refrained from imposing their own judgments or interpretation. Even the arrangement speaks of a hands-off approach—rather than being ordered by subject matter or style, the works are organized alphabetically by the artists' names, going from Robert Barrett to Christopher W. Young and touching upon such people as Wulf Barsch, James C. Christensen, Greg Olsen, and Gary Smith in between. The sometimes jarring shift from style to style is offset by the opportunity to become acquainted with the artist through their own words. With three exceptions, all the artists live in Utah. Many have regional or national reputations. Several have had their works featured in the *Ensign*; others will be familiar to folks who have visited either the Museum of Church History and Art or BYU's Museum of Art or have read *BYU Studies*. Although people are certain to disagree on who should or should not have been included in *All Things Testify of Him*, this volume provides a valuable opportunity to view paintings already treasured and to be introduced to other uplifting works.

—Doris R. Dant

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MOVING ON



Moving On

John W. Welch

For forty years, *BYU Studies* has published scholarly materials by and for the LDS community. As it moves to the twenty-first century, this journal plans to continue to expand the variety of its articles and the size of its reading audience. As *BYU Studies*, together with its sponsoring institution, grows and matures, I hope this channel can provide readers around the world with more information and more well-articulated conclusions and insights, while addressing significant subjects and pressing issues relevant to the work of God on this earth. *BYU Studies* can and should offer the world the best scholarly perspectives on topics of academic interest to Latter-day Saints.

The purpose of *BYU Studies* has been consistently stated on its masthead:

BYU Studies is dedicated to the correlation of revealed and discovered truth and to the conviction that the spiritual and the intellectual can be complementary and fundamentally harmonious avenues of knowledge. This periodical strives to explore scholarly perspectives on LDS topics. It is committed to seeking truth “by study and also by faith” (D&C 88:118) and recognizes that all knowledge without charity is nothing (1 Cor. 13:2). It proceeds on the premise that faith and reason, revelation and scholarly learning, obedience and creativity are compatible; they are “many members, yet but one body” (1 Cor. 12:20).

These principles have served well in the past and will continue to give guidance about what is said, how it is said, and why it is said.

Contributions from all fields of learning are invited. This journal operates under a multidisciplinary mandate. While activities at many universities are becoming increasingly professionalized, specialized, politicized, and jargonized, *BYU Studies* strives to foster interdisciplinary efforts across departmental lines and to make the results accessible to a wide reading audience. Knowledge from all fields of scholarship improves our understanding and articulation of the gospel of Jesus Christ, and, conversely, the gospel sheds light on and gives meaning to every academic pursuit. This multidisciplinary LDS journal seeks to explore “all things . . . that are expedient for you to understand” (D&C 88:78).

BYU Studies strives to publish articles that openly reflect a Latter-day Saint point of view and are obviously relevant to subjects of general interest to Latter-day Saints, while conforming to high scholarly standards. *BYU Studies* invites poetry and personal essays dealing with the life of the mind,

reflections on personal and spiritual responses to academic experiences, intellectual choices, values, responsibilities, and methods. Short studies and notes are also welcomed. To assist and encourage those who will want to publish in *BYU Studies*, our standard author guidelines and editorial aims are provided after this article.

Although thousands of books and articles have been published on LDS topics, a multitude of subjects of great interest to Latter-day Saints still wait to be approached rigorously, thoroughly, and explicitly in a scholarly publication. Compared with many other religions, Mormonism is young. *BYU Studies* is a place where scholarly perspectives can contribute to the process of giving those subjects further attention.

Equally important to content is tone and purpose. Scholarship is like any other tool; it can be used either for good or for evil. A hammer can be used to build up or tear down, to help or hinder. A tool can even injure the person using it, if the person does not know how to use it correctly and carefully. Knowledge confers a type of power that inevitably will be exercised either righteously or unrighteously, and indeed the natural tendency is to misuse any power that is given (D&C 121:39).

We could also pay more attention to how we as Latter-day Saints think and how we use language. We, too, are vulnerable to trends, comparable to the recent “politically correct” movement, that tend to advance within Latter-day Saint speech certain language that is “religiously correct.” Many such linguistic pressures are beneficial and promote the progress of civilization and culture, but not all of them are salutary.

Thus I would think that all who venture to speak and write in Church circles must morally confront certain responsibilities that may be said to comprise a sort of academic code of professional conduct. Some important components of such a code would embrace at least the following precepts.

1. Unity. The Lord has clearly stated: “If ye are not one ye are not mine” (D&C 38:27). This principle stands as a beacon for all who strive “for the perfecting of the saints . . . till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God” (Eph. 4:12–13). In a shifting world that necessarily and fortunately features diversity, individuality, heterodoxy, and change, the goal of unity with God and our fellow beings must be continually cultivated and nourished.¹ The goal of unity does not imply that all scholarly methods or personal views must be the same. As Paul explained, we are “many members, yet but one body” (1 Cor. 12:20). Indeed, even those members “which seem to be more feeble” turn out to be among the “necessary” (1 Cor. 12:22).

2. Harmony. One of the great strengths of Mormonism, in my opinion, is its ability to harmonize and transcend in a spiritual, intellectual, and practical unity elements of this mortal existence that appear to most people

to be incompatible contradictions. Traditional dichotomies such as mind and body, God and man, study and faith, spirit and matter, time and eternity are not viewed in the gospel of Jesus Christ as competing opposites but as companions on a spectrum of degrees of refinement or as opposites whose existence is unified in higher intents and purposes.² The objective is to embrace both: ancient and modern, word and deed, intellectual and spiritual, research and teaching, reason and revelation, the “ought” and the “is,” community and individuality, male and female, nature and custom, induction and deduction, analysis and synthesis, rights and duties, subjectivity and objectivity, theory and practice, even mortality and godhood. We can grow beyond issues some have raised over which is greater, the spirit or the intellect, the *liahona* or the iron rod. For Lehi, both symbols were concurrent. For purposes of the spirit, the spirit is greater; and for purposes of the mind, the mind is greater. For Latter-day Saint study and faith, the one is not without the other. As Elder Boyd K. Packer has stated, “Each of us must accommodate the mixture of reason and revelation in our lives. The gospel not only permits but *requires* it.”³ Kierkegaard offered the world an Either/Or; Joseph Smith, a Both/And.

3. Honesty. As a primary trait of character, “we believe in being honest” (A of F 13). Accuracy and reliability are of the essence of scholarship. All scholars worth their salt have wrestled long with the questions of what can and cannot, what should and should not, what must or must not be said. They acknowledge and evaluate data both for and against their ideas and theories. They eschew all forms of plagiarism and generously recognize their indebtedness to other scholars. They guard on all sides against the covert influences of unstated assumptions, bias, and esoteric terminology. They describe shades of grey where they exist. They clearly identify their personal opinions as such. They avoid material omissions, for often what is not said can be as misleading as what is said.

4. Thoroughness. “If there is anything virtuous, lovely, or of good report or praiseworthy, we seek after these things” (A of F 13). BYU Studies welcomes contributions from all disciplines, addressing

all things that pertain unto the kingdom of God, that are expedient for you to understand; of things both in heaven and in the earth, and under the earth; things which have been, things which are, things which must shortly come to pass; things which are at home, things which are abroad, . . . that ye may be prepared in all things when I shall send you again to magnify the calling whereunto I have called you. (D&C 88:78–80)

This is a fulfilling but sobering mandate.

5. Humility. Pride has been identified as the pervading sin of our day.⁴ As scholars, we have more than our share of exposure to this problem. Arrogance, disdain, overconfidence, dogmatism, and many other manifestations

of intellectual and spiritual pride may well be the main occupational hazards of academia. But the perspectives of scholarship and the gospel can also provide the antidote. First is the acknowledgment that all people are at different stages in the eternal journey toward the glory of God, which is intelligence. No person says or understands everything perfectly, and a variety of opinions on a shared scale of progression are expected. Hence, a person's direction is more important than his or her present stance. Second is the humble awareness that scholarship is not an end in itself. Research cannot create faith; it can only set the stage for greater light and knowledge. As B. H. Roberts once wrote, "The clearer and more complete the statement is, the better opportunity will the Holy Spirit have for testifying to the souls of men that the work is true."⁵

6. Charity. In order for communication to occur, there must be charity, for no statement exists (including this one) that cannot be misconstrued. If fellowship and goodwill does not exist, especially in an academic setting, we will not communicate with one another. Paul's confession comes to mind: "Though I have the gift of *prophecy*, and understand all mysteries, *and all knowledge* . . . and have not charity, I am nothing" (1 Cor. 13:2, emphasis added). Charity is essential to avoid disputation. Left untempered by love, scholarly debate and critical inquiry will be divisive and unhealthy.⁶ Charity is also necessary to avoid offending even the weakest of the Saints. Jesus said: "It is impossible but that offences will come: but woe unto him, through whom they come! It were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he cast into the sea, than that he should offend one of these little ones" (Luke 17:1–2).⁷ Perhaps this is part of what Jesus meant when he told his disciples: "Be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves" (Matt. 10:16).

Over the years, I have followed *BYU Studies* closely as a reader and writer. As a student at BYU in the 1960s, I enthusiastically supported this publication, to the point of selling subscriptions to students as they finished registering in the old Smith Fieldhouse. I remember wondering if its name wasn't really a sentence, affirmatively asserting that "BYU studies!" As I look back on those years, still today I consider myself very fortunate to have studied at BYU under extraordinary teachers and to have worked with versatile colleagues. Because of this experience, I wonder why, at this time in history, we as a people have learned certain things, have made certain discoveries, have established contacts with engaging people, and have had interesting academic experiences. I do not know the answer, but I suspect that such experience was not intended simply for our amusement.

As much as ever before, especially as *BYU Studies* goes into the next century, I believe that Brigham Young University has a vital mission to fulfill and that *BYU Studies* is an important vehicle to disseminate studious

works that can help accomplish that mission. The gospel gives needed orientation as the world faces a steady stream of new challenges. Brigham Young University is uniquely poised to be an active contributor in these developments, offering insights that emerge from the interaction of faith and scholarship. Joseph Smith fully expected the gospel of Jesus Christ “to revolutionize and civilize the world, and cause wars and contentions to cease” and to cause all people “to become friends.”⁸ *BYU Studies* hopes to fill a helpful supporting role in these eternal purposes.

Since its inception, *BYU Studies* has been in good hands. Section 89 of the Doctrine and Covenants, the Word of Wisdom, is usually thought of as a physical health code, but in the end it offers not only health but “wisdom and great treasures of knowledge” (Doctrine and Covenants 89:19). Clinton Larson, with a creative genius for sensing meaning, contributed the passion for finding hidden treasures; Charles Tate, for sixteen years, ran and was not weary; and Ed Geary, when faced with hard choices, did not faint. I only hope that *BYU Studies* can continue to walk in wisdom’s paths.

John W. Welch is the Robert K. Thomas Professor of Law at the J. Reuben Clark Law School at Brigham Young University. He was appointed editor of *BYU Studies* in December 1991. An earlier version of these guidelines and aims was published in the index volume, *BYU Studies* 31, no.4 (1991): 21–28.

1. For interesting discussions on these topics, see Howard M. Bahr, “Individuality,” 2:680–82; M. Gerald Bradford, “Orthodoxy, Heterodoxy and Heresy,” 3:1054–55; and F. Neil Brady, “Unity,” 4:1497–98, all in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992).

2. David L. Paulsen, “Doctrine: Harmonization of Paradox,” in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 1:402–3.

3. Boyd K. Packer, “‘I Say unto You, Be One’ (D&C 38:27),” *BYU Devotional Address*, February 12, 1991; italics in original.

4. Ezra Taft Benson, “Cleansing the Inner Vessel,” *Ensign* 16 (May 1986), 6–7.

5. B. H. Roberts, *New Witnesses for God*, 3 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1909), 2:vii.

6. Dallin H. Oaks, *The Lord’s Way* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1991), 138–52.

7. Jesus gave this saying on several occasions. Matthew places it in the context of offending a little child (Matt. 18:6); Mark uses it to caution disciples against restraining anyone who does any good deed in the name of Christ (Mark 9:42); and Luke makes it a general instruction.

8. Joseph Fielding Smith, comp., *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1979), 316.

Instructions to Authors

In addition to the guidelines given in the foregoing essay, specific instructions for submitting articles follow:

Submissions must be typed, double-spaced, and should conform to *The Chicago Manual of Style*. Contributions should not exceed 5,000 words in length (about twenty pages, including footnotes). They should be submitted in duplicate along with a cover letter that provides the author's full name, address, phone number, and, if available, e-mail address and FAX number. If the article is accepted for publication, the author will be asked to provide a computer disk version of the article. The disk will be returned if requested.

Articles should be written for the thoughtful nonspecialist. Because *BYU Studies* aims to avoid dogmatism, ideology, and the covert influence of unstated assumptions, articles should be well reasoned and significantly documented. They should evaluate the data and authorities both for and against the author's thesis, and personal opinions should be clearly identified as such. Authors should manifest an awareness of all important literature pertinent to the topic. Footnoting should be sufficient, but not excessive. Authors should be prepared to assist in verifying the accuracy of all citations.

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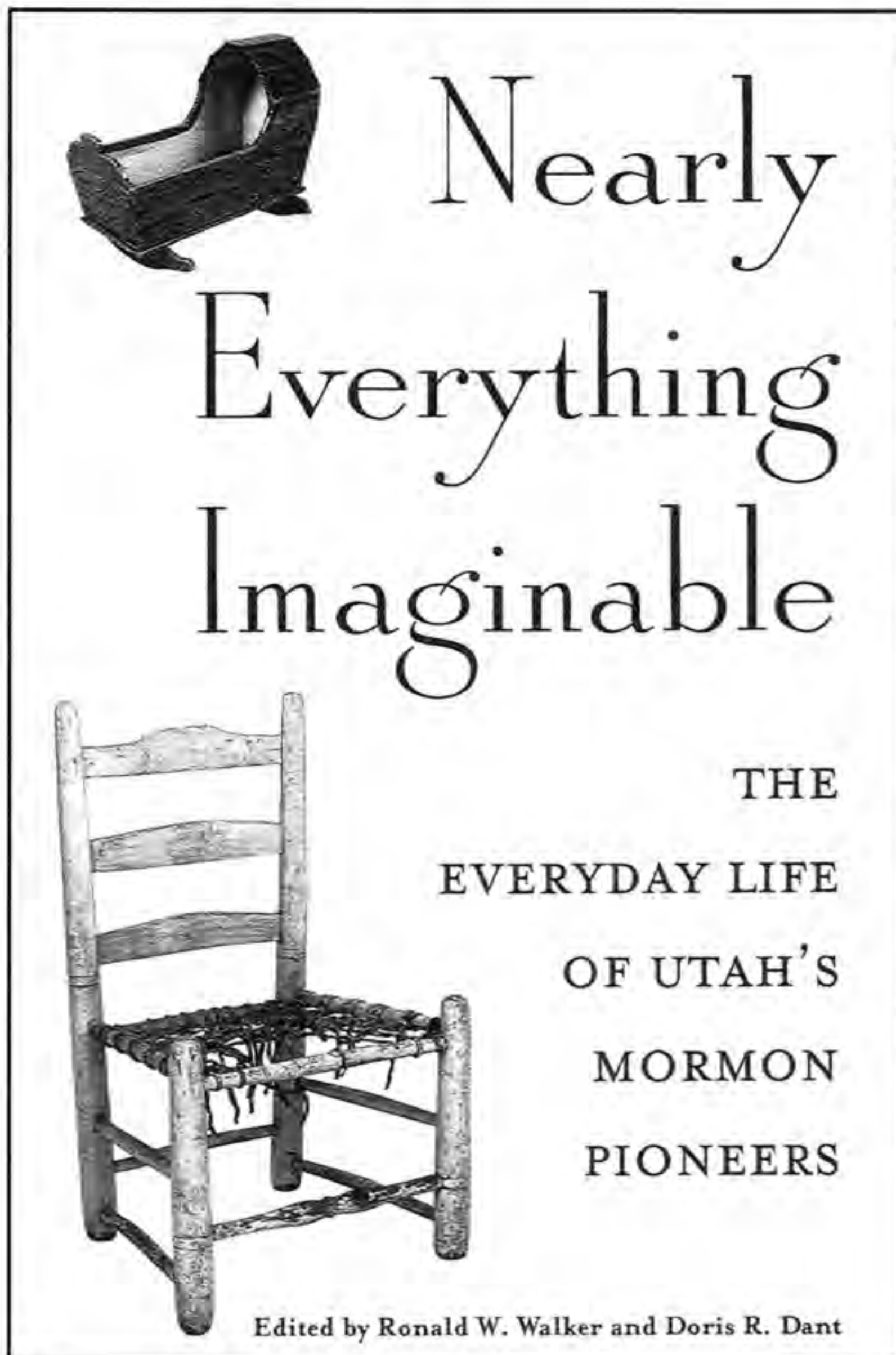
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