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- OLIVER COWDERY'S VERMONT YEARS
- RUSSIAN WEEK AT THE STOCKHOLM TEMPLE
- JOSEPH SMITH RESOLVES THE PROBLEM OF EVIL
- 1864 PIONEER OUTFITTING AND JOSEPH YOUNG
- INFLUENCE OF ZION'S CAMP ON ELDER WOODRUFF
- MORMON IMMIGRATION DURING THE CIVIL WAR
- WOMEN AND CHILDREN OF ZION'S CAMP

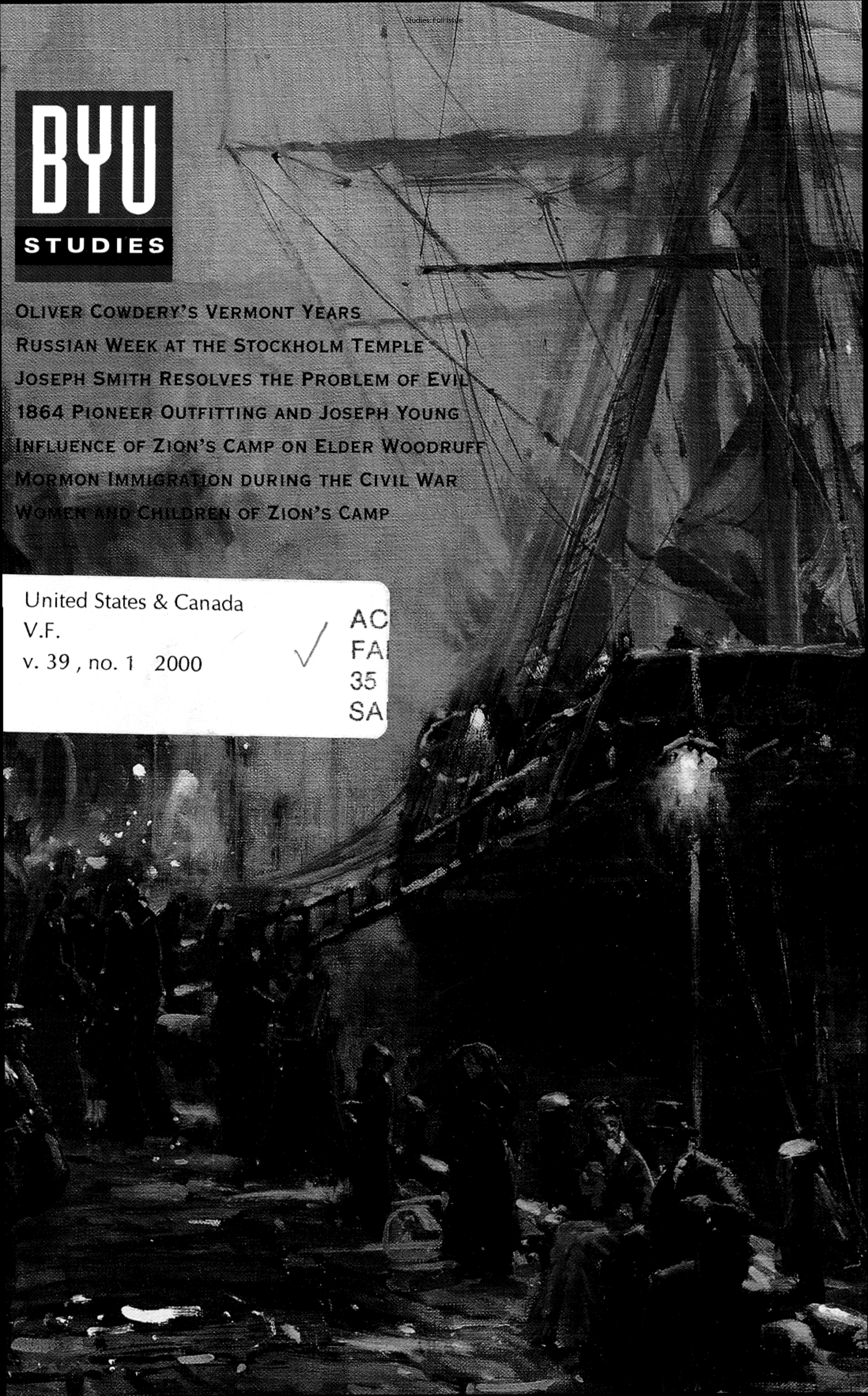
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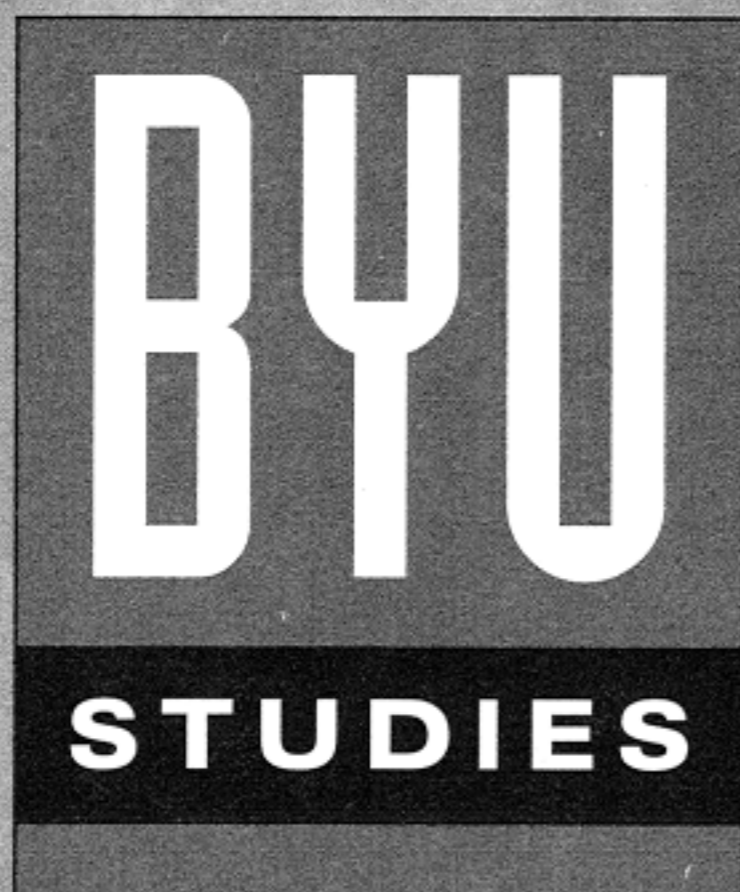
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Contributions from all fields of learning are invited. *BYU Studies* strives to publish articles that openly reflect a Latter-day Saint point of view and are obviously relevant to subjects of general interest to Latter-day Saints, while conforming 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. All personal essays received will be entered in our annual personal essay contest. Short studies and notes are also welcomed.

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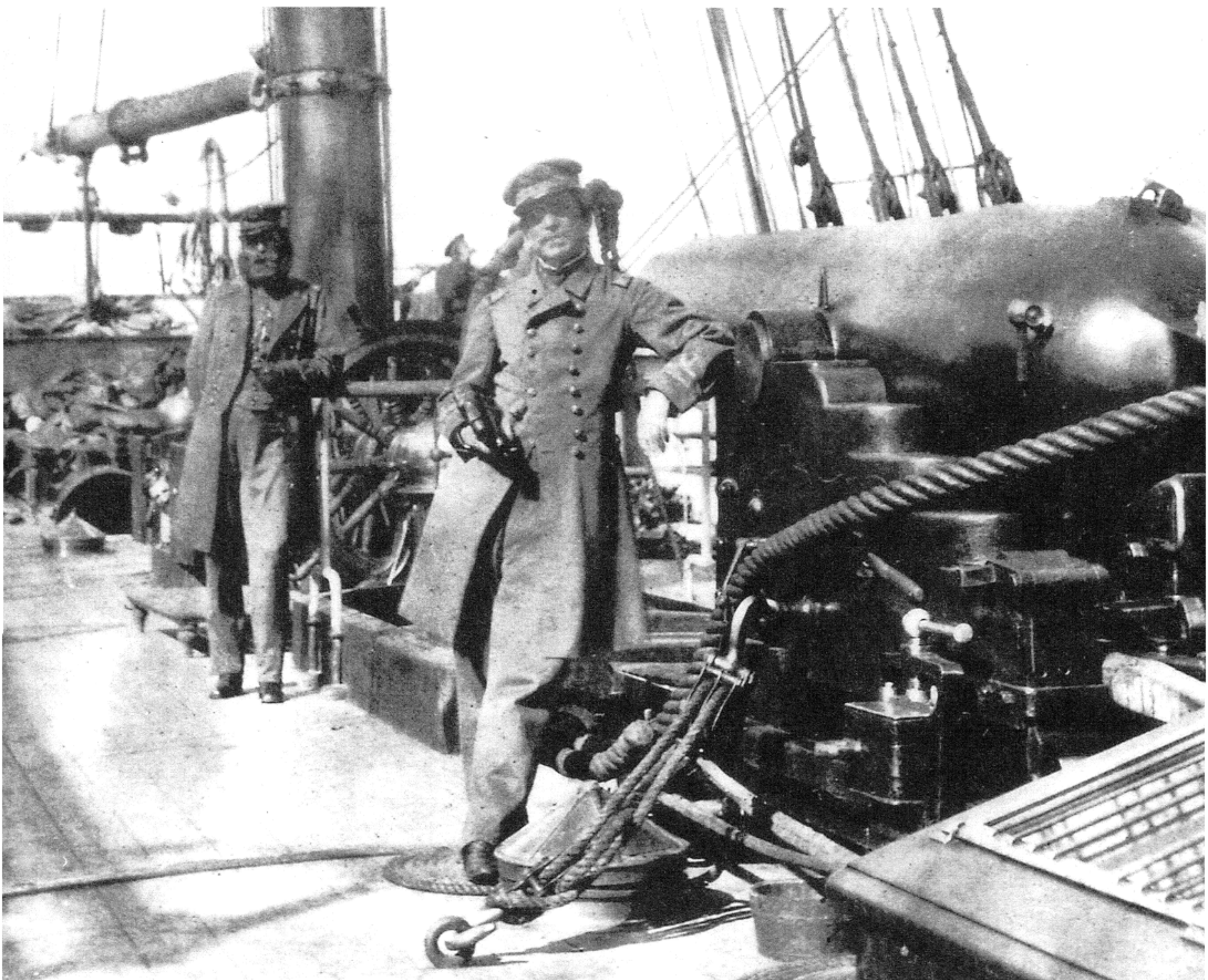
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Raphael Semmes, captain of the Confederate warship the *CSS Alabama*, August 1863. During the Civil War, Confederate warships were a threat to ships carrying immigrating Saints across the Atlantic. The *Alabama* was responsible for sinking a total of sixty-five Yankee ships, one of which had just landed several hundred Saints safely in New York. Captain Semmes is pictured standing by his ship's formidable 110-pounder rifled gun. Courtesy Naval Historical Center, Washington Naval Yard. (NH 57256)

East to West through North and South: Mormon Immigration during the Civil War

Fred E. Woods

When LDS immigrants¹ on their way to Utah crossed the Atlantic Ocean or the Eastern United States between 1861 and 1864, they encountered the difficulties of traveling in a nation at war. Their first-person accounts paint a vivid picture of the obstacles faced by these Saints as they journeyed to Utah during the U.S. Civil War.² The narratives also depict an effective immigration system directed by Brigham Young and operated by dedicated immigration agents and other faithful Mormons who assisted immigrants along their journey.

U.S. Government and the Beginning of Mormon Immigration

Some background history of the Latter-day Saints and their dealings with the U.S. government is vital to understanding the tide of Mormon immigration during the early 1860s. The Saints' appeals to Congress for redress after their expulsion from Missouri had gone unheeded.³ For years following their exodus from Illinois, the Saints had been generally condemned by the government and general populace of the United States. The 1856 Republican platform denounced "the twin relics of barbarism," slavery and polygamy—a direct attack on the Mormon practice of polygamy. The following year, after receiving negative reports concerning the situation in the Utah Territory, President James Buchanan sent twenty-five hundred soldiers to install a new governor in Utah.⁴ These unwelcome soldiers remained in Utah until the outbreak of the Civil War, and during their stay, more tension developed between the U.S. military and the Saints.⁵

Foreign converts learned of political conditions in Utah from Mormon periodicals prior to their departure for the States. For example, an extract from a letter to George Q. Cannon from Utah congressional delegate William Hooper appeared in the *Millennial Star* published in Liverpool on January 12, 1861. Hooper reviewed his efforts in the House of Representatives to rally support for the admittance of Utah as a state in the Union, arguing pointedly that "we show our loyalty by trying to get in [to the Union] while others are trying to get out, notwithstanding our grievances."⁶ Because Utah had come under United States control as a territory, the Saints were willing to set their grievances aside in order to gain statehood, which would free them from the strict federal government control imposed on territories,

grant them more independence and power, and allow them to wield more influence in Washington.

However, reminders of those hard-to-forget grievances surfaced a few months later—less than a week before the Civil War broke out—in sermons by members of the First Presidency delivered in the Salt Lake Tabernacle on April 6, 1861. For example, Second Counselor Daniel H. Wells castigated American political leaders, “I do not think there is a more corrupt government upon the face of the earth. . . . They paved the way for their own destruction.”⁷ A week later, Brigham Young voiced his gratitude that the Saints were in the mountains rather than in the East where the war was taking place.⁸

Such statements were rooted in the Saints’ belief that the Civil War was a direct result of the nation’s rejection of the gospel.⁹ These statements also seem to reflect the Saints’ disgruntlement concerning their earlier petitions for redress. Nearly fifteen years earlier at Winter Quarters (January 1847), Brigham Young had received a revelation:

Thy brethren have rejected you and your testimony, even the nation [the United States] that has driven you out; And now cometh the day of their calamity, even the days of sorrow, like a woman that is taken in travail; and their sorrow shall be great unless they speedily repent, yea very speedily. For they killed the prophets, and them that were sent unto them and they have shed innocent blood which crieth from the ground against them. (D&C 136:34–36)

Many Mormons believed that the Civil War was a fulfillment of this prophecy.

This conviction seems to have influenced foreign converts abroad. A *Millennial Star* headline published just one month after the war commenced read, “CIVIL WAR IN AMERICA—ITS IMPORTANCE AS A WARNING TO THE SAINTS.” After recounting the war’s commencement in South Carolina, the article pointed to the event as the fulfillment of Joseph Smith’s prophecy given nearly three decades earlier, which declared that a war beginning in South Carolina would be “poured out upon all nations.”¹⁰ The article then stressed that those gathered out West in Zion “shall be the only people that shall not be at war,” and those who journeyed Zionward would be nestled “in the bosom of a vast continent, far removed from the scene of strife, and encompassed by lofty mountains and interminable deserts and plains, the country they inhabit will be but little affected by the battles and dissensions of the outer world.”¹¹

Perhaps this account had an impact on the Saints abroad, for, in the following year (1862), more LDS converts immigrated to America than in any previous year.¹² The increase in immigration during this period may have been also influenced by the immigration system itself, which had become more effective. In 1863, Mormon immigration reached its highwater mark for the Civil War years.¹³

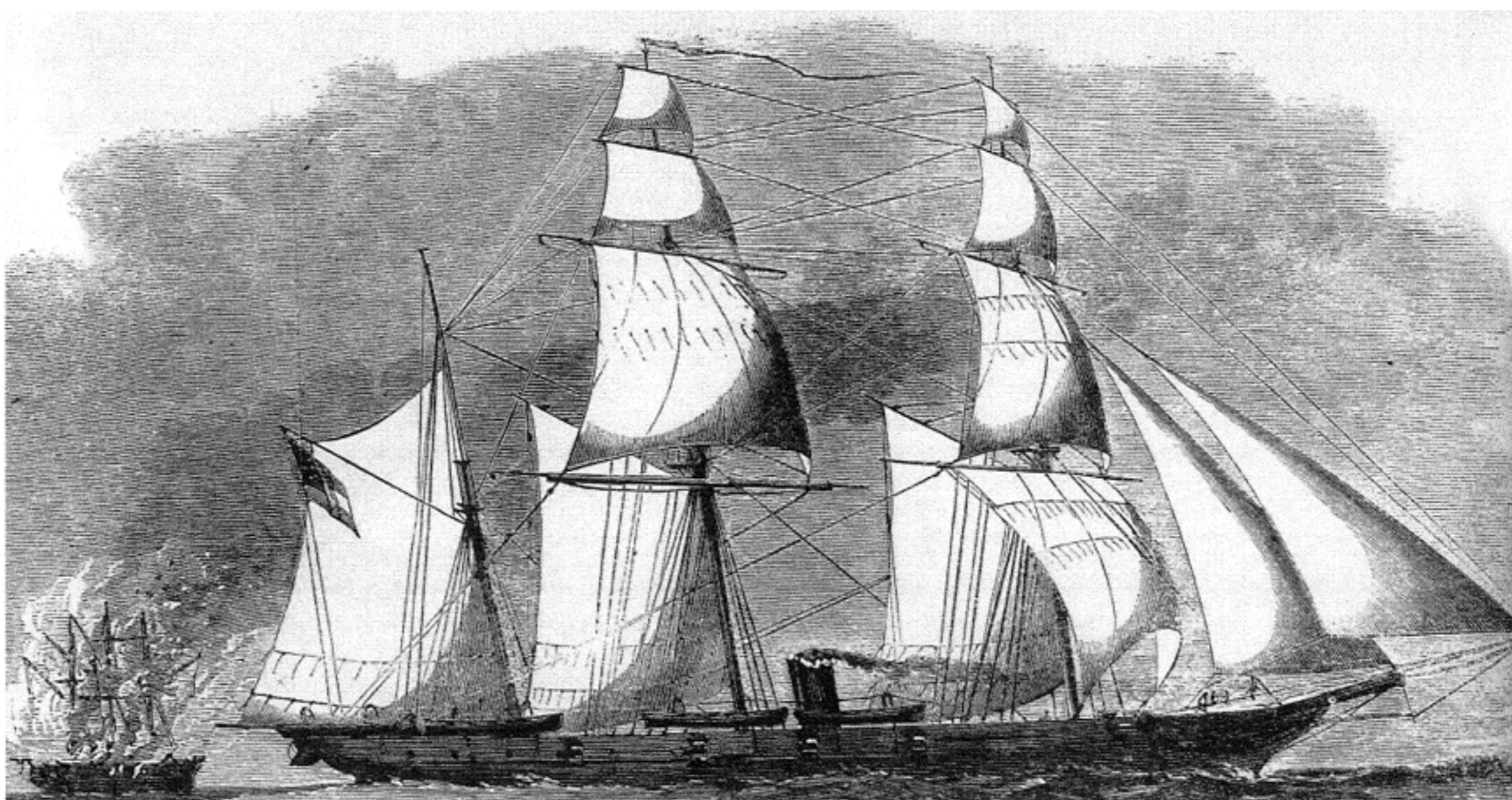
Challenges at Sea

Perhaps because they took to heart the promise of safety in Zion and trusted that the Lord would protect them as they traveled, the immigrants' first expression of concern was not the fear of traveling to a country in the midst of a bloody civil war. Instead, their accounts indicate that their first adversity was the same as that of immigrants of every era—separation from home and loved ones. Mary E. Fretwell Davis recalled that in June 1863, “I bid farewell to my father, brothers and sisters and sailed on the ‘Amazon’ from the London docks. I felt very sad as we sailed away, to see old England fading away out of sight, and those I loved and did not know that I should ever see them again.”¹⁴ Caroline Martine Anderson, who voyaged across the Atlantic a year later, had similar feelings. She anguished, “My heart is filled with pain when I think of those that are left in Babylon, and also that there are my relatives.”¹⁵

Other challenges common to most immigrants crossing the Atlantic were seasickness, disease, and the threat of angry storms. However, at the time of the Civil War, there was also the additional threat of Confederate warships. In 1864, David Coombs wrote that the captain of the *General McClellan* had sailed out of his course, far north among icebergs, for fear of meeting a Confederate ship at sea.¹⁶ Richard Crowther, who voyaged on the same vessel, wrote that after safely crossing the Atlantic in his company of 802 Saints, he received news that the *General McClellan* had been sunk on its return voyage to Liverpool.¹⁷ It was taken down by the Confederate warship *Alabama*, which would eventually sink a total of sixty-five Yankee ships—more than any other Confederate vessel.¹⁸ The crew of the *Alabama* may have taken particular notice of a ship bearing the name of a Union general—George B. McClellan.

Less than two weeks after the *General McClellan* left England on its 1864 voyage, the ship *Hudson*, with 863 Saints aboard, had a threatening encounter on the Atlantic. A Confederate warship pulled alongside the *Hudson* to determine what kind of freight it was transporting. The sailors aboard the warship yelled out, “Say your prayers, you Mormons, you are all going down!” Fortunately, nothing came of the boastful threat. At least two Mormon passengers aboard the *Hudson* reasoned that they were spared because the passengers were from foreign countries. Charles William Symons's recalled:

The Confederate gunboat *Georgia* hailed us and brought us to a standstill, for be it remembered the War of the Rebellion was now in full sway. After inquiries from our captain we were permitted to move on for they ascertained that 1100 British subjects were on board. Consequently they had no means of handling that many persons and the would-be prize was given up, the gunboat's band playing a farewell.¹⁹



The Confederate warship CSS *Alabama*. From a woodcut that appeared in the popular *Harper's Weekly* during the Civil War period. During this time, Confederate warships posed a threat to the passenger ships carrying immigrating Saints to U.S. ports.

In spite of dangers at sea, over eleven thousand foreign converts sailed on thirty-two known voyages to eastern American ports during the war years, departing February 1861–June 1864.²⁰ And indeed, not one immigrant ship carrying Latter-day Saints was ever lost crossing the Atlantic.

Arrival at American Ports

As a result of an 1854 decision by Brigham Young, the primary port of arrival was changed from New Orleans to select eastern ports. That year, Elder Franklin D. Richards, an LDS emigration agent in Liverpool, was instructed as follows:

You are aware of the sickness liable to assail our unacclimated brethren on the Mississippi river, hence I wish you to ship no more to New Orleans, but ship to Philadelphia, Boston, and New York, giving preference in the order named.²¹

However, by the commencement of the Civil War, the order of preference had changed. Of the thirty-two vessels that took companies of Saints across the Atlantic, none arrived through Philadelphia, three South African voyages came to port in Boston, and the remaining twenty-nine voyages, carrying mainly British and Scandinavian converts, first touched the American shore in New York, where the Castle Garden immigration depot was located. The Mormon immigrants were well-chaperoned—priesthood leaders saw them off at the Liverpool docks when they departed, returning missionaries accompanied them on the trans-Atlantic voyage, and immigration agents awaited them at the ports as they reached the East Coast.

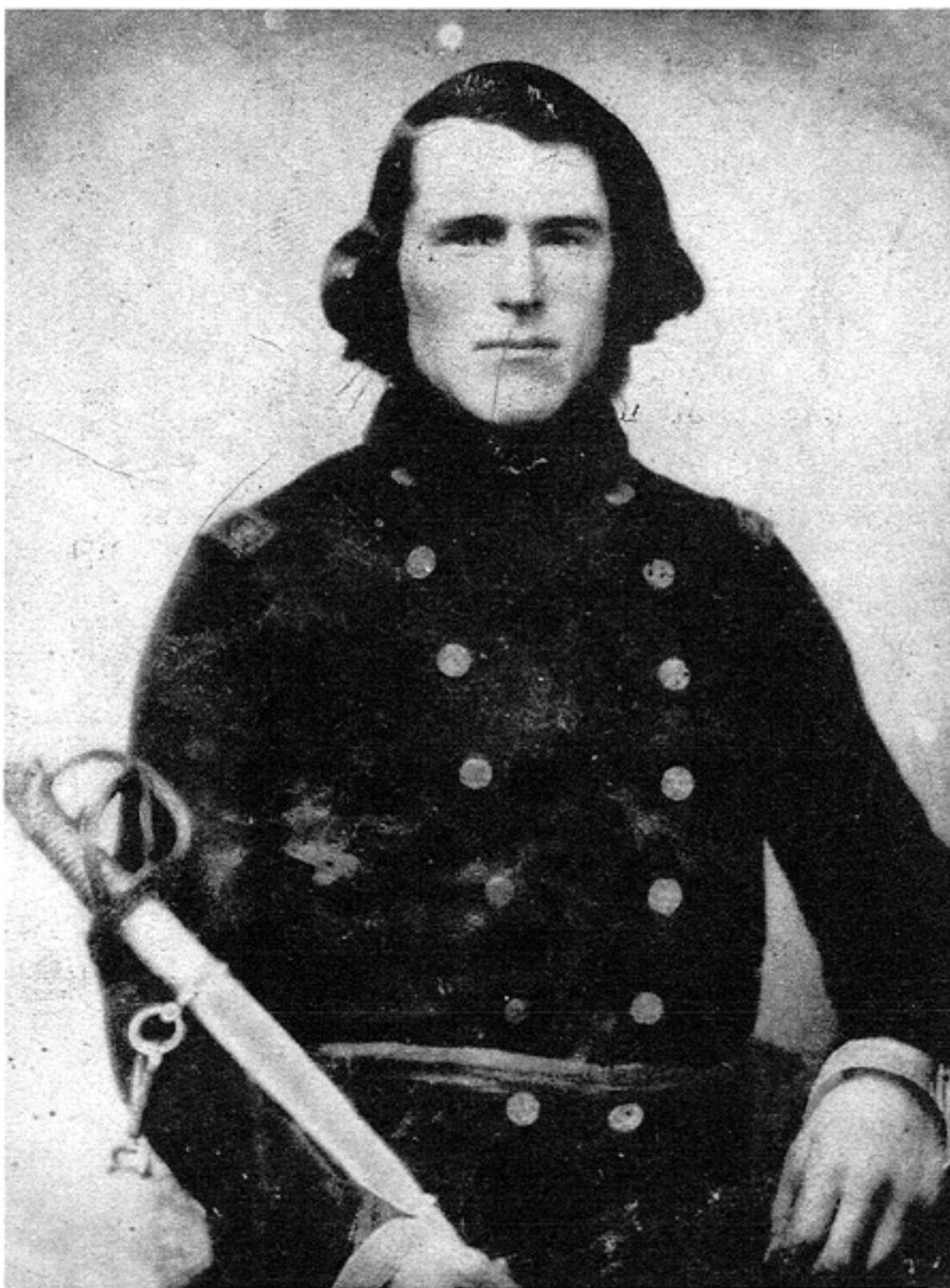
Elders Nathaniel V. Jones and Jacob Gates were assigned to posts as immigration agents just as they were returning from missions to England. Gates recorded that he had received word in late 1860 that he was to supervise immigration at Florence (North Omaha), Nebraska Territory, while Jones was to be the first immigration agent assigned to New York City during the Civil War. By February 1861, they had arrived from England at the port of New York.²²

Jones remained in New York for some time in order to assist the arriving immigrants.²³ He describes the situation there in a letter to his wife, Rebecca, on April 22, 1861, just ten days after the Civil War began, “Things here are in a very alarming condition while I am wrighting this. They are without doubt fighting in Baltimore & Washington. They have been Skermishing in the former place since yesterday but of this you can read from the Papers which I will Send with this.”²⁴

Arrival at Boston. The first group of South African converts to gather to Zion during the war selected Boston as their port. While the procedures for all immigrants at New York’s Castle Garden immigration depot are well documented,²⁵ the immigration experience at the Boston port, which received less LDS immigration activity, is not as familiar. Eli Wiggill, an LDS convert who immigrated to America from South Africa, provides an interesting account of his experience in Boston after he and thirty-two

of his companions (including a small, Black African boy named Gobo Fango, who was smuggled through customs) arrived at Boston on April 19, 1861.

Wiggill explained that just before the passengers stepped on shore “the Pilot came on board and brought papers and also the news that the War had broke out in the United States.”²⁶ Wiggill indicated that on arrival they were welcomed by the local Saints. He noted that the Bostonians were surprised by the color of the South Africans’ skin, as they did not know there were any white people in Africa. Wiggill also explained that as soon as the ship docked, the local Boston branch president telegraphed Nathaniel V.



Courtesy LDS Church Archives

Nathaniel V. Jones. Jones was the Mormon immigration agent in New York City when the Civil War broke out.

Jones for instructions on how to proceed. Jones told them to wait in Boston until a ship of Saints came into New York, then the South Africans were to continue on to New York before heading west.

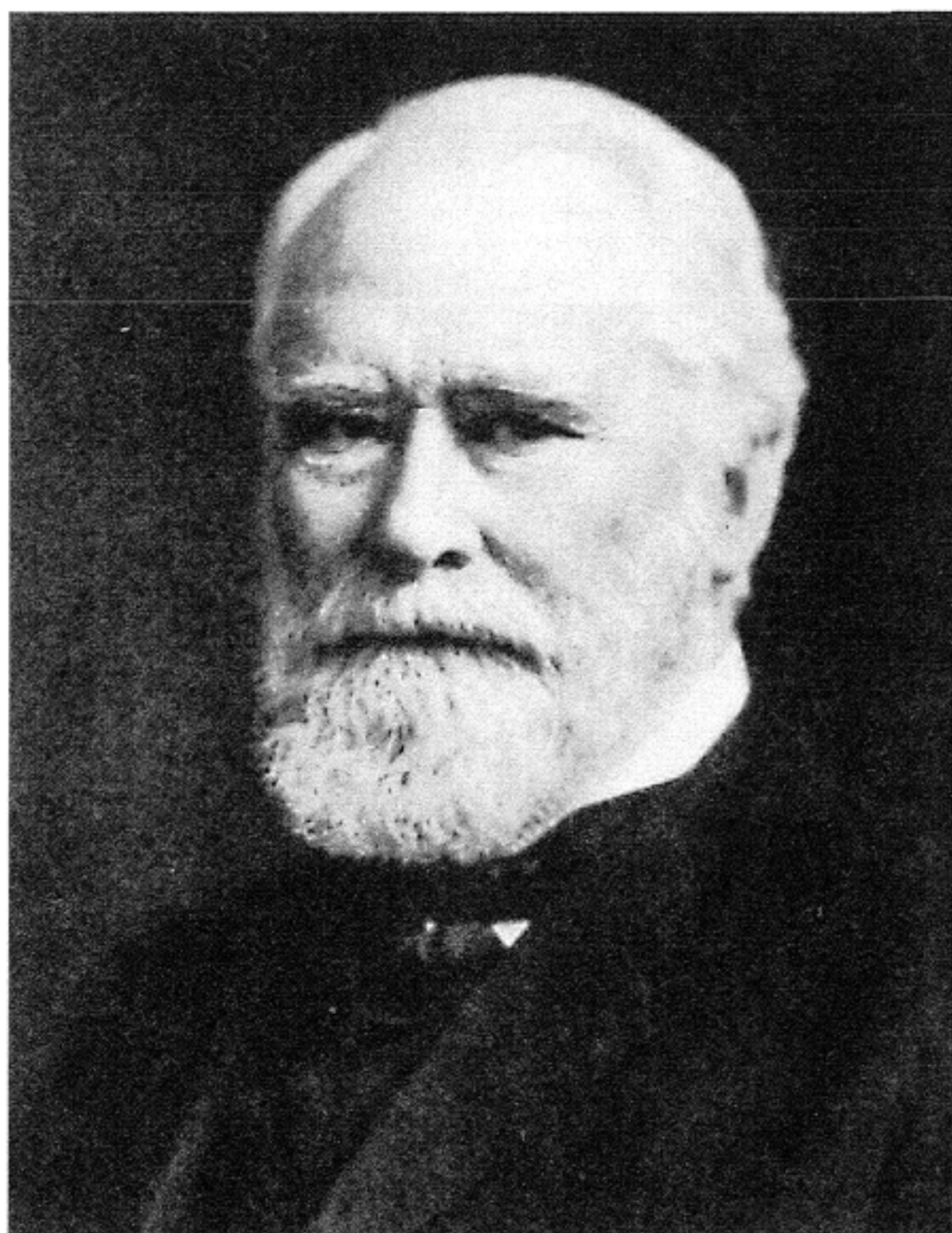
While the Saints stayed in Boston for nearly a month, “it was all comotion with the Bands of Music Fife and drum and recruiting parties and Flags Flying in every direction it being the commencement of the War of 1861 between the North and the South.”²⁷ Wiggill later noted that after they reached New York and journeyed west by train, free Black men spotted the young Black boy traveling with the South African Saints and mistakenly assumed he was being taken into slavery. The child was therefore in danger of being abducted. The Talbot family, who were caring for the boy, hid him by disguising him in a girl’s dress and bonnet; they had to later conceal him under a woman’s large petticoat.²⁸

Arrival at New York. The first ship to bring seagoing Saints to New York during the Civil War was the *Manchester*. John McAllister, a passenger aboard the *Manchester* in 1862, recorded in his journal that he “read to Capt. T[rask] Joseph Smith’s views on the p[o]licy and Govt. of U.S.”²⁹ This conversation seemed to have made a great impact on Captain Trask, who three days later assembled his passengers on the quarter-deck and addressed them: “Assembled Soldiers of Zion—assembled because you are Mustered, if not Soldiers in reality you are Soldiers in embryo hence you are seed mustard. Seed of Zion, to you I would Say be strong and Steadfast.”³⁰ In his speech, Captain Trask suggested that the Saints had a greater mission to fight than the one going on in the States between the North and the South. The Saints enjoyed not only his speech but also his overall conduct on their voyage. They drafted a resolution to show their appreciation to Captain Trask, wherein they praised him for his “gentlemanly and courteous bearing, liberal acts, and solicitious spirit” and then presented it to him just as the pilot stepped aboard prior to their docking in New York.³¹

On the previous voyage of the *Manchester* in 1861, the passengers had encountered men of a different spirit gathered in New York at the time of their arrival:

We had our luggage all packed and ready for starting immediately by Steamer for Castle Garden, but Bro. N. V. Jones, who was Emigration Agent, visited us, and on account of the above place being occupied by U.S. Troops, he deemed it wise for all hands to to [sic] remain on board ship. Counsel was given to the company to that effect. On account of the dreadful, warlike attitude of the North and South, these troops were collected there. They were a very mean set, too, and Bro. Jones had informed the proprietors, that unless the Garden was cleared of them, he should not land his people there.³²

F. W. Blake, who arrived on the ship *Underwriter* a week later, reported a less intimidating but more boisterous arrival:



Gustavus D. S. Trask, captain of the *Manchester*. Trask was well respected by the Mormon immigrants who sailed with him. From Conway B. Sonne, *Ships, Saints and Mariners* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987), 136.

The hour arrived for the crowd of Saints & stock of Luggage to be removed from the ship & it became my unfortunate lot to stay on board while the large vessel was drawn towards shore. Handkerchiefs and hats were waving & loud hurrahs were heard sounding over the waters competing with those engaged in the national cause. (they were frequently making the air echo with the power of their voices).³³

Elijah Larkin described the arrival of the *Amazon* in the New York harbor two years later on July 17, 1863:

A stream [*sic*] troop ship passed us at 8 a.m. . . . Sighted Fire Island at 6 p.m. A pilot came on board at 6.30 the New York Papers were read on board informing us of the Riots that were going on there, which caused great excitement on board. Port Hudson was take by Federals. . . .

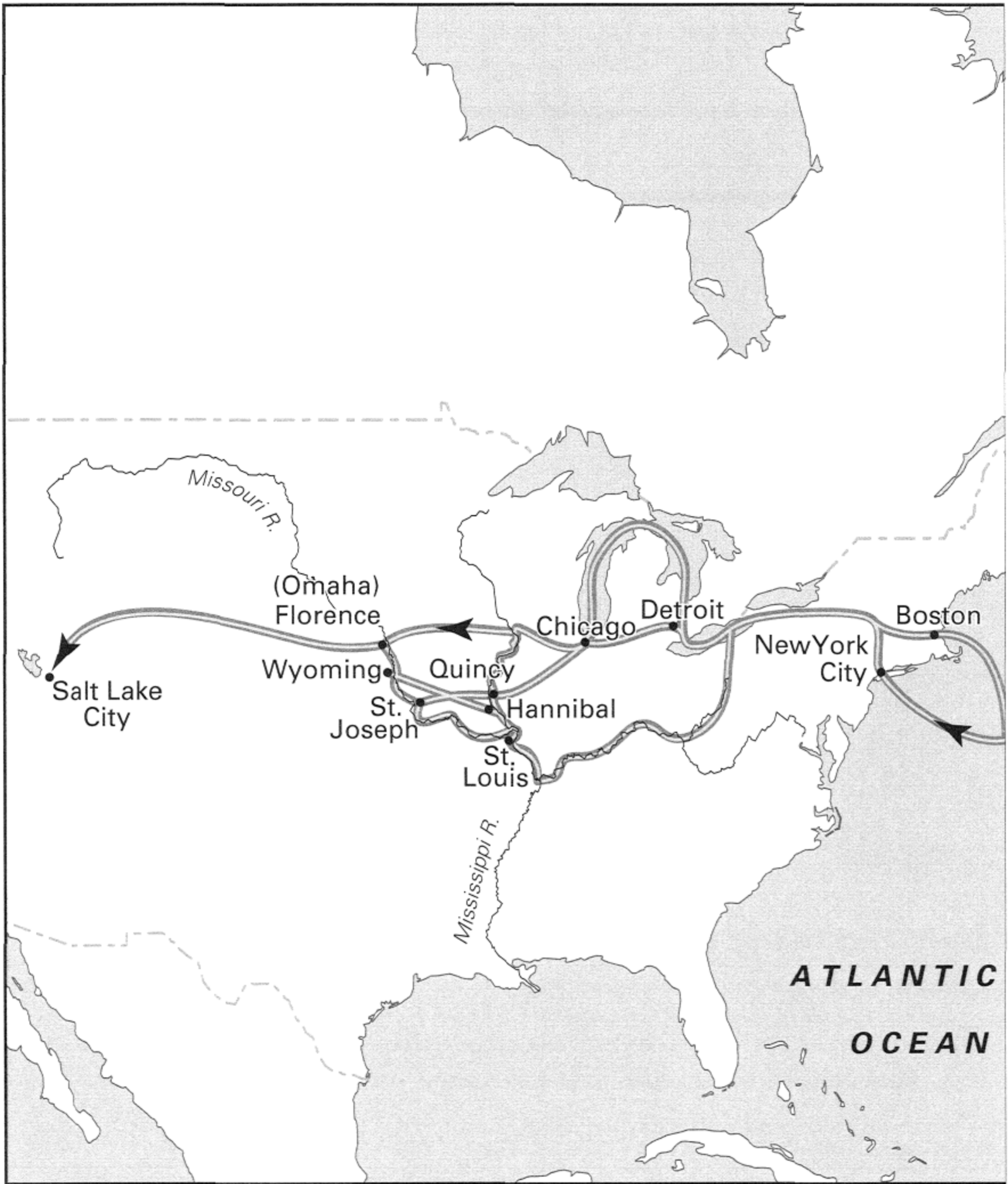
18th. . . . A transport loaded with Troops for the City passed us, & we were informed there was 4500 Troops already there to quell the Riot. we anchor^d in the harbor about P.M. Our Band played the Star Spangled Banner, & we gave several heary [cheers].³⁴

The Journey from Port to Post

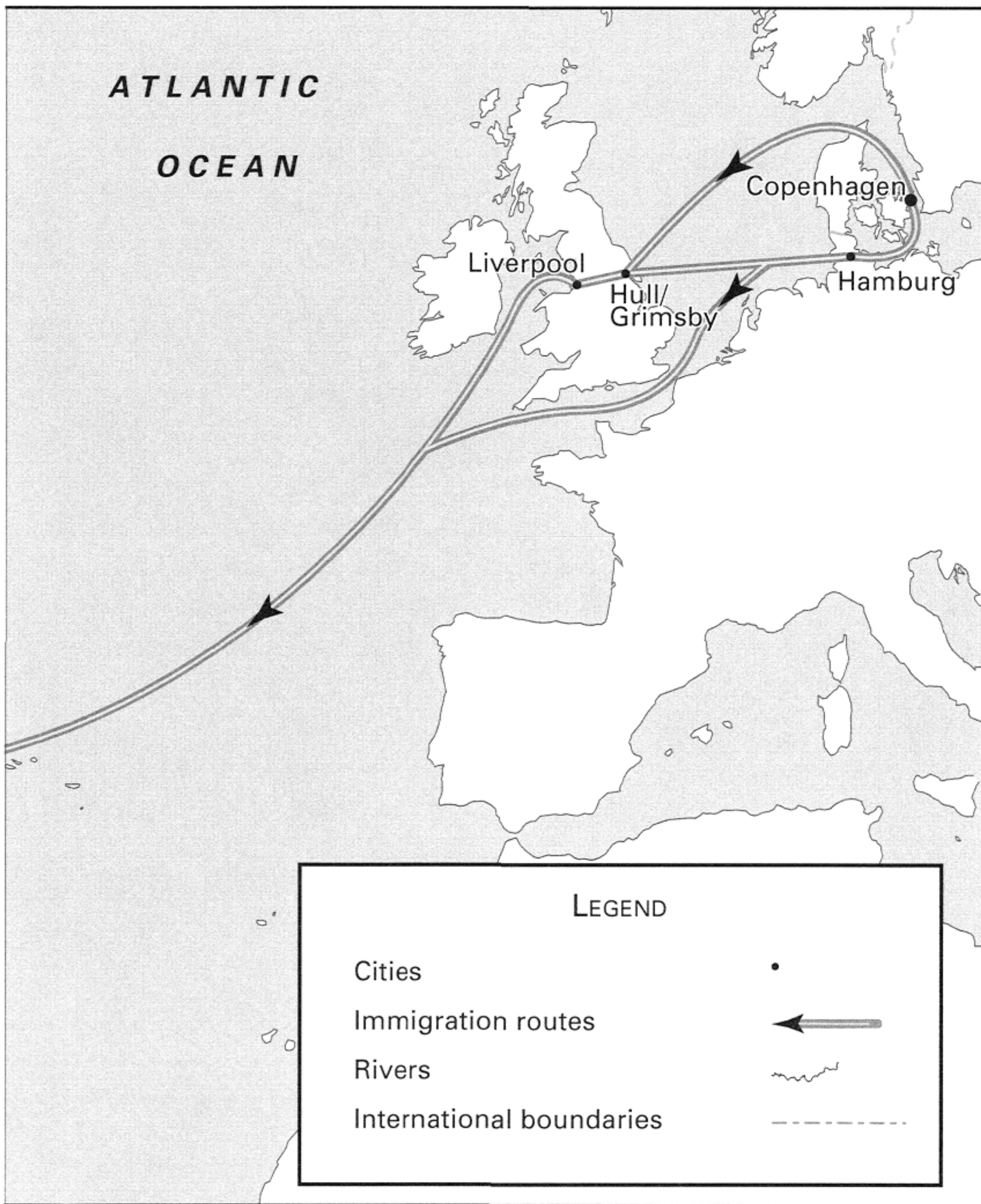
Routes through the Eastern States. Barry Wride, another Mormon immigrant aboard the *Manchester* in 1861, wrote concerning their arrival in New York and travel to Florence, Nebraska:

We landed at New York on the 15th of June 1861. We were met by Apostle Erastus Snow, N. V. Jones, Thomas Williams and others from Utah Connected with the Emigration. We arranged for our passage from N.Y. to Florence, fare about \$15.00. Our passage through the States was slow. Had a good chance to view the Country and new scenary to us, towns and villages very different to the Old Country; much timber, Wild and uncultivated at that period.³⁵

Not only was the scenery “very different” for these British LDS immigrants, but also the entire westward journey that lay ahead of them would prove to be a new and challenging experience. Wride’s company was headed



Primary land routes of LDS immigrants to Zion during the Civil War, 1861-64



Primary sea routes of LDS immigrants to Zion during the Civil War, 1861-64

toward the outfitting post of Florence, where they prepared for the westward wagon trek. Beginning in 1861, Brigham Young sent wagon companies known as Church trains out of Salt Lake City to meet the incoming Saints at the appointed frontier outfitting posts and return with them to Utah.³⁶

However, before these converts arrived at the outfitting posts where they would be met by immigration agents³⁷ and the captains of Church trains, they had to cross the eastern United States by steam locomotives and riverboats. Such a journey often proved an arduous task, much different from a wagon ride West with experienced wagon captains to assist them.³⁸ Various immigrant accounts recorded during this port-to-post segment provide a glimpse into what appears to have been quite a dangerous ride, one with numerous stops and transfers.

The following accounts depict a composite sketch of the journey from New York to Florence between 1861 and 1863. Scandinavian convert Olaus Johnson, who gathered to America in 1862, wrote, "Due to the Civil War at the time, we were transferred several times to several trains a day, sometimes being forced to ride in cattle cars."³⁹ Concerning his travel across the eastern United States the same year, LDS immigrant William Probert Jr. recalled, "After we left New York State, we were often stopped to see if we had any arms on board, or any rebels. Sometimes in the night we were stopped and had to face a field battery until morning, and then to be inspected before we could move on. Sometimes we were piled into cattle cars."⁴⁰

Tales of riding in cattle cars during the Civil War period are common in the immigrant accounts. William Ajax noted that "some of us [were] packed in cattle-cars, as though we were but beasts."⁴¹ William Wood recalled the terrible stench his company experienced as they rode in the beastly boxes: "The dust from the hog excrement was something very unpleasant; we could smell and taste hogs for two or three days afterwards."⁴² Mary E. Fretwell Davis, who journeyed to the West in 1863, remembered, "We rode three days shut up in cattle cars with nothing but straw to sit on."⁴³ An immigrant from another 1863 company described her experience:

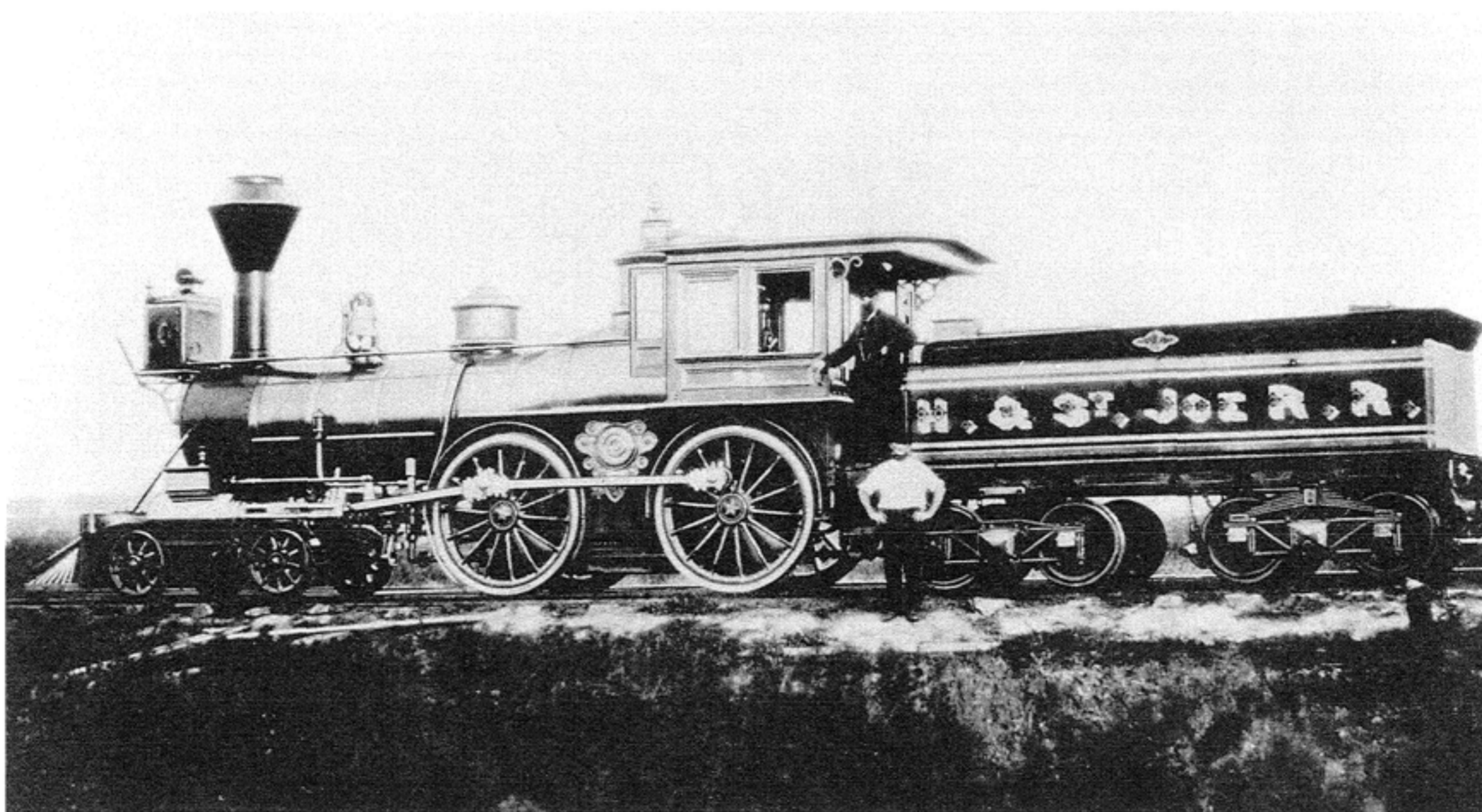
All of the passenger cars had been burned as [so] they locked us up in cattle cars which had straw on the floors. There were no seats. We passed a soldiers' camp and it was here we ran into a place where logs had been placed to dis-rail the cars. I happened to be standing up when the cars struck the logs and the jolt threw me head foremost to the other side of the car among the women and children. Everyone was crying and screaming. A few were hurt.⁴⁴

Although the cattle cars were at times dangerous, they were actually safer than the passenger cars, which carried Union soldiers and thus became the constant target of Confederate attack. However, railway passage through the North did not carry the threat of combat that was found in Missouri, which was a hotbed of guerrilla warfare.

The rail route for 1861, which commenced on the New York and Erie Railroad, took LDS immigrant companies from New York to Dunkirk (western New York). From Dunkirk, the Saints traveled on the Lake Shore Railroad (which ran along the south shore of Lake Erie) through Cleveland to Toledo, where they changed cars and continued their journey on the Michigan Southern and Northern Indiana Railroad to Chicago.⁴⁵ William Yates, who traveled the route in 1861, recalled:

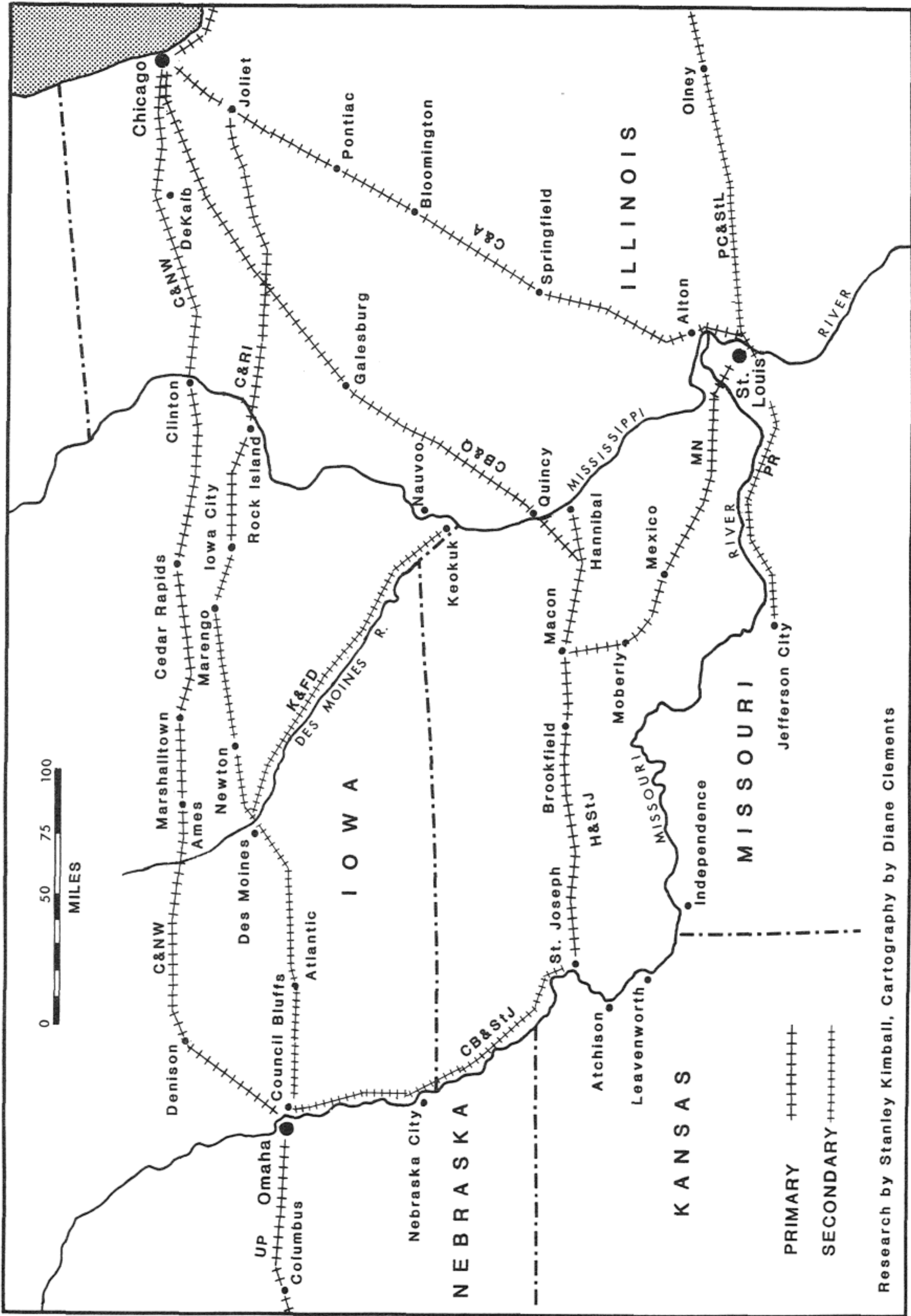
We Started by a Special train for Dunkirk, 474 Miles, where we changed for Cleveland, 142 Miles . . . and changed for Toledo, 113 miles. . . . We had quite a long talk with a Number of the inhabitence [*sic*] of Toledo who came out to see us. They were very kind & treated us respectfully and asked us a great many questions about Mormonism. We then came on to Chicago, 244 miles. Provisions Were very cheap in this Place. But here we found quite a bitter Spirit against Mormonism, much more then anything we had before Seen.⁴⁶

From Chicago, the Saints took the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy (CB&Q) Railroad to Quincy, and from there they took a short twenty-mile steamboat ride to Hannibal.⁴⁷ From Hannibal, they crossed the state of Missouri on the not-quite-finished Hannibal and St. Joseph (H&StJ) Railroad to St. Joseph, which was then the national railway system's westernmost point—a ride reported by one immigrant in 1861 to be the roughest he ever had.⁴⁸ From St. Joseph, the Saints took a steamboat up the Missouri River to the frontier outfitting post at Florence (1861–63) and later Wyoming, Nebraska Territory (1864–66).⁴⁹



Courtesy California State Railroad Museum (neg. no. 23629)

Steam engine on the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad, ca. 1868. Many immigrating Saints crossed war-torn Missouri on this railroad.



Research by Stanley Kimball, Cartography by Diane Clements

Midwestern railroads used by the Mormons, 1855-69. Previously published in Stanley B. Kimball, "Sail and Rail Pioneers before 1869," *BYU Studies* 35, no. 2 (1995): 25.

While the rail route from New York to Chicago was generally quiet, the railroad through Missouri certainly received much attention from federal soldiers, as evidenced by one 1862 immigrant who noted that passing through Missouri

presented a mournful picture. In many places houses were burned down, fences destroyed, and crops unattended. All the bridges were well guarded by Union troops to prevent Secessionists from burning them. The fulfillment of Joseph Smith's prophecies, concerning Missouri can be visibly seen in passing through the State.⁵⁰

Another eyewitness wrote, "Squares of Soldiers [are] at all the Bridges to—prevent the destruction by Rebels."⁵¹ Mormon immigrant John Penman recalled that just one year later "the [Missouri] bridges [had] been destroyed by the soildgers as the war was ragin very Strong."⁵² Ola Nelson Stohl, who also immigrated in 1862, noted that "many soldiers came up to [the Mormon immigrants] at whistle stops, but did them no harm."⁵³

Others who voyaged on the ship *Hudson* in 1864 were dealt with in a harsher manner as they traveled to Nebraska. Mary Ann Rawlins wrote:

Some of the troops encountered by the emigrants on the way to the Outfitting Camps in Wyoming manifested bitterness toward our company of Saints. At one point they drove us through a river, with rain falling in torrents, which exposure caused much sickness and many deaths in the company.

Expostulating with the soldiers on their conduct, Elder [John M.] Kay said to them: "If you have no respect for the living, will you not look with mercy on the sick and the dying, and consider the sacred dead?"

"If you say another word, I will rip you up, even if you were Jesus Christ, Himself!" one of the soldiers replied.⁵⁴

Another immigrant remembered a close call for those riding in a passenger car during one trip through Missouri:

Just before we arrived in St. Joseph, Missouri, the rebels, or bushwhackers, fired two cannon balls through our train, one shot went through the passenger car exactly eight inches above the peoples' heads and the other through a baggage car destroying a great amount of baggage. We stayed in St. Joseph three or four days, afraid to go on because of the rebel soldiers being all through the country. While we were there, some fifteen rebel soldiers were taken prisoner, right from among [meaning near] our company, by the northern soldiers. Two companies of Union soldiers surrounded the depot and made the rebels surrender or they would have killed them. I can truly say I saw a little of the war between the North and the South.⁵⁵

Elizabeth Staheli Walker, who also saw a little of the war, wrote of her experience traveling from the East to the West:

We could hear the boom of the cannons and firing of guns as we rode along. Shutters were up at the window and the people on the trains were asked to be very quiet.

When we passed through Missouri the people were very bitter against the Mormons and set a bridge on fire to retard our progress.⁵⁶

Mary Ann Ward Webb, who immigrated in 1864, told of a young Dutch sister in St. Joseph, Missouri, who was stolen by the soldiers but fortunately retrieved by the elders.⁵⁷ In 1863, Thomas Henry White also reported an abduction—a girl taken from their company by the soldiers.⁵⁸

White wrote of his company's encounter with soldiers while crossing Missouri and at St. Joseph:

At every station the soldiers would ask: "When are those Mormons coming through?" No one seemed to know. This was during the time of the Rebellion war. The emigrants were in danger, especially the boys, of being drafted into the army.⁵⁹

At St. Joseph, White learned that the Union soldiers could collect one dollar for each man or boy on whom they could pin a ribbon—a successful ribbon pinning designated that the recipient of the pinning was now in the army.⁶⁰

Charles Henry John West, recalling his memorable journey across the States, implied that after a rough train ride, the boat ride up the Missouri was not much better:

We traveled by cars day and night for seven days. On account of the Civil War going on we had to rough it, traveling part of the time crowded in sheep cars. They said they were afraid of their good cars being burned by the Confederates. We took a steamer up the Missouri River. . . . It was a flatboat and we were very crowded.⁶¹

Another LDS immigrant recalled how heavy military equipment influenced the trip up the Missouri:

The boat being heavy loaded with government freight for the soldiers, and the water being low, made it quite difficult for the boat to get up the river.⁶²

The Route through Canada. While the Saints who immigrated in 1861 traveled only within the boundaries of the United States, the route for many LDS companies who immigrated to Zion during the remaining war years took them across the border into Canada. From New York, the Saints traveled to Albany either by steamboat up the Hudson River or by the Hudson River Railroad. From Albany they took the New York Central Railroad to Buffalo and then traveled north to Niagara, where they crossed the Suspension Bridge into the Canadian province of Ontario before changing cars to the Great Western Line. This Canadian route took them to Windsor, Canada, where they crossed by a ferry steamer over the Detroit River and back into the States at Detroit. From Detroit to Chicago, they traveled on the Michigan Central Railroad. At Chicago they followed the same route that the 1861 LDS immigrants had taken, along the CB&Q and H&StJ railroads to St. Joseph.⁶³

Christopher Alston, an LDS immigrant on the *General McClellan*, concluded that the diversion of the Mormon immigrant route outside the boundaries of the United States through Canada was an attempt to scoot around the war, avoiding the risk of traveling through war zones in the eastern states:

We arrived in New York June 23rd, 1864. There we took steamer and traveled up the Hudson River into Canada to avoid the Armies of the Rebellion, broken bridges, upturn railways, etc. incident to a war, which was raging in the States between the North and the South, with blood and rapine in all the land.⁶⁴

For rail travelers, the threat of bridges being destroyed was very real, but as previously noted, the threat was not a serious one between New York and Illinois or through Canada but rather became so only when the immigrants reached Missouri. The immigrants may have been sent through Canada because of the risk of confiscation of railcars in the States and the availability of passenger trains in Canada, but a more compelling reason seems to have been the cost. In letters written in March 1862, Brigham Young advised George Q. Cannon (acting as Liverpool agent) to direct the Saints to take “the cheapest route to Florence” and then a week later directed Cannon to use “the most accomodating and cheapest route to Florence.”⁶⁵ Since the Canadian route was chosen, it appears to have been less costly, and the decision to use that route was likely more a matter of economics and convenience than an escape from the threat of warfare.

The Frontier Outfitting Post and the Wagon Trek West

Although immigrating companies were relieved to reach LDS frontier outfitting posts, such as Florence, it appears that the troubles caused by the Civil War had reached the western border—they could still literally hear the sound of war. George Francis Wall, who crossed the United States in 1863, wrote, “We heard cannons of the Civil War while we were at Florence.”⁶⁶ Another 1863 LDS immigrant added, “Although Florence was some distance from roaring cannons and shooting guns, the people were in a state of excitement and confusion.”⁶⁷

Upon arriving at the frontier outfitting post, the Saints must have been comforted to meet the Church’s appointed immigration agents and wagon train captains. However, Thomas Henry White explained, the war was not the only hindrance presented to the immigrating Saints: “While sailing up the river to Florence, Nebraska, we met many Josephites⁶⁸ who were eager to tell us what would happen to us if we went to Utah and did not do as we were told.”⁶⁹ When Amos M. Musser had passed through Florence in 1857, he reported, “Apostates are becoming as thick in this country as the lice were in Egypt in the days of Phareoh.”⁷⁰

By 1864, the outfitting post had been moved from Florence to Wyoming, about forty miles south. The presence of numbers of apostates near Florence who tried to cajole the immigrants into not going to Utah may have presented one reason for moving the post. Immigrant H. N. Hansen reasoned:

In previous years the starting point had been Florence, Nebraska about 40 miles farther up the river, and about four miles from Omaha. Perhaps the principal cause for this change was the fact that this latter place having so long been on the line over which the mormons . . . traveled, . . . many of the citizens of Omaha and Florence were apostate mormons. Some having refused to journey any further having become weak in the faith before reaching the mountains, and others after having gone there had become disgusted and returned and located at these places. It was not desirable by the leaders of the mormon emigration to take the people where they would be so close in contact with these apostates, as they might bring them such information as would not be desirable for them to obtain, thus leading perhaps others to apostatize.⁷¹

Other practical reasons existed for moving the frontier outfitting post. By 1864 the transcontinental railroad tracks had moved farther west,⁷² and the distance to Wyoming was shorter for river steamers that commenced their trips from St. Joseph.⁷³

The immigration agent at Wyoming for 1864 was Joseph W. Young, who provided welcome relief to the weary travelers. As one immigrant noted, “Immediately on our arrival at Wyoming we received provisions from the church agent, consisting of flour, pork, dried apples, rice, sugar, and also soap for washing.”⁷⁴

Notwithstanding his hospitality, Young, for practical reasons, was eager for the large groups of immigrants to move on. Elder John T. Gerber noted that by late June 1864 “about a thousand Scandinavian Saints and one or two hundred Saints of other nationalities” were encamped at Wyoming.⁷⁵ Soon thereafter, on July 4, Joseph Young wrote a letter to the LDS agent in New York in which he said, “Gen. McClelland’s company came up last night, and oh! my soul and all that is great, ain’t we rather busy and noisy today. I shall send these people off regardless of everything else. They will eat us up here in three weeks.”⁷⁶

Even after leaving the war zone, the immigrants were not free from encounters with soldiers. Mary Hebden Holroyd presented what appears to be a fairly common view—that the Saints traveling west actually feared the soldiers more than they did the Indians. She and her company were instructed by their leader, Captain Joseph Horne, to be as quiet as possible so they could pass by the soldiers at Fort Laramie undetected.⁷⁷ On occasion, soldiers searched the immigrating Saints for gun powder⁷⁸ and even forced some to alter their journey and backtrack to Fort Bridger, where they were made to swear an oath of allegiance to the Constitution before being allowed to continue on to Utah.⁷⁹

On the other hand, Alma Felt recalled that on one occasion his father played fiddle for a company of soldiers all night before returning to camp,⁸⁰ and William Priest recorded that when his wagon company crossed the Platte River, he remained behind to help U.S. soldiers repair the bridge. He caught up with his wagon company later.⁸¹ These were definitely the exceptions to the general rule of tension between the Saints and the soldiers.

Conclusion

The Saints gathering to Zion during the years of the Civil War endured the threat of wartime violence from the time they left their homelands. They encountered warships on the seas and the agitation and commotion of troops in the cities once they landed. They withstood cramped and malodorous journeys in cattle cars, endured searches and inspections by troops, and were subjected to the unnerving sound of nearby battles. They experienced delays, crowded conditions, and short supplies. They bore the antagonism and taunts of soldiers and faced the possibility of abduction or conscription. However, despite the danger, apprehension, and inconvenience caused by the war, it did not become a major hindrance to the Saints' immigration. In fact, the war probably enhanced their sense of urgency to gather to Utah, where they could find security and safety.⁸² In spite of obstacles created by the conflict, the Saints continued to gather to Utah at a steady pace and under the Lord's watchful eye.

The Saints who came to the Salt Lake Valley during the Civil War had come face to face with the Lord's promise in Brigham Young's immigration revelation: "Fear not thy enemies; for they shall not have power to stop my work. . . . Fear not thine enemies; for they are in mine hands and I will do my pleasure with them" (D&C 136:17, 30). In 1842, Joseph Smith had proclaimed, "No unhallowed hand can stop the work from progressing; . . . armies may assemble, calumny may defame, but the truth of God will go forth."⁸³ The courage and determination of these gathering Saints, passing through the fires of the calamitous American Civil War, put flesh and blood behind Joseph's bold declaration.

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1. *Webster's Dictionary of English Usage* (Springfield, Mass.: Merriam-Webster, 1989), 389, notes the following: "Emigrate and immigrate make a case in which English has two words where it could easily have made do with only one. The two words have the same essential meaning—to 'leave one country to live in another'—and differ only in emphasis or point of view: emigrate stressing leaving, and immigrate stressing entering." However, to further complicate things, emigrate is used once the immigrant has arrived in the new country and begins to emigrate to the West. It should also be noted that sometimes the foreign immigrants were joined by Saints who gathered from the Eastern Coast of America or they merged with other LDS companies at frontier outfitting posts. These Saints would be properly termed *emigrants* as would those agents who assisted them. Thus, we have the title "Perpetual Emigrating Fund." Yet for the sake of clarity and readability, the words *immigrate/immigration/immigrant* and *emigrate/emigration/emigrant* will be used synonymously throughout this paper.

2. Nearly all of these primary immigrant accounts are identified in "Mormons on the High Seas," a finders' aid compiled by Melvin L. Bashore and Linda L. Haslam (The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1990) located at the Library Division, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Library). These narratives are listed in alphabetical order according to the name of the various vessels and the year they crossed the Atlantic. Furthermore, the 1997–98 *Church Almanac* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1996), 162–63, lists twenty-nine LDS voyages made during the Civil War years. I have identified an additional three voyages, yet little is known of each of these independent voyages. Over eleven thousand LDS converts voyaged to America on these thirty-two voyages. Of this number, there are about 140 known first-person immigrant accounts.

3. Hundreds of examples of appeals for redress are found in Clark V. Johnson, ed., *Mormon Redress Petitions: Documents of the 1833–1838 Missouri Conflict*, Religious Studies Monograph Series, vol. 16 (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, 1992). However, it should be noted that appeals for redress were not necessarily denied solely from animosity but rather from the hesitation of the federal government to intervene in the affairs of individual states. The provisions of the Bill of Rights in the Constitution were not extended to the states until after the Civil War. One notable exception was President Polk's agreement to extend a call to the Mormon Battalion, which proved to be a blessing to the Saints.

4. See Norman F. Furniss, *The Mormon Conflict, 1850–59* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), for the best treatment of the Utah Expedition.

5. See Donald R. Moorman and Gene A. Sessions, *Camp Floyd and the Mormons: The Utah War* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1992); and E. B. Long, *The Saints and the Union: Utah Territory during the Civil War* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981) for a history of the contentious relationship between the Mormons and the U.S. military during the Civil War era.

6. "Extract of a Letter from Hon. W. H. Hooper [December 16, 1860]," *Millennial Star* 23 (January 12, 1861): 30. As noted above, such grievances found their roots in the Saints' unsuccessful petitions for redress from the Missouri persecutions and the intrusion of U.S. soldiers into Utah Territory as a result of Buchanan's order.

7. Daniel H. Wells, "Remarks," *Deseret News*, April 24, 1861, 57.

8. Brigham Young, "Remarks," *Deseret News*, May 1, 1861, 65.

9. For a discussion of public statements made by Church leaders about the Civil War, see Richard E. Bennett, "This Awful Tornado of Suffering: Mormon Interpretations of the Civil War, 1861–1865" (paper presented at the annual Mormon History Association meeting, May 1999, Ogden, Utah).

10. See Doctrine and Covenants 87 and 130:12–13. This prophecy was given on December 25, 1832, at the time of a political controversy known as the “Nullification Crisis.” This crisis was rooted in the South, where people felt that they did not have the same advantage as the Northerners, due to the costly protective tariff passed in 1832. This state of unrest centered in South Carolina. It was in this setting that Joseph Smith received this prophecy on war. See Donald Q. Cannon, “A Prophecy of War,” in *Studies in Scripture*, ed. Robert L. Millet and Kent P. Jackson, 8 vols. (Sandy, Utah: Randall Book, 1984), 1:335–36.

11. Editorial, “Civil War in America—Its Importance as a Warning to the Saints,” *Millennial Star* 23 (May 11, 1861): 297–300.

12. The *Church Emigration Book, 1862*, LDS Church Library, indicates that about thirty-six hundred European Saints gathered West in 1862.

13. The *Church Emigration Book, 1863*, LDS Church Library, lists 3,646 Saints who gathered that year. During the years immediately preceding the war (1858–60), only 2,397 LDS immigrants gathered to Zion and only about 2,000 in 1861—after the war commenced. As stated above, there were about 3,600 in 1862 and 3,646 in 1863. The number declined to 2,633 in 1864 and then dropped dramatically to 1,301 in 1865 after the Civil War ended. See *Church Emigration Book* for the years 1858–65, LDS Church Library.

14. Mary E. Fretwell Davis, *Autobiography*, 1, Archives Division, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives).

15. Caroline Martine Anderson to Charles K. Hansen, June 17, 1864, 1, trans. Edith Melgaard Cox, in “History of Caroline Martine Anderson, First Wife of Charles Keilgaard Hansen,” LDS Church Archives.

16. David Coombs, *Journal*, 3, in possession of the author.

17. Richard Crowther, *Autobiography*, in *Our Pioneer Heritage*, comp. Kate B. Carter, 20 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1958–77), 8:57.

18. For battle statistics for the *Alabama*, see Geoffrey C. Ward, Ken Burns, and Ric Burns, *The Civil War: An Illustrated History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990), 326.

19. Charles William Symons, *Autobiography*, in Carley Budd Meredith and Dean Symons Anderson, *The Family of Charles William Symons and Arzella Whitaker Symons* (privately printed, 1986), 6. See also James T. Sutton, *Autobiography*, in Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 17:297. Symons indicated that the ship the *Hudson* encountered was the *Georgia*, yet James Sutton reported that it was the *Alabama*. However, according to Ward, Burns, and Burns, *Civil War*, 326, the *Alabama* sank in June 1864. Since the Mormon immigrant accounts indicate that this particular contact with the Confederate vessel occurred on July 8, it does not seem possible that it was the *Alabama*. The *Millennial Star* reported the incident and stated that the Confederate ship was either the *Georgia* or the *Rappahannock*. “Correspondence,” John M. Kay and others to President Cannon, July 19, 1864, *Millennial Star* 26 (August 20, 1864), 540.

20. See note 2.

21. Brigham Young to Elder Franklin D. Richards, August 2, 1854, “Foreign Correspondence,” *Millennial Star* 16 (October 28, 1854): 684.

22. Jacob Gates, *Diary*, entries for the end of 1860 and beginning of 1861, LDS Church Archives, as cited in William G. Hartley, “The Great Florence Fitout of 1861,” *BYU Studies* 24, no. 3 (1984): 341–42; and William G. Hartley, “‘Down and Back’ Wagon Trains: Bringing the Saints to Utah in 1861,” *Ensign* 15 (September 1985): 29–31.

23. “Arrivals of Saints at New York,” *Millennial Star* 23 (June 22, 1861): 394. Several immigration accounts also mention Jones aiding the immigration process. That his time as an agent was limited is noted by the fact that Wilford Woodruff recorded that

both Elder Nathaniel V. Jones and Elder Jacob Gates preached in the Salt Lake Tabernacle on August 18, 1861. Wilford Woodruff, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833–1898, Typescript*, ed. Scott G. Kenney, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983–84), 5:590. It seems logical that Elder Jones returned to his home in the Salt Lake Valley after the immigration season ended for 1861. He was replaced by Horace Eldredge in 1862, William Staines in 1863–64, and Thomas Taylor in 1865.

24. Nathaniel V. Jones to Rebecca Jones, April 22, 1861, 1, Special Collections and Archives, University Libraries Special Collections, Utah State University, Logan, Utah.

25. The best work on Castle Garden immigration in general is George J. Svejda, *Castle Garden as an Immigration Depot, 1855–1890* (U.S. National Parks Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1968). On the LDS immigration experience through Castle Garden, see Don H. Smith, “Castle Garden, the Emigrant Receiving Station in New York Harbor,” *Nauvoo Journal* 10 (spring 1998): 41–52.

26. Eli Wiggill, Autobiography, 454, LDS Church Archives.

27. Wiggill, Autobiography, 457–58. Another LDS immigrant who voyaged to New York shortly after Wiggill's group also described military music in the air: “The first thing I saw was the Military parading the streets of New York, and drumming up for volunteers to go and fight the south. . . . All work was stopped to make men enlist, and as I had no money, it looked rather blue for me [meaning he was tempted to join the Yankees and put on their uniform], but I had faith.” William Probert Jr., Autobiography, in *Biography of William Riley and Hussler Ann, Probert Stevens*, comp. and ed. Orvilla Allred Stevens (privately printed, 1981), 56.

28. Wiggill, Journal, 460–61.

29. John David Thompson McAllister, Journals, 1851–1906, May 25, 1862, 4:9, LDS Church Archives.

30. McAllister, Journals, 4:11. Captain Trask made three voyages with LDS immigrants across the Atlantic during the Civil War, two on the *Manchester* (1861 and 1862) and one on the *General McClellan* (1864). See Conway B. Sonne, *Saints, Ships, and Mariners: A Maritime Encyclopedia of Mormon Migration 1830–1890* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987), 84, 136.

31. William Jeffries, Reminiscences and Diary, 154, LDS Church Archives.

32. Jeffries, Reminiscences and Diary, 156.

33. F. W. Blake, “Diary of F. W. Blake, April–December 1861,” May 22, 1861, LDS Church Archives.

34. Elijah Larkin, “Diaries of Elijah Larkin,” typescript, 466–67, LDS Church Archives.

35. Barry Wride, Journal and Autobiography, 13–14, Special Collections and Manuscripts, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter cited as BYU Special Collections).

36. For information on Church trains, see John K. Hulmston, “Mormon Immigration in the 1860s: The Story of the Church Trains,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 58, no. 1 (winter 1990): 32–48; and for an excellent account of the 1861 Church trains see Hartley, “Great Florence Fitout,” 341–71. Church trains were sent from Salt Lake City to both Florence and Wyoming, Nebraska, to assist the foreign Saints during the war years, 1861–64. The 1865 immigration season did not begin until the Civil War had already ended.

37. The immigration agent at Florence was Jacob Gates in 1861, Joseph W. Young in 1862, and Col. Feramorz Little in 1863. Hartley, “Great Florence Fitout,” 343; Anders Perrson Lofgreen, Autobiography, 41, LDS Church Archives; and *Church Emigration Book, 1863*, LDS Church Library.

38. It should here be noted that not all wagon trains were Church down-and-back trains, but some were independent wagon trains that were not as well supplied with provisions for the final leg of the trip to the Salt Lake Valley.

39. Olaus Johnson, "Autobiography," in *Chronicles of Courage*, comp. Lesson Committee, 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1990–96), 5:299. Two years later, obtaining passenger cars was still a problem due to the war. See "The History of Mary Ann Ward Webb and Her Diary of the Journey to Utah (1864)," in Robert R. King and Kay Atkinson King, *Mary Ann Webb: Her Life and Ancestry* (McLean, Va.: America Society for Genealogy and Family History, 1996), 108; and Jane L. Sprunt Warner Garner, "Autobiography," 1, in WPA Biographical Sketches, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City.

40. Probert, *Autobiography*, 57.

41. William Ajax, *Diary*, 109, LDS Church Archives.

42. William Wood, *Autobiography*, 105, LDS Church Archives.

43. Mary E. Fretwell Davis, *Autobiography*, 1, LDS Church Archives.

44. Mary Charlotte Jacobs Soffe, "The Story of My Life," 12, LDS Church Archives.

45. Thomas Weber, *The Northern Railroads in the Civil War, 1861–1865* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), 13. For a description of this rail route, see Samuel F. Walker, *Autobiography*, 2, copy by Cheryl A. Bean in possession of author; Wiggill, *Autobiography*, 460; Mary Ann Savill Tame, *Journal*, in Florence C. Youngberg, *Saville Heritage* (privately printed, 1985), 496; Peter Nielsen, *Journal*, 357, LDS Church Archives. For the most detailed account listing over eighty railroad stations from the East Coast all the way to St. Joseph, Missouri, see David John, *Journal*, 252, BYU Special Collections.

46. William Yates, *Journals (1848–91)*, 186–87, LDS Church Archives.

47. Several accounts specifically mention groups of immigrants taking the steamboat *Blackhawk* from Quincy to Hannibal. See, for example, William Ajax, *Diary*, 108, LDS Church Archives; Reuben McBride, *Journal*, 23, LDS Church Archives; John Henry Humphrey Barker, *Journal*, 30, LDS Church Archives; and Peter Nielsen, *Journal*, 358.

48. Barry Wride, *Journal and Autobiography*, 14, BYU Special Collections.

49. Stanley B. Kimball, "Sail and Rail Pioneers before 1869," *BYU Studies* 35, no. 2 (1995): 23–27. For an account of the 1864 emigration season at Wyoming, Nebraska, see Craig S. Smith, "Wyoming, Nebraska Territory: Joseph W. Young and the Mormon Emigration of 1864," in this issue, 30–51.

50. *Journal of Joseph Coulsen Rich*, 19, LDS Archives.

51. John Henry Humphrey Barker, *Journal*, June 21, 1862, 30, LDS Church Archives.

52. John Penman, *Reminiscences*, 29, LDS Church Archives.

53. Ola Nelson Stohl, *Diaries*, June 16, 1862, 12, LDS Church Archives.

54. Mary Ann Rawlings Aveson, *Reminiscences*, in *A History of the Richard Rawlings Family*, comp. Gladys Rawlings Lemon (privately printed, 1986), 100. This incident may have taken place when the travelers encountered a destroyed bridge and were forced to cross a river on foot or perhaps when they were walking from the steamship docks to the outfitting post in Wyoming, Nebraska. See Smith, "Wyoming, Nebraska Territory," this issue, 43.

55. William H. Freshwater, "Diary," in Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 7:250. It should here be noted that Missouri chose to be a neutral state during the Civil War. Yet her land was stained by much bloodshed as a result of federal troops being forced to deal with Confederate sympathizers in Missouri who launched a series of continual guerrilla assaults. St. Joseph, Missouri, was a very hot spot during the war because it was a key railroad depot. Not only were the lives of the Mormon immigrants in danger as they traveled west, but also the lives of local Missourian civilians were continually in jeopardy. For an excellent treatment on this topic in general, see Michael Fellman, *Inside War: The Guerrilla Conflict in Missouri during the American Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), especially 27–28.

56. Elizabeth Staheli Walker, "History of Barbara Sophia Haberli Staheli," 2, LDS Church Archives.
57. "Mary Ann Ward Webb and Her Diary," 96.
58. Thomas Henry White, Autobiography, 1, LDS Church Archives.
59. White, Autobiography, 1.
60. White, Autobiography, 1.
61. Charles Henry John West, "Reminiscences," in *An Enduring Legacy*, comp. Lesson Committee, 12 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1977–89), 5:241–42.
62. John Durrant, "Autobiography," in Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 9:292.
63. Dozens of primary accounts mention this route through Canada. See Jens Christian Weibye, Daybook, 19–20, LDS Church Archives; John Redington, Journal, 351–52, LDS Church Archives; Martin Petersen Kuhre, Reminiscences and Diary, 44, LDS Church Archives; John Henry Humphrey Barker, Journal, 27–28, LDS Church Archives; and Elijah Larkin, Diary, 470–72, LDS Church Archives. Weber, *Northern Railroads*, 13, notes that at the time of the war, this Canadian route took between thirty-seven and thirty-nine hours, while the route passing through just the States from New York to Chicago took about thirty-six hours.
64. Christopher Alston, "Autobiography," in Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 8:37.
65. Brigham Young to George Q. Cannon, March 11, 1862 and March 18, 1862, Brigham Young Letter Books, LDS Church Archives; see also Kimball, "Sail and Rail Pioneers," 27. In an article titled "What the Saints Must Do Who Want to Emigrate," *Millennial Star* 23 (June 8, 1861): 361, Christopher Alston asserts that the Civil War had a depressing effect upon the American market, which obviously had an impact on immigration procedures. This assertion may not be entirely wrong. In April 1862, Brigham Young advised George Q. Cannon of the following: "Should any serious difficulty arise between England and America, of which events we'll seasonably notify you, when the way is hedged up on our sea-board and in the thickly settled Northern States, you will probably be able to pass through Canada and then on some unmolested route to this place." Brigham Young to George Q. Cannon, April 12, 1862, Brigham Young Letter Books, LDS Church Archives. Here Young is referring to the Saints entering Canada through the port of Quebec, a route Cannon had suggested in previous letters. See George Q. Cannon to Brigham Young, January 17, 1861 and February 8, 1862, Brigham Young Papers, LDS Church Archives.
66. Francis George Wall, Autobiography, quoted in Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 7:364.
67. Carl Christian Nikolai Dorius, Journal, in Earl N. Dorius, *The Dorius Heritage* (privately printed, 1976), 107.
68. The name "Josephites" is another term for members of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, led by Joseph Smith III commencing in 1860. See Richard P. Howard, "Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (RLDS Church)," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 3:1211–16.
69. White, Autobiography, 1.
70. Amos M. Musser, Diary, July 3, 1857, 20, LDS Church Archives.
71. H. N. Hansen, "An Account of a Mormon Family's Conversion to the Religion of the Latter-day Saints and Their Trip from Denmark to Utah," *Annals of Iowa* 41 (summer 1971): 722.
72. Hartley, "Great Florence Fitout," 371.
73. Hulmston, "Story of the Church Trains," 38.
74. Nils Christian Flygare, Autobiography, 54, Nils C. Flygare Collection, BYU Special Collections.

75. Andrew Jenson, "Latter-day Saint Emigration from Wyoming, Nebraska," *Nebraska History Magazine* 17 (April–June 1936): 116.

76. Joseph W. Young to Joseph A. Young, July 4, 1864, Jenson, "Latter-day Saint Emigration," 116.

77. Sketch of the life of Dinah Williams Holroyd, 1921, 4–5, LDS Church Archives. It is important to distinguish between Civil War soldiers and military men stationed in various parts of the West because of the threat of Indians. Soldiers at Fort Laramie and other western posts were nearly always assigned to such locations as a result of potential threats from Native Americans and Indian Wars, which reemerged in 1862 and did not subside until 1890. Furthermore, it is rather ironic that at Fort Laramie and elsewhere, the military had a primary responsibility to protect the immigrants who were westward bound. See Don Rickey Jr., *Forty Miles a Day on Beans and Hay: The Enlisted Soldier Fighting the Indian Wars* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963).

78. Lorenzo Hadley [interview], in "Utah Pioneer Biographies," 12:16, Family History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City; Mary Elizabeth Rollins, "Journal," in *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 17 (October 1926): 259.

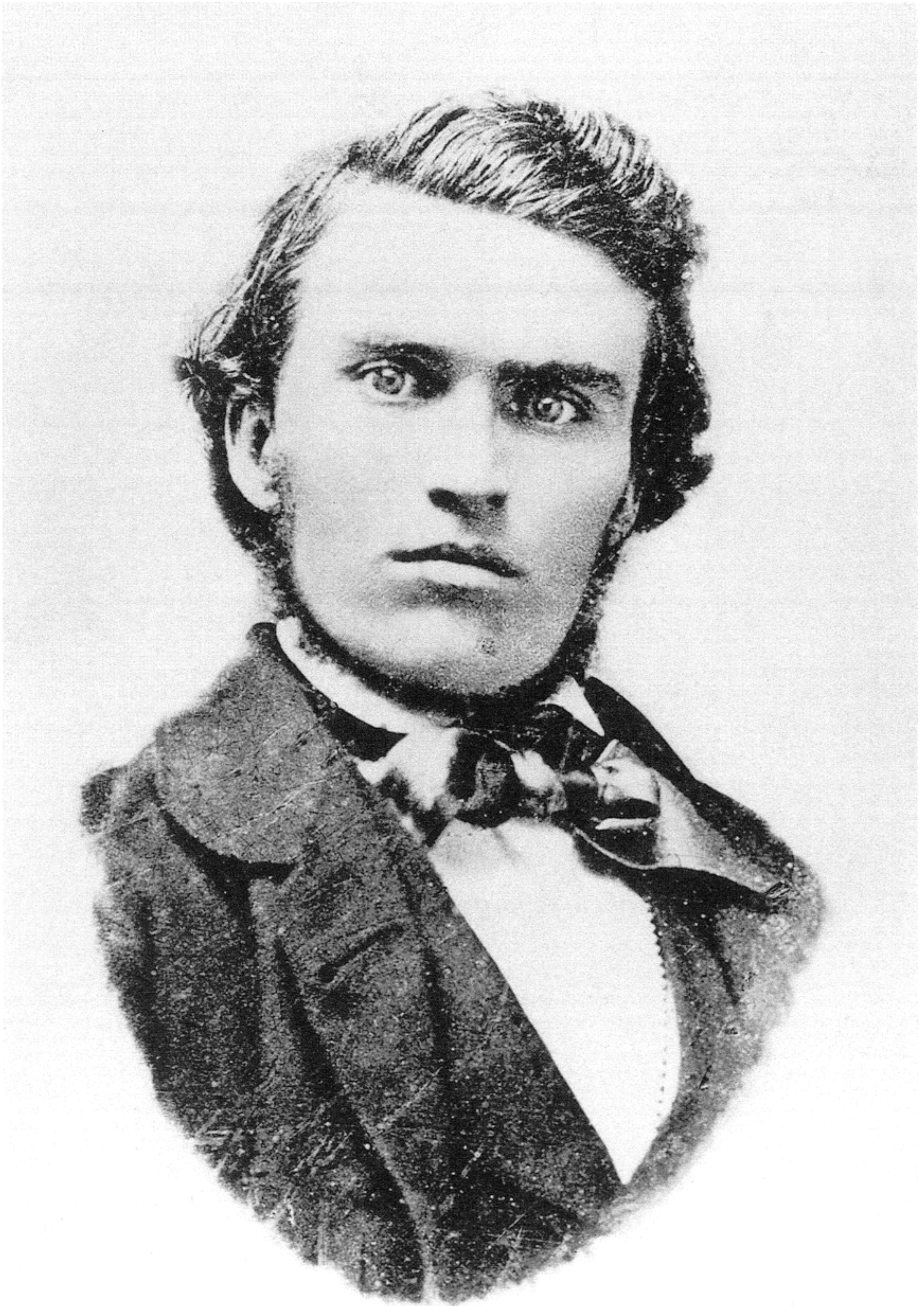
79. See James Mills Paxton, Autobiography, 5–7, BYU Special Collections; William McLachlan, Journal, in Journal History of the Church, October 4, 1863, 18, LDS Church Archives, microfilm copy in Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; and G. G. R. Sangiovanni, "Overland Trips across the American Desert," *The Young Woman's Journal* 23 (August 1912): 427.

80. Alma Elizabeth Mineer Felt, "Journal," in *Enduring Legacy*, 7:199.

81. William Priest, Biographical sketch and diary excerpts, 12, LDS Church Archives.

82. Interestingly, even after arriving in Utah, the Saints were not to escape war altogether. On the very day that Generals Grant and Lee met at the Appomattox Courthouse to put an end to the Civil War, another challenge emerged when hostile, hungry Indians and frustrated Saints who were tired of their cattle being stolen held a lively meeting in Manti, Utah—an event that triggered the Black Hawk War (1865–72). John Alton Peterson, *Mormons, Indians, and Gentiles and Utah's Black Hawk War* (Ph.D. diss., Arizona State University, 1993), 19.

83. 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), 4:540.



Courtesy LDS Church Archives

Joseph W. Young, nephew of Brigham Young, ca. 1860. Young was the Mormon emigration agent at Wyoming, Nebraska, in 1864.

Wyoming, Nebraska Territory: Joseph W. Young and the Mormon Emigration of 1864

Craig S. Smith

On a mild and pleasant Monday, February 22, 1864, Joseph A. Young in company with Elders William C. Staines, John W. Young, and H. B. Clawson departed Salt Lake City by overland mail stage for the East to organize and direct the year's gathering of Saints to Zion. Joseph W. Young, also appointed to this task, had already left the city on the preceding stage. After extensive labors ensuring a successful emigration, these untiring servants did not return to their homes and families until late September when the last emigrants were outfitted and on the final leg of their journey.

As agent assigned, Joseph A. Young, the oldest son of Brigham Young, worked with William Staines and John Young. Joseph A.'s letter of appointment stated that he was "to take the general charge and oversight of affairs pertaining to our this year's immigration in the United States, more particularly in New York City and from said city to this Territory; . . . and to regulate, advise, counsel and control said affairs pertaining to said immigration." Assisting Joseph A. Young, Joseph W. Young, son of Brigham Young's brother Lorenzo Dow Young, juggled and oversaw all aspects of the 1864 emigration at the small, insignificant frontier town of Wyoming, Nebraska, on the Missouri River, forty-four miles south of Omaha.¹

The monumental efforts of the Church agents in implementing and achieving a successful Mormon emigration are generally not considered in most studies. Stories of the Mormon emigration typically focus on the faith, sacrifices, and hardships of the emigrants themselves during their trek to Zion. What is usually not examined is the tremendous amount of behind-the-scenes organizing, planning, and preparing required for a successful emigration. Each year, Church leaders and agents began their endless labor months before the Saints embarked on their famous journey. This was especially true for the "down-and-back" Church wagon trains of the 1860s, perhaps the most ingenious and productive of the various emigration experiments implemented by the Church, including the earlier handcarts.²

Down-and-Back Wagon Trains

After some experimentation in 1860, the Church successfully employed the down-and-back wagon trains in the years 1861–64, 1866, and 1867 to

facilitate the gathering of the poor Saints. For this innovative scheme, the Church requested that each Utah ward or settlement donate, as tithing credit, wagons, teamsters, and supplies for the formation of wagon companies. These companies left Salt Lake City in the late spring for the outfitting post on the Missouri River. They returned in the late summer and fall of the same year with the season's emigrants and freight. This program enabled the Church and the Perpetual Emigration Fund, with their limited resources, to continue emigration without large outlays of money to buy oxen, wagons, and other supplies at the Missouri. The opportunity to return with Church and private freight—an added bonus of the plan—contributed to the self-sufficiency of Utah during the 1860s.

Previously, the Church had used a similar system during the 1846 exodus from Nauvoo. After the initial group of weary refugees arrived at the Missouri River in mid-June, they unloaded their belongings, and the men returned with their wagons and teams to retrieve the less fortunate Saints as they evacuated Nauvoo in late summer and fall.

The complexity of implementing down-and-back trains required considerable planning and organizing on the part of Church leaders and agents. The leaders had to request enough wagons and teamsters from each Mormon settlement—ranging from St. George in the south to Cache Valley in the north—and bring them all together at the proper time. The trains had to time their departure from Salt Lake City in order to reach the staging area on the Missouri River at approximately the same time that the emigrants arrived from the East. Passage to the outfitting post for the emigrants had to be arranged on ships, trains, and steamboats. The agent at the outfitting post on the Missouri had to ensure that enough supplies, wagons, and other freight were on hand. He also had to coordinate the incoming emigrants, who arrived in large numbers, with the waiting Church trains to ensure that all emigrants and freight were assigned to one of the companies returning to Salt Lake City.

The Outfitting Post at Wyoming, Nebraska

The outfitting towns on the Missouri played a pivotal role for all these efforts during the emigration. Though much has been written on the Mormon emigration, little has been detailed concerning the down-and-back outfitting towns, especially Wyoming, Nebraska.³ Wyoming was the center of much activity on the frontier between 1864 and 1866 and was the last Mormon outpost on the Missouri prior to the advent of the transcontinental railroad. Today, this town is all but forgotten, and the site where it once stood is now a cornfield.⁴

An understanding of the complex administrative efforts of emigration agent Joseph W. Young⁵ and his assistants at Wyoming in 1864 provides

a small piece of the picture of the Mormon emigration during the down-and-back decade of the 1860s. The year 1864 was especially important in that it was the first year the Church used Wyoming as the outfitting point on the Missouri. This particular year also proved quite troublesome due to the raging Civil War, which made obtaining supplies and transportation difficult and expensive.⁶ Increased Indian-White hostilities along the Platte River route also contributed to the difficulties of the return trip to Salt Lake City.

The first order of business for Joseph A. Young and Joseph W. Young was the selection of a new point on the Missouri River to replace the previous outfitting station in Florence, Nebraska. After leaving Salt Lake City, Joseph A. journeyed on the Overland Stage route to Kearney, where he met Joseph W. on March 3. Early the next morning, the weary travelers were awakened by the famous satirist Artemus Ward, who had just spent a month in Salt Lake City. Ward “expressed great friendship for the Saints, and said we were a slandered and misused people, and that he would do his best to make us better known.”⁷

The Youngs’ next stop was Omaha, where they banked their funds, checked on the remaining stored freight, including an organ, and completed other necessary business. When the merchants of Omaha discovered that the Church was pulling the outfitting station out of Florence, they exerted much effort to persuade the agents to stay, making very generous offers. After concluding their business in Omaha, Joseph A. and Joseph W. boarded the steamboat *Denver* and traveled to Nebraska City and the town and landing of Wyoming. At the same time, they continued making arrangements for the emigration with the steamboat operators and merchants.⁸

Upon examining Wyoming, they found it “a very desirable place to fit up at, with the exception (if it is an exception) of the scarcity of buildings.”⁹ The merchants of Nebraska City and proprietors of Wyoming, because of their desire for the business of the emigration and their intense rivalry with Omaha, quickly agreed to give the Church “complete control of the town plat, the steamboat landing, and fit us up a good warehouse.”¹⁰

At this time, the town of Wyoming, located about seven miles north of Nebraska City and forty-four miles south of Omaha, consisted of only about a half dozen occupied houses and two unoccupied larger buildings—a warehouse and a hotel.¹¹ The businessmen of the area resolved to refurbish the buildings for the Church’s use. They also promised to ensure that no license would be issued for the sale of liquor in the town of Wyoming. Except for some expense for adding sheds and corrals, the town was ready for the emigration.¹² The *Millennial Star* proclaimed some of the advantages of Wyoming as the outfitting point:

It is a very healthy location, and has a fine range for stock in its vicinity. It has a good landing, and, what is very rare on the Missouri River, it is composed

of gravel and rock. The distance from Wyoming to the Valley is about 20 miles shorter than from Florence; and by the Saints landing there, a distance of some 80 or 90 miles of river travel will be saved.¹³

Of course, this shorter distance would result in a savings for shipping freight and passengers from New York, thereby reducing the cost of the emigration. Joseph W. Young predicted that transportation would be fifty cents less per passenger to Wyoming than to Florence.¹⁴

Travel Arrangements and Supplies for the Emigrants

With the major task of locating a good outfitting point completed, the Youngs departed Nebraska City on March 9 for St. Joseph, St. Louis, and Chicago to tackle the next chores of organizing the emigration. They had to negotiate steamboat and railroad passage for the emigrants who would be coming west by train from New York City, as well as order wagons and obtain a wide range of other supplies.

As they journeyed south, the signs of the Civil War at first included only “a scarcity of laborers, and a small squad of soldiers in almost every little town,” but as they approached Missouri and St. Joseph, they encountered burnt houses, deserted farms, and partly abandoned towns occupied by “ill-mannered, and still more ill-looking soldiers.” Joseph A. Young recorded that “the whole face of the country from where we crossed the M^o line to St. Joseph, bears the impress of the judgments of the Almighty.”¹⁵ More evidences of the war were apparent along the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad, where they saw “every few miles the debris of a ‘wrecked’ train,” and concluded, “were it not that ‘God is with his people’ the thought of the saints travelling over such a road would be almost unbearable.”¹⁶

Major effects of the war were the high cost of everything and the difficulty of obtaining the necessary supplies. The Youngs failed to procure wagons at Espenshied’s in St. Louis due to the lack of seasoned timbers and concern over the uncertain state of the currency. Fortunately, they were able to order over one hundred of the badly needed wagons from Peter Schuttler in Chicago—at very high prices. Based on these prices, they estimated that for 1864 the cost of outfitting a wagon with oxen from the frontier would be over \$350.00, including wagon covers and tents, and about \$150.00 for only a wagon without covers and teams.

After securing the wagons, Joseph A. Young continued his journey on March 15 to New York and Liverpool to focus on other matters of the emigration. Joseph W. Young returned to Wyoming by way of St. Louis to start his labors of the season.¹⁷

Upon his return to St. Louis, Joseph W. again wrote to Brigham Young, complaining about the high prices and difficulties arising from the war. He had been able to purchase the necessary “chains, soap, & candles, stoves,

bake-kettles” and make “arrangements with them for all the goods our Emigrants may want, on (what I consider) much better terms, than I could possibly buy of the jobbers,” though he felt it “almost impossible to get up an outfit.” However, he did end his letter on a positive note, stating that “I never saw the fog so thick but what a brisk wind would clear the sky; and it will clear this time.” He concluded with his thoughts on St. Louis and the war:

The Army is all that is thought of here. Mules for the Army. Horses for the [Army,] Beef for the Army. Wagons for the Army. Men for the Army, and women for the Army. . . . Where the feelings of the people are, I don't know. (and then I do know) I hear men say; “this war has been a splendid thing for St. Louis.” “A splendid thing for Alton.” “The war has made Chicago[.]” “The war has been a great thing for us.” A gentleman showing me a large wholesale house, yesterday remarked, that; “the war has been worth a million to the firm.” I verily believe, there are those who would rejoice at Rivers of blood, if they could make a few dollars in the operations. But I must not moralize.¹⁸

Preparations at the Outfitting Post

By the end of March, Joseph W. Young was back in Wyoming, Nebraska, and during April and May, except for a side trip to Omaha to resolve some legal matters, he was busily preparing for the arrival of the emigrants and Church trains. This extensive effort involved setting up office and warehouse space, purchasing lots and buildings, obtaining enough wagons and cattle, buying large amounts of provisions such as bacon and flour, unloading and storing the constant flow of freight, and ensuring the proper shipment of freight, including the organ left at Omaha the previous season. Starting in June, all had to be ready for the massive onslaught of the Church trains from the West and emigrants from the East.

To add to these labors, Joseph W. was constantly worried about the health of his family, and the lack of news was a continuous trial. He typically ended his letters to Brigham Young with a concern, “Have not heard from my family lately, hope they are well. We would be very glad of a Deseret News.”¹⁹

Joseph W., assisted by N. S. Beatie, busily readied the town of Wyoming. They spent part of April arranging their office and warehouse, and by April 24, Joseph happily reported to Brigham Young that he was writing from his new office “away from the noise & talk of a Hotel.” They also moved into a boarding house that was “not of the latest Parisian style” and employed a “man and his wife . . . to cook, do chores &c.”²⁰ Other improvements included building sheds, corrals, fences, and a stable. When the opportunity presented itself, Joseph W. purchased lots and buildings in the town. During April and May, he paid \$400 for a two-story stone building and lots, \$350 for houses and lots, and \$170 for a stone warehouse.²¹

A major question at this time was whether to encourage the growth of the town or leave it in a fairly undeveloped state. Brigham and Joseph W. agreed that the town should definitively not be developed and should be, as Brigham strongly stated, “a quiet, secluded, good, convenient and sufficiently-near-civilization outfitting point for our freight and immigration.” For practical reasons, Joseph W. argued that the businessmen of Nebraska City, who owned most of the lots in Wyoming, strongly discouraged the development of a closely located competing town and that he had promised them that the Church wanted “the room more than the town.”

Joseph W. also felt it important that the Saints “be some what away from gentile influences” because “it is utterly impossibility [*sic*] to have a Town in this country without having Beer Salons, whiskey shops, whore houses, and scoundrels all around you. You must fight them and stand guard over the weak minded, but good hearted sisters (and many times brethren) to keep them from being destroyed.” Providing insights into his hands-on management style, Brigham Young concluded this discussion with Joseph W. by instructing, “I trust you will always frankly and fully express to me your views upon any and every subject of importance in your official operations, for that gives me a chance to sanction or correct, as my judgement may direct.”²²

In addition to the many tasks Joseph W. Young was asked to implement, Brigham Young also suggested, “It will be well to plant some corn, if you have or can readily procure a suitable spot of ground, and employ a good reliable and responsible person.” It appears that this request was just too much for the busy Joseph W., who responded in a later letter, “I hardly think we will be able to carry it out; but will see what can be done. Most of the improved & unoccupied farms in this neighborhoods have had the fences burnt up & destroyed. Till they are open prairie, and I don’t know of a feild [*sic*] that is secure that we can get.”²³

Of considerable importance to the successful emigration was securing enough supplies and food for the emigrants’ rations. Joseph W. Young was continuously on the lookout for good deals. In early April, he was able to secure sixty thousand pounds of bacon at what he considered the great price of “10 cts for side, and 11 cts for hams.” By April 24, he gleefully noted that the bacon was worth \$1,500 more than he had paid for it. He was equally successful in procuring the necessary flour. On May 12, he explained that he and his associates were “using every exertion to be ready” for the emigrants and were “geting in our flour as fast as two good teams can draw it from the mills and do the other work. Have our bacon now in warehouse.”²⁴

Joseph W. Young received more badly needed assistance in late April when Elders Richard Bentley and Warren S. Snow arrived in Wyoming

from their European missionary efforts. In a letter dated May 15, which was eventually published in the *Millennial Star*, Bentley stated that he had “charge of the warehouse and store” and was “receiving a very large amount of provisions,” including “2,500 sacks of flour, 70,000 pounds of bacon, 80 sacks of beans, 50 sacks of dried apples, a stock of dry goods and groceries, stoves, etc.”²⁵

Due to problems associated with the war, cattle and wagons for the independent trains and for the freight trains proved more difficult to obtain in the necessary numbers at reasonable prices. Throughout April and May, stock prices continued to increase, and Joseph W. Young had trouble purchasing any cattle even at the high prices of \$120 to \$150 a head. Cattle were so scarce that his four-day trip in mid-April failed to procure any. This scarcity was partly the result of the Army taking “such an immense quantity of beef.” Another factor was the inflation of greenbacks, forcing people to keep their cattle in fear of losing money due to the decreasing value of the currency. Joseph W. found “it is not unusual for farmers to say, ‘I would rather keep my cattle than to keep green backs.’” He had hoped but failed to prevail on Joseph A. Young to transfer gold from Liverpool to buy cattle. By late May, government plans to issue large contracts to freight five thousand tons of supplies to the western military posts increased demand for the already meager supply. The only positive note to these difficulties was the possibility that prospectors returning from the gold mines would sell their cattle cheap at the Missouri, though most of the heavy traffic of the season was heading west to the mines and not returning. Due to the scarcity and high prices, Joseph W. Young had to go as far as Sioux City in late May to acquire the necessary cattle.²⁶

Wagons were even more of a problem. The final shipment of wagons originally ordered on March 15 from Peter Schuttler in Chicago did not arrive until the end of July as the emigration season was concluding. This long delay continuously caused Joseph W. great concern. He complained in every letter to Brigham Young that “our wagons are very late in coming” and wrote Peter Schuttler often to determine the problem. Schuttler responded to Young’s many inquiries asking that he remain patient and that Schuttler was “doing all in his power to get them up, but says it is almost impossible to get men and every few days they strike for higher wages.” In addition to the labor problems, shipment of the wagons was slow due to war-related delays along the railroads. To free up the lagging shipments, Joseph W. assigned a Brother Shipp to travel back along the railroads and stay with the wagons until they finally arrived at Wyoming. These long delays forced Joseph W. to buy wagons locally for some of the freighting companies.²⁷ By July, the frustrated Young protested to Schuttler:

I hardly know what to say to you about the matter. I presume you have had trouble in getting them up, but the loss and inconveniences which I suffer

daily for the want of them is almost greater than the worth of the wagons. Our teams are all here ready to load, but no wagons. Our emigrants are here waiting their wagons, but none for them. If you would be in my place for one day, and I could look on and laugh, I would call it square, and find no more fault, not withstanding we suffer a clear loss of at least \$500 for every day we wait here unnecessarily.²⁸

The constant flow of freight into Wyoming kept Joseph W. and his assistants extremely busy with this almost unceasing activity. They unloaded the first freight of the season from the steamboat *Calypso* on April 22; the next shipment arrived April 26 on the steamboat *Denver*. From then on, large quantities of freight appeared every few days throughout May, June, and July. In addition to the badly needed provisions and supplies for the emigration, much of the freight destined for Salt Lake City was shipped for firms such as Hooper & Eldridge and Kimball & Lawrence and for individuals such as A. O. Smoot and Wilford Woodruff.²⁹

As with all aspects of the 1864 emigration, the war caused considerable delay in receiving much of the freight. Joseph W. Young complained that “there is no dependance on Rail Roads or Boats. Government takes either whenever it pleases and everybody else has to stand back,” and he often sent someone back along the railroads to “pry loose a blockade.” The Mormons, however, had “preference over all other passengers & freighters.” By July 4, Joseph W. notified Joseph A. Young that there were “mountains of freight so high that we cannot see the tops, and still filling up.”³⁰

During these considerable preparations, Joseph W. Young also responded to special requests from Brigham Young. At one point, Brigham instructed Joseph to carefully boat the organ and other equipment and supplies left in Florence down the Missouri to Wyoming for shipment to Salt Lake City. Brigham Young expressed special concern over one of the boxes “some 10 1/2 feet long by some 5 feet wide and some 14 inches deep” and lectured Joseph on the best way to load the heavy box onto a wagon because “you may be at some loss about loading the large box to the best advantage, and I will suggest two ways.” The two ways included altering the axle trees of the wagon in various ways to admit the box lying flat. The practical Joseph, always trying to closely follow Brigham’s advice, questioned, “Will it do any harm to bring on the edge? If it will not, I can load it fast enough. I presume it has already had harder knocks than it will ever get again. If it will not ride safely on the edge I can load one or the other way that you mention.”³¹

Organization of the Wagon Trains

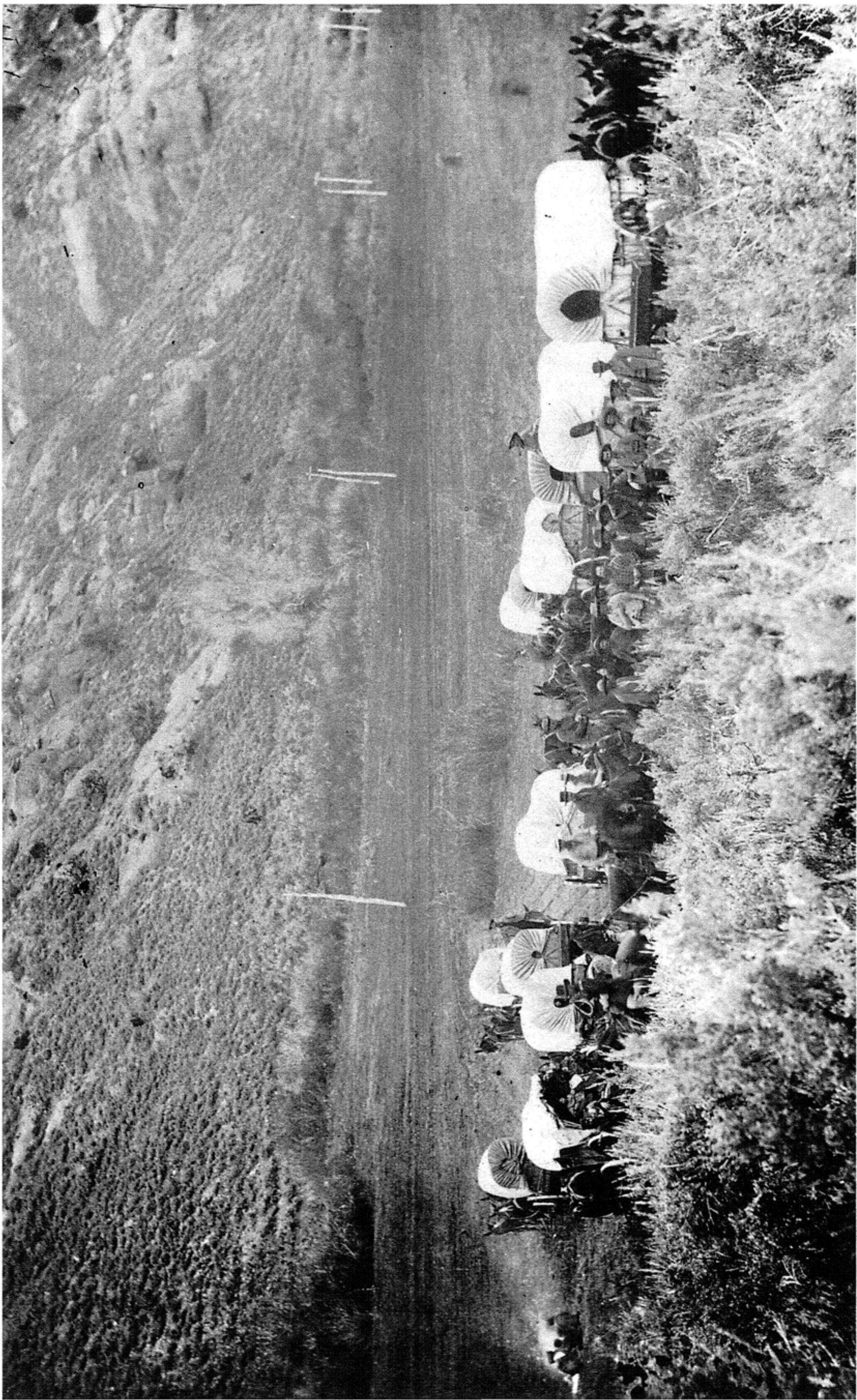
As Joseph W. Young made preparations in Wyoming, others in the Utah settlements organized Church trains for their journey east, while

immigrants and European agents prepared for the voyage across the ocean and North American continent. In late February, Bishop Edward Hunter notified the wards and settlements of their quotas of wagons and personnel required for the 1864 Church trains. Washington County's assignment included "twenty eight ox, mule or horse, teams and wagons and two mounted guards; each team, if oxen, to consist of four yoke of good oxen, of proper age; or four mules or horses and a wagon strong enough to bring thirty hundred; good Chicago wagons being preferable."³²

Of the three hundred wagons requested, Cache Valley's charge was thirty wagons (six from Logan). Three wagons were sent from Kaysville.³³ All other communities were assessed similar numbers. Bishop Hunter also instructed the various leaders to be "as careful as possible to select honest, temperate, good upright and responsible men for teamsters and guards; men who will conduct themselves properly on all occasions, demeaning themselves as they would if on missions preaching the Gospel. For they are called to fill important missions." He thought the teamsters and guards of the previous year were "very good" and preferred the use of the "same list for the outfit of this season."³⁴

The work of the teamsters and guards during the emigration, which could extend up to seven months, counted toward their required labor tithing. As part of their labor tithing, they each had to supply their own provisions and other necessary articles for the journey. Crediting labor tithing reduced the actual expenditures of the Church for the emigration but limited the number of other projects that could be accomplished. Though the Saints faithfully followed the orders as best they could, their assignments resulted in many hardships, especially in the drier, poorer settlements of the south. Washington County residents expressed concern that "our teams travel, seven hundred miles farther than the teams in and around Salt Lake, for which we have heretofore received no additional compensation. Last year, our teams being compelled to wait seven weeks at Florence for their loading, were seven months making the trip, while some other trains made it in four months and receive the same compensation."³⁵

By mid-April, many of the teams and wagons started out from their dispersed settlements for Salt Lake City or for the gathering location in Echo Canyon, east of Salt Lake City. As they arrived, they formed six companies of Church trains, each with a captain. The captains for the 1864 emigration were John R. Murdock, William B. Preston, Joseph S. Rawlins, William S. Warren, Isaac A. Canfield, and William Hyde. These companies departed for the East during the first few days of May. On May 10, Brigham Young was able to report in a telegram sent to Nebraska City, "Three trains



Courtesy Nebraska State Historical Society (R539:4-1)

Pioneer company encampment at Echo Canyon, 1866. Down-and-back wagons from settlements in Utah gathered in this canyon, where they formed companies of Church trains to travel to Nebraska and then return to Utah with the emigrating European Saints.

passed Bridger to-day, and two are east of Little Sandy, all making good time.”³⁶ Totals sent to the Missouri for the season included 170 wagons and the means to purchase 94 wagons, 1,717 oxen and the means to buy 80 oxen, 58 horses and 28 mules, 27 mounted guards, and 244 teamsters.³⁷

Travel from Europe to Wyoming, Nebraska

Halfway around the world in Europe, other efforts on behalf of the immigrants were also moving forward. On March 13, 1864, the *Millennial Star* announced that it was the intention of Brigham Young and the Brethren “to send down teams, this season, from Great Salt Lake City to Florence, to carry up the emigrating Saints” and requested “the names and deposits of those intending to emigrate; also, the orders for oxen, wagons, &c., with the money necessary for their purchase.”³⁸

This announcement kicked off the beginning of the emigration season, and Saints throughout the British Isles and northern Europe began their preparations for the long journey. The raging war of Austria and Prussia against Denmark hampered these efforts in Scandinavia, but “upwards of 800 souls” from Scandinavia managed to travel safely to Liverpool in time to leave on the first ship of the season, with even less disturbance than in previous years. Many young Danish men of the age that required them to serve in the military were also allowed to depart without problems.³⁹

The Church agents in England, under the direction of European Mission president George Q. Cannon, chartered three sailing ships for the 1864 emigration: the *Monarch of the Sea* sailed from Liverpool on April 28 with 974 Saints and arrived in New York City on June 3; the *General McClellan* left Liverpool on May 21 with 802 Saints and docked at New York City on June 23; and the *Hudson* departed London on June 3 with 863 individuals and reached New York City on July 19 (table 1).⁴⁰

TABLE 1. Summary of Companies Leaving Liverpool and London, 1864

Comp. No.	Vessel	Company President	No. of Persons	Departed England	Arrived New York	Arrived Wyoming
127	<i>Monarch of the Sea</i>	John Smith	974	April 28	June 3	June 15–16
128	<i>General McClellan</i>	Thomas Jeremy	802	May 21	June 23	July 3
129	<i>Hudson</i>	John M. Kay	863	June 3	July 19	August 2

SOURCE: Data from *Church Emigration Book, 1862–1881*, Library Division, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

After clearing emigration at Castle Gardens, agents rushed the emigrants up the Hudson River to Albany, where they caught a train west. They

continued on trains through Detroit and Chicago to Quincy.⁴¹ Many of the emigrants arrived in New York City without money or means to procure food and other necessities. Because of the large number of needy emigrants and the train delays, the railroad distributed biscuits and cheese at some locations during the journey. At Chicago, Judge Kinney, W. S. Godbe, and F. A. H. Mitchell donated fifty dollars to help the poor.⁴²

At Quincy the emigrants had to ferry across the Mississippi River, where they boarded a railroad spur that connected to the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad to St. Joseph. Due to the war and the destructive guerilla warfare being waged across Missouri, this portion of the eventful trip was often the most trying. Many of the Saints noted destroyed and burned bridges and torn-up track causing delays and forcing them to carry their baggage across streams and creeks. One emigrant recorded the ordeal:

At seven o'clock on the morning of the 28th, we left on the train and after forty miles we came to the burnt bridge. There, it was necessary for us to carry all of our baggage a half mile. Boards were laid across the canal to walk on. We stayed there until all the supplies and baggage were brought across. There stood the soldiers from the North and awaited any minute those from the South.⁴³

Finally, after enduring these problems, the emigrants arrived at St. Joseph for their last leg of the journey up the Missouri by steamboat to Wyoming.

As all components of the emigration were converging on Wyoming, Brigham Young wrote Joseph W. Young informing him of the important decision not to send Church trains to the Missouri for the 1865 emigration season. A letter announcing the decision was later published in the September 17 issue of the *Millennial Star*. So much had been credited to the labor tithing accounts that the cost of sending Church trains was “hindering the progress of the work upon the Temple.” Many of the emigrants helped by the Church had been negligent in reimbursing the Perpetual Emigrating Fund, and “a large amount of indebtedness had accumulated, which renders it impossible to remunerate for the labor tithing.”⁴⁴ Church leaders decided to focus the resources of the Church during 1865 on the building of the Temple instead of on emigration.

Arrival of the Church Trains and Emigrants

The first Church train of the season, John Murdock’s mule-and-horse train of about seventy-five wagons, rolled into Wyoming on June 6 (table 2). Accompanying Murdock’s train were Daniel H. Wells and Brigham Young Jr., with their families, on their way to a mission in England.⁴⁵ Joseph W. Young was so busily engaged with his extensive daily activities supervising the many aspects of the emigration that he “had not the time to spend with them which I would have liked.”⁴⁶

TABLE 2. Summary of Church Emigration Companies Leaving Wyoming, 1864

Captain (Church Train)	Arrived Wyoming	Departed Wyoming	No. of Persons	No. of Wagons	Arrived Salt Lake City
John D. Chase	—	June 26	85	28	September 20
John D. Murdock (1)	June 6	June 29	78	16	August 26
William S. Preston (2)	June 21	July 8	380	50	September 15
Joseph S. Rawlins (3)	June 26	July 15	400	63	September 20
William S. Warren (4)	July 2	July 21	329	65	October 4
John Smith	—	bef. July 15	150	60	September 25– October 1
Issac A. Canfield (5)	bef. July 3	July 27	211	50	October 5
William Hyde (6)	July 3	August 9	350	62	October 30
Warren S. Snow	—	August 17	400	62	November 2

SOURCE: Data from *Church Emigration Book, 1862–1881*, Library Division, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

The animals of Murdock's train looked well and would have been ready to start home almost immediately except that the wagons ordered from Chicago still had not arrived. Joseph W. Young made every attempt to start the emigrants out "just as soon as possible after their arrival," but problems due to the war kept mounting. He disappointedly confessed, "We were all in hopes that as the season advanced things would into better shape, but they are getting worse & worse. Gold goes one notch higher every battle that is fought. And owners advance prices to match."⁴⁷

On June 15 and 16, steamboats from St. Joseph dropped off the first large company of "tolerably healthy" emigrants—those that had crossed the ocean in the *Monarch of the Sea*. Their arrival added another dimension to the already strained resources of Joseph W. Young and his staff. The first order of business was to shelter and care for the approximately one "thousand Scandinavian Saints and one or two hundred saints of other nationalities" that had disembarked at Wyoming. The rainy weather did not help matters. The agents at Wyoming had few tents, and the emigrants suffered from exposure, but they finally put "most of the women and children into one room of the stone ware house." The emigrants quickly constructed boweries and obtained stoves for their camps while they waited for the Church trains to arrive and organize.⁴⁸

Joseph W. Young and his assistants had much to organize and prepare. They had to ensure that the emigrants had enough to eat, distributing rations for their stay at Wyoming as well as for the trip across the plains. They had to assign individuals to wagons and Church trains and time the arrival of the trains with the arrival of the emigrating Saints. All of these transactions had to be tracked and recorded in the account books.

The established rate for passage from Wyoming to Salt Lake City for adults was fifty-five dollars, children under ten were half price, and luggage

over fifty pounds each was charged at twenty cents per pound. If individuals paid in advance, the costs were slightly less. In addition to preparing the emigrants, the agents had to continuously deal with the freight that piled higher each day.⁴⁹ Much of this considerable freight had to be crammed into the wagons with the emigrants.

Occasional telegrams between Brigham Young and Joseph W. Young facilitated some communication throughout June and early July, though the nearest telegraph offices for Joseph were in Nebraska City and Omaha. Brigham answered some of Joseph's questions, and Joseph reported to Salt Lake City when a number of Church trains were leaving the town of Wyoming.⁵⁰

Paying attention to the small details and implementing instructions from Salt Lake City was also an important part of the agents' job. These details included determining the best procedures for handling the extra luggage brought by the emigrants. Probably because of the mounting unpaid debt of previous emigrants, instructions from Salt Lake City requested that all extra luggage of the passengers be sent separately to a warehouse in Salt Lake City, where individuals would obtain it only after payment. Joseph W., aware of the rigors of the journey and trying to be as efficient as possible, argued that the small amount of overweight gear of most emigrants would be needed "after they reach the chilly, and often cold winds of the mountains" and he "would much rather the people, would be responsible for the safe transportation of their clothing than to take that responsibility for them." He also felt that separating luggage and "giving Bills Lading for same it would very materially add to our already arduous labors." Instead, he proposed weighing all luggage and "charging overweight in their notes on settlement with them." With the frustration typical of a manager in the field responding to instructions from the main office, he wrote to Brigham Young:

It is impossible for you, or the brethren in the Office to understand these (apparently) small items only as they are explained. I will work just as near to the letter of instructions, as the nature of cases will allow, believing that you will be satisfied with my judgement where those instructions cannot be fully carried out without taking up to much time.⁵¹

Departures and Arrivals

The first train to depart with emigrants from Wyoming was John D. Chase's independent company. This company left for Salt Lake City on June 25 with eighty-five Saints in twenty-eight wagons. Several days prior to their departure, Joseph W. issued instructions introducing Chase, a returned missionary from England, to the emigrants and requesting the following:

It would be necessary for the brethren forming said company to raise sufficient means to purchase Bro. Chase a good riding animal, saddle, etc., which I want you to give Bro. Chase as his individual property. Also, brethren I want you to see that Bro. Chase has a comfortable place to board while on the journey.⁵²

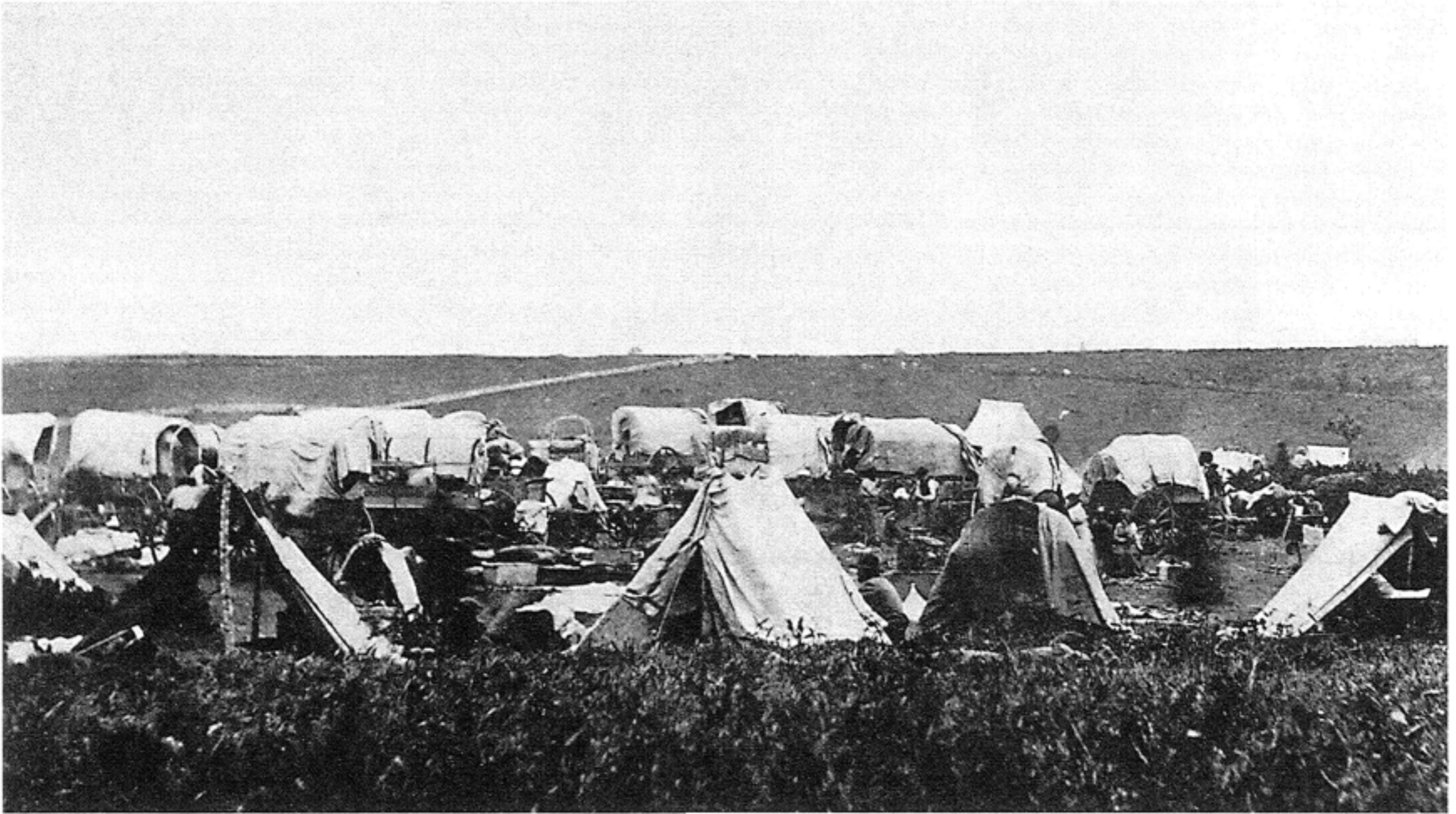
After much effort organizing and loading wagons over a two-week period, John R. Murdock's Church train, the first for the season, was ready to start for Salt Lake City on June 29 with seventy-eight emigrating Saints and large amounts of freight.⁵³

During the last two weeks of June, as the first trains were readied to head west, the remaining Church trains arrived at Wyoming after a long, tiresome journey from Salt Lake City. William B. Preston's train approached Wyoming on June 21, Joseph S. Rawlins's on June 26, William S. Warren's on July 2, and the final train, William Hyde's, on July 3.⁵⁴ Just when the final Church trains were checking in at Wyoming, the next company of approximately eight hundred Saints from the *General McClellan* landed on July 3. Joseph W. Young and staff were now in the thick of the emigration season. All at once, they were juggling the Church trains as some arrived and others departed; the emigrants, as some just off the boat searched for a dry place to camp while others from earlier companies packed and loaded onto the overloaded wagons; and the freight, which continuously required unloading, sorting, tracking, and reloading. The exhausted and ailing Joseph W. Young, in a letter to Joseph A. Young, gasped, "Gen McClelland's company came up last night, and, oh! my soul and all that is great, ain't we rather busy and noisy today. . . . It takes some faith to say 'Be the remover' and have it done."⁵⁵

The "confusion and bustle" of assigning and loading the emigrants from the first two companies, as well as the freight, onto Church trains continued throughout an excessively hot July. Joseph W. made every attempt to "start out one company after another as fast as we can load them, until all are gone." The next Church train, William B. Preston's company, departed Wyoming about July 8, after the clerks had settled with the emigrants. The train included "380 passengers and their baggage and provisions and 1500 lbs. of freight to each of the 50 wagons."

Joseph S. Rawlins's Church train with about 400 Saints in 63 wagons left Wyoming about July 15, followed by William S. Warren's Church train on July 19 with 329 emigrants in 65 wagons and Isaac A. Canfield's train on July 27 with 211 people in 50 wagons. Church Patriarch John Smith's independent train also left in July. By the end of July, all Church trains, except William Hyde's, were on the trail back to Salt Lake City, but the final emigration company of the season had still not arrived. Exhausted but ever optimistic, Joseph W. Young wrote, "We are very much blessed and prospered. The people are generally well, feeling well in Spirit."⁵⁶

Loading the wagons was not without problems. Much to Joseph W. Young's continued annoyance throughout July, he had still not received all of the wagons ordered from Chicago. Adding to this difficulty was another problem: "The teams sent this year are very light, and are not capable of



Courtesy LDS Church Archives

Mormon pioneer encampment at Wyoming, Nebraska, 1866

taking heavy loads as have been taken in former years. Many of the wagons are old and broken and have to be repaired. Very few of them have covers sufficient to protect the loading.” Though many teamsters considered the loads too heavy to make the journey, Young loaded the wagons with an “average of 1,000 lbs freight and ten passengers to a team, all except about five provision wagons.”⁵⁷ These loads required that the emigrants walk most of the way from Wyoming to Salt Lake City, as was the case for most of the gathering Saints.

By the end of July, the last emigration company of the season had still not arrived, and high piles of freight still awaited shipping. Joseph W. Young, now weighing only 112 pounds and under considerable pressure to complete the tasks for the season, worried about the mounting costs and acquiring the additional necessary wagons and teams. He advised Brigham Young, “It takes twice the money twice the worry, and three times the labor to accomplish anything that it ever did before.” He required additional money to “close up,” explaining that “our expenses are enormous. Tents and wagon covers alone make an item of over 5000\$ and having to fuel the Emigrants so long while we wait for wagons, makes a very heavy provision.” The constant problem of having to obtain more wagons and cattle added to the already high expenses. One fortunate purchase was “a train of 15 wagons & 60 yoke cattle, yoke chains all complete \$11500.00,” which he bought on credit while he waited for money from Brigham Young.⁵⁸

Finally, on August 2, the third and last company of Saints from the ship *Hudson* landed at Wyoming. The party included about 150 Swiss, German,

Dutch, and French Saints docking at about 5:00 P.M. in the steamboat *Colorado* and about 750 emigrants from Great Britain arriving about 6:00 P.M. in the steamboat *J. H. Lacy*. Again, preparations for the journey west were in full swing. The agents at Wyoming provided for the emigrants and made them as comfortable as possible.⁵⁹ William Hyde's Church train was quickly loaded with 350 passengers and freight in 62 wagons and was ready to go by August 9.

Because of the large number of remaining people and freight, Joseph W. Young purchased enough wagons to form an additional train captained by Warren S. Snow, one of the returned missionaries who had helped with the emigration at Wyoming. On August 9, Hyde's train, after lingering over five weeks, finally moved out about fifty miles from Wyoming and waited for Snow's train. Snow's company followed about a week later on August 18 with over 62 wagons and 400 passengers.⁶⁰

The two companies traveled together for the first portion of the journey "on account of the many Indian depredations being committed on the road." The *Millennial Star* reported, "Like it is in the East with the guerrillas, it is now on the journey before us. Depredations, some of them of the most fearful character, are reported having been committed by Indians on defenceless travellers;" however, the Saints "passed through places where these scenes have been enacted without being in the least disturbed or molested."⁶¹

The End of the Emigration Season

With the successful completion of the emigration at Wyoming, the weary Joseph W. Young and his assistants left for their homes in Salt Lake City by private conveyance on August 21. Because of the Indian problems, they continued with the Hyde and Snow companies as far as Julesburg, Nebraska. Joseph W. telegraphed Salt Lake City from Julesburg concerning the status of the final two trains of the season:

Left trains yesterday, all well. Expect to be home by the 28th. These are the last two trains. Cpts. Hyde and Snow need 50 yoke of oxen to meet them as soon as possible, at the head of Bitter Creek certain. They are coming on that route and several of their cattle have the hoof ail.⁶²

Joseph W. and his associates then quickly traveled on to Salt Lake City where they arrived on September 25. The heavily loaded wagons of the Hyde and Snow trains did not appear in Salt Lake City until October 26 and November 2, thus ending another emigration year. The Church agents had facilitated the passage of over 2,600 Saints to their new home in Zion. Joseph W. Young had "proved himself a very capable manager and leader" during the execution of his enormous duties and responsibilities.⁶³

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1. Joseph A. Young, "Journal of a Mission to the Eastern States [1864]," holograph, 1, Manuscripts Division, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City; *Journal History of the Church* (hereafter cited as *Journal History*), March 22 and October 12 1864, Archives Division, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives), microfilm copy in Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; Joseph W. Young Letter of Appointment, Joseph W. Young Papers, LDS Church Archives.

2. The important era of the down-and-back Church trains has received relatively little attention when compared with the earlier 1847–48 exodus and the handcart immigrations. A summary of the Church trains is provided in William W. Slaughter and Michael Landon, *Trail of Hope: The Story of the Mormon Trail* (Salt Lake City: Shadow Mountain, 1997); Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830–1900* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), 205–11; B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Century One*, 6 vols. (Provo, Utah: Corporation of the President, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1965), 5:106–15; John K. Hulmston, "Mormon Immigration in the 1860s: The Story of the Church Trains," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 58, no. 1 (1990): 32–48. The 1861 Church trains are discussed in William G. Hartley, "Down-and-Back Wagon Trains: Travelers on the Mormon Trail in 1861," *Overland Journal* 11 (winter 1993): 23–34; and William G. Hartley, "The Great Florence Fitout of 1861," *BYU Studies* 24, no. 3 (1984): 341–71. Craig S. Smith, "The 1868 Mormon Emigration: An End of an Era," *Overland Journal* 15 (winter 1997–98): 20–31, discusses the 1868 emigration.

3. An excellent study of the outfitting town of Florence, Nebraska, in 1861 is Hartley, "Great Florence Fitout."

4. In 1998 the John Watts Barrett Family Organization erected and dedicated a historical marker honoring the old river town, its cemetery, and pioneers buried there. See "Marker Identifies Point of Departure for 1860s Pioneers: Town Gone but Features are Evident," *Church News*, published by *Deseret News*, October 17, 1998, 12.

5. Joseph W. Young was well aware of the needs of the down-and-back wagon trains, as he had captained the first experimental down-and-back train in 1860 and had also been captain of an 1861 train. Hartley, "Great Florence Fitout," 345, 349.

6. For an understanding of some of the effects of the Civil War on Mormon emigration, see Fred E. Woods, "East to West through North and South: Mormon Immigration during the Civil War," in this issue, 6–29.

7. Joseph A. Young, "Journal of a Mission," 10–11. Later in 1864, Ward toured the East with a comic panorama about the Mormons.

8. Joseph A. Young, "Journal of a Mission," 11–14. William E. Lass, *From the Missouri to the Great Salt Lake: An Account of Overland Freighting* (Lincoln: Nebraska State Historical Society, 1972), details the intense competition between Omaha and Nebraska City during the early 1860s.

9. Joseph W. Young to Brigham Young, March 8, 1864, holograph, Brigham Young Collection, LDS Church Archives.

10. Joseph A. Young, "Journal of a Mission," 14.

11. Jacob Dawson plotted the town in 1856 and named it after his home in Wyoming, Pennsylvania. The town can be reached via Highway 75 south from Omaha or north from Nebraska City. It is 17 miles south of where Highway 34 turns east to

Plattsmouth, 3.6 miles south of where Highway 34 turns west to Union, and 1.5 miles south of the Otoe-Cass County line. "Marker Identifies Point of Departure," 12. Additional detail on Wyoming, Nebraska, is provided in Stanley B. Kimball, *Historic Sites and Markers along the Mormon and Other Great Western Trails* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988).

12. Joseph W. Young to Brigham Young, March 24, 1864, holograph, Brigham Young Collection, LDS Church Archives.

13. "The Emigration and Contagious Diseases," *Millennial Star* 26 (1864): 251.

14. Joseph W. Young to Brigham Young, March 8, 1864.

15. Joseph A. Young, "Journal of a Mission," 15–16.

16. Joseph A. Young, "Journal of a Mission," 16–17.

17. Joseph A. Young, "Journal of a Mission," 18–21; Joseph W. Young to Brigham Young, March 20, 1864, holograph, Brigham Young Collection, LDS Church Archives. Hartley, "Great Florence Fitout," 342, notes that wagons ordered from Schuttler in 1861 cost only \$65.00 compared with the \$150.00 per wagon price in 1864, indicating considerable inflation due to the war.

18. Joseph W. Young to Brigham Young, March 20, 1864.

19. Joseph W. Young to Brigham Young, May 27, 1864, holograph, Brigham Young Collection, LDS Church Archives.

20. Joseph W. Young to Brigham Young, April 24, 1864, holograph, Brigham Young Collection, LDS Church Archives.

21. Church Teams Accounts, Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company, Financial Accounts, 1849–1885, holograph, microfilm, LDS Church Archives.

22. Brigham Young to Joseph W. Young, May 10, 1864, typescript, Brigham Young Collection, LDS Church Archives; Joseph W. Young to Brigham Young, April 24, 1864.

23. Brigham Young to Joseph W. Young, May 10, 1864, Brigham Young Collection, LDS Church Archives; Joseph W. Young to Brigham Young, May 27, 1864.

24. Joseph W. Young to Brigham Young, April 8, April 24, and May 12, 1864, holograph, Brigham Young Collection, LDS Church Archives.

25. "Abstract of Correspondence," *Millennial Star* 26 (1864): 461.

26. Joseph W. Young to Brigham Young, April 8, April 24, May 12, May 24, and May 27, 1864, holograph, Brigham Young Collection, LDS Church Archives.

27. Joseph W. Young to Brigham Young, May 17, May 24, May 27, June 12, June 15, July 17, July 22, and July 25, 1864, holograph, Brigham Young Collection, LDS Church Archives.

28. Joseph W. Young to Peter Schuttler, typescript, July 5, 1864, in information compiled by Andrew Jenson concerning Wyoming, Nebraska, 16, LDS Church Archives.

29. Church Teams Accounts, LDS Church Archives.

30. Joseph W. Young to Brigham Young, May 12, May 24, May 27, and June 15, 1864; Joseph W. Young to Joseph A. Young, typescript, July 4, 1864, in Jenson, information concerning Wyoming, Nebraska, 15; also in Andrew Jenson, "Latter-day Saints Emigration from Wyoming, Nebraska—1864–1866," *Nebraska History Magazine* 17, no. 2 (1936): 113–27.

31. Brigham Young to Joseph W. Young, May 10, 1864; Joseph W. Young to Brigham Young, May 27, 1864.

32. Journal History, March 6, 1864, letter from Edward Hunter to Erastus Snow, February 15, 1864.

33. Henry Ballard, Journal, typescript, 48, LDS Church Archives; Reminiscences of Robert Bodily, typescript, 14–15, LDS Church Archives.

34. Journal History, March 6, 1864, Hunter to Snow, February 15, 1864.

35. Journal History, March 20, 1864, letter from Erastus Snow to Edward Hunter, March 20, 1864.

36. *Church Emigration Book, 1862–1881*, Library Division, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Library); William Hyde, Journal, holograph, microfilm, 186, LDS Church Archives; Ballard, Journal; Orley Dewight Bliss, Journal, xerox of holograph, LDS Church Archives; telegram to Nebraska City, Brigham Young to Joseph W. Young, May 10, 1864, typescript, Brigham Young Collection, LDS Church Archives.

37. Journal History, May 31, 1864.

38. “Emigration Deposits, etc.,” *Millennial Star* 26 (1864): 168.

39. “The Emigration of the Scandinavian Saints,” *Millennial Star* 26 (1864): 281–82; “Biographical Events of J. C. L. Breinholt,” typescript, 8, 9, LDS Church Archives; “Andrew Christian Nielson, Pioneer,” in *Our Pioneer Heritage*, comp. Kate B. Carter, 20 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1958–77), 11:275–77.

40. *Millennial Star* 26 (1864): 298, 364, and 394; *Church Emigration Book*.

41. The Mormon emigration started using the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad from Chicago to Quincy in 1859 once the construction of the connecting Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad to St. Joseph on the Missouri River was completed. See Stanley B. Kimball, “Sail and Rail Pioneers before 1869,” *BYU Studies* 35, no. 2 (1995): 6–42, for more detail on midwestern railroads used during the Mormon emigration.

42. “Correspondence,” *Millennial Star* 26 (1864): 524–25.

43. Peder Christian Nielsen, Translation of Journal, typescript, 29, LDS Church Archives; Charles William Symons, “Life of Charles William Symons,” *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 30 (April 1939): 88–95; “Andrew Christian Nielson, Pioneer,” 11:275–77; “Mary Ann Ward Webb—Gracious Lady,” in Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 8:40–41. Elder John M. Kay, traveling with the company from the *Hudson*, described the state of affairs in Missouri at the time of their crossing in a letter published in “Correspondence,” *Millennial Star* 26 (1864): 621:

We heard of whole towns being ransacked, and the people were robbed of all the money they possessed, as well as of other valuable articles—of bridges being burned, also stores, railway depots and other buildings being totally destroyed, at almost every place we stopped. The country is fast going down to ruin—trade is dull and everything is dear. The inhabitants seem all of them to be anxious about their safety. Neglect is apparent in every place. The Prophet’s words are indeed fulfilling, for desolation at the rate they are going on is inevitable.

Richard S. Brownlee, *Gray Ghosts of the Confederacy: Guerrilla Warfare in the West, 1861–1865* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1958), discusses the occupation of Missouri by the Union and the guerrilla warfare waged by the Confederacy between 1861 and 1865.

44. “Emigration and the Temple,” *Millennial Star* 26 (1864): 601; Brigham Young to Joseph W. Young, June 9, 1864, typescript, Brigham Young Collection, LDS Church Archives. Some discussions of the down-and-back years such as Hulmston, “Mormon Immigration in the 1860s,” 32–48, speculate that the Black Hawk War was the reason for not sending Church trains in 1865. As can be seen here, the decision was made prior to the start of the Black Hawk War.

45. Joseph M. Tanner, *A Biographical Sketch of John Riggs Murdock* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1909), 150.

46. Joseph W. Young to Brigham Young, June 12, 1864.

47. Joseph W. Young to Brigham Young, June 12, 1864.

48. Joseph W. Young to Brigham Young, June 15, 1864; information compiled by Andrew Jenson concerning Wyoming, Nebraska, 14.

49. Joseph W. Young to Joseph A. Young, June 16, 1864, in information compiled by Andrew Jenson concerning Wyoming, Nebraska, 11; Joseph W. Young to Brigham Young, June 21, 1864, holograph, Brigham Young Collection, LDS Church Archives; Church Teams Accounts, LDS Church Archives.

50. Several brief telegrams between Brigham Young and Joseph W. Young, June and July 1864, typescript, Brigham Young Collection, LDS Church Archives.

51. Joseph W. Young to Brigham Young, June 21, 1864.

52. Instructions issued by Joseph W. Young, typescript, in information compiled by Andrew Jenson concerning Wyoming, Nebraska, 12–13.

53. *Church Emigration Book*.

54. Hyde, Journal, 186; Ballard, Journal, 52; Bliss, Journal.

55. Joseph W. Young to Joseph A. Young, typescript, July 4, 1864, in information compiled by Andrew Jenson concerning Wyoming, Nebraska, 15.

56. Joseph W. Young to Brigham Young, July 6 and July 17, 1864, holograph, Brigham Young Collection, LDS Church Archives; Ballard, Journal, 53; *Church Emigration Book*.

57. Joseph W. Young to Brigham Young, July 6 and July 17, 1864.

58. Joseph W. Young to Brigham Young, July 22 and 25, 1864.

59. Entry under August 2, 1864, in information compiled by Andrew Jenson concerning Wyoming, Nebraska, 24.

60. *Church Emigration Book*; Hyde, Journal, 186.

61. "Correspondence," *Millennial Star* 26 (1864): 621. On August 7, 1864, the Indians made extensive attacks "upon stage coaches, emigrant trains, freight wagon trains, stations, and ranches" ranging from Julesburg in the west to the Little Blue River in the east. The Indians killed over fifty individuals during these raids, essentially shutting down the trail to Denver. The history of these raids is detailed in Leroy W. Hagerty, "Indian Raids along the Platte and Little Blue Rivers, 1864–1865," *Nebraska History* 28, nos. 3 and 4 (1947): 176–86.

62. *Church Emigration Book*.

63. *Church Emigration Book*.

Earth Writing

Eastern states mosaic the map.
 Moving west, the states are more like patio tiles.
 It looks like the cartographers tired
 on drawing West,
 the way second graders
 begin a story with tidy scrawl
 and write bigger and bigger:
 fat *D*'s, broad *U*'s, and be done.

Or like people who save places,
 spreading quilts on the green
 for friends coming late to the concert.

When you claim nothing,
 your hunger is infinite.
 Getting little,
 you demand much.
 Lines have to be drawn
 so you have at least three trees,
 one thunderhead,
 and part of a creek—
 so those rocks and that mountain
 don't consume the county—
 and when the wind picks up your soul
 it remains in state.

—Casualene Meyer

Joseph Smith and the Problem of Evil

David L. Paulsen

Nothing challenges the rationality of our belief in God or tests our trust in him more severely than human suffering and wickedness. Both are pervasive in our common experience. If this is not immediately evident, a glance at the morning paper or the evening news will make it so. At the moment, names like “Oklahoma City,” “Columbine,” “Kosovo,” and “Turkey” evoke image upon image of unspeakable human cruelty or grief. But still “Auschwitz” and “Belsen” haunt our memories. And who can fathom the anguish of family members in West Valley, Utah, when they discovered their precious little girls suffocated together in the trunk of an automobile, the tragic outcome of an innocent game of hide-and-seek. Or the trauma of a dear friend of mine and his five young children who day by day for several months watched their lovely wife and mother wither down to an emaciated skeleton of eighty-five pounds as she endured a slow and painful death from inoperable cancer of the throat. Scenes like these are repeated daily a thousand and a thousand times.

But we need not speak only of the sufferings of others. Few of us here will escape deep anguish, for it is apparently no respecter of persons and comes in many guises, arising out of our experience of incurable or debilitating diseases, mental illness, broken homes, child and spouse abuse, rape, wayward loved ones, tragic accidents, untimely death—the list can be extended indefinitely. No doubt, many of us have already cried out, “Why, God? Why?” And many of us, often on behalf of a loved one, have already pleaded, “Please, God, please help,” and then wondered as, seemingly, the only response we’ve heard has been a deafening silence. All of us have struggled, or likely will struggle, in a very personal way with the problem of evil.

I say *the* problem of evil, but actually there are many. I want to consider just three, which I will call (1) the logical problem of evil, (2) the soteriological problem of evil, and (3) the practical problem of evil. The logical problem is the apparent contradiction between the world’s evils and an all-loving, all-powerful creator. The soteriological problem is the apparent contradiction between certain Christian concepts of salvation and an all-loving Heavenly Father. The practical problem is the personal challenge of living trustingly and faithfully in the face of what seems to be overwhelming evil.

The Logical Problem of Evil

Soaked as it is with human suffering and moral evil, how is it *possible* that our world is the creation of an almighty, perfectly loving creator? So stated, the logical problem of evil poses a puzzle of deep complexity. But the conundrum evoked by our reflection on this question appears to be more than just a paradox: we seem to stare contradiction right in the face. The ancient philosopher Epicurus framed the contradiction in the form of a logical dilemma: Either God is unwilling to prevent evil or he is unable. If he is unwilling, then he cannot be perfectly good; if he is unable, then he cannot be all powerful. Whence then evil? And eighteenth-century skeptic David Hume expressed the contradiction in much the same way:

Why is there any misery at all in the world? Not by chance, surely. From some cause then. Is it from the intention of the Deity? But he is perfectly benevolent. Is it contrary to his intention? But he is almighty. Nothing can shake the solidity of this reasoning, so short, so clear, so decisive.¹

The Traditional Formulation. Hume's succinct statement has since provided the framework within which the logical problem of evil has been discussed. However, I believe Hume's way of formulating the problem is far too narrow, unjust to both challenger and defender of belief in God—especially to the Christian defender. For the challenger intent on disproving God's existence, I do not believe that the problem has been stated in its starkest form. While affirming that (i) God is perfectly good and (ii) all-powerful, traditional Christian theologians commonly affirm two additional propositions that intensify the problem: (iii) God created all things absolutely—that is, out of nothing, and (iv) God has absolute foreknowledge of all the outcomes of his creative choices. While apologists for belief in God have labored long to reconcile the world's evil with God's goodness and power, they have often overlooked the much more difficult task of reconciling evil, not only with his goodness and power, but with God's absolute creation and absolute foreknowledge as well.

Twentieth-century English philosopher Antony Flew takes these additional premises into account in arguing that any such reconciliation is impossible. It is perfectly proper in the face of apparently pointless evil, he says, to look first for some *saving* explanation which will show that, in spite of appearances, there really is a God who loves us. But Flew claims that believers have assigned God attributes which block a saving explanation altogether:

We cannot say that [God] would like to help but cannot: God is omnipotent. We cannot say that he would help if he only knew: God is omniscient. We cannot say that he is not responsible for the wickedness of others: God creates those others. Indeed an omnipotent, omniscient God must be an accessory before (and during) the fact to every human misdeed; as well as being responsible for every non-moral defect in the universe.²

We can formulate Flew's version of the logical problem of evil as follows:

- (i) God exists, is perfectly loving, omnipotent, and omniscient, and created all things absolutely.
- (ii) Evils occur.
- (iii) A perfectly loving being prevents all the evils it can.
- (iv) An omnipotent, omniscient, absolute creator can prevent all evils.
- (v) Hence, all evils are prevented. (i) (iii) (iv)
- (vi) Therefore, evils occur and all evils are prevented. (ii) and (v)

By means of this argument, Flew attempts to reduce traditional assumptions about the nature of God to a logical contradiction. Or, to state Flew's argument differently, if God creates all things (including finite agents) absolutely (that is, out of nothing), knowing beforehand all the actual future consequences of his creative choices, then he is an accessory before the fact and ultimately responsible for every moral and nonmoral defect in the universe. And if, as some believers allege, some human agents will suffer endlessly in hell, God is also at least jointly responsible for these horrendous outcomes. But if so, how can he possibly be perfectly loving? Given the traditional understanding of God, whatever our consistency-saving strategies, in the end (I believe) we must candidly confess that they are not very convincing.

Theodicy in Broader Terms. On the other hand, this exclusive focus on reconciling evil with *just* a set of divine attributes is unfair to the Christian defender. For it fails to acknowledge the incarnation of God the Son in the person of Jesus of Nazareth, and his triumph over suffering, sin, and death through his Atonement and Resurrection. Any Christian account of the problem of evil that fails to consider this—Christ's mission to overcome the evil we experience—will be but a pale abstraction of what it could and should be.

I propose, then, to consider the problem of evil from this broader perspective, confronting it in terms of its starkest statement, but also in terms of its strongest possible solution: a worldview centered in the saving acts of Jesus Christ.

The Prophet Joseph Smith received revealed insights that *do* address the problem of evil in its broadest terms. His revelations suggest what might be called a soul-making theodicy (or explanation of evil), centered within a distinctively Christian soteriology (or doctrine of salvation). But both are framed within a theology that rejects absolute creation and, consequently, rejects the philosophical definition of divine omnipotence which affirms that there are no (or no nonlogical) limits to what God can do. The Prophet's worldview, I believe, dissolves the logical and soteriological problems of evil while infusing with meaning and hope our personal

struggles with suffering, sin, and death. To show (albeit briefly) that this is so is my purpose.

Theodicy (literally, God's justice) is the attempt to reconcile God's goodness with the evil that occurs in the world. In coming to appreciate the power of Joseph Smith's revealed insights for such reconciliation, it will be instructive to compare and contrast them with the theodicy developed by contemporary philosopher John Hick in his fine book *Evil and the God of Love*, widely recognized as the watershed work on the problem of evil.

In *Evil and the God of Love*, Hick constructs a soul-making theodicy that retains the doctrine of absolute creation. The soul-making component in Hick's theodicy is highly reminiscent of Joseph's revelation. Both affirm that God's fundamental purposes in creating us and our world environment include first, enabling us, as morally and spiritually immature agents created in the image of God, to develop into God's likeness; and second, enabling us to enter into an authentic (that is, a free and un-compelled) relationship of love and fellowship with him. To achieve these ends, Hick says, God endowed us with the power of self-determination (or, as he calls it, incompatibilist freedom) and, to preserve that freedom, epistemically distanced us from himself. God effects that distancing, Hick suggests, by having us emerge as largely self-centered creatures out of a naturalistic evolutionary process, or, as Joseph maintains, by God's "veiling" our memory of our premortal existence. God also endowed us, Hick says, with a rudimentary awareness of Him and some tendency toward moral self-transcendence. The Prophet identifies this awareness and predisposition as "the light of Christ which enlighteneth every man who cometh into the world" (D&C 84:46). Soul-making (that is, development into the moral and spiritual likeness of God) occurs as we overcome our self-centeredness by making moral choices within an environment fraught with hardship, pain, and suffering.

To this point, the understandings of Hick and Joseph seem strikingly similar.

Absolute Creation: Hick and Joseph. With respect to creation, however, Hick and the Prophet maintain decidedly different positions. Hick affirms absolute creation (or creation out of nothing), while Joseph denies it. With his affirmation of absolute creation, Hick endorses all four theological postulates—perfect goodness, absolute power, absolute foreknowledge, and absolute creation—which confront him head-on with Flew's divine complicity argument. And Hick sees as clearly as Flew, and explicitly acknowledges, the logical consequence of his position: God *is* ultimately responsible for *all* the evil that occurs in the world. Hick explains why this is so.

One whose action, A, is the primary and necessary precondition for a certain occurrence, O, all other direct conditions for O being contingent upon A,

may be said to be responsible for O, if he performs A in awareness of its relation to O and if he is also aware that, given A, the subordinate conditions will be fulfilled. . . . [God's] decision to create the existing universe was the primary and necessary precondition for the occurrence of evil, all other conditions being contingent upon this, and He took His decision in awareness of all that would flow from it.³

But given Hick's admission that God is ultimately responsible for all the evil that occurs in the world, how can he possibly claim that God is perfectly loving?

Hick's Way Out. Hick sees one, and *only* one, way out. His avenue of escape is through appeal to a doctrine of universal salvation. In Hick's view, all of us will finally achieve an authentic relationship with God in a post-mortal life, the value of which will far outweigh any finite evil suffered here. He explains:

We must thus affirm in faith that there will in the final accounting be no personal life that is unperfected and no suffering that has not eventually become a phase in the fulfilment of God's good purpose. Only so, I suggest, is it possible to believe both in the perfect goodness of God and in His unlimited capacity to perform His will. For if there are finally wasted lives and finally unredeemed sufferings, either God is not perfect in love or He is not sovereign in rule over His creation.⁴

Though I find Hick's way out appealing, its scriptural warrant is questionable, and it engenders conceptual difficulties of its own. Let us consider briefly just two.

(i) Though, in Hick's view, God endows us with a strong power of self-determination, it does not follow from his view that our choices occur in a vacuum. They are always choices of particular persons with particular natures. Recall that Hick describes our primordial nature as being largely self-centered with a rudimentary awareness of God and some slight tendency toward morality. Since in Hick's account God creates out of nothing these primal natures (or, alternatively, the world process that invariably produces these natures), I see no reason, given Hick's assumptions, why God could not have made us significantly better than we are. Why is there not, for example, some significant reduction in our sometimes seemingly overwhelming tendencies toward self-centeredness or some significant increase in our natural aversion to violence? Such creative choices on God's part might have narrowed somewhat the options over which our own choices might range but would apparently negate neither incompatibilist freedom nor soul-making objectives. Seemingly, Hick's absolute creator could have made a much better world than ours.

(ii) On the other hand, it is hard to see how it can be certain (as Hick claims) that God, without compromising anyone's freedom, will *inevitably* lure every finite agent into a loving relationship with himself. Given that in

Hick's view we must have incompatibilist freedom in order to enter into an authentic personal relationship with God, how can it be certain that there won't be, as C. S. Lewis suggested, "rebels to the end" with "the doors of hell . . . locked on the *inside*"?⁵ How can this possibility be precluded? Hick suggests that while it is not theoretically, it is practically precluded because

God has formed the free human person with a nature that can find its perfect fulfillment and happiness only in active enjoyment of the infinite goodness of the Creator. He is not, then, trying to force or entice His creatures against the grain of their nature, but to render them free to follow their own deepest desire, *which can lead them only to Himself*. For He has made them for Himself, and their hearts are restless until they find their rest in Him.⁶

But now Hick is waffling, for it appears that we are not free after all. If so, Hick's position is inconsistent. To account for moral evil, Hick posits God's giving us incompatibilist freedom and genuine independence to choose for ourselves—even contrary to His desires for us. But given his affirmation of absolute creation and absolute foreknowledge, Hick sees that God's perfect goodness is possible only if not one soul is lost. To salvage God's goodness, Hick is forced to accept some mode of determinism that undermines his free-will defense. Hick's way out, as appealing as it first appears, seems on analysis to be incoherent.

Joseph's Way Out. Joseph's way out of the conceptual incoherency generated by the traditional theological premises is to not go in. His revelations circumvent the theoretical problem of evil by denying the trouble-making postulate of absolute creation and, consequently, the classical definition of divine omnipotence. Contrary to classical Christian thought, Joseph explicitly affirmed that there are entities and structures which are coeternal with God himself (D&C 93:23, 29). In my reading of Joseph's discourse, these eternal entities include chaotic matter, intelligences (or what I will call primal persons), and lawlike structures or principles. According to Smith, God's creative activity consists of bringing order out of disorder, of organizing a cosmos out of chaos, not of the production of something out of nothing. Two statements from Joseph's King Follett sermon should give some sense of how radically his understanding of creation departs from the classical Christian notion. With respect to the creation, Joseph wrote:

You ask the learned doctors why they say the world was made out of nothing; and they will answer, "Doesn't the Bible say He *created* the world?" And they infer, from the word create, that it must have been made out of nothing. Now, the word create came from the [Hebrew] word *baurau* which does not mean to create out of nothing; it means to organize. . . . Hence, we infer that God has materials to organize the world out of chaos—chaotic matter. . . . Element had an existence from the time [God] had. The pure principles of element are principles which can never be destroyed; they may be organized and re-organized, but not destroyed. They had no beginning, and can have no end.⁷

More particularly, with respect to the creation of man, Joseph added:

The mind of man—the immortal spirit. Where did it come from? All learned men and doctors of divinity say that God created it in the beginning; but it is not so. . . . I am going to tell of things more noble.

We say that God himself is a self-existent being. Who told you that man did not exist in like manner upon the same principles? Man does exist upon the same principles. God made a tabernacle and put a spirit into it, and it became a living soul. . . . How does it read in the Hebrew? It does not say in the Hebrew that God created the spirit of man. It says “God made man out of the earth and put into him Adam’s spirit, and so became a living body.”

The mind or the intelligence which man possesses is [coeternal] with God himself.⁸

Elsewhere Joseph taught that there are also “laws of eternal and self-existent principles”⁹—normative structures of some kind, I take it, that constitute things as they (eternally) are. What are possible instances of such laws or principles? Lehi, I believe, makes reference to some such principles in the enlightening and comforting explanation of evil he provides to his son Jacob as recorded in 2 Nephi 2 in the Book of Mormon, an explanation I call Lehi’s theodicy. “Adam fell that men might be,” Lehi tells Jacob, “and men are, that they might have joy” (2 Nephi 2:25). But to attain this joy, Lehi explains that “it must needs be, that there is an opposition in all things. If not so, . . . righteousness . . . could not be brought to pass, neither wickedness [nor] holiness, . . . neither good nor bad, . . . [neither] happiness nor misery” (2 Nephi 2:11). “And [so] to bring about his eternal purposes in the end of man, after he had created our first parents, . . . it must needs be that there was an opposition; even the forbidden fruit in opposition to the tree of life; the one being sweet and the other bitter. Wherefore, the Lord God gave unto man that he should act for himself. Wherefore, man could not act for himself save it should be that he was enticed by the one or the other” (2 Nephi 2:15–16). According to Lehi, there are apparently states of affairs that even God, though omnipotent, cannot bring about. Man is that he *might* have joy, but even God cannot bring about joy without moral righteousness, moral righteousness without moral freedom, moral freedom without an opposition in all things (2 Nephi 2:25–26; italics added). With moral freedom as an essential variable in the divine equation for man, two consequences stand out saliently: (i) the inevitability of moral evil, and (ii) our need for a redeemer.

If my interpretation of 2 Nephi 2 is correct, then we ought to reject the classical definition of omnipotence in favor of an understanding that fits better with the inspired text. Given that text, how ought we understand divine omnipotence? B. H. Roberts plausibly proposed that God’s omnipotence be understood as the power to bring about any state of affairs consistent with the natures of eternal existences.¹⁰ So understood, we can

coherently adopt an “instrumentalist” view of evil wherein pain, suffering, and opposition become means of moral and spiritual development. God is omnipotent, but he cannot prevent evil without preventing greater goods or ends—soul-making, joy, eternal (or Godlike) life—the value of which more than offsets the disvalue of the evil.

Armed with Joseph’s doctrine of entities coeternal with God and our revised definition of divine omnipotence, let us consider again the logical problem of evil and Flew’s argument charging God with complicity in all the world’s evil. From Joseph’s theological platform, it does not follow that God is the total or even the ultimate explanation of all else. Thus, Joseph Smith’s worldview (unlike that of classical theism) does not imply that God is an accessory before the fact to all the world’s evil. Nor does it follow that God is responsible for every moral and nonmoral defect that occurs in the world. Indeed, it *does* follow that the strictly logical problem of evil is dissolved. This conclusion can be seen more clearly when Flew’s *reductio ad absurdum* argument (see page 55) is restated with premises drawn from the Prophet’s insights:

- (i) God exists, is omnipotent, omniscient, and perfectly loving, and created (organized) our world employing eternally existing structures and entities.
- (ii) Evils occur.
- (iii) A perfectly loving being prevents all the evil he can without thereby preventing some greater good or causing some greater evil.
- (iv) An omnipotent being can do anything consistent with the natures of eternal existences.

From these premises, it does *not* follow that all evils are prevented. Rather, what does follow is a much more complex conclusion, something like this:

- (v) Hence, whatever evils occur are, given the natures of eternal existences, either
 - (a) unpreventable absolutely
 - (b) unpreventable by God, but not absolutely¹¹
 - (c) unpreventable by God without thereby preventing some greater good or causing some greater evil. (i) (iii) (iv)¹²

On Joseph’s premises, therefore, it does not follow that the existence of God and the existence of evil are logically incompatible.

Of course, recognizing this fact does not serve to explain or explain away every instance of evil. What it does do is to make *possible* saving explanations of the world’s evils, explanations that in no way impugn God’s loving-kindness. To see what such explanations might be like, we need to fill out the picture considerably. And to do so, it will be needful to move from argument and analysis to narrative. This is a task for another venue,

but articulating a Mormon theology will involve a rehearsal of the old familiar yet ever new and renewing story of the plan of salvation.

The Soteriological Problem of Evil

Earlier when I first introduced the logical problem of evil, I argued that most discussions of the problem were too narrow and especially unfair to the Christian believer in that they failed to take into account the problem's strongest possible solution—the incarnation of God the Son in the person of Jesus of Nazareth and his triumph over sin, suffering, and death through his Atonement and Resurrection. But ironically, “the strongest possible solution” to the problem of evil when understood in traditional terms becomes, itself, part of the problem. How can this be?

This—the soteriological problem—arises out of the scriptural teaching that salvation comes through, and *only* through, Christ. For instance, John reports Jesus as having claimed this very thing: “I am the way, the truth, and the life; no man cometh unto the Father, but by me” (John 14:6). Similarly, Peter declares: “Neither is there salvation in any other: for there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved” (Acts 4:12).

In his book *The Logic of God Incarnate*, Thomas Morris, professor of philosophy at Notre Dame, puts the difficulty (which he calls a “scandal”) this way:

The scandal . . . arises with a simple set of questions asked of the Christian theologian who claims that it is only through the life and death of God incarnated in Jesus Christ that all can be saved and reconciled to God: How can the many humans who lived and died before the time of Christ be saved through him? They surely cannot be held accountable for responding appropriately to something of which they could have no knowledge. Furthermore, what about all the people who have lived since the time of Christ in cultures with different religious traditions, untouched by the Christian gospel? How can they be excluded fairly from a salvation not ever really available to them? How could a just God set up a particular condition of salvation, the highest end of human life possible, which was and is inaccessible to most people? Is not the love of God better understood as universal, rather than as limited to a mediation through the one particular individual, Jesus of Nazareth? Is it not a moral as well as a religious scandal to claim otherwise?¹³

Claremont professor of philosophy Stephen Davis expresses a similar perplexity. In a recent issue of *Modern Theology*, he put the problem this way:

Suppose there was a woman named Oohku who lived from 370–320 B.C. in the interior of Borneo. Obviously, she never heard of Jesus Christ or the Judeo-Christian God; she was never baptized, nor did she ever make any institutional or psychological commitment to Christ or the Christian church. She *couldn't* have done these things; she was simply born in the wrong place and at the wrong time. Is it right for God to condemn this woman to eternal

hell just because she was never able to come to God through Christ? Of course not. . . . God is just and loving.¹⁴

The problem that Morris and Davis state can be expressed in terms of an inconsistent triad, a set of three premises all of which are apparently true yet the conjunction of any two of which seemingly entails the denial of the third:

- (i) God is perfectly loving and just and desires that all of his children be saved.
- (ii) Salvation comes only in and through one's acceptance of Christ.
- (iii) Millions of God's children have lived and died without ever hearing of Christ or having a chance to receive salvation through him.

(iii) is indisputable, forcing us, it seems to give up either (i) or (ii), both of which seem clearly warranted on biblical authority. So how to resolve the puzzle? The issue is receiving much attention right now from keen and sensitive Christian thinkers. Proposed resolutions are many, ranging from "universalism" on one pole to "exclusivism" on the other. Universalists typically affirm premise (i), compelling them to deny the explicit New Testament teaching that salvation comes only in and through acceptance of Christ. Exclusivists usually affirm (ii), concluding that Oohku, and millions others like her, must be lost. But this leaves *them* at a loss to square their view with (i). Neither view is satisfactory.

Many Latter-day Saints readily recognize that adding a premise (iv) to the triad resolves the puzzle:

- (iv) Those who live and die without having a chance to respond positively to the gospel of Jesus Christ will have that chance in the spirit world.

Thank God for Joseph Smith! Not merely for being God's conduit in resolving one more thorny problem of evil, but for being the instrument through whom God restored the knowledge and priesthood powers that make the redemption of the dead possible. In an eternal perspective, the only evil is damnation, and by solving the problem of salvation for the dead, the Prophet removed the classical barriers encountered in the problem of soteriology. Elder John Taylor wrote truly when he penned the words "Joseph Smith, the Prophet and Seer of the Lord, has done more, save Jesus only, for the salvation of men in this world, than any other man that ever lived in it" (D&C 135:3).

The Practical Problem of Evil

It is vital, finally, to consider the Prophet Joseph's contribution to the practical problem of evil—the personal challenge of living trustingly and faithfully in the face of what seems to be overwhelmingly evil. Joseph left us much by way of revelation that speaks to *this* problem of evil, but perhaps his own life speaks more powerfully than the words.

Joseph was no stranger to sorrow. He speaks, though inspired by God, from the crucible of his own experience. In section 127 of the Doctrine and Covenants, the Prophet reflects, “The envy and wrath of man have been my common lot all the days of my life. . . . Deep water is what I am wont to swim in.” Indeed, Joseph faced continual persecution. He faced health problems and painful surgery. He was tarred and feathered, subjected to numerous lawsuits, and confined in intolerable conditions in dungeonlike jails. He was deeply affected by the death of his brother Alvin; his brother Don Carlos and his father also died prematurely. Four of his eleven children, including twin sons, died at childbirth, and a fifth died at fourteen months. Joseph was never financially well-to-do and was often impoverished. For much of his life, he had no regular place to call home. After the failure of the bank in Kirtland, many of his friends turned against him. It was members of the Church who published the *Nauvoo Expositor* for the purposes of denouncing him, and this event eventually culminated in his martyrdom. Even Joseph, who walked so closely with God, on occasion in his life experienced the troubling sense of God’s absence when he felt God should have been there for him.

A case in point: the dark days of 1838 when the Saints were driven from Missouri. The setting was as follows: A vast number of Mormon families had been burned out of their homes by mobs. Fathers were tied to trees and bullwhipped. Thirty-four people, including women and children, had been massacred at a settlement known as Haun’s Mill. Shortly thereafter, the Mormon settlement at Far West, Missouri, was sieged and sacked by the state militia. Contrary to their leaders’ orders, soldiers raped some of the women, one of them so many times that she was rendered unconscious.¹⁵ Joseph Smith had been betrayed by a friend and turned over to military mobsters to be killed. He was taken to a small dungeon called Liberty Jail. During the four months of imprisonment, Joseph and his companions were abused, fed human flesh, and left in filthy conditions.

Joseph Smith felt abandoned by God. In a prayer, Joseph questioned from the depths of his soul, “O God, where art thou? And where is the pavilion that covereth thy hiding place? How long shall thy hand be stayed, and thine eye, yea thy pure eye, behold from the eternal heavens the wrongs of thy people?” (D&C 121:1–2). In response to this prayer of the soul’s desperation, Joseph heard God:

My son, peace be unto thy soul; thine adversity and thine afflictions shall be but a small moment; And then, if thou endure it well, God shall exalt thee on high. (D&C 121:7–8)

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)

Confronted with what seemed overwhelming evil, Joseph found meaning in his suffering, maintained hope, trusted God, kept the faith. And God spoke peace. As befit the Savior himself, Joseph too “learned . . . by the things which he suffered” (Hebrews 5:8).

Conclusion

As I have perused the philosophical literature on the problem of evil and noted men’s perplexities and then returned to once more ponder the revelations and teachings of Joseph Smith, I have been constantly amazed. Joseph had no training in theology, no doctor of divinity degree; his formal education was at best scanty. And yet through him comes light that dissolves the profoundest paradoxes and strengthens and edifies me through my own personal trials. The world calls him “an enigma,” but I know that the inspiration of the Almighty gave him understanding. I bear witness that he was a prophet of God.

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This address was given at a forum at Brigham Young University on September 21, 1999. I must acknowledge my debt to others for much that appears in this address. My thinking on the subject was first stimulated by reading many years ago Truman Madsen’s *Eternal Man*—a classic that ought to be reprinted. My idea has been shaped by conversations and collaborative work with Blake Ostler. Indeed, some of my text is taken from that work with him. Finally, my thinking has been refined by numerous in- and out-of-class discussions with hundreds of students over the past twenty-seven years. To these students and to Truman and Blake, I express gratitude.

1. David Hume, *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion*, ed. Richard H. Popkin (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1998), 66.
2. Anthony Flew, “Theology and Falsification,” in *New Essays in Philosophical Theology*, ed. Anthony Flew and Alasdair Macintyre (London: SCM, 1955), 107.
3. John Hick, *Evil and the God of Love* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1977), 290.
4. Hick, *Evil and the God of Love*, 340.
5. C. S. Lewis, *The Problem of Pain* (New York: Macmillan, 1962), 127, italics in original.
6. Hick, *Evil and the God of Love*, 344–45, italics added.
7. Joseph Smith, *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, comp. Joseph Fielding Smith (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1974), 350–52.
8. Smith, *Teachings of the Prophet*, 352–53. According to the transcriptions of Joseph’s sermon, the Prophet apparently used the word “co-equal” rather than “coeternal.” See Donald Q. Cannon and Larry E. Dahl, *The Prophet Joseph Smith’s King*

Follett Discourse: A Six Column Comparison of Original Notes and Amalgamations (Provo, Utah: BYU Printing Service, 1983), 48–49. Assuming that he did, it is clear (given the context of the Prophet's remarks) that by "co-equal" he intended to convey that man is co-equal with God in duration, not co-equal with God in all respects. B. H. Roberts, in an explanatory footnote in *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, 353, makes a similar point. "Undoubtedly the proper word here would be 'co-eternal' not 'co-equal.' . . . For surely the mind of man is not co-equal with God except in the matter of its eternity."

9. Smith, *Teachings of the Prophet*, 181.

10. B. H. Roberts, *The Seventy's Course in Theology*, 2 vols. (Dallas, Tex.: S. K. Taylor, 1976), vol. 2, Fourth Year, Lesson 12, 70.

11. A possible instance of this kind of evil would be the moral wrongdoing of human agents. Given our freedom, this kind of evil is unpreventable by God, but it is nonetheless preventable—by us!

12. From the fact that these three kinds of evil are consistent with God's existence, it does not follow that there are actual instances of each kind. For example, given that there are self-existent realities which God did not create and cannot destroy, it is possible, but not necessary, that there have always been and will always be wills set in opposition to God.

13. Thomas V. Morris, *The Logic of God Incarnate* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1986), 174–75.

14. Stephen T. Davis, "Universalism, Hell and Ignorance," in *Modern Theology* 6, no. 2 (January 1990): 176; italics in original.

15. Alexander L. Baugh, "A Call to Arms: The 1838 Mormon Defense of Northern Missouri" (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1996; *BYU Studies*, 2000), 363–64.

A Few Questions— Involving Pears— for My Newborn Son

So how do you like the air? The way it hums on your skin, moves through your nose in quick shots, or cools the lungs with the scent of fresh pears. The power it gives to release yourself in a scream. The breath of life that comes in sharply once, and is forever after going out. How do you like it? And the light? The way it burns your eyes and cuts into your mind. The way it confuses our world with colors: the yellow-green reflected off a pear, the reds and blues absorbed, the brown shadow cast on the counter. Let it in through your thin eyelids; shut it out with the mild jut of your brow. How do you like it, Son? Your ears dry and open to the noise. Shouts rumbling through the vent. The refrigerator's hum. The press and release of *pear*. The slip of our tongue shaping a voice that comes from a place we can't get at with words. Take another breath, Son, open your eyes, and listen. Then tell me, how do you like it?

—James Richards

A Gathering Place: Russian Week at the Stockholm Sweden Temple

John C. Thomas

Temples are the great gathering places of Mormonism. As such, they cater in varying degrees to the diversity of an increasingly global Church membership. From its inception, the Stockholm Sweden Temple was designed to transcend the linguistic, cultural, and socio-economic differences that might otherwise undermine the temple's higher purposes.¹ Dedicated in 1985, that temple was therefore well suited to play a vital role in the early development of the Church in Russia and the Baltic states. During the 1990s, many Saints from the post-Soviet states traveled together for a week's stay at the Stockholm temple to be "endowed with power from on high" (D&C 38:32), then returned to build up the Church in their homelands. "Russian week," as it came to be called, was held several times each year. Participation in the event exemplified a distinctive blend of faith and concerted effort, triumph and travail, reminiscent of Mormonism's nineteenth-century gathering.

The first temple "pilgrimage" from a Soviet successor state took place in November 1992 as Ukrainian Saints traveled from Kiev to Freiberg, Germany. Howard Biddulph, a former mission president in Ukraine, has ably told of the planning and political negotiations to bring that excursion about.² Other excursions from the East soon followed. Where President Biddulph's account emphasized the perspective from the mission field, this study gives more attention to the vantage point of those at the temple itself.³

Planning "Russian Week"

All temples operate according to daily, weekly, and annual rhythms of work. What distinguished the temple in Sweden was that the language of temple work and worship varied from week to week according to the "invited stake or mission."⁴ Thus in 1996, only eleven of forty-eight work weeks were scheduled for Swedish-speaking patrons; twelve weeks were planned for Finnish-speaking members (four of which combined Finns and Baltic Saints); nine for Danes; six for Norwegians; and seven for Russians.⁵

A long-term calendar allowed leaders, missionaries, and staff at the temple (as well as in each mission) to take the necessary steps to prepare for what temple missionaries came to regard as their most tiring but inspiring weeks—those when excursion groups arrived from missions in Russia and the Baltic states. The main tasks were, first, to secure the travelers' transit and

entry into Sweden; second, to provide room and board for the guests; and third, to assemble a corps of volunteers with the language skills needed to guide new members through the temple experience.

A List of Invited Guests

The large gaps in wealth and living standards between Western Europe and the post-Soviet states fed perceptions that visitors from the East might be illegal immigration risks, especially in the case of Russians. (Travelers from Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania benefited from their governments' efforts to foster closer political and economic ties with Sweden and other member states of the European Union.) To guard against unlawful entry or settlement, the Swedish and Finnish governments required that Church leaders at the temple issue written invitations for each potential temple attendee before the government would issue a visa or a transit visa for the period of the person's stay on foreign soil.

In 1992, Sister Inga Kann-Siirak, an Estonian native and long-time temple worker who had settled in Sweden after fleeing her homeland decades before, surmounted the customs barrier by personally inviting a group of Estonian Saints to visit her and the temple. At her own initiative, she typed invitations for each of the fifteen people, making herself legally responsible for their timely return to Estonia. Then she and other temple workers pooled money to subsidize the costs of the excursion. When the temple presidency learned of her effort, they provided some funds to help defray the expenses of the excursionists.⁶

Subsequently, an arrangement was made in which mission presidents were asked to identify candidates for a temple excursion about two months in advance, then mail or fax a list of their names, birth dates, and passport numbers to the temple office. At that point, a member of the temple office staff would issue the list of invited guests. The list would be taken to the appropriate embassy or consulate, which in turn issued visas for the specific length of their stay.

The first Russian group to try this arrangement numbered only seven people, all from Vyborg and St. Petersburg, and was scheduled for March 1993. The group was unable to obtain visas until the last minute, when a Swedish Latter-day Saint with government experience and influence called public officials to persuade them that this was a religious excursion whose participants could be trusted to return home. Over time the legal process became less burdensome, resting on good communication between the missions, the temple, and the governments. It could easily be disrupted, however, by official worries about events in Russia or about the reliability of the travelers. In December 1993, an excursion from Moscow was abruptly canceled and all visas were revoked just as the group was preparing to leave the country: a member of the Church had asked for asylum at the Swedish Embassy in Moscow.⁷



Courtesy Thomas F. Rogers

The Stockholm Sweden Temple

The Swedish government required a member of the temple staff to meet each group at the dock or airport and escort them to the guesthouse on the temple grounds, then return them at the end of the week and guarantee their departure. In 1996, a Russian woman “jumped ship” at the end of the week. She was apprehended and jailed, and temple president Bo Wennerlund was obliged to persuade her to leave the country. After he explained that her actions might jeopardize all future excursions from Russia, the woman relented. Because the ferry carrying her group had already departed, the Church had to buy a plane ticket and fly her out of the country that day.⁸

Early in 1997, a Russian family traveling to Sweden to be sealed were forced to change their plans when a son was denied transit through Finland. Torn, the parents decided to continue the voyage, left the boy with an LDS family in St. Petersburg, and then stayed in touch with their son using a phone in the temple. Though no one in the party received an official explanation for the boy’s detention, some speculated that a suspicious customs official held back the child to prevent any attempt at permanent migration.⁹

In April 1996, a Nigerian Latter-day Saint living in St. Petersburg joined a temple excursion from that city. He was detained in Finland because officials considered him too high a risk for illegal settlement in the West. Apparently the prospect of an entrepreneurial African on a religious pilgrimage was too much for the customs official to comprehend. Somehow, after a couple of days of negotiation, transit was authorized and the man flew to Stockholm on Wednesday to rejoin his companions. Even then, some members of the temple staff, misled by incorrect information about the incident and the man’s visa, were nervous:

[They] had been told he had a visa for only two days [but] was planning to stay until the group went home. . . . [In fact] he had a visa until next Tuesday and wanted to stay in Stockholm to see if he could find a place to buy computer parts cheaper than in Russia. He told us in his testimony [in a fireside on Saturday night] that he had been trying to come to the temple for two years but had always been turned down, then he made it to Finland and was stopped there but that the Lord, the worker of miracles, found a way for him and he was able to fly here, after he was stopped at the boat.¹⁰

Despite these occasional misadventures, the approval process generally worked smoothly, if rather slowly, as both Swedish and foreign Saints gained the bureaucrats’ trust.¹¹

Arranging and Financing Travel to the Temple

At the same time as they compiled a list of likely travelers, mission leaders worked out arrangements for travel. The process became more involved as the number and reach of LDS missions in Russia expanded; by

1996, Latter-day Saints had come to the Stockholm temple from as far away as Siberia.¹² Some Saints might spend as much time in transit—five or six days—as they would at the temple, and as they crossed into the West, costs rose. The first temple excursion from Kiev, Ukraine, to Freiberg, Germany, cost each traveler about one-tenth of his or her annual income, despite economizing by chartering a Ukrainian bus, carrying their week's food, and sleeping in a meetinghouse in Freiberg.¹³ In the case of the Russian Saints, the economic hardships were similar if not worse, and often the distances were longer. Over time, travel was organized to ameliorate some of the difficulties.

Some mission presidents assigned an employee or a local volunteer to supervise travel arrangements. In the weeks before departing for Sweden, these agents negotiated group fares on trains, buses, ferries, and airplanes.¹⁴ All groups entered Sweden by ferry or air. In one unusual week in late May 1996, Russian Latter-day Saints assembled in Sweden in the following ways: five women and four men from Samara and Saratov arrived by air on Sunday evening, twelve members from Moscow arrived at a Stockholm ferry dock on Monday morning, and another eleven women and five men from Moscow arrived in Stockholm by ferry on Tuesday morning.¹⁵

Overnight ferries to Sweden departed from Finnish ports at Helsinki or Turku, as well as from St. Petersburg in Russia or Tallinn in Estonia.¹⁶



Saints from the Russia St. Petersburg Mission. On their way to the Stockholm Sweden Temple in May 1994, these members took time for a photograph at the Stockholm harbor. Meeting them was Reid Johnson, center front, who served as temple president from 1991 to 1994.

Russian missions arranged itineraries with an eye to distance, expense, and access to transit visas for Finland. In the mid-1990s, the St. Petersburg mission managed to contract bus and ferry transportation for less than \$100 a person—probably the lowest price any group would pay.¹⁷ Groups from other missions faced the daunting choice of spending several days of travel by rail or road and ship or paying the higher prices of airfares. Several groups did fly to Stockholm. In August 1993, Moscow mission president Richard Chapple and local priesthood leaders knelt in prayer and then “went to Aeroflot in faith” to secure an excursion rate on tickets after being told that a change in travel dates made the lower price impossible. Their efforts succeeded, but President Chapple believed that “it is clear that there must be a temple within the boundaries of the country eventually,” given the demands and uncertainties of cross-border travel.¹⁸

With the post-Soviet economies in crisis, few could afford all the expenses associated with a temple excursion; costs were incurred not only for transportation, but also for passports, visas, food and lodging while at the temple, rental of temple clothing, and purchase of several sets of the temple garment. Resolving the challenge required a balance of individual sacrifices and Church subsidies. When excursions began in 1992, Reid Johnson recalled, supervising authorities were unsure how best to proceed with any subsidy of the excursions. Although Church funds had been made available



Courtesy J. C. Steel

Guesthouse adjacent to the Stockholm Sweden Temple, 1998

in the past to help members travel to the temple, they had been used mainly in the Pacific, not in Europe. The word to President Johnson was, “Until we figure out a plan, keep doing what you’re doing” (meaning, arrange private assistance to the Estonian Saints). By 1993, however, some general Church funds had been made available to assist poor members.¹⁹

As a general rule, financial assistance was made available to members only for their first trip to the temple and only after they paid for the costs of their own passports and visas (and any other travel expenses they could afford). In the St. Petersburg mission (from which travel costs were lowest), some members took out loans from the mission office to pay for their round-trip bus and ferry tickets. Some loans became *de facto* subsidies as repayment lagged or failed (much like what happened with some efforts to finance the nineteenth-century gathering). Only Saints set apart as ordinance workers were eligible to receive any subsidy for return trips to the temple. Often these excursion ordinance workers also served as interpreters at the temple.²⁰

When the travelers arrived at the temple grounds, located in the Stockholm suburb of Västerhaninge, they found several Church-owned buildings adjacent to the temple, including a meetinghouse, a family history and distribution center, and a guesthouse.²¹ The guesthouse was built to provide sleeping and eating quarters for the patrons of the temple’s far-flung district, and in 1994 a wing was added with apartments for full-time temple missionaries. The temple staff allocated and arranged rooms to sleep up to one hundred and twenty visitors. They also purchased breakfast foods and contracted with caterers for lunches and dinners.²²

In 1997 the room rate in the guesthouse was 250 Swedish kronor per night (roughly \$40). To make the best possible use of money and living quarters, Russian visitors were usually housed six to a room, on twin beds, though families with children sometimes occupied a room by themselves. Groups from western European nations rarely shared rooms across family lines. Temple president Reid Johnson suggested that the Russian Saints “stuff something in their ears” to help them sleep in the crowded conditions. Despite the cramped quarters, the visitors felt like they were staying in “a plush hotel.” The costs of housing and feeding the visitors were billed to the missions, who in turn drew from a temple patron assistance fund administered by the Area Presidency.²³

Communication at the Temple

For the temple presidency, perhaps the most nerve-wracking part of the preparations for Russian week was assembling enough temple workers with the language abilities needed to instruct and minister in the temple. Ideally, most if not all workers would be able to communicate well enough

not only to perform the ordinances but also to help resolve concerns and mix-ups and to share in the travelers' religious experiences. That said, verbal acrobatics were the norm, not the exception. Instructions to the temple's full-time missionaries, who came from all of the Nordic countries and the United States, assured them that few workers would arrive able to speak "even a few" of the eight languages most commonly used during the year.²⁴ Although most missionaries acquired remarkable facility in the memorized ordinances, Keith Morgan, a counselor in the temple presidency, observed that "there isn't a day goes by that language isn't a problem," especially during Russian week.²⁵

One reason for the unusual scramble was the unfamiliarity of relatively new converts with the process of temple worship. Most Nordic groups brought several members with good knowledge of temple procedure who were set apart to officiate in the rites as excursion ordinance workers and who relieved the full-time temple missionaries of much of the work. For example, a Finnish group brought twenty female ordinance workers with them in December 1995 and a Norwegian group in May 1996 included twenty-three helpers.²⁶ Russian and Baltic groups never brought this much help—indeed, the missions could not afford to send them—and most participants were first-time templegoers.

The temple requested that missions send at least four men and four women with some previous experience as "recommended temple workers," but this support was not always provided. The other crucial need was interpreters. With English, not Swedish, serving as the "bridge" language, each group was asked to bring at least two members who could speak it. As might be expected, the number and quality of interpreters varied. On one occasion, the sole male interpreter failed to arrive because he had been called into service elsewhere in Europe, helping to translate for a General Authority.²⁷

Uncertain about what help would accompany groups from the Russian missions, temple leaders searched for members closer to Stockholm with the religious and linguistic preparation to assist. Some of these part-time workers received a standing assignment to help on the designated weeks; others were drafted into action as the need arose. The volunteers were old and young, natives of Sweden, Finland, Norway, Estonia and Cuba, who had learned Russian in various ways. Out of the mix, the various positions—sacred and mundane—were staffed.²⁸

Preparing to Be "Endowed with Power from on High"

The central purpose of all the preparation was to provide a setting where the Saints could deepen their covenant relationship with Christ in temple ordinances, instruction, and worship. In so doing, the Church in Russia and the Baltic states would be strengthened for the future. Thus, the



Courtesy Keith S. and Inga K. Morgan

Two Russian sisters and Keith S. Morgan, ca. 1995. Brother Morgan served as a counselor in the presidency of the Stockholm Sweden Temple.

temple presidency planned each day at the temple in detail. In 1996, a five-page schedule mapped the week's activities.²⁹

Because most members of the Russian and Baltic groups were new converts participating in temple worship for the first time, the pace was relatively slow. Gathering, instructing, and guiding patrons through the sequence of the temple ceremonies was slowed both by their inexperience and by the need to relay questions and instructions through an interpreter. As a result, the volume of ordinance work was lower than that of other weeks. Fifteen Russian-speaking groups visited the temple over the course of 1995 and 1996. These excursions, on average, performed 714 endowments per week. When Finnish and Estonian Saints attended the temple together, they averaged 861 endowments. Typical excursions from Nordic stakes performed closer to 1,000 endowments per week and might even double the number of ordinances performed by the Russian and Baltic Saints.³⁰

What the work lacked in volume, however, it more than made up in complexity and spiritual intensity.³¹ When groups arrived on Monday, missionaries and staff examined their records at the guesthouse or trained excursion ordinance workers in the temple. Among the documents to check were temple recommends, legal documentation for spouses and children, and genealogical records. As soon as possible, the temple personnel compiled a

list of names for vicarious ordinances. Those yet to be endowed received tags to wear in the temple so that workers would be sure to guide them through the process on Tuesday. Since spouses often had different surnames, they were paired by tags bearing the same color or single letter. In preparation for going to the temple the next day, first-time temple patrons also picked up one set of garments at the distribution center on site.

Temple leaders (the presidency, matrons, and designated trainers) used Monday afternoon to teach the groups' ordinance workers their roles. First, any "recommended temple workers" not yet authorized to officiate in the ordinances were interviewed by a member of the presidency (through an interpreter) and then set apart. Then they entered the temple, where leaders took two or three hours to recite, model, and discuss the words and actions of sacred ceremonies and to demonstrate such procedures as how to operate the automated audiovisual equipment. All the training was done through interpreters, from English to Russian, meaning that only English-speaking temple workers were able to instruct the visitors. If a group arrived after Monday, the training was necessarily abbreviated.

Each evening, one or more members of the temple presidency met with the travelers, while they ate a catered meal in the guesthouse dining room, to review the schedule and answer questions. Mission presidents encouraged temple leaders to use such occasions for teaching the doctrines and practices of the Church so as to prepare the Russian Saints to become better leaders in their congregations at home. More often than not, however, the discussions centered on more immediate concerns: When would an ancestor's proxy work be performed? How would parents meet their children to be sealed? How could the use of showers be staggered to conserve hot water? What etiquette should govern a visit to local shops?³²

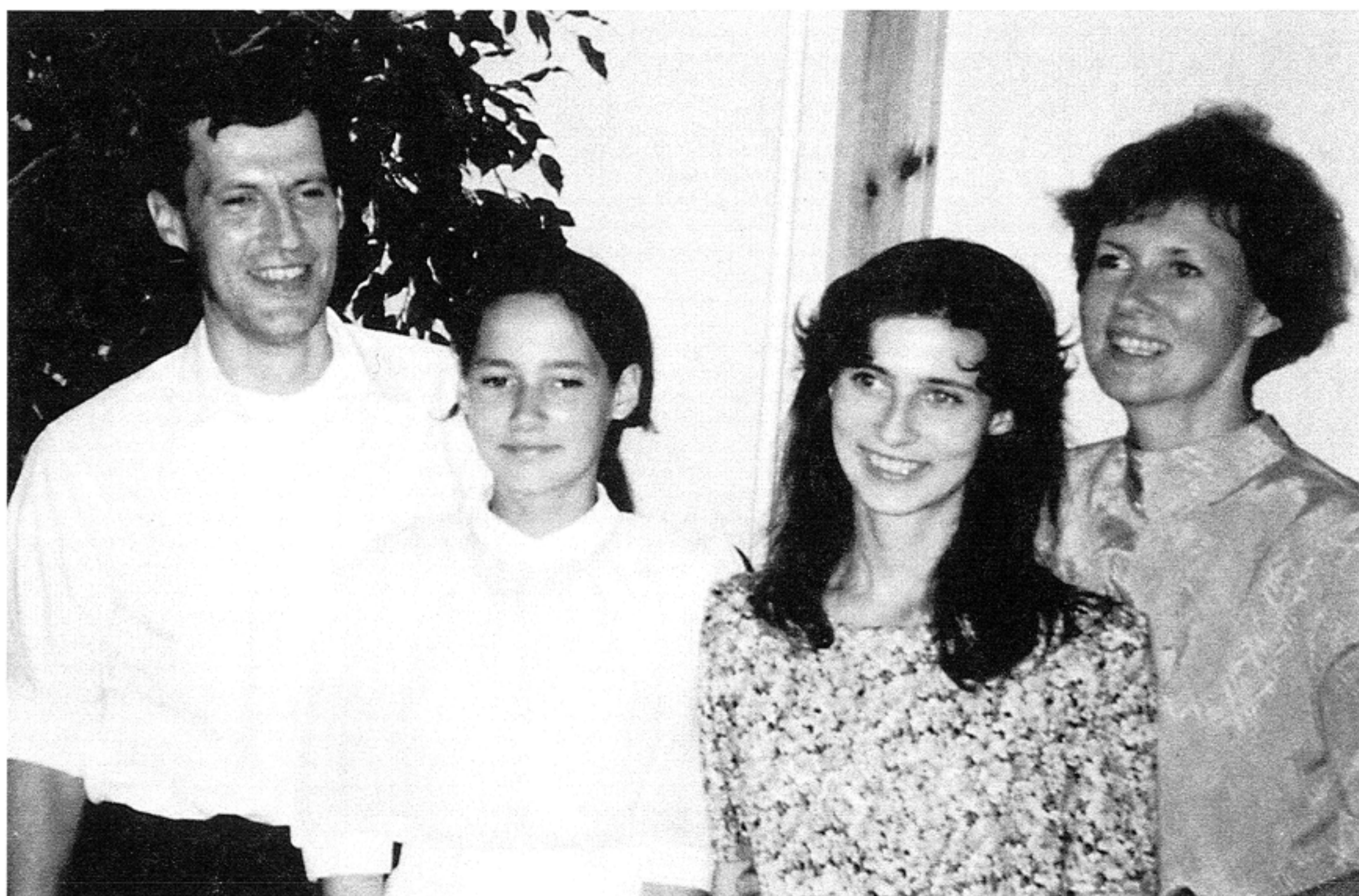
After a breakfast of bread and butter and marmalade, cornflakes, and boiled eggs in the guesthouse kitchen,³³ the adults walked to the temple, a parent or two remaining behind to care for the children. Excursion ordinance workers entered the temple thirty minutes before their compatriots on the first day for a prayer meeting and last-minute training. Workers met the other patrons, helped them change into white clothes, and identified all newcomers with the appropriate tags. Because the ordinance rooms were modestly sized, the group was often split in half and guided through the course of the endowment about thirty minutes apart. Though the pace was purposely gentle, things often fell behind schedule.

Temple workers strove to assure that each newly endowed person was guided through the endowment by someone fluent in the language and the procedure. Finding enough help was, however, "always a problem."³⁴ Yet the newcomers seemed unfazed by the flurry of activity around them. Having observed the process from various vantage points in the temple, Keith

Morgan realized that “the Spirit had taught them what we had not been able to teach and made up for all of our shortcomings.” Sister Inga Morgan watched as the visitors entered the temple’s celestial room after concluding the endowment: “The Russians [came] in there, tears streaming down some cheeks from the gratitude they felt for being in that holy place. All of them stayed in for some time and meditated and you could tell they prayed silently. It was very moving.”³⁵

Sealing Families and Uniting Generations

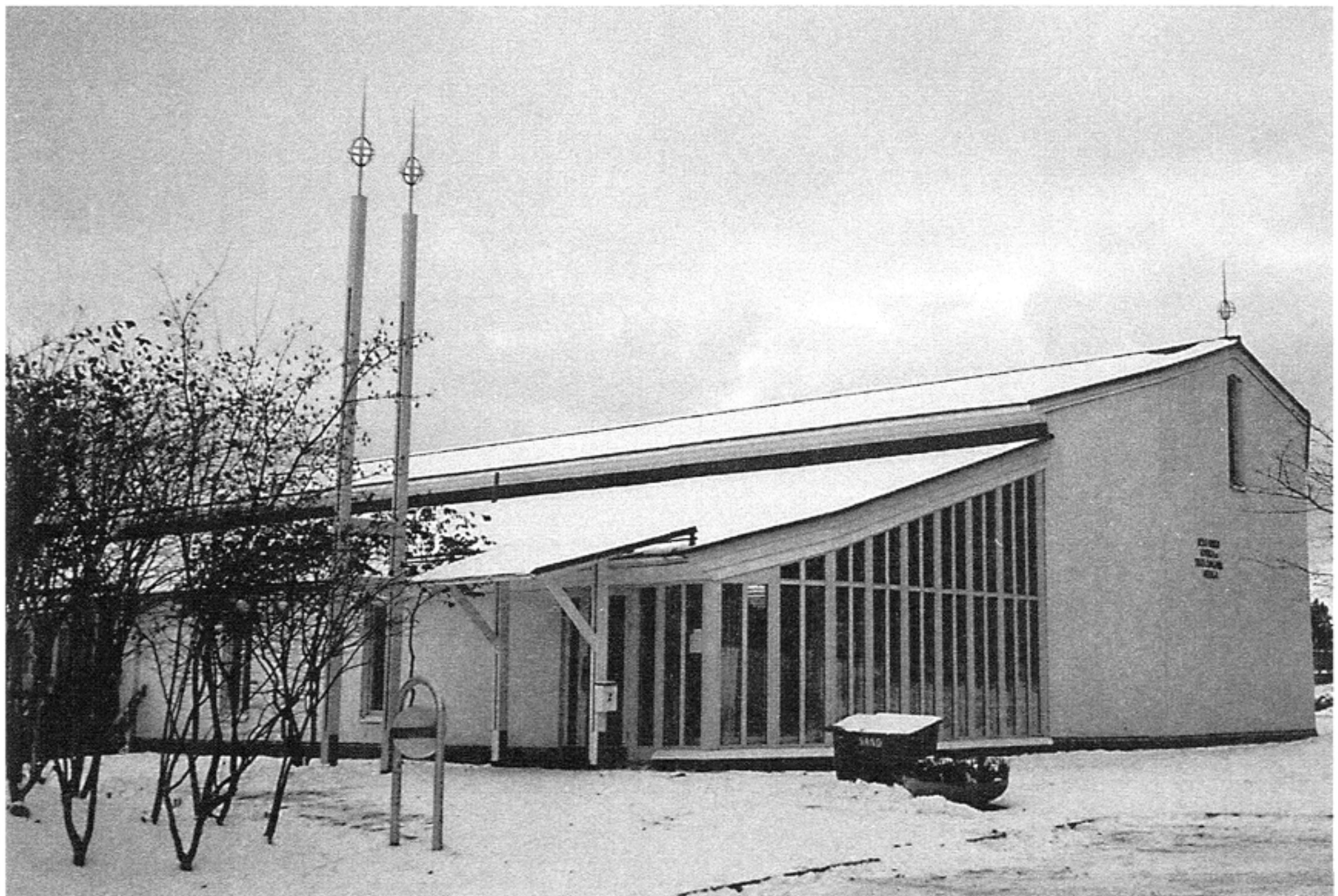
After lunch in the temple annex, many Saints turned their attention to vicarious ordinances in behalf of their ancestors. The sooner that baptisms, ordinations, and other preparatory ordinances could be performed in behalf of deceased relatives, the sooner patrons would be able to participate as proxies for their ancestors in the more time-consuming endowment in sessions on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, supplemented as needed by other ordinances.³⁶



Oleg, Olga, Maria, and Tamara Frolov. A former ship’s captain, Brother Frolov has faithfully and effectively served as a branch president in St. Petersburg. When his family went to the Stockholm Sweden Temple, he was stricken with appendicitis and had to remain in Stockholm for an appendectomy after his group had returned home. On the day of his release from the hospital, he returned to the temple and, by chance, encountered President Thomas S. Monson, who was at the time touring the Scandinavian missions. With the help of missionary translators, a memorable conversation ensued.

Marriage or sealing ordinances for the living generally occurred on Wednesday soon after lunch, with friends in the group crowded into the temple's sealing rooms to witness the event. All early excursions from the East included at least some couples to be sealed, including parents with children to be united as families eternally. Children ranging in age from infancy to adulthood would accompany their parents, and occasionally three generations of a family traveled to the temple together. The sealing ordinances often linked the present and the past in poignant ways, as when a living son first knelt to be sealed to his parents, then repeated the rite in proxy for his deceased brother.³⁷

Since almost every patron was a first-generation member of the Church, work for the dead was often for close relatives, and the templegoers eagerly anticipated this vicarious service. They loved to watch each other work in the baptistery or sealing rooms. Some simply would not rest at ease until this work was completed—they consistently worried that something would be left undone. Asked how he had slept, one Russian replied that “the night was much too long,” so anxious was he to continue the work.³⁸ In response to this selfless anxiety, Keith Morgan and an indefatigable group of Russians spent four and a half hours performing vicarious sealings in one day in December 1995. Though the sealer had only recently arrived from the United States and spoke almost no Russian, he gradually



Courtesy J. C. Steel

Meetinghouse adjacent to the Stockholm Sweden Temple, 1998

became quite comfortable with the unfamiliar language. “I have never had a more spiritual experience,” he wrote his family that night. “Everyone in the room wept tears of joy. . . . I was just overcome by the beauty of it all.”³⁹

On another occasion, a Russian woman was baptized and confirmed in behalf of her deceased mother, but then the record of her work was misplaced. Finally, as the endowment session was just about to begin, someone found the card. Workers hurriedly took her to the initiatory room and then to join the waiting company and receive the covenants as proxy for her departed mother. In spite of the rush, “tears ran down [the] faces” of the temple workers who readied the woman for the endowment, “because of the spirit they felt.”⁴⁰

As might be expected of inexperienced templegoers, enthusiasm for the principle of the redemption of the dead occasionally outpaced understanding of its practical requirements. For example, some members of a group, having watched as their friends were baptized in behalf of their forebears, decided that they should go and do likewise for their parents. “Did you send in the papers ahead of time?” a worker asked. “No, but I know when they were born and everything.” The missionary, dubious, probed further—“Are they dead?” “No,” came the reply.⁴¹

At other times, errors made in the mission field found their way to the temple. A widow, just minutes away from participating in a proxy sealing to solemnize her marriage to her deceased husband, was discovered to be several days shy of the first anniversary of her baptism, the normal waiting period before receiving temple blessings. While the temple presidency waited for word from Church headquarters, the widow sat and fretted in the lobby. Workers lacked the vocabulary to provide much reassurance or comfort. After several hours, approval came. Unable to express her joy in words, the woman simply clasped her hands repeatedly to thank the missionaries. When she returned to the dressing room, “she was hugged by everyone, Russians and temple workers alike,” in celebration of a reprieve that allowed her to proceed with the sealing.⁴²

Celebrations and Farewells

Temple work continued into the evenings. When it was finished, workers were usually exhausted and dragged themselves to bed. The visitors, however, routinely congregated around a piano in the guesthouse dining area to sing hymns and native folk songs “half the night.”⁴³ In addition, it became a tradition to meet one night late in the week for a fireside or testimony meeting. Although the guesthouse could host such a gathering, Russian and Baltic Saints who had seldom if ever seen a “real” Mormon meetinghouse sometimes asked permission to meet in the chapel next door to the guesthouse.

Travelers and missionaries alike attended this evening devotional, so interpreters mediated the spoken word. But when the group sang, language was irrelevant, as hymns rang out in three or more different tongues, knit together by the tune. On more than one occasion during his service at the temple, President Wennerlund rendered Louis Armstrong's "What a Wonderful World," to the delight of Americans and Russians alike. Not surprisingly, these meetings were emotional, imbued both with the wonder of the week's experiences and the sadness of leaving the temple with uncertain prospects of a return. Frequently the poor travelers gave gifts to their comparatively wealthy hosts; then the night ended in a blaze of flash photography.⁴⁴

Most groups left Västerhaninge on Friday or Saturday, after a last long shower, a few more hours of temple worship, a final instructional meeting with the temple presidency, group pictures, and some contemplative minutes while cleaning rooms and packing lunches. Finally came warm embraces and friendly good-byes across the language barrier, before temple workers waved farewell to the Saints departing in buses or vans.

Becoming "Fellowcitizens with the Saints"

Almost everyone leaves the temple with a deeper perspective on life. Mission presidents in Russia noted "a manifest spiritual change" upon the Saints' return home, "an unspoken bond . . . and an understanding of the ultimate purpose of their existence."⁴⁵ One expression of temple service's spiritual impact was the way that it subdued national enmity among the diverse peoples who came together at Västerhaninge. Temple attendees were "no more strangers and foreigners, but fellowcitizens with the saints" (Eph. 2:19).

When he dedicated the Stockholm Sweden Temple in 1985, President Gordon B. Hinckley prayed that God would "pour out [his] healing influence" on the Saints and help them "reach out in love one toward another."⁴⁶ The petition took on new meaning when Russian week began. As one American missionary couple told a *Church News* writer, the temple gathered people who had been "mortal enemies for generations." (Ironically, the Americans focused on European enmities, ignoring the Cold War rivalry of the superpowers.) At the temple, these people learned to "work with one another . . . [and] to love one another."⁴⁷

Though the peaceable interaction of Americans and Russians at the temple should not be overlooked, other cases may be even more meaningful. Particularly instructive is the relationship between Finnish and Russian Saints. Finnish Latter-day Saints were crucial to the introduction of Mormonism in contemporary Russia (as well as the Baltic states). The first missionaries to Russia came from the Finland Helsinki Mission, and many Russians and Estonians were befriended before, during, and after their

conversion by Finnish families when *glasnost* eased movement across borders in the late 1980s. Finns have provided important service in the Russian missions and at the temple. When Andrei and Marina Semionov became the first Russians to be sealed in the Stockholm temple in December 1991, they were escorted by Finnish friends. More recently, Finnish congregations have hosted Russian groups who stopped for services on Sunday on their way to the temple, and Finnish members have supplied buses that carry groups from St. Petersburg to Turku to Västerhaninge.⁴⁸

These acts of grace are all the more striking when we consider the ironies behind them. Both the Semionovs and the first group excursion came from Vyborg, which was the second city in Russia opened to missionaries and the first Russian site on which a Latter-day Saint meetinghouse was built. Yet Vyborg sits on what was once Finnish territory; indeed it used to be Finland's second largest city. It fell to the Soviets, first as a result of the Winter War of 1939–40, remembered as Finland's worst war, and again in 1944.

For Finns and other Nordic Saints, memories of past tragedies, the linguistic challenge of Russian, or the noticeable difference in economic self-sufficiency might have been expected to color their reading of the nascent Russian Mormon saga. Asked by a supervisor to conduct the sealing ordinances for a set of names, a Finnish temple worker “looked at the cards, saw they were Russians, threw up his hands and said, ‘No Russians.’” He gave no explanation—it might have been the language, it might have been a memory. Another worker reminisced with a colleague about his grandfather's old homestead. He missed the property, long since “stolen” by the Soviets.⁴⁹ But even difficult history did not stop the healing effects of temple work. In 1995, a group of Finnish youth researched seven-hundred teenage Finnish casualties of the Winter War and then traveled to the temple in December to be baptized as their proxies.⁵⁰ Having turned their hearts and minds to fallen countrymen, the young Saints apparently ignored the temptation to turn their hearts against their forebears' enemies.

On another occasion, a female worker, perturbed to watch Russians eating catered meals while Finnish patrons provided for themselves, told the latter group to eat alone in the kitchen. After a few days' segregation, however, the two “nations” decided to dine together.⁵¹ And reconciliation has gone much further. One Finnish worker whose home was destroyed in the Winter War was called as a sealer and asked to learn the ceremony in Russian. He persisted in the face of the linguistic and emotional barriers, then found himself “filled with love” as he performed the ordinance with a group of Russians. Another Finn, a woman very apprehensive about working with Russians, entered an endowment session and “almost started



Russian Saints and temple missionaries, December 1995 or 1996. A group of visiting Saints gather for a social with resident temple missionaries in the guesthouse of the Stockholm Sweden Temple.

Courtesy Keith S. and Inga K. Morgan

shaking” as she looked at the people around her. But as the ceremony progressed, her feelings softened; when she looked around the celestial room, the fear was gone, replaced by love.⁵²

Another Finnish Saint experienced a similar change of heart at the temple. After working with a group of members from St. Petersburg in August 1996, she told co-workers how she had doubted that “she’d like to have anything to do with the Russians” when she began her service at the temple. “She remember[ed] too vividly the Russian-Finnish war when they lost [Karelia] to Russia . . . and how they hated the enemy.” But “those feelings soon disappeared,” she testified, “when she met the first Russian sisters who were so loving and so eager to come to the temple.”⁵³

The feelings of reconciliation and oneness fostered in the temple also changed the Church in Russia. A mission president in St. Petersburg saw greater unity among members who had been endowed. In the temple, he felt, they crossed a spiritual threshold, became “part of ‘Mormon culture’” (in the best sense of the word), and were “truly changed forever.” As a result of their experience, he concluded:

They looked at things differently, even though they were still Russians, or Georgians, or Armenians, or Poles, or Hungarians, or Siberians or whatever. They were members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in a way which transcended all boundaries of whatever type or description. . . . They were ambassadors for encouraging others to join with them in an inclusive society . . . open to all who are willing to make the commitment.⁵⁴

“Strangers and Pilgrims on the Earth”

As the temple experience drew Latter-day Saints together as a people, it also tended to heighten their differentiation from others. As a result of the teachings and covenants embraced in the temple, they became, more than before, “strangers and pilgrims on the earth,” distinguished by their vision of “a better country, that is, an heavenly [one]” (Heb. 11:13–16). Anyone who has left the temple with a touch of regret at the prospect of returning to “the world” would understand in part how Russian Saints felt upon leaving Västerhaninge’s haven of peace and rest. When they departed, few could be sure of seeing the temple again, and many faced hard roads upon returning to their homes.

To maintain ties to the temple, some Russians corresponded with temple workers. Marina Abramova was a Muscovite serving in the Russia St. Petersburg Mission when she accompanied an excursion to the temple in April 1996. Because of her skills as an interpreter and ordinance worker, she had unusually good prospects of returning to the temple after her mission. As expected, her name was submitted with a list of Saints invited to travel from Moscow late in August 1996. An illness, detected but unidentified

during her mission, prevented her from joining the August excursion group. She sent a letter instead:

Aug 12, 1996

Moscow

Dear Sister Morgan,

Thank you very much for the note you've sent with Sister Maslova.

In June I had an operation and I need one more later but before it I need a chemotherapy treatment. My doctor told me that it's not a cancer, but I have some weak bad cells in my stomach. Now I'm in the hospital and will stay there until Aug 27, that's why I can't come with this group of saints from Moscow.

You know, I'm so jealous for them.

I feel myself well after the first course and I don't know how it will be after the second one, and I'm a little bit scared.

But I want and need to be in the House of the Lord though I don't know when. And I want to ask you for a favour. Would you ask President Wennerlund for the personal invitation for me and for my friend that we may come by ourselves when I'll be able to do it between the days I need to be in the hospital. Please help me if it's possible.

My full name is Abramova Marina Ivanovna, birth date March 29, 1957. My friends name is Zalicheva Alexandra Nikolaevna, birth date Feb 23, 1948.

Sometimes I feel myself like a Job: I don't have a job, a money, a health. I just came from a mission. But I'm very grateful for all this trials, because I feel our Heavenly Father's love. And I know that Jesus Christ is our Savior and that he lives. And I love him with all my heart. And you know, I'm the happiest woman in the world! Thank you for your help and for your love. You'll always be in my heart.

Love,

Marina Abramova

When Sister Morgan replied, she expressed sorrow at Marina's hospitalization and puzzlement at the diagnosis. Then, with a view to helping grant Marina's unconventional request, Sister Morgan asked that she inform the temple office of the exact dates of travel so that the visa process could be set in motion. She also inquired, gently, how the unscheduled excursion would be paid for. "It would be so nice to see you again and I hope you will feel strong enough for the trip," her letter concluded.⁵⁵

Then at Christmas, Valentina Lebedeva, who had been part of the excursion in August, mailed a card and note to the sisters she had worked with in the temple.

Dear Sisters Morgan, Morrison, Sterri, Enlund, Wiren, Top, Lapalainen, Ramo, Saarikivi, Losten, Ousunian, Jarvinen, Ritva and all sisters.

I wish you a very Cristmas and Happy New Year. I remember you, your love, help and kindness very often.

I hope to come to the Temple and see you in June. I wish you our Heavenly Father's many blessings to you.

With love

Valentina Lebedeva

P.S. Excuse me for my bed English and mistakes in your names.

I must tell you a sorrowful news. Marina Abramova died at first December. We hope she will with our Heavenly Father.

Marina's health had deteriorated too quickly for anything to come of her request.

Marina Abramova's letter poignantly captures the significance of Russian week, both the difficulties involved in getting members to the temple and the temple's powerful impact on a member's faith and commitment. The correspondence between Sister Abramova and Sister Morgan typifies the drama of this twentieth-century "gathering": on one end, newly converted Saints, yearning to be at the temple but separated from it by geography as well as social, economic, and political distance; on the other end, devoted missionaries and leaders struggling to organize the best methods to bridge the gaps and get the members to the temple. Just as it had in the nineteenth century, gathering for temple blessings required an inventive blend of "faithfulness and concerted effort."⁵⁶ And just as experiences in the Nauvoo Temple helped sustain the nineteenth-century pioneers during the rigors and tragedies of the trail west, experiences in the Stockholm Sweden Temple helped prepare modern pioneers like Marina Abramova for the "unknown journey" ahead.⁵⁷

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1. The Stockholm Sweden Temple has the same architectural plan first used in the Swiss Temple, with rooms and equipment to allow for temple instruction in multiple languages; physical facilities, such as the guesthouse, were built to accommodate patrons.

2. Howard L. Biddulph, *The Morning Breaks: Stories of Conversion and Faith in the Former Soviet Union* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1996), 180–91. Biddulph purposely chose the word *pilgrimage*, "although it is not part of the typical Latter-day Saint lexicon for temple-going," because it captured the "exalted spiritual purpose" of the Saints' "journey to a sacred place" (180–81); C. Frank Steele used the same imagery to

describe early excursions to the Cardston Alberta Temple in “Pilgrims of the Light,” *Improvement Era* 35 (October 1932): 709–11. Claus Meyer titled his photo essay of a Brazilian temple trip “Pilgrimage down the Amazon,” in *The Mission: Inside The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. Epicenter Communications (New York: Warner Books, 1995), 111. David J. Whittaker has also called travel to the temple “a type of a pilgrimage to a holy place” and has argued that the temple endowment actually reminds people of their pilgrim status and teaches them how to navigate their “mortal pilgrimage” successfully. David J. Whittaker, “Pioneering Journeys, Then and Now,” in *Brigham Young University 1996–97 Speeches* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1997), 319–20.

3. Such a study would not be possible without the cooperation of full-time missionaries who served at the Stockholm temple. I benefited greatly from access to the papers and correspondence of Keith S. and Inga K. Morgan, who served at the temple from November 1995 through April 1997. Indeed, their frequent notes to friends and family, containing rich descriptions of the travails and triumphs of “Russian week,” provided the initial impetus for this project. For most of their mission, Elder Morgan served as a counselor in the temple presidency and Sister Morgan served as either an acting or an assistant temple matron. During their mission, they dealt firsthand with ten temple excursions from missions in former Soviet lands. A few of these excursions included members from one or more Baltic republics, and another seven excursions brought together members from Finland and at least one of the Baltic states. All correspondence from Keith S. and Inga K. Morgan was sent via electronic mail to multiple recipients, including the author’s family; copies are in the author’s possession.

Valuable information came as well from interviews with the Morgans and correspondence and interviews with several other people, including Reid Johnson (president of the Stockholm temple from 1991 to 1994) and Gary Browning, Thomas Rogers, Richard Chapple, and Gary Anderson, all of whom presided over Russian missions in the 1990s. The resulting account portrays events and practices as they stood up to the late 1990s; even though many practices continue as described, the past tense is employed throughout. The story is compelling, but somewhat incomplete; readers would benefit from a more systematic collection and study of the impressions of Russian Saints who participated in the temple excursions.

A few firsthand accounts have been published in Gary Browning, *Russia and the Restored Gospel* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1997). In addition, some oral histories have been collected and housed in the Historical Department, Archives Division, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, though access to them is usually restricted in the case of living members.

4. See *All Temple Schedule* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1997). The outline of the schedule was due at Church headquarters by June of the preceding year.

5. “Temple Calendar 1996 Stockholm Sweden Temple,” in possession of the author. Three weeks are labeled either “International” or “Nordic.”

6. The Estonian Saints stayed at the temple from November 30 to December 5, 1992, participating in ordinances in Finnish and Russian. Reid Johnson, interview by author, Holladay, Utah, October 23, 1997.

7. The asylum seeker was probably not a member of the traveling group. Russia Moscow Mission president Richard Chapple called the temple on the day the group was scheduled to arrive and apologized for the cancellation. The first excursion from Moscow went to Stockholm on August 30, 1993, after efforts to go to Freiberg in June were scuttled by visa problems with Germany. Johnson, interview; Gary Browning, letter to author, May 28, 1997.

8. Keith S. Morgan, email, November 5, 1996.
9. Keith S. Morgan, email, March 30, 1997.
10. Keith S. Morgan, email, April 28, 1996; see also Inga K. Morgan, email, June 1, 1996.
11. Lest it be thought that immigration concerns are unique to European governments, consider the experience of Anastasia Maslova. Called from Russia to serve a mission in Canada, she was denied entry into the United States to attend the Missionary Training Center in Provo, Utah. It took six weeks of “pleading” by Church officials to secure her temporary entry into the country. Sister Maslova then received the endowment in the Provo Temple while at the Missionary Training Center. Browning, *Russia and the Restored Gospel*, 328.
12. Keith S. Morgan, email, January 20, 1997; Keith S. Morgan, email, October 10, 1995.
13. Biddulph, *Morning Breaks*, 182–83.
14. Thomas Rogers, letter to author, July 25, 1997; Gary Anderson, email, April 26, 1998 (typescript of an electronic mail sent to multiple recipients, sent to author in June 1999).
15. “Preliminary schedule for week 22, Moscow and Samara-Saratov,” 1996, mimeograph, in possession of Inga K. Morgan.
16. When the first group left Estonia in November 1992, they rode the ship *Estonia*, which later sank in one of recent history’s worst maritime disasters.
17. Rogers, letter to author. Rogers served from 1993 to 1996; a more recent report estimated the round-trip journey from Moscow at \$240 per person. Anna Sterligova, “Russian Temple Trip,” ldsworld-gems@lists.ldsworld.com, February 9, 1999.
18. Richard Chapple, *Journal*, August 16, 1993, quoted in a letter from Suzanne Chapple to the author, September 29, 1997.
19. Johnson, interview.
20. Rogers, letter to author; Anderson, email.
21. There is also a house available for the use of a nonlocal temple president. The layout of the temple grounds is illustrated in a pamphlet published by the Church titled *Herrens Hus: Templet i Stockholm Västerhaninge* [n.d.].
22. Gerry Avant, “Temple in Sweden Is as Spiritual Magnet to Grateful Members,” *Church News*, November 11, 1995, 5.
23. Keith S. Morgan, email, April 12, 1997; Johnson, interview; Gary Anderson, letter to author, November 14, 1999.
24. The languages are English, Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, Finnish, Russian, Estonian, and Spanish. “Instructions for Stockholm Temple Missionaries,” typescript, 1995, 1, in possession of the author.
25. Keith S. Morgan, email, September 23, 1996.
26. These figures are based on a review of papers in the possession of Inga K. Morgan.
27. Keith S. Morgan, email, April 28, 1996; Keith S. Morgan, email, January 20, 1997.
28. Keith S. Morgan, email, November 8, 1996; Keith S. Morgan, email, January 20, 1997; Keith S. Morgan, email, March 30, 1997; Inga K. Morgan, email, November 8, 1996.
29. “This schedule never works out but we have one anyway.” Keith S. Morgan, email, April 12, 1997.
30. These calculations are derived from an unofficial record of ordinances compiled by Inga K. Morgan during her service in Stockholm and in her possession.
31. The account in the succeeding paragraphs draws most heavily on email from Keith S. Morgan, April 28, 1996; November 13, 1996; January 20, 1997; March 30, 1997;

and from Inga K. Morgan, April 28, 1996; November 24, 1996; and “Preliminary schedule for week 22, Moscow and Samara-Saratov”; other sources cited as necessary.

32. Keith S. Morgan, interview.
33. Inga K. Morgan, email, August 14, 1996.
34. Keith S. Morgan, letter to author, December 9, 1995.
35. Keith S. Morgan, email, November 21, 1996; Inga K. Morgan, email, November 28, 1995.
36. Keith S. and Inga K. Morgan, interviews by author, April 17 and 26, 1997.
37. Keith S. Morgan, email, November 13, 1996.
38. Johnson, interview.
39. Keith S. Morgan, email, December 1, 1995.
40. Inga K. Morgan, email, November 30, 1995.
41. Keith S. Morgan, email, January 20, 1997.
42. Inga K. Morgan, email, November 16, 1996; Keith S. Morgan, email, November 16, 1996.
43. Keith S. Morgan, email, January 20, 1997.
44. See Keith S. Morgan, email, December 1, 1995; Keith S. Morgan, email, January 20, 1997; Inga K. Morgan, email, April 28, 1996.
45. Rogers, letter to author; Gary N. Anderson, “Russia at the Crossroads: Mormon Cultural Connections in Eastern Europe,” paper presented at the Mormon History Association meeting, May 1999, in possession of the author.
46. The Stockholm Sweden Temple dedicatory prayer, given July 2, 1985, is transcribed in “‘Waited Long, Hoped, Prayed’ for Temple,” *Church News*, published by *Deseret News*, July 7, 1985, 11.
47. Avant, “Temple in Sweden,” 6.
48. Gary Browning, letter to author; Reid Johnson, telephone conversation with author, October 26, 1997; Gary Anderson, letter to author, April 26, 1998; Sterligkova, “Russian Temple Trip.”
49. Keith S. Morgan, email, March 30, 1997.
50. Inga K. Morgan, email, December 9, 1995; Inga K. Morgan, email, December 11, 1995.
51. Johnson, interview.
52. Johnson, interview.
53. Inga K. Morgan, email, August 17, 1996. The message continues:
As this Sister Rämö was talking a flood of memories came to me. I remember when Finland lost Karelen [*sic*]. I remember the war and the terrible cold winter that year. . . . Many Finns had fled to Sweden and many had sent their children to Sweden so they could be taken care of and fed. We heard about the miserable conditions of the Finnish soldiers whose marching boots had no soles left, and who froze to death. We had learned to knit in school so we helped the way we could by knitting knee and wrist warmers that were sent to Finland to the soldiers. I can remember the smell of the gray wool yarn. All these things came back to me as [she] spoke. And I too felt so grateful that we now could all be together for a whole week with only loving words spoken and admiration shown. That is what the gospel of Jesus Christ can do for us, changing from hating our enemies to loving them. In retrospect, it has been an incredible week.
54. Anderson, “Russia at the Crossroads.”
55. This information comes from a draft copy of the letter prepared by Sister Morgan. Her letter was sent back to Moscow with Anastasia Maslova at the end of the week

(August 31, 1996). All three letters quoted—exactly as written—are in the possession of Inga K. Morgan and the author.

56. In their letter of January 1841, the First Presidency told the scattered Saints that it would take “faithfulness and concerted effort” and not just “individual exertion” to build up Nauvoo and its temple. 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), 4:272.

57. Sarah Pea Rich wrote that the Nauvoo Temple endowment helped assure her that God would “guide us and sustain us in the unknown journey that lay before us” on the trail west—a statement David Whittaker cited and employed as a metaphor for life’s journey in “Pioneering Journeys, Then and Now,” 320–21.



Courtesy Thomas F. Rogers

Thomas Rogers, president of the Russia St. Petersburg Mission, and Reid Johnson, president of the Stockholm Sweden Temple. The two are in St. Petersburg's royal Summer Garden, where twice in this century Russia was dedicated by Latter-day Saint Apostles for the preaching of the restored gospel.

Vignettes of Temple-Bound Russians

Thomas F. Rogers

Excerpts from a recently published personal journal give glimpses of the souls who found their way to the “Russian Weeks” in the Stockholm Sweden Temple.

While serving as president of the newly opened Russia St. Petersburg Mission, I kept a personal journal that has brought me great joy. The stance my journal took was not to account for my own time and effort but to record events and insights, mundane though they may seem, which struck me at the time as fairly profound. For three charmed years—summer 1993 to summer 1996—I was privileged to witness on an almost daily basis the “mighty change of heart” in missionaries and members, their heightened spiritual awareness, and the courage and heroism they mustered, even though at times they faltered, to rise above the natural man and transcend the constant adversity that accosted each of them in a variety of forms.

In particular, the journal records my personal response, my musings over those events as they occurred, mostly in others’ lives, sometimes in my own. I often responded with amazement and also with a hint of my own inadequacy in comparison with those others. Those three years were truly a time of awakening and spiritual discovery. As I declare in one of the journal’s segments, “Is it not an utterly inspired and ultimately win-win policy that the Lord would, by such extensive delegation, require so many of us, so ostensibly unqualified, to be trusted and, again, entrusted with the carrying forward of his sacred work—the salvation of souls?” My hope is that this and other impressions that came to me then will have some impact and significance for others also.

The following excerpts from the journal, including the remarks of two of our missionaries, mostly relate to members of the Russia St. Petersburg Mission who, during our time there, were endowed in the Sweden Stockholm Temple. These vignettes are preludes to the Russian Weeks described in the preceding article.

Setting

As it must have been under the tsars, St. Petersburg still affords more of a contrast than probably any other Russian city. The imperial edifices—including numerous ministry buildings—are breathtakingly immense in



Courtesy Andrew Eversole

View of St. Petersburg’s endless high-rise apartments. During the Communist regime, St. Petersburg was renamed Leningrad. After the fall of the Soviet Union, the city’s original name was restored. Residents, however, still refer to this section of the city as Leningrad.

scale, the friezes and outright sculpture of their facades opulent beyond those of such structures anywhere else. But the high-rise tenements most everyone lives in—vast tracts of them—suggest another aesthetic, which is crude if not ugly, monotonous, and barely functional.

This impression is compounded by the condition of streets and walkways everywhere, I’m told, in the later winter. I’ve whimsically commented that here the earth must have already received its paradisiacal glory—a sea of glass (read “treacherous ice”) mined with canine excrement wherever you put down your feet. The high incidence of broken hips on the part of the many older people who fall on it and the consequent deaths from pneumonia are certainly one way to minimize the state’s geriatric caseload and burden of pensioners. The health problems that plague children (due chiefly to polluted water and malnutrition) are other great population levelers. And all of this misfortune couldn’t have happened to a more lovable, or in many respects a more innocent, people.

St. Petersburg’s climate and its seasons are far from moderate—lately a heat wave alternating with wet, cold weather—and seem to take their toll. The summer white nights encourage people to sleep less, though we all need as much sleep as ever, and induce a kind of listlessness. With it comes

an inattentiveness shown by investigators during lessons or by some members to their Church obligations. All of this coincides with the dacha season, when Russians traditionally spend every weekend (if not weeks on end) throughout the summer in their country gardens—not just tending their crops, but indulging in a general lethargy aided by alcohol.

When summer days are eventually displaced by the dark days of winter, an opposite but equally immoderate response takes over instead—depression in some and the urge to sleep too much. Perhaps this in turn reflects, or has to some extent shaped, those manic-depressive extremes so observable in literary characters and in the nation's history.

With essentially two additional winter months taken off to celebrate both the Orthodox and the Western Christmases and New Year's, one can surmise that many Russians spend close to half the year on vacation. How miraculous therefore that some essentially disregard such tradition, join the Church, and attend each Sunday throughout the year.

Role Model

We were recently invited by one of our branch presidents, Viktor Yakovlev, to the dacha he built with his father and brother. While there, we experienced a Russian *banya* (hot steam sauna) and were then served a simple meal made up entirely of the products from his dacha garden—boiled potatoes, tomato preserves, fresh cabbage, and apples—taken from the root cellar he had also constructed.

What made the experience particularly profound was that this man, though a professor and an engineer, hasn't been paid for half a year. For the very survival of his family, he needs what he grows. Hospitable as ever and in my experience never inclined to ask for a handout or special help, he just happens to be one of the longest-standing branch presidents in St. Petersburg. He also testifies that two summers ago he worked in his garden only one Sunday and came up with a miserable crop. This year he vowed to



Courtesy Morgan Magleby

President Viktor Yakovlev, first counselor in the mission presidency.

avoid Sunday gardening altogether and produced a bumper harvest. The bounty testifies to him of the principle of Sabbath keeping. His example testifies to us of that and much more. [Brother Yakovlev later served as first counselor in the mission presidency and assisted with logistical arrangements for excursions to the Stockholm Sweden Temple.]

Against All Odds

From Elder Paul Anderson:

Last August, Elder Richard Turpin and I went contacting on Grazhdansky Prospect. As it was Monday, however, there were not many people on the street, and our success was minimal. So when a young family of three came into sight, Elder Turpin and I jumped on them. Of course, as the father told me later, they had seen us from a mile or more away. Our white shirts and ties gave us away instantly as foreigners, and they thought we were lost and simply wanted help. How mistaken they were.

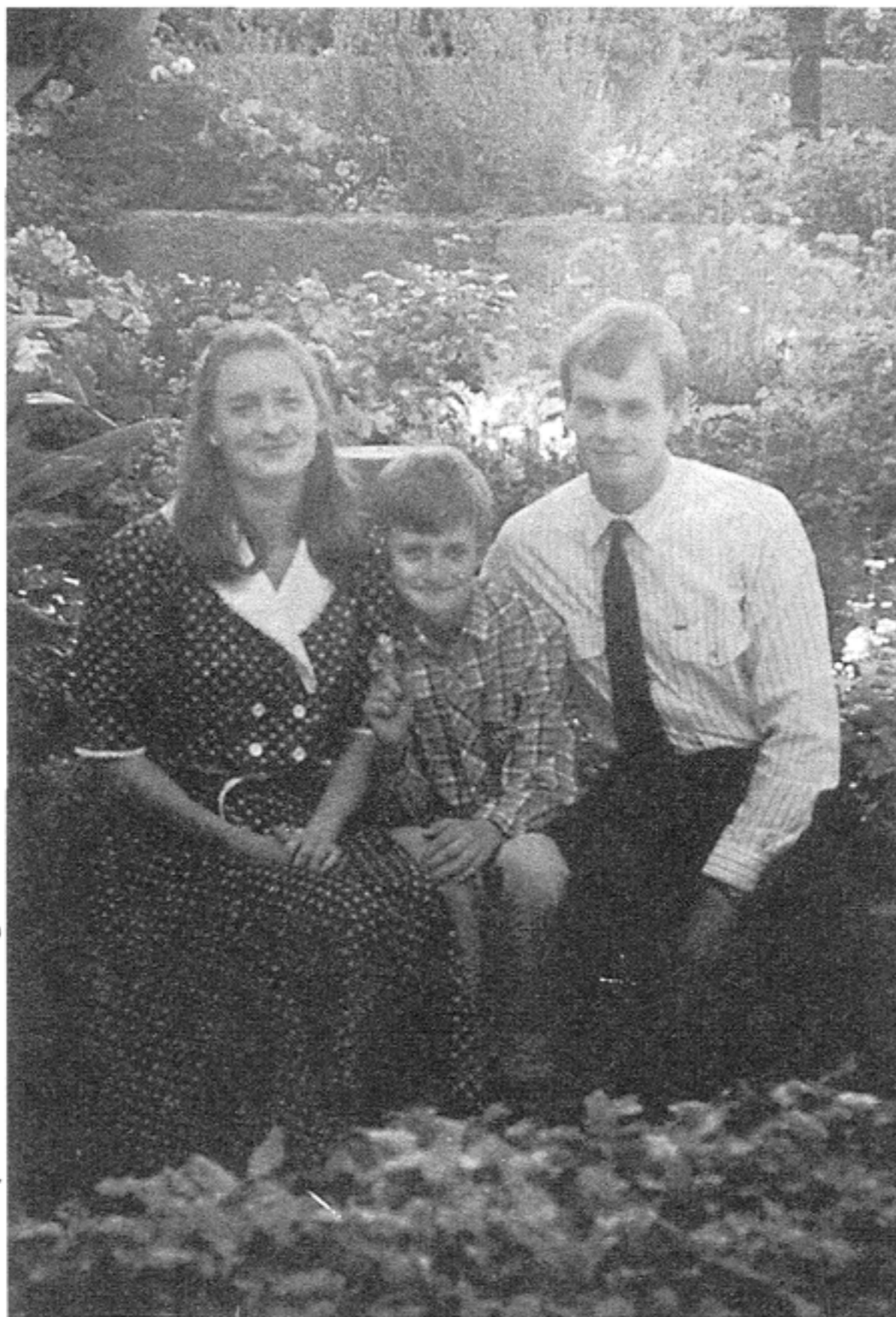
However, our broken Russian did not help. I had been in the country for eight months, and Elder Turpin for less than three. In fact, only Tanya, the mother, understood anything we tried to say. I would say

something, and she would transcribe it from missionary Russian into real Russian.

Of course, Tanya was probably more ready for our message. A few days earlier, she had mentioned to her husband, Igor, that in spite of their having all they needed, something was still missing in their lives. She thought it was religion.

We showed them the Book of Mormon, gave them the address to the Ploshchad Muzhestva Branch, and invited them to attend. For the Tarasovs, 11:00 A.M. was much too early to get up on a Sunday. Yet for some reason, both Tanya and Igor woke up on time and came to church.

After sacrament meeting, they found us and invited us to their home. Then they waited . . . and waited . . . and waited, but we never showed. So a week passed, and they came to church again. We set up a time to meet, and then again they waited . . . and waited,



Courtesy Thomas F. Rogers

Tanya and Igor Tarasov with their son Alesha in the gardens of the Stockholm Sweden Temple—sure proof that, as Elder Anderson tells us, their interest in investigating the Church never flagged.

and again we didn't come. Another week passed, and they came to church again. This time we set up a visit for directly after church so there could be no forgetting and no delay. With my new companion, Elder Seth Campbell, I taught them the first discussion. As Igor explains it, there was a feeling there that allowed them to trust us. It was this feeling that had brought them to church that first Sunday and prompted them to invite us to their home.

Sadly, after three discussions, we were transferred to the Petrogradsky Branch. I called and explained to the Tarasovs that we wouldn't be there for the next discussion. That was difficult for us all. To make matters worse, when Elder Campbell and I moved out of the apartment, I accidentally left the keys inside. Elders Roderic Buttimore and Grant Beckwith were locked out on the very day for which I had scheduled a discussion with the Tarasovs in the missionary apartment.

What might have been a tragedy actually turned out to be a blessing, though. Elder Buttimore called and explained the situation, and Igor offered to help. A few minutes later, both he and Tanya arrived on the scene, and Igor, a professional carpenter, proceeded to take the entire door apart. Eventually, they all got in, but when Elder Buttimore offered to conduct the promised discussion, the Tarasovs declined. They thought Elder Buttimore, who is a very proper Englishman, was just too serious. Yet, as the Tarasovs soon discovered, Elder Buttimore was just as thoughtful and kind as all the rest—if not more so.

At their next appointment, Elder Buttimore asked them to be baptized. We had already scheduled them for September 20; however, the Tarasovs failed to mention this to Elder Buttimore—probably because they had never known about it. How could I have set a baptismal date without letting the Tarasovs know about it? Of course, their forgiving and staying with us after we had failed to show up for two appointments is also rather unbelievable. And everyone knows I have never been *praktichny* [practical]; in fact I am very often *rasseyany* [distracted].

The Tarasovs eventually agreed to a date in October. The Sunday before, Igor received a real answer to his prayers. After several nights of asking for a surer testimony of the truthfulness of our message, he sat with Tanya and Alyosha, his son, in sacrament meeting. Igor saw a distinct glow above President Kondratev, the district president, who was sitting on the stand. The glow lasted for several seconds, and even Tanya noticed it. Igor felt it was the Lord saying that baptism was the right thing for them.

On October 3, all three Tarasovs were baptized. Elder Beckwith baptized Igor, Elder Campbell baptized Alyosha, and I, Tanya. Elder Buttimore conferred the gift of the Holy Ghost upon each of them. A month and a half later, Igor was called as a counselor in the district presidency.

The Tarasovs' conversion story is quite amazing, if only because of all the silly things I did that might have kept them from being converted. Maybe the delays were a test to prove whether they really wanted to receive this blessing. Maybe not. All the same, the Lord is in charge, and if he wants the truth to reach his children who are seeking it, they will receive it.



Courtesy Thomas F. Rogers

A Mormon Florence Nightingale. Sister Irina Bereznyak spends much of her time caring for others without public recognition.

Glue

If there were ever a Mormon Florence Nightingale, I'd nominate Sister Irina Bereznyak. She is always there behind the scenes, doing the cleanup after meetings. She nurses other members' dying parents, attends each of the four districts' conferences, and eagerly promotes cooperative work ventures with other members.

A chemist by profession, she was the first in her enterprise to renounce her Party affiliation when such an action was still precarious. Like so many others, she was deserted by her husband and contends with her only child, a fairly unmanageable and unappreciative teenage daughter. Russian women are, by contrast with many of the men, so

strong, accountable, and hard working—truly the glue that holds this nation together. [Sister Bereznyak has several times served as a Russian-speaking worker in the Stockholm Sweden Temple.]

Amazing “Coincidences”

In 1991 a young girl from Kirgizstan approached a professor who, with his LDS students, had been touring St. Petersburg and was on the way to a Sunday service. She asked the professor to help her find the branch of the church that coincidentally they were also looking for. She had halfheartedly agreed to attend church at the urging of people associated with the Tabernacle Choir, whose concert she had attended during its tour of Russia the week before. However, she had silently told God that if she did not find where the Church was meeting her obligation to look further would be satisfied. Just three years later, as she was set apart to serve a mission in Moscow, Sister Kalambubu Turgunaliyeva Murzakulova reminded the professor, now her mission president, where they had first met.

Again in 1990, a young man, noticing two missionaries in a subway car, had the strong urge to speak to them, but the missionaries did not approach him. Two years later, he and his family were tracted out by another pair of messengers. He attests to the “light” that radiated from them as they entered his apartment. Vladimir Astafev now presides over St. Petersburg’s Moskovsky Branch.

Another young man and his family attest to the similar presence they felt when the missionaries came to them. Sergey Smelov is now president of the branch in the St. Petersburg suburb Kolpino.



Sergey Smelov, president of the branch in Kolpino, a suburb of St. Petersburg, with his daughters Katya (*left*) and Diana.

Courtesy Thomas F. Rogers

In 1991 a young woman, an accomplished pianist, was taking a train to the Ukraine to recover from the shock of her brother’s untimely death. Before the woman boarded, her mother noticed there were only men on the train and advised her daughter to dispose of her ticket and go another time. Then a young American, a returned missionary who had served in another country but was then touring Russia, happened to approach them. He told them he had been prompted in a dream the night before to offer his services to someone that day, and in halting Russian, he offered his protection. For some reason, they trusted him. Learning during the trip about his religious background, the young woman decided to look up the Church after returning home. Asking some young people, who proved to be Baptists, for directions, she was told to beware of the Mormons, who would



Courtesy Thomas F. Rogers

Vyacheslav and Galina Efimov. Vyacheslav was the senior district president in St. Petersburg and was later called as the first Russian to serve as a mission president. The couple served in the Russia Ekaterinburg Mission.

later, he served as a branch president and shortly after replaced Vyacheslav Efimov as president of St. Petersburg's East District. He later became a counselor in the mission presidency.

Speaking recently with another of our strong district presidents, I learned that, during the three years *before* he and his family encountered the missionaries, he had not only given up coffee and tea but also had begun to hold his own family home evening. He had also moved from the stance of a convinced atheist to debating matters of faith within himself (the first year), then to submitting to the inner "voice" that argued for faith (the second year), and finally to recognizing that "voice" as indeed the voice of God (the third year). While attending the temple a year after their

shout at her and compel her to stay with them. Remembering the young man, she disbelieved them and went on her way. Jana Orno-Orlova is now our mission's music director and shouts at us to stay in tune!

For several years, a man had taken special notice of one of the principal supervisors at his large workplace. The supervisor, he says, stood out for him because of his honesty and his concern for others. After joining the Church, the first man was both amazed and delighted to discover this exceptionally fine supervisor, Vyacheslav Efimov, was his district president. [Later Efimov became the first Russian mission president to serve in Russia. He died in February 2000.]

In 1993 a missionary was unexpectedly impelled to cross a busy street and speak to a family he had noticed at a considerable distance. The husband, Anatoly Sitonin, then considered himself an atheist, but he and his wife were baptized soon after taking the missionary lessons. Six months

conversion, he immediately recognized that same familiar “voice.” He heard it again when he began to read the Doctrine and Covenants for the first time.

After a fresh falling-out with his senior companion, a young, tender-hearted missionary began to cry as he approached a man on the street. The man responded by embracing and consoling the missionary but did not agree to take a Book of Mormon or meet with him. The next day while tracting, the missionaries reencountered the same man, who remembered the tender-hearted elder and was moved by what had earlier transpired between them. The man invited them in and began receiving the discussions.

While riding in a bus a few weeks ago to the farewell sacrament service featuring a local sister missionary called to Moscow, I noticed a young man and an older lady enter the vehicle. Their backs were turned, and through the crowd I could not see them well. But something about the young man—not just the suit and tie he wore, but his deference to the woman, presumably his mother—made me regret that he was not one of us or one of our missionaries, whom he so resembled. It was an impression I don’t usually have when I’m in a crowd of strangers. I asked myself what it would take to reach people like this young man. One could even assume, given their dress and bearing, that the young man and his mother were going to a church service of one kind or another. Russians don’t ordinarily dress that well or that formally, particularly on Sunday.

But why not to our service? I felt I should approach them and invite them to investigate the Church. But before I had a chance to, the young man turned in my direction—and, behold, it was the brother of our sister missionary, himself a member who had joined after participating in our



Anatoly and Irina Sitonin and their children, (left to right) Nikita and Vitaly.

Courtesy Thomas F. Rogers

mission play a year earlier. During the sacrament meeting, he spoke and announced his desire to serve a mission, too. In the aftermath, I asked myself what about him already stood out so? (I think I know.) And I chided myself: more is happening “out there” than we are often aware. The appeal of and need for the restored gospel, as well as its amazing comprehensiveness, are truly universal. If that were not so, we could not reach people like that young man, his mother, and his sister, and we would have long ago returned home. [Aleksandr Nepomnyashchy has since then also served a Russian-speaking mission and is now president of the same branch to which I traveled on that memorable Sunday.]

Celestial Contact

From Elder Kevin Hathaway:

For several days in a row, my companion and I had spent our mornings street contacting. We would always cross the soccer field in front of our apartment, ride the bus a few blocks, and then contact on the streets next to the metro.

On this particular morning, however, we decided that, instead of crossing the soccer field, we would take a different route along the edge of the building in order to avoid the heat of the sun. As we emerged from behind the building onto an unfamiliar street, we saw a tall, muscular man and his petite wife pushing a baby carriage in our direction. As missionaries, we'd been challenged to speak to someone within three minutes of leaving our apartments. On this morning, it was my turn to make the first contact, so I approached the large man with the respect and caution his immense size demanded.

He was surprisingly polite and agreed to listen to my message. He told us his name was Aleksandr Tomak. For the next few minutes, he listened intently as I introduced myself and told him a little bit about the Church. When I removed a Book of Mormon from my bag to show him, his eyes immediately widened and he ceased looking at me. For the rest of our conversation, his gaze was focused on that Book of Mormon. He agreed to meet with us the next day, and when I gave him the book, he cradled it gently in his hands as if it were a small child.

When we arrived the next day to teach Aleksandr the first discussion, he had already read fifteen chapters in the Book of Mormon. It took several minutes to answer all his questions before we could begin to teach him the discussion. Over the next month, I was amazed to see him grow. He attended church every week and continued reading the Book of Mormon. I could soon see the sparkle of a testimony in his eyes.

Only one obstacle stood between Aleksandr and baptism. He loved to smoke. He told me later that after weeks of struggling with that habit, he finally approached the Lord in prayer. He told the Lord how grateful he was for the Church and the Book of Mormon. He expressed his burning desire to



Courtesy Thomas F. Rogers

Aleksandr and Yulya Tomak and their daughter, Natalya. As a relatively young member, Aleksandr served as president of St. Petersburg's largest district.

be baptized and then asked the Lord to help him quit smoking. As he opened his eyes, they immediately came to rest on a pack of cigarettes. He removed one of them and looked at it. Suddenly he realized that his physical craving to smoke had disappeared. The cigarette in his hand did not even appeal to him. In fact, it was repulsive. He tossed the whole pack over his balcony railing and walked back into his apartment. From that moment, Aleksandr has never experienced the craving for a cigarette!

I baptized Aleksandr on August 6. The ordinance was performed in a lake not far from his home. As he came up out of the water, his face shone with light. My emotions grew tender as he immersed me in a giant bear hug. I felt like I'd been preparing for that moment for nineteen years.

Later, Aleksandr told me that on the morning we first met, he and his wife had both "just turned down that unfamiliar street for no particular reason." I know without a doubt, as does Aleksandr, that there was a reason why we both decided to take different streets that morning. It had nothing to do with chance or the heat of the day. The Lord needed Aleksandr and his family.

[Brother Tomak was soon called as a branch president and faithfully served in that capacity for several months. During that time, he also baptized his wife, Yulya. Today he is the president of St. Petersburg's largest district. He continues to be an example of faith and obedience to those he serves.]

Kaddish—Lament for the Dead

Yesterday we attended L's funeral at the crematorium we visited over a year ago. L was only in his forties and was both our mission genealogy leader and a counselor in a district presidency. He was earlier an extremely knowledgeable and enthusiastic Sunday School and institute teacher. No one was ever more committed, more focused. But two weeks before his unexpected death, others—mostly sisters—came to me expressing their dismay that he had been called to assist in the temple. They complained about the personal advice they had not asked for, the admonitions, the implied censure, the tendency to dispute small points of doctrine, the assertion of his titles when presiding, his insistence on the superiority of his Jewish bloodline, the need to be recognized as others' patriarch and priesthood advisor (even when he wasn't), his personal history of four unsuccessful marriages prior to joining the Church, and his former wives, who did all they could to keep their whereabouts unknown to him.

What the sisters complained of did not surprise me. L had aggravated me often enough too—and worried me about the impression he made on others as a Church officer. But he had managed to do us all this favor—before the next temple trip, before people could feel further harassed and complain some more, he died. In doing so, he also gave each of us pause to consider whether, in his case, we should have taken the higher road more often. Many felt bad about the way they had resented him so.

On the whole, L's funeral was easier to take than Vladislav's a year ago. Perhaps we knew this time what to expect. L's last wife was there too. I'd been told he had introduced her to the Church, but as far as I know she had been inactive since their divorce. She couldn't have been more than eighteen when they married, just half his age, the one we were told he had beaten. She sobbed throughout. She must have still loved him.

L was clothed in the temple attire we'd managed to have a missionary's parents bring over with them just in time. And his silent and rather nondescript father, an ethnic Jew who, we understood, was not a believer, at the last moment threw himself on the bier and wept with abandon, calling out, "My son! My son!" At that moment, I envied L. Nor did I want to inquire if the Church approves cremation of a corpse dressed in temple garb. Or if the morticians disrobe corpses first. And, if so, do we get the clothing back. I don't think I will inquire either, unless there are other such instances while we are here. I know that L, particularly, would have wanted it that way. He was a man, someone said, who had never known any happiness, but he had demonstrated great hope, faith, and dedication during his two and a half years as a member, particularly with respect to the temple. Those few last years were a meaningful compensation.

And we saw him mellow. The sister who had during his last two weeks so devotedly nursed L—she also has Jewish antecedents—had in turn fallen in love with him. She will succeed him as mission genealogy leader and would like nothing better than to be sealed to him, which we told her could happen only in the life to come if both are willing.

As I think again about the service that preceded L's cremation and the quick destruction of his garb and remains in an oven before we'd even departed, I was somehow reminded of the "strike" in which a play's stage set is reduced to as close to ashes as possible. I've often felt that theater is such an ephemeral art. But so is mortality—extremely ephemeral.

A sad echo of earlier events—the son about to be cremated, the distraught father, both Jews.

A Natural

I was first struck by his surname, Lermontov, which he shares with one of Russia's foremost poets. Then, after casting him as the lead in both of our mission plays, I came to recognize his remarkable charismatic gift—whether on stage or off, it was the same. He had so much integrity and such a simple solid faith. A student of electrical engineering, he had no noticeable aesthetic inclinations or prior experience. But radiating so much of his own true self, he was meant to be the lead in our mission-produced plays. I seriously doubt we could have performed them without him.

What unity and esprit those plays conjured, especially within each cast. So many cast members have since served full-time missions, and some of the nonmembers of the casts have since been baptized. Activities of this order are what the Church needs more of. And I still contend that everyone can be an actor.



Courtesy Thomas F. Rogers

Andrey Lermontov and President Rogers

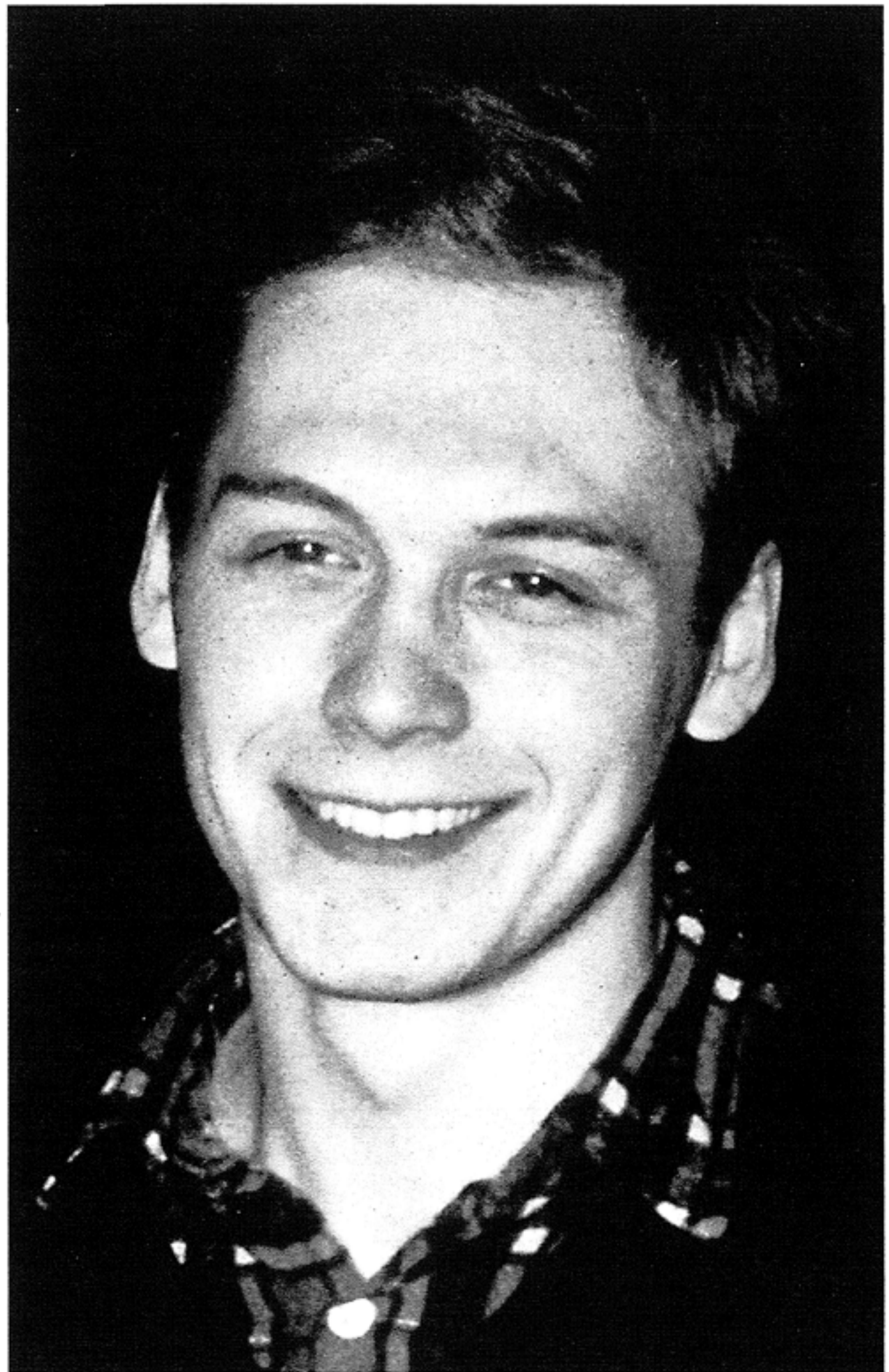
Tough Call

A number of outstanding young members of missionary age are unable to serve because they are unwilling to register for armed service. Who can blame them? The abuse of new recruits and the heavy loss of Russian lives in the country's questionable venture in Chechnya would incite cynicism and fear in anyone. Still, the Church cannot afford to send these young men to other places and thus unwittingly assist them to avoid their obligation as citizens.

There are notable exceptions like Rodion Batin, the son of an earlier branch president who had one day simply walked away from his calling and never returned to our meetings. Rodion has all along remained enthusiastically involved, as has his younger brother. When it was time for Rodion to register for the draft, he did not hesitate in doing so. Despite his youth, he was then a counselor in the East District presidency. He has since been stationed near enough to St. Petersburg that on weekends he often manages to attend meetings in his home branch. I imagine that, at some point, a full-time mission will follow.

Celestial Weddings

The precedent of two “celestial weddings” will do much to inspire the members and send familial roots deep into the Russian soil. The student Oleg Martaler is Vyborg’s quiet, committed seminary teacher and now a counselor in the Vyborg district presidency. He and his bride from the same community will be the first of our members to marry in the Stockholm temple. (The temple wedding will, of course, follow the obligatory registration ceremony at a local Russian wedding office—but by only a few days).



Courtesy Gail Halvorsen

Russian pioneer. Oleg Martaler coordinated the seminary and institute programs in Vyborg. He and his wife were the first Russian couple to be married in the Stockholm Sweden Temple.

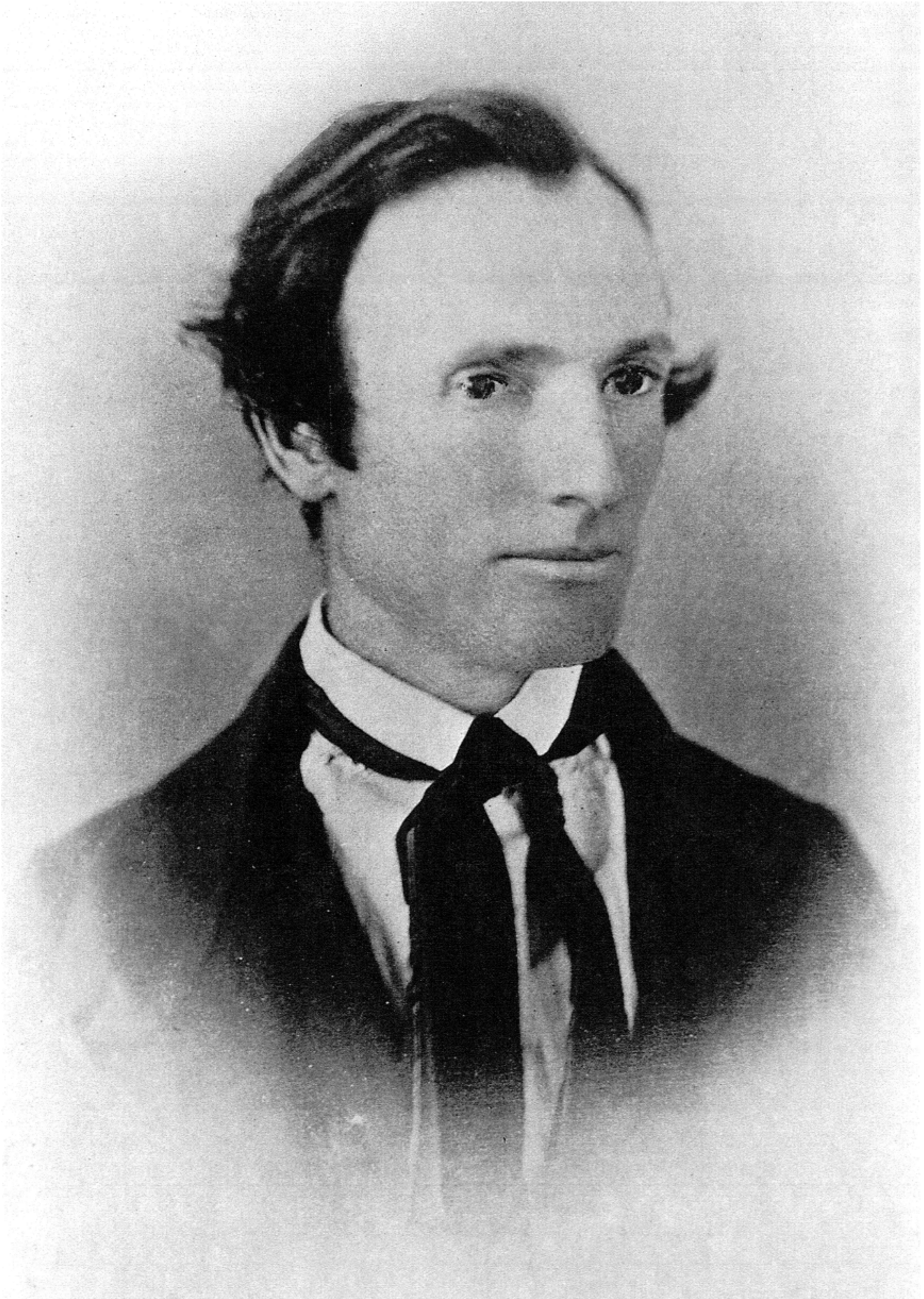
The second such union is, I believe, also unique to the Church in Russia. It involves two former full-time missionaries: the vivacious Natasha Smirnova, whom I set apart two years ago and who served in the Ukraine Kiev Mission, and the fine Igor Akolyushny, who hails from Ukraine but faithfully served his mission in St. Petersburg. Igor returned here a year after his release, unable to find work in his destitute country. He also has the distinction of having joined the Church after the first American missionaries came to East Germany, where he was serving as a member of the occupying Red Army. This deed alone says volumes about his courage and independence, not to mention his great faith. Not long ago, he came to me, wondering if despite his being almost thirty he should defer marriage for further education. I take credit for saying, “No,” and tilting his resolve by pointing him in Natasha’s direction.



Courtesy Thomas F. Rogers

Igor and Natasha Akolyushny. Both served full-time missions—she in Ukraine, he as a Ukrainian Russian in St. Petersburg. They were the first Russian returned missionaries to be married in the Stockholm Sweden Temple. Igor may also be the only Russian who joined the Church while still a member of the Soviet army occupying East Germany. Igor now serves as driver for the Russia St. Petersburg Mission office.

Thomas F. Rogers served as president of the Russia St. Petersburg Mission from 1993 to 1996. His book, *A Call to Russia*, was recently published by BYU Studies. Rogers has been Professor of Russian at Brigham Young University for thirty-one years and is a BYU Studies Academy member. He received his B.A. in international relations from the University of Utah in 1955, his M.A. in Slavic Languages and Literature from Y University in 1962, and his Ph.D. in Russian Languages and Literature from Georgetown University in 1969. He has published “The Gospel of John as Literature,” *BYU Studies* 28, no. 3 (1988): 67–80, and several plays in his volumes *God’s Fools* (1983) and *Huebener and Other Plays* (1992). He has served as the director of the Honors Program and Chair of the Department of Asian and Slavic Languages at Brigham Young University and as editor for *Encyclia*, the journal of the Utah Academy. In 1998 he received the Lifetime Service Award for the Mormon Festival of the Arts. The author can be reached through the BYU Studies email address: byu_studies@byu.edu.



Courtesy LDS Church Archives

Oliver Cowdery, ca. 1840

Oliver Cowdery's Vermont Years and the Origins of Mormonism

Larry E. Morris

Most of what is known about Oliver Cowdery's youth comes from a well-known summary offered by his sister Lucy Cowdery Young:

Now in regard to Oliver he was born in the Town of Wells in the state of Vermont[,] when he was three years of age Father married my Mother she resided in the Town of Poultney so Oliver was brought up in Poultney Rutland County Vermont and when he arrived at the age of twenty he went to the State of New York where his older brothers were married and Settled and in about two years my father moved there.¹

Cowdery biographers have generally repeated these brief facts before darting to Oliver's initial meeting with Joseph Smith in April 1829. A close look at the record, however, reveals a rich family history behind Lucy's simple summary—a history that includes the death of Oliver's mother, the blending of three families, four moves between two states, and a plague that took a dear aunt and uncle.

All of these details in turn shed light on two controversial theories bearing on the origins of Mormonism. The first alleges that Joseph Smith Sr. and William Cowdery participated in a divining-rod incident known as the "Wood Scrape," forming associations that impacted their sons' founding of the Church a quarter of a century later.² The second purports that young Oliver knew minister Ethan Smith, read his work *View of the Hebrews*, and passed on knowledge of the book—or a copy of the book itself—to Joseph, who borrowed freely from it in producing the Book of Mormon.³ Both theories have spawned considerable discussion and research. The well-documented history of the William Cowdery family in Vermont, however, shows that both theories are long on speculation and short on fact.

William Cowdery's Forty Years in Vermont

Oliver's youth is best understood in the context of the four decades his father spent in Vermont (interrupted by a three-year stay in New York). William Cowdery Jr. was born in East Haddam, Connecticut, on September 5, 1765. Around 1787 he and his wife, Rebecca Fuller (born on January 2, 1768, also in East Haddam), moved to Wells, Vermont, where Rebecca's brother-in-law and sister, Rufus and Huldah Fuller Glass, had recently

settled.⁴ Around 1827, William moved his family to western New York. Although this period has received little attention in biographies of Oliver Cowdery,⁵ it is fairly well documented, with at least thirty references to William Cowdery occurring in original Vermont records and additional information in Cowdery family histories:

*Wells, Vermont*⁶

- October 17, 1788—birth of Warren Cowdery⁷
- September 1789—William Cowdery included in the list of free men in Wells⁸
- February 16, 1791—birth of Stephen Cowdery⁹
- April 1791–February 1793—various land sales to William Cowdery¹⁰
- February 20, 1792—William Cowdery sworn to position of surveyor of highways¹¹
- July 1793—William Cowdery’s livestock earmarks identified in the town minutes¹²
- October 4, 1793—birth of Dyer Cowdery¹³
- August 13, 1796—birth of Erastus Cowdery¹⁴
- December 19, 1797—William Cowdery files an affidavit with the town clerk discussing four stray sheep: “The owner is desired to prove property pay charges and take them away.”¹⁵
- June 30, 1799—birth of Sally Cowdry¹⁶
- 1800—William Cowdre family listed in Wells census¹⁷
- March 12, 1802—birth of Lyman Cowdry¹⁸
- March 1803—William Cowdery sworn to the position of surveyor of highways¹⁹
- June 16, 1804—birth of Olive Cowdery²⁰
- October 3, 1806—birth of Oliver Cowdery²¹
- January 1807–November 1808—various land sales from William Cowdery. The last known reference to William in the Wells town record is a sale to Socrates Hotchkiss on November 9, 1808, that included “all the land and buildings standing on the farm on which I the grantor now live.”²²

Middletown, Vermont

- Early 1809—Cowdery family moves to Middletown²³
- September 3, 1809—death of Rebecca Fuller Cowdery²⁴
- March 18, 1810—marriage of William Cowdery and Keziah Pearce Austin²⁵

Williamson, New York

- Summer 1810—family moves to Williamson, Ontario County, New York²⁶

- 1810—William Cowdery family listed in Ontario, New York, census²⁷
- December 18, 1810—birth of Rebecca Marie Cowdery²⁸

Middletown, Vermont

- 1813–1814—family returns to Middletown²⁹
- June 3, 1814—birth of Lucy Pearce Cowdery³⁰
- February 23, 1815—land sale from William Cowdery to Moses Copeland³¹
- January 17, 1817—birth of Phoebe Cowdery³²

Poultney, Vermont

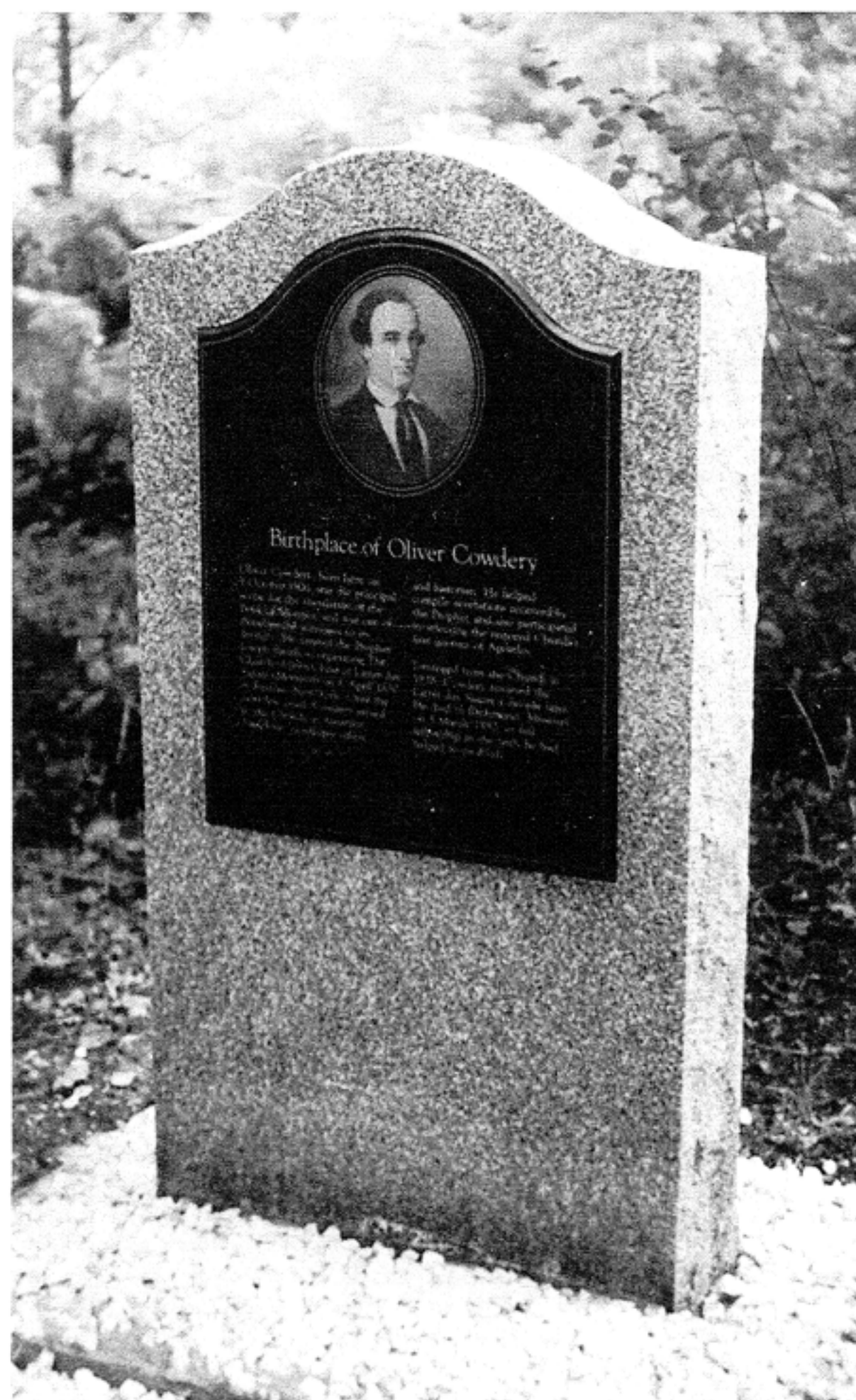
- August 2, 1818—baptism of Rebecca Marie, Lucy, and Phoebe³³
- 1820—William Cowdery family listed in Poultney census³⁴

Oliver Cowdery was born in Wells on October 3, 1806, after a summer of drought in southwestern Vermont. According to a Wells historian, “no rain fell from seeding time to harvest. Crops were almost a complete failure.”³⁵

The Cowdery and Rufus Glass homes were just a mile apart, giving the eight children in each family a good chance to get well acquainted with their cousins. There must have been frequent trips back and forth between the two homes, with the cousins enjoying boiled bag pudding or hot maple syrup served on platters of snow.³⁶

William Cowdery and Rufus Glass were landowners who probably raised beef cattle, sheep, and hogs. William and his six sons no doubt cleared land with crude axes, planted hay and grain in the thin topsoil, and hoped the short Vermont growing season would yield a good harvest. In late winter and early spring, they tapped maple trees, collecting enough sugar to last the entire year. Like their neighbors, the family probably cooked meals of potatoes, turnips, pumpkins, beans, and ground corn over an open hearth.³⁷

William came from a religious family. His father, William Sr., and his mother, Hannah



Courtesy Richard Neitzel Holzapfel

Marker at the birthplace of Oliver Cowdery, Wells, Vermont

Emmons, both belonged to the Congregational Church.³⁸ William Sr. served as a deacon in the Reading, Vermont, Congregational Church, preaching sermons after the death of the minister.³⁹ Oliver probably met his grandfather Cowdery (his only surviving grandparent) and listened firsthand to his Calvinist exhortations.

Oliver was two years old when the family left Wells early in 1809, but the move to Poultney—often thought to have taken place immediately—did not occur for another decade. The family moved first to a farm in Middletown, a township a few miles directly northeast of Wells. Oliver's mother Rebecca may have been sick with a chronic cough when they left Wells. Her health did not improve. Nine months later, in a portent of Oliver's own future, Rebecca died of consumption, most likely tuberculosis, at the age of forty-three. Oliver died also at age forty-three and probably from the same disease.⁴⁰

One historian of Wells has suggested that after Rebecca's death, two-year-old Oliver went to live with his aunt Huldah Glass, his mother's older sister.⁴¹ Various records indicate that Oliver may have lived with the Glass family for at least two extended periods, first from 1809 to 1813 and again between 1820 and 1822. The 1810 census record for William Cowdery, for example, lists only one male child under ten, although Lyman and Oliver were both in that age bracket. Furthermore, the Glass census record for 1810 lists two boys under ten, even though the Glass boys were all over ten. Oliver's living with the Glass family would be consistent with both census reports.⁴²

Even if Oliver temporarily lived with the Glass family (proved possible but hardly certain by known records), William Cowdery still had seven other children to care for. Sometime in the six months after Rebecca's death, he courted Keziah Pearce Austin, a Middletown widow, who came from a respected Poultney family. They were married in Middletown on March 18, 1810. The union eventually combined three families—a child from Keziah's first marriage and eight Cowdery children were eventually joined by William and Keziah's three daughters.⁴³

As Vermont historian Charles T. Morrissey details, “The years immediately preceding and following the War of 1812 provided all sorts of troubles for Vermont,” including a depressed economy that likely factored in the family's migration by ox team to western New York in the summer of 1810.⁴⁴ William and Keziah's first child, Rebecca Marie, was born in Williamson, New York, that December.

Young Oliver, whose early years had already been traumatized by the loss of his mother, faced a double blow just four years later when a plague descended on Wells and the surrounding communities. Both Glass parents fell ill, first with chills and a high fever, followed by violent coughing,

vomiting, and diarrhea. Huldah died on March 21, 1813, at the age of fifty-one, and fifty-seven-year-old Rufus succumbed two weeks later.⁴⁵ (This epidemic was probably part of an outbreak of typhoid fever that struck the entire Connecticut River Valley between 1812 and 1815, claiming six thousand lives and affecting both seven-year-old Joseph Smith, who endured an excruciating leg operation, and his sister Sophronia, who almost died.⁴⁶) One of Oliver's cousins, seventeen-year-old Arunah Glass, was left to care for himself, his three younger sisters, and possibly for six-year-old Oliver.

William Cowdery brought his family back to Vermont in 1813 or 1814, possibly because of the deaths of Rufus and Huldah (the Vermont economy certainly had not improved and was not the reason they returned). The Cowderys returned to Middletown, and the records of three events provide evidence of their continuous Middletown residence for the next few years: the birth of Lucy Pearce in June 1814, William's property sale in February 1815, and Phoebe's birth in January 1817. The family was therefore in Middletown—and Oliver was nine years old—during the summer of 1816, “the year without a summer,” when a foot of snow fell on about June 8, and fifteen sheep froze to death in a Wells barn. (This was also the third successive year of crop failures for the Joseph Smith Sr. family, driving them from Vermont to western New York.)⁴⁷

Oliver faced several adjustments during the Middletown years. His oldest brother, Warren, married Patience Simonds in 1814 and had moved to Freedom, New York, by 1816.⁴⁸ The next year, Oliver's siblings Dyer, Erastus, and Sally joined Warren in New York.⁴⁹ Along with his new sisters, Oliver also had a new stepbrother to get used to, Silas Austin, who was seven years his senior. Silas Austin is mentioned in a journal entry Oliver made in 1836 on a trip through Ohio: “On my way I called on Silas Austin . . . he received me with a smile, and wished me to remember him.”⁵⁰

Lucy Cowdery Young's summary of Oliver's youth does not mention Middletown, but this lapse is understandable since she was only three or four when the family left Middletown and moved a few miles west to the township of Poultney. This was familiar territory to Lucy's mother, Keziah, who had lived in Poultney both before and after her marriage to Harrington Austin. The Cowderys arrived in Poultney by 1818, and Rebecca Marie, Lucy, and Phoebe were baptized that August in the same Congregational Church that Keziah had joined in 1803.⁵¹ According to Lucy, the family remained in Poultney for close to a decade, with Oliver leaving for western New York around 1825 and the remaining members of the family following two years later.

Few details of the Poultney years are known, but William Cowdery was a literate man who emphasized his children's education. At least four of his six sons became either doctors or lawyers. And although the upbringing

and education of the Cowdery children is virtually undocumented, a local history of Wells written in 1869 contains a reference to Oliver's education: "We well remember this same Oliver Cowdery when in our boyhood. . . . He attended school in the District where we reside in 1821 and 1822."⁵²

The possibility of Oliver's attending school in Wells is curious because the Cowderys resided in Poultney during these years. Available records once again indicate, however, that Oliver may have been temporarily residing with his cousin, Arunah Glass, who had married in 1817. One reason could have been Arunah's inheritance of the debts of his deceased parents. As Richard L. Bushman has pointed out, New Englanders of this period lived precarious economic lives, often owing money to or being owed by scores of individuals. "A person could be prospering while alive," Bushman notes, "and suddenly be insolvent at death."⁵³ Arunah apparently lived on the edge of poverty, at one point receiving assistance from others in the community,⁵⁴ and Oliver may well have attended school while helping Arunah support a wife, son, and three sisters.

During the year of Joseph Smith's first vision, 1820, Oliver turned fourteen. The Poultney census record for that year does not list any boys at all residing with the William Cowdery family, while the four daughters still at home are accurately represented. (Oliver's five brothers were all old enough to be living away from home by this time.) Interestingly, the Wells census record for Arunah Glass lists one boy between ten and sixteen, as well as one boy under ten—and Arunah's only son was three.⁵⁵ Though not unimpeachable, those census records indicate that Oliver might have resided in Wells, where he took advantage of educational opportunities. The Wells school district records also support the theory that Oliver attended school there. In 1822, for example, two students between the ages of four and eighteen are listed in the Arunah Glass household, but Arunah had only one child at the time (Rufus, born in 1817), and his younger sisters were all over eighteen. In 1823 one student is listed for the Glass family.⁵⁶ Therefore, available records corroborate the claim that Oliver attended school in Wells in the early 1820s.

Oliver would have attended school during the long winter term, possibly studying composition and figures under Almon Hopson, an instructor who taught in Wells for twenty years. The school day began with reading of the Bible, and reading was stressed more than any other subject. Quill pens were difficult to make, and paper was "very course [*sic*] and scarce."⁵⁷ In this spare setting, young Oliver began to acquire the skills of logic and language that served him so well in future years.

Oliver left Vermont around 1825, but the exact year is not known. Lucy claims he left when he was twenty, and he turned twenty in October 1826.

However, Lucy mistakenly states that Oliver was born in 1805, so she could have thought that he turned twenty in 1825.⁵⁸ Whatever the exact date, Oliver had grown to young manhood in the Green Mountain State, and his family's time there becomes a source of controversy in discussions of both the "Wood Scrape" and *View of the Hebrews*.

The Wood Scrape

The Wood Scrape actually took place in Middletown, Vermont, seven years before William Cowdery moved there (and four years before Oliver's birth). According to nineteenth-century Middletown historian Barnes Frisbie, Nathaniel Wood, a preacher who had tried unsuccessfully to become pastor of Middletown's Congregational Church, and several of his relatives broke from the Congregational Church and claimed they were "modern Israelites or Jews, under the special care of Providence; that the Almighty would . . . visit their enemies . . . with his wrath and vengeance." In 1799, with the Wood movement gathering momentum, a man named Winchell, who contemporaries claimed was a fugitive and a counterfeiter, arrived on the scene and initiated the group to the use of the hazel rod, a small shrub cut with two prongs. "From the use of this stick Winchell and the Woods pretended to divine all sorts of things to suit their purpose."⁵⁹

With increasing zeal, Winchell and the Woods were soon using the rod to dig for buried treasure and search for missing persons. The frenzy reached its apex on the night of January 14, 1802, with the rodsmen preparing for a cataclysmic earthquake—even writing Passover messages on their doorposts—and with local "Gentiles" calling out the militia and standing guard for "destroying angels." "There was no sleep that night among the inhabitants; fear, consternation, great excitement and martial law prevailed throughout the night," historian Frisbie wrote in 1867.⁶⁰ But there was no earthquake, and the disgraced Wood group dispersed. Justus Winchell was "warned out" of town, and the Woods, who had previously been prominent citizens—with a former town selectman, constable, and justice of the peace among their numbers—bolted to New York.

Frisbie saw the roots of Mormonism in the Wood movement, claiming that Joseph Smith Sr. and William Cowdery were both involved with Winchell in Vermont around 1800 and that they resumed that association two decades later in New York:

There we find these men [Joseph Smith Sr. and William Cowdery] with the counterfeiter, Winchell, searching for money over the hills and mountains with the hazel rod, and their sons Joe and Oliver, as soon as they were old enough, were in the same business, and continued in it until they brought out the "vilest scheme that ever cursed the country."⁶¹



Locations in Vermont and New York significant to the early life of Oliver Cowdery

Frisbie himself, however, admitted that the evidence for these claims was thin. Describing Joseph Smith Sr.'s involvement in the Scrape, Frisbie wrote, "I have been told that [he] resided in Poultney . . . and that he was in it [the Wood movement]. . . . Of this I cannot speak positively, for the want of satisfactory evidence."⁶² Similarly, Frisbie cannot place William Cowdery directly in the Wood movement:

Winchell, I have been told, was a friend and acquaintance of Cowdry's, but of this I cannot be positive, they were intimate afterwards; but Winchell staid at Cowdry's some little time, keeping himself concealed. . . . Winchell next turns up in Middletown . . . and here he began to use the hazel rod (whether he had before used it at Cowdry's, in Wells, I cannot say).⁶³

Furthermore, as Richard Lloyd Anderson has pointed out, Frisbie's Smith-Cowdery discussion appears separately from his main summary of the Wood Scrape. In that narrative, Frisbie offered a detailed description of the incident—with specific names, dates, and locations—but said nothing at all about Smith or Cowdery, nor did his star witness, Laban Clark, a preacher who was temporarily in Middletown at the time of the Wood movement. In 1867, Clark wrote a letter to Frisbie discussing the "rod-men," a letter that further complicated the picture by claiming the counterfeiter was named Wingate, not Winchell. Frisbie also explained that before 1860 he interviewed more than thirty men and women who were living in Middletown in 1800. According to Frisbie's summary, these survivors said nothing of a counterfeiter or of Cowdery.⁶⁴

Despite Frisbie's seeming lack of evidence, his concept of a Winchell-Smith-Cowdery association has been revived by D. Michael Quinn, who considers it likely that Winchell mentored the Smiths in the occult and that Oliver Cowdery's "gift of working with the rod" came by way of Winchell's influence on William Cowdery.⁶⁵ In reaching these conclusions, Quinn assumes (1) William Cowdery was involved in the Wood Scrape, (2) William Cowdery gained knowledge of working with the rod from Winchell and transmitted that knowledge to Oliver, (3) Joseph Sr. moved temporarily from eastern to western Vermont around 1800 and also got involved in the Wood Scrape, and (4) Joseph Sr. was reunited with Winchell in New York in the early 1820s. A close examination of the existing documents, however, fails to support any of these assumptions.

(1) William Cowdery was never actually identified as a rodsman or as a participant in the Wood Scrape. Quinn's assertion that William was "described as a divining rodsman by his Vermont neighbors"⁶⁶ is not accurate. Frisbie claimed only that Winchell briefly stayed with Cowdery three years before the Wood Scrape, and the historian of Middletown was uncertain whether Winchell used the rod at that time. Frisbie, therefore, jumped to a conclusion when he argued that "Oliver Cowdery's father was in the Wood Scrape,"⁶⁷ and Quinn compounds this mistake by frequently asserting that Cowdery was identified as a Vermont rodsman.

As for the three Wells residents mentioned in an 1869 history of Wells, none made specific claims about William Cowdery. Nancy Glass (who was ten years old in 1800) wrote to the authors, "If any one [of the Cowdery family] was engaged in it, it must have been the old gentleman; I rather think it was, but won't be positive." The other two, Joseph Parks (fourteen years old in 1800) and Mrs. Charles Garner (age unknown), merely verified that Cowdery was "connected with the rodsmen."⁶⁸ All of this, recalled nearly seventy years after the fact, could simply be a confirmation that Winchell stayed with Cowdery. As Anderson has convincingly summarized, "William Cowdery's knowing a man who knew the Woods does not make him a participant. Indeed, Oliver's father is absent from all sources preceding Frisbie. . . . The main group of Middletown survivors of the 1800 period—'more than thirty men and women'—were interviewed up to 1860, and they said nothing of a counterfeiter or of Cowdery."⁶⁹

Existing records of William Cowdery's stay in Wells offer no indication that he was involved in the Wood Scrape. Winchell was "warned out" of Middletown, and the Woods were pressured to leave—"seeing the 'slow moving finger of scorn' pointed towards them from all their neighbors; and fearing, moreover, that the heavy hand of the law would fall on them for their misdeeds."⁷⁰ Meanwhile, Cowdery remained in Wells and appears to have been a respected citizen both before and after the Wood Scrape. In

1803, a year after the Wood Scrape, he was named as a surveyor of highways, a position he had held in the previous decade.

After leaving Wells, William moved to Middletown, the last place one would expect a disgraced rodsman to go—especially with huge mounds of dirt throughout the area serving as conspicuous reminders of Winchell's money-digging fiasco. And, in contrast to Nathaniel Wood's excommunication from the Middletown Congregational Church, William was married to Middletown resident Keziah Austin in the same church, by Congregational minister Henry Bigelow, whom Frisbie called "truly orthodox, and firm in his religious sentiments."⁷¹ Nor can William and Keziah's move to New York be taken as an attempt to flee Middletown, because they returned three years later and remained in Middletown for another four years.

(2) As Quinn himself has noted, "the historical record is silent about how or when Oliver Cowdery obtained the divining rod he was already using for revelation before April 1829."⁷² In fact, a revelation given to Joseph Smith within weeks of Oliver's arrival in Pennsylvania in April 1829 offers all that is known on this subject: "Now this is not all, for you have another gift, which is the gift of working with the rod: behold it has told you things: behold there is no other power save God, that can cause this rod of nature, to work in your hands."⁷³ According to Anderson, "no known source tells whether Oliver did money digging before becoming the Book of Mormon scribe."⁷⁴ In fact, Anderson argues that the rod had many uses in addition to locating hidden treasure. Even during the Wood Scrape, diviners used the rod to seek spiritual answers of all kinds, including healings and answers to prayers.⁷⁵ Whether Winchell's money-digging activities almost thirty years earlier had anything to do with Oliver's use of the rod is unknown. Perhaps, as Bushman has suggested, Oliver employed the rod to locate water and minerals, like many of his New England contemporaries.⁷⁶

(3) The connection of the Smith family to the Wood Scrape appears even more tenuous, since Joseph Sr.'s well-documented history does not include a move to Poultney, Vermont. Since Frisbie asserted (based on an unidentified source who offered no specific details) that Joseph Sr. lived in Poultney and participated in the Wood Scrape, and since *a* Joseph Smith is listed in the 1800 census for Poultney, Quinn speculates that Joseph Sr. "may have visited Poultney or Middletown while the Wood movement was developing from the spring of 1800 to January 1802."⁷⁷ Vermont civic and religious records, however, place Joseph Sr. across the state in Tunbridge in 1798 (birth of Alvin); in February 1800 (birth of Hyrum); and in May 1803 (birth of Sophronia).⁷⁸ The name of *a* Joseph Smith is also listed in the 1800 Tunbridge census,⁷⁹ but since the listing does not accurately describe the family of the Prophet's father, Quinn counters that the Poultney Joseph

Smith listing seems just as likely a record of Joseph Smith Sr. But as Dan Vogel has perceptively observed, Lucy Mack Smith offers a solution to this conundrum when she stated that the family relocated temporarily to Randolph, Vermont (about ten miles northwest of Tunbridge), after Hyrum's birth.⁸⁰ The family could have been in transit when the census was taken, which would account for their not being listed. Furthermore, in her entire history, which is full of names and dates, Lucy never mentions Rutland County or Poultney. Finally, Poultney records clearly indicate that the Joseph Smith listed in the 1800 census had been a longtime resident. A Joseph Smith is included in the tax rolls for 1792, 1793, 1794, 1795, 1797, and 1798 (the last year such records are available).⁸¹ Thus, Quinn's allegation that Joseph Sr. participated in the Wood Scrape runs counter to several historical documents and rests entirely on a speculation that suffers from a "want of satisfactory evidence," in the words of Barnes Frisbie.⁸²

(4) Additionally, Joseph Sr. cannot be linked with Winchell in New York. Three years after the Smith family moved to Palmyra, New York, the *Palmyra Register* noted that the post office was holding an unclaimed letter for "Justus Winchel." A similar notice appeared in the *Wayne Sentinel* almost five years later (July 7, 1824). Relying on these notices—and on Frisbie's claim of a Smith-Winchell connection in New York (a claim for which Frisbie offers neither documents nor witnesses)—Quinn concludes that "Winchell followed Joseph Sr. from Vermont to New York" and that Winchell was likely one of two "occult mentors to the Smiths."⁸³ But Quinn's assertion fails three fundamental tests. First, there is no evidence that Winchell lived in the Palmyra area. Two unclaimed letters over a five-year period do not prove residence and may point to the very opposite; and, as Quinn notes, Winchell's whereabouts at the time of the 1820 census are unknown.⁸⁴ Second, a case has not been made that the Justus Winchel named in the newspaper notices is the same Justus Winchell who was warned out of Vermont in 1802. Winchell's son, Justus Jr., lived within twenty miles of Palmyra from 1817 to 1820, and a German-born Justus Winchell (no known relation) moved to within twenty-five miles of Palmyra sometime after 1820. Quinn can place *the* Justus Winchell no closer than Wayne, New York—twenty-one miles from Palmyra—where he died in 1823.⁸⁵ Third, nothing links Winchell with New York money-digging activities. It is particularly telling that the manifold affidavits collected by the likes of Philastus Hurlbut, Chester C. Thorne, and Arthur B. Deming—all of whom attempted to link the Smiths with shady occult practices, money digging, and fraud (the very accusations made against Winchell in Vermont)—say nothing about anyone named Winchell.⁸⁶

Nor can William Cowdery be linked with Winchell in New York. This is a crucial point because Quinn relies heavily on Frisbie, who insists that

Winchell, Smith, and Cowdery were in the Wood Scrape in Vermont and were reunited in Palmyra.⁸⁷ But, according to Quinn, Winchell's alleged Palmyra visit or residence does not begin until 1819 and ends with his death in 1823, and William and Oliver Cowdery were clearly in Vermont during this period, as shown previously. Thus, the Winchell-Cowdery-New York claim falls flat in the face of the documentary evidence.

The primary historical documents fail to support Frisbie's—and Quinn's—Winchell-Smith-Cowdery allegations. Historian David M. Ludlum states the case succinctly: “The strands of connection between the Wood Scrape and the Palmyra outcroppings are too tenuous to withstand historical criticism.”⁸⁸

View of the Hebrews

Ethan Smith (1762–1849), no relation to Joseph, was a prominent New England minister who published a number of sermons and books. From 1821 to 1826, he served as minister of the Poultney, Vermont, Congregational Church, and during that period published his best-known work, *View of the Hebrews*. This book “combines scriptural citations and reports from various observers among American Indians and Jews to support the claim that the Indians were the descendants of the Lost Ten Tribes of Israel.”⁸⁹ By the early twentieth century and down to the 1980s, suggestions of a relationship between *View of the Hebrews* and the Book of Mormon were made by several authors.⁹⁰

Proponents of this theory have pointed out that the William Cowdery family lived in Poultney when *View of the Hebrews* was published, and some have claimed an Ethan Smith–Cowdery association. Book of Mormon enthusiast Thomas Stuart Ferguson concluded, for instance, that the Cowdery family “had a close tie with Ethan Smith.”⁹¹ The most intensive examination of the possible Ethan Smith–Cowdery association appears in David Persuitte's *Joseph Smith and the Origins of the Book of Mormon*, published in 1985. Persuitte calls attention to a brief note in the Records of Baptisms for the Congregational Church in Poultney:

1818

August 2 Mr. Cowdry's children viz Rebecka Maria Lucy and Phebe⁹²

Noting the connection of the Cowdery family to the Poultney Congregational Church that Ethan Smith would preside over three years later, Persuitte claims, “It is reasonable to expect, then, that Oliver Cowdery eventually became acquainted firsthand with Ethan Smith.”⁹³ However, Persuitte makes two mistaken assumptions in reaching this conclusion. First, he assumes the Cowderys moved to Poultney soon after William and Keziah's marriage⁹⁴—an understandable assumption given Lucy Cowdery

Young's letter—and second, that the Cowderys had a long-standing association with the Poultney Congregational Church.

To support this second assumption, Persuitte refers to two church records—an 1810 vote “to give Mrs. Keziah Cowdry a letter of recommendation”⁹⁵ and the 1818 baptismal record mentioned above. Persuitte reasons that, since the Cowderys associated with the Poultney Congregational Church from 1810 to 1818, they probably continued in the church until 1825. As shown, however, the family resided in either Middletown, Vermont, or Williamson, New York, from 1809 to 1817 or 1818 and was therefore not at all likely to form a close association with the Poultney church during this period.

Convinced that he has established an Oliver Cowdery–Ethan Smith connection, Persuitte quickly attempts to link Ethan Smith's ideas to the origin of the Book of Mormon:

Since Pastor Smith wrote his book to convince his fellow Americans of the religious importance of his ideas about the American Indians, we can speculate that he also used his pulpit to expound on them. In the congregation, Oliver Cowdery might thus have heard and been deeply impressed . . . [and] there was a reasonable period of time in which Oliver Cowdery could have supplied Joseph with a copy [of *View of the Hebrews*]. . . . Though Joseph later claimed that he did not meet Oliver until the spring of 1829, he might have said that to preclude any appearance of collusion. It is also possible that some other individuals were involved in the collaboration and that Oliver worked with them first and not directly with Joseph until later.⁹⁶

In the face of such speculative musing (which is void of documentation), a close look at the historical records proves highly instructive:

- William and Keziah's three daughters—Rebecca Marie, Lucy Pearce, and Phoebe—were all baptized on the same day, at the ages of seven, four, and one, raising questions of how often the family attended church services. (William's orthodox parents, by contrast, had him baptized when he was one month old.⁹⁷)
- Keziah's known contact with the Poultney Congregational Church in 1803⁹⁸ (when she joined), 1810, and 1818 all occurred with the same pastor in office, the Reverend Mr. Leonard, a popular minister who served from 1803 to 1821.⁹⁹ There is no record of her having contact with any other Poultney minister.
- Keziah lived in Poultney during the 1790s but was a resident of Middletown in 1800 and also in 1810, when she married William Cowdery.¹⁰⁰ She did not return to Poultney until 1817 or 1818. It is therefore likely that the May 26, 1810, letter of recommendation was obtained (possibly from Poultney church members who had known her years earlier) in relation to the move to New York, which took place in the summer of 1810.¹⁰¹

- Although Keziah was a member of the Poultney Congregational Church, and her three daughters were baptized, no other Pearce, Austin, or Cowdery family members are mentioned in church records.¹⁰²
- The baptismal entry in 1818 is the last record of Cowdery association with the Poultney Congregational Church, and no document has been found linking Ethan Smith to any member of the Cowdery family. Even Persuitte acknowledges that Oliver's three half sisters were baptized three years before Smith became pastor.¹⁰³
- No document has been found linking Oliver Cowdery to the Congregational Church or the writings of Ethan Smith.¹⁰⁴

All of this does not prove that the Cowderys did not know Ethan Smith or that Oliver Cowdery was not aware of *View of the Hebrews*. What it does suggest, however, is that the theory of an Ethan Smith-Cowdery association is not supported by the documents and that it is unknown whether Oliver knew of or read *View of the Hebrews*. (Oliver's possible acquaintance with Ethan Smith is further diminished by his likely residence in Wells from 1820 to 1822, as discussed earlier.)

Nevertheless, some historians have continued to speculate that Oliver may have somehow obtained a copy of *View of the Hebrews* in Poultney and given it to Joseph Smith sometime before 1827, when Joseph reported obtaining the gold plates. Persuitte, for example, launches into a lengthy scenario according to which Oliver meets with Ethan Smith and is allowed free access to his library. When Oliver leaves Vermont in 1825, he takes with him the enlarged edition of *View of the Hebrews*, as well as a romance written by Ethan Smith (although no record exists of this volume). Soon Oliver meets with Joseph, and "the two get the idea of using Ethan Smith's romance as the basis of a history of ancient America that they can sell for profit."¹⁰⁵ They incorporate material from *View of the Hebrews* as well. Persuitte omits specific dates and locations from his Joseph/Oliver conspiracy, which he admits is "purely speculative."¹⁰⁶ Still, in a book that gives the appearance of treating historical matters seriously, taking such creative license seems out of place.

In a more recent—and more surprising—attempt to link Joseph Smith with *View of the Hebrews* through Oliver Cowdery, Richard S. Van Wagoner offers another amazing series of speculations. His springboard is an 1830 editorial in the *Ashtabula (Ohio) Journal* which states, "For we had known Cowdry some seven or 8 years ago, when he was a dabbler in the art of Printing, and principally occupied in writing and printing pamphlets, with which, as a pedestrian pedlar, he visited the towns and villages of western N. York, and Canada."¹⁰⁷

Van Wagoner first suggests that young Oliver Cowdery may have been “employed by Smith & Shute, the Poultney firm that printed *View of the Hebrews*.” Next he conjectures that Oliver was a “traveling agent” for Smith & Shute and that Oliver “had copies of the 1823 edition of *View of the Hebrews* in his knapsack when he visited his relatives the Smiths.” This, in Van Wagoner’s estimation, explains how Joseph, in the autumn of 1823, began telling his family interesting details about the ancient inhabitants of America.¹⁰⁸

While Persuitté’s scenario of Joseph receiving *View of the Hebrews* offers no dates, locations, or documents, Van Wagoner includes four specific details that do not withstand scrutiny.

(1) The *Ashtabula Journal*’s identification of Oliver as a “pedestrian pedlar” could be a case of mistaken identity. As Scott Faulring has noted, “Benjamin Franklin Cowdery was an older relative of Oliver who went through repeated hard luck in printing ventures in western New York. Before 1830, he had published eight newspapers, and about this time others in the trade evidently felt him ‘poorly qualified to speak for the printers.’”¹⁰⁹

(2) Oliver Cowdery himself indicated he did not learn the printing trade until 1829. In December of that year, he was assisting with the printing of the Book of Mormon and wrote to Joseph Smith, “It may look rather strange to you to find that I have so soon become a printer.”¹¹⁰ In addition, a nineteenth-century history of Poultney mentions several people associated with printing in Poultney (including Horace Greeley, who began work as a *Northern Spectator* apprentice in 1826), but does not mention Oliver.¹¹¹

(3) Oliver Cowdery was only sixteen when the supposed 1823 Smith & Shute employment and trip to western New York would have been necessary. However, there is no record of Oliver being in New York between 1815 and 1824. Had he gone to western New York in 1823, he most likely would have visited his older brother Warren, who had been practicing medicine in the area for at least six years. In his apothecary ledger, Warren noted the names of Dyer, Erastus, and Sally Cowdery, but there is no mention of Oliver. Nor is a boy Oliver’s age listed in the 1820 census record for Warren Cowdery.¹¹²

(4) There is no evidence that Oliver met the Smiths before 1828 or that he then knew they were related (Oliver Cowdery was a third cousin to Lucy Mack Smith). Similarly, Lucy says the Joseph Sr. family met Oliver for the first time in 1828 and does not mention any awareness of their distant family connection.¹¹³

Like other attempts to establish an Ethan Smith–Oliver Cowdery–Joseph Smith connection, Van Wagoner’s version lacks support from primary documents.

Conclusion

In the cold spring of 1829, when Samuel Smith and Oliver Cowdery set out on a 130-mile journey from Palmyra, New York, to visit the Prophet in Harmony, Pennsylvania, traveling through miserable weather—“raining, freezing, and thawing alternately, which had rendered the roads almost impassable”¹¹⁴—Oliver was only twenty-two years old. Contrary to well-known theories regarding the Wood Scrape and *View of the Hebrews*, his family history offered no evidence of preparation for the establishment of a new religion. And while his family’s history is well documented, his personal life seemed ordinary, with his birth record as the only primary Vermont document mentioning him by name. All of that was about to change. He faced an extraordinary future, full of “days never to be forgotten.”¹¹⁵

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1. Lucy Cowdery Young to Brigham H. Young, March 7, 1887, Archives Division, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives).

2. The earliest account of the Wood movement is in a newspaper article entitled “The Rodsmen,” published in *Vermont American*, May 7, 1828. This article summarizes the Wood Scrape but does not name any of the participants, nor does it mention a counterfeiter. This was followed by Barnes Frisbie, *The History of Middletown, Vermont* (Rutland, Vt.: Tuttle, 1867), 43–64. Recollections by Wells residents are recounted in Hiland Paul and Robert Parks, *History of Wells, Vermont, for the First Century after Its Settlement* (Rutland, Vt.: Tuttle, 1869; reprint, Wells, Vt.: Wells Historical Society, 1979), 79–82. For in-depth analyses of the Wood Scrape, see Richard Lloyd Anderson, “The Mature Joseph Smith and Treasure Searching,” *BYU Studies* 24 (fall 1984): 489–560; David Persuitte, *Joseph Smith and the Origins of the Book of Mormon* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 1985), 56–59, 234–38; D. Michael Quinn, *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View*, rev. and enl. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1998), 35–36, 121–30; Dan Vogel, ed., *Early Mormon Documents*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996), 1:599–621.

3. Ethan Smith’s *View of the Hebrews* was originally published in Poultney, Vermont, by Smith and Shute, the first edition in 1823 and the second in 1825. It was recently reprinted. See *View of the Hebrews: 1825*, 2d ed. complete text by Ethan Smith, edited with an introduction by Charles D. Tate Jr. (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1996). Linkage with the Book of Mormon was first suggested by psychologist I. Woodbridge Riley, *The Founder of Mormonism* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1903), 124–25. B. H. Roberts discussed the question of whether *View of the Hebrews* could have influenced the writing of the Book of Mormon in his papers entitled “A Book of Mormon Study” and “A Parallel,” in Brigham D. Madsen, ed. *B. H. Roberts: Studies of the*

Book of Mormon (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985), reviewed by John W. Welch in *Pacific Historical Review* 55 (November 1986): 619–23. For various discussions on Ethan Smith's possible influence on the Book of Mormon or lack thereof, see Fawn Brodie, *No Man Knows My History*, 2d. ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971), 46–49; Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 134–38; Robert N. Hullinger, *Joseph Smith's Response to Skepticism* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), 55–59, 183–89; Robert N. Hullinger, "Lost Tribes of Israel and the Book of Mormon," *Lutheran Quarterly* 22 (August 1970): 319–29; Francis W. Kirkham, *A New Witness for Christ in America: The Book of Mormon*, 2 vols. (Independence, Mo.: Zion's Printing and Publishing, 1951), 2:391–96; Stan Larson, *Quest for the Gold Plates: Thomas Stuart Ferguson's Archaeological Search for the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Free Thinker Press, 1996), 144–49; Spencer J. Palmer and William L. Knecht, "View of the Hebrews: Substitute for Inspiration?" *BYU Studies* 5 (1964): 105–13; Persuitte, *Origins of the Book of Mormon*, reviewed by L. Ara Norwood in *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon* 2 (Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1990), 187–204; Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Sidney Rigdon: A Portrait of Religious Excess* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994), 463–67, reviewed by David J. Whittaker in *Journal of Mormon History* 23 (spring 1997): 189–95; Dan Vogel, *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon: Religious Solutions from Columbus to Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1986), 18–69, reviewed by Kevin Christensen in *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon* 2 (Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1990), 214–57; John W. Welch, "View of the Hebrews: 'An Unparallel,'" in *Reexploring the Book of Mormon*, ed. John W. Welch (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book and FARMS, 1992), 83–87. For specific discussions of B. H. Roberts's writings, see Brigham D. Madsen, "Reflections on LDS Disbelief in the Book of Mormon as History," *Dialogue* 30 (fall 1997): 87–97; Truman G. Madsen, "B. H. Roberts and the Book of Mormon," *BYU Studies* 19 (summer 1979): 427–45; Truman G. Madsen and John W. Welch, "Did B. H. Roberts Lose Faith in the Book of Mormon?" (Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1985).

4. Mary Bryant Alverson Mehling, *Cowdrey-Cowdery-Cowdray Genealogy* (Frank Allaben Genealogical, 1911), 79. Mehling compiled parts of her book in the 1880s and obtained information from Oliver Cowdery's daughter, Marie Louise Cowdery Johnson. See also William Hyslop Fuller, *Genealogy of Some Descendants of Edward Fuller of the Mayflower* (Palmer, Mass.: C. B. Fiske, 1908), 199; Grace E. Pember Wood, *A History of the Town of Wells, Vermont* (Wells, Vt.: By the author, 1955), 87.

5. Three biographies of Oliver Cowdery have been published: Stanley R. Gunn, *Oliver Cowdery: Second Elder and Scribe* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1962); Phillip R. Legg, *Oliver Cowdery: The Elusive Second Elder of the Restoration* (Independence, Mo.: Herald Publishing House, 1989); and Joseph Hyrum Greenhalgh, *Oliver Cowdery: The Man Outstanding* (n.p., [1964]). In addition, Andrew Jenson published a key biographical essay of Oliver Cowdery in *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia: A Compilation of Biographical Sketches of Prominent Men and Women in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History, 1901–36), 1:246–51. None of these publications refers to original Vermont documents and none mentions the Cowdery family's stay in Middletown.

6. All Wells documents except the census report are from the Wells Town Record, an unpublished document located in the Wells, Vermont, town clerk's office. Much of the Wells record is available at the LDS Family History Library in Salt Lake City. Russell R. Rich conducted on-site research in Wells in 1974 and discovered several references to William Cowdery in the Vermont records for this period. William Cowdery's name is variously spelled *Cowdry*, *Cowdrey*, and *Cowdre*.

7. Mormon historians have generally accepted Mehling's claim that Warren was born in Poultney, Vermont. Mehling, *Cowdrey-Cowdery-Cowdray Genealogy*, 170. However, the Wells Town Record states that Warren was born in Wells. Wells Town Record, Record of Births, 146. While another section of the Wells record clouds the picture by stating Warren was born in Reding (probably referring to Reading, Vermont), the secondary sources state he was born in Wells. See Wells Town Record, Record of Births, 229–30.

8. Wells Town Record, List of the Free Men in Wells, September 1789, 105.

9. Wells Town Record, Record of Births, 229–30.

10. Wells Town Record, Land Records, April 12, 1791 (238), April 20, 1791 (236), April 22, 1791 (224), November 22, 1792 (414), February 28, 1793 (423).

11. Wells Town Record, Minutes of Town Meeting, February 20, 1792, 292.

12. Wells Town Record, Record of Ear Marks for Livestock, July 1793, 102.

13. Wells Town Record, Record of Births, 150–51.

14. Wells Town Record, Record of Births, 152–53.

15. Wells Town Record, Affidavit from William Cowdery, December 19, 1797, 159.

16. Wells Town Record, Record of Births, 154–55.

17. Bureau of the Census, "Population Schedules of the Second Census of the United States, 1800," Wells, Vermont, prepared by the National Archives and Records Service (Washington, D.C., 1960), 264.

18. Wells Town Record, Record of Births, 156–57.

19. Wells Town Record, Minutes of Town Meeting, March [?] 1803, 185. Apparently, William Cowdery was also elected tithingman in Wells on one or two occasions. Thanks to Richard L. Anderson for this information.

20. Wells Town Record, Record of Births, 158–59.

21. Wells Town Record, Record of Births, 158–59.

22. Wells Town Record, Land Records, January 8, 1807 (99), January 9, 1807 (376–77), December 24, 1807 (72), December 24, 1807 (441), November 9, 1808 (16).

23. Paul and Parks, *History of Wells*, 81; Fuller, *Some Descendants of Edward Fuller*, 199.

24. Mehling, *Cowdrey-Cowdery-Cowdray Genealogy*, 95.

25. The original marriage record for William Cowdery and Keziah Pearce Austin was found in the Middletown Springs town clerk's office by Deborah Morris in August 1998. It is also available on microfilm at the LDS Family History Library. See Middletown Springs (Vt.) Town Record, Births, Marriages, and Deaths, vol. 2, 34 (March 18, 1810).

26. Carl A. Curtis, "Cowdery Genealogical Material," 1970, 1, Special Collections and Manuscripts, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter cited as BYU Special Collections). Curtis was the son of Caroline Eleanor Cowdery Curtis, the daughter of Warren A. Cowdery (and niece of Oliver Cowdery).

27. Bureau of the Census, "Population Schedules of the Third Census of the United States, 1810," Ontario, New York, prepared by the National Archives and Records Service (Washington, D.C., 1958), 786. Richard L. Anderson informed me that William Cowdery was included in this census.

28. Mehling, *Cowdrey-Cowdery-Cowdray Genealogy*, 186.

29. Curtis, "Cowdery Genealogical Material," 1.

30. Mehling, *Cowdrey-Cowdery-Cowdray Genealogy*, 187.

31. Middletown Springs Land Records, 1814–21, 391. This record indicates that William Cowdery lived in Middletown in 1815 and sold thirty acres of land situated in the northern part of Middletown to Moses Copeland.

32. Mehling, *Cowdrey-Cowdery-Cowdray Genealogy*, 188.

33. "Historical and Genealogical Material, Poultney, Vermont, Part I, Historical," 1052, typescript, Poultney town clerk's office, Poultney, Vermont.
34. Bureau of the Census, "Population Schedules of the Fourth Census of the United States, 1820," Poultney, Vermont, prepared by the National Archives and Records Service (Washington, D.C., 1959), 250.
35. Wood, *History of the Town of Wells*, 29.
36. Wood, *History of the Town of Wells*, 7–8.
37. Wood, *History of the Town of Wells*, 8.
38. Karl P. Stofko, *Vital Statistics Records from the Records of the First Church of Christ, Congregational in East Haddam, Connecticut, 1704–1850*, 37; *Second Congregational Church and Ecclesiastical Society (East Haddam Connecticut), Church Records, 1733–1931*, 22.
39. Mehling, *Cowdrey-Cowdery-Cowdray Genealogy*, 79.
40. For the death of Rebecca, see Paul and Parks, *History of Wells*, 81. Scott H. Faulring has concluded that Oliver Cowdery was suffering from chronic pulmonary tuberculosis when he died. See Scott H. Faulring, "The Return of Oliver Cowdery," FARMS Preliminary Report (Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1997), 40 n. 99, forthcoming in Stephen D. Ricks, Donald W. Parry, and Andrew H. Hedges, eds., *The Disciple as Witness: Essays on Latter-day Saint History and Doctrine in Honor of Richard Lloyd Anderson* (Provo, Utah: FARMS, 2000), 172 n. 106.
41. Elmer J. Culp, "Early Vermont Roots of Mormonism," 1980, 5, photocopy in BYU Special Collections. In a talk given to the Pawlett Historical Society on February 6, 1980, Culp argued that "there is evidence that Oliver went to live with them [the Glass family]" (5), but he does not say what that evidence is.
42. Bureau of the Census, "Population Schedules of the Third Census of the United States, 1810," Wells, Vermont, prepared by the National Archives and Records Service (Washington, D.C., 1960), 26; Bureau of the Census, "Population Schedules of the Third Census of the United States, 1810," Ontario, New York, 786.
43. Keziah Pearce was born in Canaan, Litchfield County, Connecticut, on July 1, 1773. Mehling, *Cowdrey-Cowdery-Cowdray Genealogy*, 95–96. Her father, Phineas Pearce, moved to Poultney, Vermont, "soon after the surrender of Burgoyne." Joseph Joslin, Barnes Frisbie, and Frederick Ruggles, *A History of the Town of Poultney, Vermont* (Poultney, Vt.: Journal Printing Office, 1875), 319. The Phineas Pearce family (spelled *Pierce*) is listed in the 1790 U.S. Census for Poultney (Bureau of the Census, "Population Schedules of the First Census of the United States, 1790," Poultney, Vermont, prepared by the National Archives and Records Service [Washington, D.C., 1965], 245.) Keziah married Harrington Austin sometime in the 1790s; they lived in Poultney for a time, but by the time of the 1800 census, they were residents of Middletown (with Harrington listed in the 1800 Middletown census as "Horrington"). For the birth of Silas Austin, son of Harrington and Keziah, see Helen McGaughy and Pauline Austin, professional researcher files, correspondence in possession of the author; Edith Austin Moore, *Unplaced Austin Records*, 3 vols. (n.p.: By the author), 3:149. Harrington died between 1800 and 1810. The marriage record lists Keziah as a resident of Middletown, so it is possible that she resided in Middletown from 1800 to 1810.
44. Charles T. Morrissey, *Vermont, a Bicentennial History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1981), 109. According to Cowdery tradition, the family left Middletown in the summer of 1810, returned in 1813 or 1814, traveling by ox team. See Curtis, "Cowdery Genealogical Material."
45. Fuller, *Some Descendants of Edward Fuller*, 199; Margaret R. Jenks, *Wells Cemetery Inscriptions, Rutland County Vermont* (Kirkland, Wash.: By the author, 1980), 19.

46. See Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith, the Prophet, and His Progenitors for Many Generations* (London: published for Orson Pratt by S. W. Richards, 1853), 59–66; Bushman, *Beginnings of Mormonism*, 32; LeRoy S. Wirthlin, “Nathan Smith (1762–1828) Surgical Consultant to Joseph Smith,” *BYU Studies* 17 (spring 1977): 319–37. Charles T. Morrissey discusses an 1813 epidemic of spotted fever, or cerebrospinal meningitis; see Morrissey, *Vermont*, 109.

47. According to Richard L. Bushman, the cold weather during the summer of 1816 “is generally attributed to the volcanic explosion of Tambora on Sumbawa in 1815, which blew fifteen cubic kilometers of volcanic ash.” See Bushman, *Beginnings of Mormonism*, 200. For more about the “poverty year” of 1816, see Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 66; Paul and Parks, *History of Wells*, 20; Morrissey, *Vermont*, 109 n. 99.

48. On Warren’s marriage, see Mehling, *Cowdrey-Cowdery-Cowdray Genealogy*, 170.

49. Stephen Cowdery’s whereabouts during this period are unknown. He is not mentioned in Warren’s records nor is he included in the 1820 census for either William or Warren. See Curtis, “Cowdery Genealogical Material,” Warren Cowdery Ledger, 1.

50. Leonard J. Arrington, “Oliver Cowdery’s Kirtland, Ohio, ‘Sketch Book,’” *BYU Studies* 12:4 (1972): 414. Silas Austin was born in Poultney in 1799 to Harrington Austin and Keziah Pearce. He married Emily Buckland in Licking County, Ohio, in 1819 and spent most of his life there. He worked as a blacksmith and served in the Mexican-American War. He and Emily had four children. Emily died in 1875 and Silas in 1886. They are buried in Harrison, Licking County, Ohio. See Helen McGaughy and Pauline Austin, professional researcher files; Licking County History and Court Records, Newark, Ohio; Moore, *Unplaced Austin Records*, 3:149.

51. “Members, The Congregational Church, Poultney, Vermont, 1782 to 1898, copied from Mr. Edward C. Ripley’s Papers,” typescript, 1067, Poultney town clerk’s office, Poultney, Vermont.

52. Paul and Parks, *History of Wells*, 79.

53. Bushman, *Beginnings of Mormonism*, 21.

54. In 1826, Lyman Stevens of Wells was authorized by “the overseers of the poor” to assist Arunah Glass, but Arunah was to pay his own doctor’s bill (indicating the family suffered health problems that compounded their financial difficulties).

55. Bureau of the Census, “Population Schedules of the Fourth Census of the United States, 1820,” Wells, Vermont, prepared by the National Archives and Records Service (Washington, D.C., 1959), 259.

56. Wells town record, Land Records, 380. For 1823, see Land Records, 383. There is no district record for 1824, and Arunah is not listed in the record for 1825, but for 1826 and 1827, two students are listed with the Glass household. This could not have been Oliver because he was over eighteen—and also because he was apparently in New York at the time. See Wells Town Record, Land Records, 604, 651. Arunah Glass reportedly lived in Wells until 1855, when he moved to Illinois, dying there in 1860 at the age of 64. See Wood, *History of the Town of Wells*, 55.

57. Wood, *History of the Town of Wells*, 20–21.

58. Young to Young, March 7, 1887.

59. Frisbie, *History of Middletown*, 47.

60. Frisbie, *History of Middletown*, 54. Frisbie gives the year as 1801, but as Dan Vogel argues, “The year 1801 is probably an error since the earliest account of the Wood movement cites the date as January 14, 1802 (*Vermont American*, May 7, 1828).” See Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:609 n. 15.

61. Frisbie, *History of Middletown*, 62. Frisbie adds, though, that the fact that Joseph Sr. “was a rods-man under the tuition of this counterfeiter after he went to Palmyra has been proven to my satisfaction, at least” (62).

62. Frisbie, *History of Middletown*, 62.
63. Frisbie, *History of Middletown*, 46–47.
64. Frisbie, *History of Middletown*, 42–63.
65. Quinn, *Magic World View*, 37.
66. Quinn, *Magic World View*, 318.
67. Frisbie, *History of Middletown*, 62.
68. Paul and Parks, *History of Wells*, 81, 82.
69. Anderson, “Mature Joseph Smith,” 522.
70. “The Rodsmen,” *Vermont American*.
71. Frisbie, *History of Middletown*, 93.
72. Quinn, *Magic World View*, 38.

73. Book of Commandments 7:3. The Book of Commandments is a collection of the Prophet Joseph Smith's early revelations, published in 1833. These revelations were incorporated in the Doctrine and Covenants in 1835. The verse concerning Oliver and the rod now reads: “Now this is not all thy gift; for you have another gift, which is the gift of Aaron; behold, it has told you many things; Behold, there is no other power, save the power of God, that can cause this gift of Aaron to be with you” (D&C 8:6–7).

74. Anderson, “Mature Joseph Smith,” 528.
75. Anderson, “Mature Joseph Smith,” 524–25.
76. Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism*, 98.
77. Quinn, *Magic World View*, 125.
78. Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:635, 638.
79. Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:639.

80. Lucy Smith, “Preliminary Manuscript,” 1845, 25, LDS Church Archives. In her published work, Lucy dates the move to Randolph in 1802. However, the published account offers no support for a temporary residence in Poultney because Lucy's account has the family renting the Tunbridge farm and moving directly from there to Randolph. See Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 45.

81. “Historical and Genealogical Material,” 165–84.

82. Quinn fails to account for the obvious anti-Mormon bias of Frisbie, who at one point refers to “this monster—Mormonism” (Frisbie, *History of Middletown*, 64), which makes his theories about Mormon origins suspect. Quinn also fails to explore the implications of his own claim that in 1800 *Joseph Smith* was “the most common name in America” (*Magic World View*, 125). The 1800 census lists eleven Joseph Smiths in Vermont and well over a hundred combined total in Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and New York. According to Vogel, none of these census records is an exact match for the makeup of the Joseph Sr. family. See Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:640. This makes locating the family solely on the basis of census records impossible.

83. Quinn, *Magic World View*, 125, 132.
84. Quinn, *Magic World View*, 124–26.
85. Quinn, *Magic World View*, 126–27.

86. Quinn attempts unsuccessfully to link Winchell with Luman Walters, named by Pomeroy Tucker as a money-digging associate of Joseph Smith. Stating that the family of Philastus Hurlbut “*may have been related*” to the family of Walters and that Hurlbut “*may have been related*” to Winchell, Quinn suddenly invents the phrase “Walter(s)-Winchell” as if the two are interchangeable. See Quinn, *Magic World View*, 122–23; italics added. However, he offers no documents associating the two men; nor does he acknowledge that even if Hurlbut was related to both of them (which itself is purely speculative), it would not necessarily mean they were related to each other. Quinn does not consider the possibility that Frisbie confused Winchell with Walters.

Persuitte suggests that “it seems to be a reasonable conclusion that Walters was Wingate/Winchell” (*Origins of the Book of Mormon*, 238). For information on the affidavits collected by Hurlbut, Thorne, and Deming, see Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 2:13–77, 167–81, 185–214.

87. Frisbie, *History of Middletown*, 61–62.

88. David M. Ludlum, *Social Ferment in Vermont, 1791–1850* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939; New York: AMS, 1966), 242, cited in Quinn, *Magic World View*, 386.

89. Richard C. Roberts, “View of the Hebrews,” in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 4:1509.

90. See note 3 above.

91. Thomas Stuart Ferguson to Ron Barney, January 10, 1983, cited in Stan Larson, “The Odyssey of Thomas Stuart Ferguson,” *Dialogue* 23 (spring 1990): 83.

92. “Historical and Genealogical Material, Poultney,” 1052.

93. Persuitte, *Origins of the Book of Mormon*, 8.

94. Persuitte, *Origins of the Book of Mormon*, 235. Persuitte correctly notes that the Cowderys lived in Middletown before moving to Poultney but mistakenly believes the family arrived in Poultney in 1810. Brigham Madsen makes a much more serious error when he writes that Oliver Cowdery “had lived in Poultney for twenty-two years until 1825” (Roberts, *Studies of the Book of Mormon*, 27). This calculation misses Oliver’s birth date by three years (he was born in 1806, not 1803) and has Oliver in Poultney fifteen years longer than he actually was.

95. Persuitte, *Origins of the Book of Mormon*, 270. Persuitte reports that in 1977 he took photos of Poultney Congregational Church records and that they included information about the letter of recommendation and also state that William and Keziah’s three daughters were baptized in 1818 “on the faith of the mother” (*Origins of the Book of Mormon*, 270, 7). Persuitte obtained these records from the Poultney Historical Society but reports that they were stolen in the winter of that year. I could not find them when I searched the Historical Society’s holdings and the town clerk’s office in 1999.

96. Persuitte, *Origins of the Book of Mormon*, 8, 57.

97. *Records of the First Church of Christ, Congregational in East Haddam*, 37.

98. “Members, The Congregational Church,” 1067.

99. Joslin, Frisbie, and Ruggles, *History of the Town of Poultney*, 104.

100. Bureau of the Census, “Population Schedules of the Second Census of the United States, 1800,” Middletown, Vermont, prepared by the National Archives and Records Service (Washington, D.C., 1960), 110; marriage record for William Cowdery and Keziah Austin, March 18, 1810, Middletown Town Record, Births, Marriages, and Deaths, 2:34.

101. Curtis, “Cowdery Genealogical Material,” 1.

102. “Members, The Congregational Church,” 1065–71.

103. Persuitte, *Origins of the Book of Mormon*, 8.

104. Emily A. Ross to William Powell, April 22, 1976, LDS Church Archives. Asked to research whether Oliver Cowdery was a member of Ethan Smith’s congregation, Poultney resident Emily Ross was unable to locate any connection in the documentary record.

105. Persuitte, *Origins of the Book of Mormon*, 254.

106. Persuitte, *Origins of the Book of Mormon*, 254. The original manuscript of the Book of Mormon offers strong evidence that Oliver acted simply as scribe, not co-author. See 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.

107. *Cleveland Herald*, November 25, 1830, clipping in Milton V. Backman Jr. and others, comps., *Contemporary Accounts of the Latter-day Saints and Their Leaders Appearing in Early Ohio Newspapers*, 2 vols., vol. 2, BYU Special Collections.

108. Van Wagoner, *Sidney Rigdon*, 465–66. Apparently following Brigham Madsen's lead, Van Wagoner erroneously claims Oliver Cowdery resided in Poultney from 1803 to 1825. Of course, Oliver was not actually born until 1806. Since Van Wagoner is discussing the possibility that Oliver was a traveling agent for Smith & Shute, this three-year mistake is crucial. It seems unlikely for Oliver to have had such a job at age sixteen, his actual age in 1823.

109. Scott H. Faulring to Larry E. Morris, October 29, 1998. The information on Benjamin Franklin Cowdery comes from Milton W. Hamilton, *The Country Printer, New York State, 1785–1830*, 2d ed. (Port Washington, N.Y.: Ira J. Friedman, 1964), 265–66, 92.

110. Oliver Cowdery to Joseph Smith, December 28, 1829, Joseph Smith Letterbook, 1:5, microfilm, Joseph Smith Papers, LDS Church Archives.

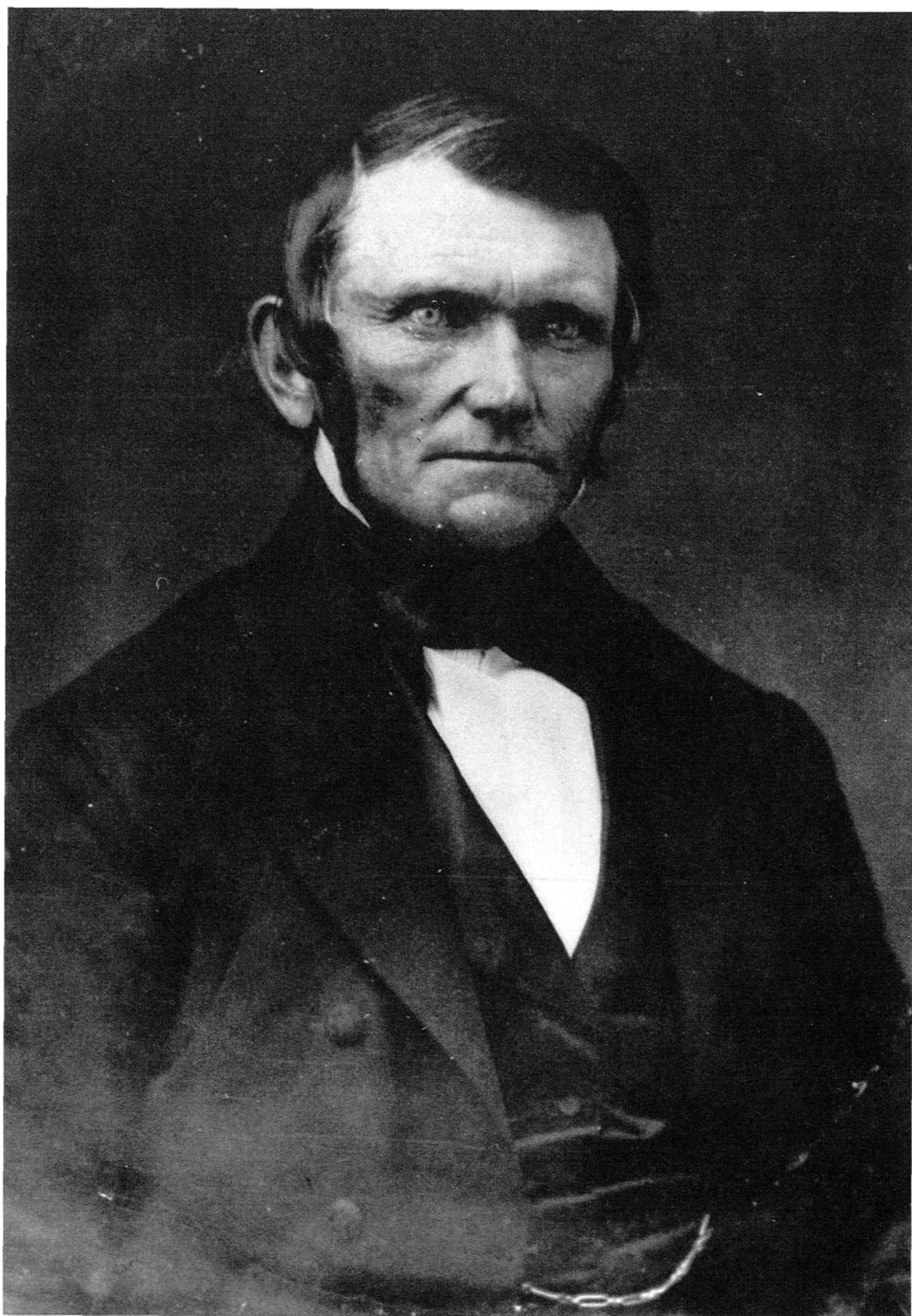
111. Joslin, Frisbie, and Ruggles, *History of the Town of Poultney*, 89–94.

112. Curtis, "Cowdery Genealogical Material," Warren Cowdery Ledger, 2; Bureau of the Census, "Population Schedules of the Fourth Census of the United States, 1820," LeRoy, New York, prepared by the National Archives and Records Service (Washington, D.C., 1959), 150.

113. Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 128.

114. Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 130.

115. "Oliver Cowdery to W. W. Phelps," September 7, 1834, [Letter I], *Messenger and Advocate* 1 (October 1834): 14.



Courtesy LDS Church Archives

Wilford Woodruff, ca. 1853. Daguerreotype by Marsena Cannon.

Wilford Woodruff and Zion's Camp: Baptism by Fire and the Spiritual Confirmation of a Future Prophet

Thomas G. Alexander

During his youth in Connecticut, Wilford Woodruff, who in 1889 became the fourth president of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, turned his feet to the path that led to religious conversion.¹ His journey eventually led to his baptism into the Mormon Church in 1833. The following year he accepted a call to march with Zion's Camp. Wilford Woodruff was rebaptized by the fires of that experience, confirming his faith in Jesus Christ and causing him to devote the remainder of his life to the restored gospel.

The Woodruff Family's Search for a Religion

Descendants of some of the oldest settlers of Farmington, Connecticut's northern quarter, then called Northington and later organized as the town of Avon, Wilford's relatives were among the community's most prominent citizens. His grandfather Eldad, his father, Aphek, and his uncles Ozem and Eldad Jr. owned property and businesses. At times they held responsible offices such as tithingmen; tax collectors; agents to collect the minister's salary and firewood; and overseers, prudential committee members, and committeemen for the local schools.

In addition to serving as community leaders, they were prominent Congregational laymen. Until 1818, Congregationalism remained Connecticut's established church, and unless citizens could prove membership in another Christian church, they had to pay taxes to support the established ministry. Still, by 1815, as the War of 1812 drew to an end, the state had become a hotbed of religious change.²

After the war and as disestablishment neared, members of the Woodruff family moved in different religious directions. Aphek, who suffered business and personal financial reverses at the end of the war, investigated the Baptists for a time, but by 1830 he had rejected Christianity as he then knew it. However, he eventually converted to Mormonism. Eldad Jr. remained within the Congregationalist fold, while Ozem helped to organize the Northington Baptist congregation. Ozem, too, eventually converted to Mormonism, though he never gathered with the Saints in the West as his brother Aphek did.

Despite his schooling at Farmington Academy at the feet of the Reverend Noah Porter, a Congregational minister,³ Wilford let his commitment to Congregationalism die. Instead of following his father's course into irreligion or Ozem's into the Baptist Church, he became a seeker. He and several other family members and friends studied the Bible and tried to live by its teachings while searching for authentic biblical Christianity—the primitive Church.

During his search, Woodruff and his older brother Azmon came under the influence of an unorthodox Episcopalian named Robert Mason. A resident of Simsbury, the town adjoining Avon to the north, Mason had gained a local reputation as a prophet. The older man influenced the young and impressionable Woodruff boys by relating to them a vision he had experienced in about 1800. The vision had convinced Mason that he would never find Christ's church and kingdom before his death, but he prophesied that Wilford would.

By 1833, Wilford and Azmon had purchased a farm near Richland, New York, a town near Lake Ontario about forty miles north of Syracuse. In late December 1833, Mormon missionaries Zerah Pulsipher and Elijah Cheney began proselyting in Richland. The message they brought, the priesthood healings they performed, and other charismatic gifts they manifested led Wilford and Azmon to believe that they preached the restored gospel of Jesus Christ. On December 31, 1833, Pulsipher baptized them.

In early January 1834, Pulsipher organized a branch of the LDS Church in Richland. He ordained Azmon and Noah Holton, a former Freewill Baptist minister, as elders, and Wilford as a teacher.⁴ For a time, Wilford, Azmon, and other converts helped the missionaries spread the gospel throughout the Richland area.

Although the two brothers both converted to Mormonism, the divergent responses of Wilford and Azmon to a series of events that began in early 1834 led them to move in separate directions. Wilford accepted the call to march in the expedition to relieve the beleaguered Saints in Missouri, and his faith was strengthened by that experience. Azmon, who rejected the call, remained on the farm in New York, withdrew from the Church, and chastised Wilford for his errant ways. Although several decades later Azmon rejoined the Saints and moved to Salt Lake City where he lived until his death, he would never play the central role in Mormonism that his younger brother did.

The Call to Zion's Camp

The call that changed Wilford's life came in April 1834 from Parley P. Pratt, an early convert to the Church and former Disciples of Christ (Campbellite) minister. After Woodruff accepted this call, everything else in his

life became secondary. Just as his conversion had led him to a new religious life, the experiences that followed the call from Pratt confirmed his spiritual rebirth while it stripped away the trappings of his previous temporal life. In the most profound sense, Wilford experienced an altered insight as he adopted a new mission.

The Saints in Missouri. The background for Wilford's call lay three and one-half years earlier in western Missouri. In August 1831, Joseph Smith and a group of Mormon converts originally from Colesville, New York, met near Independence, Jackson County, Missouri, to lay the foundation for an American Zion—the New Jerusalem. Joseph designated Jackson County as a place of refuge, the holy place where Church members could escape the “abomination of desolation” and the “tribulation” prophesied in Matthew chapter 24 to precede Jesus Christ's Second Coming.⁵ In Jackson County, Joseph called the Saints to live together as a covenant community in a religious order called the law of consecration and stewardship or the united order of Enoch. He also instructed them to build a temple where they could perform sacred rites.⁶

Between 1831 and 1833, the Mormon community in Jackson County grew to about twelve hundred people.⁷ Under the united order, members purchased and consecrated real and personal property to the Church, some of which they received back as “inheritances.” They accounted for these inheritances to Bishop Edward Partridge, a Massachusetts native, former Campbellite, and successful businessman who manufactured hats in Painesville, Ohio, at the time the Latter-day Saint missionaries contacted him.⁸ Joseph's revelations directed members to return their surplus property to Partridge at the end of each year. In return, he was to endow inheritances for poor Saints. The Church also began publishing a newspaper under the editorship of William W. Phelps, a native of New Hampshire who had engaged in local politics in New York and had edited a newspaper.

As the surge of Mormon converts swelled the Jackson County population, non-Mormon settlers became increasingly distressed. The three thousand people who lived in Jackson County before the Mormons arrived had built a thriving frontier community. Generally from the South and by culture Protestants or rough frontiersmen, these old settlers rejected as fanaticism or knavery the charismatic gifts and prophecy that had attracted the Woodruff brothers and others to the Latter-day Saints. Protestants who believed in a closed canon of scripture condemned as blasphemous the Mormon claim to divine revelation. Many noted the absence of slaves among the northern-born Mormons and denounced the impoverished Saints, whom they called “the very dregs of that society from which they came, lazy, idle, and vicious.”⁹

The Saints defended their unorthodox beliefs and practices and their communitarian lifestyle while admitting their relative poverty. They traded with one another, acquired inheritances, and practiced their new and unpopular restorationist religion. Far from apologizing, the Saints claimed that their relative poverty and communitarian religious lives merely provided further evidence of the restoration of New Testament Christianity.¹⁰

At a mass meeting on July 20, 1833, the old settlers of Jackson County appointed a committee that presented a list of demands to the Mormons. Insisting that the Saints sell their property and leave the area, they ordered the Mormons to stop publishing their newspaper and to dismantle their other business enterprises.¹¹

After the Mormons rejected the demands, the old settlers organized into mobs. Trashing and demolishing Phelps's newspaper office, they destroyed the merchandise in a store owned by Algernon Sidney Gilbert, a Kirtland businessman, and they tarred and feathered Bishop Partridge and Charles Allen. From July to November, in acts of ethnic cleansing, violent mobs forced the Mormons from their homes, farms, and businesses and compelled them to flee north across the Missouri River into Clay County.¹²

For information on conditions in Missouri, Joseph Smith and other Church leaders living in Kirtland, Ohio, more than nine hundred miles east of Independence, relied on infrequent correspondence, sketchy or inaccurate newspaper accounts, and delayed reports from travelers.¹³ Trusting reports from John Corrill, who was then serving as a counselor to Bishop Partridge, Joseph Smith concluded that Missouri Governor Daniel Dunklin would help them recover their property. Whether Dunklin ever intended to supply such help is unclear, but information provided by Corrill and missionaries such as Parley Pratt and Lyman Wight led Church leaders to believe that the expelled Mormons could return to Jackson County and reclaim their inheritances if the Kirtland Saints could send a force large enough to protect them.¹⁴

Recruitment for Zion's Camp. On February 24, 1834, at a meeting of the high council in Kirtland called to consider the crisis in Missouri, Joseph Smith received a revelation that laid plans for a relief expedition, generally called Zion's Camp.¹⁵ The revelation said he was to call eight men, including Parley Pratt, to recruit an army of one hundred to five hundred Saints to help their brothers and sisters in Jackson County (D&C 103).

Following Joseph's request, the eight began to recruit for the expedition among Mormon converts in the East and Midwest. On April 1, 1834, Pratt came to Richland with Harry Brown, a missionary who had proselyted in the Richland area. Because of the demands of farming and business interests, Wilford doubted at first that he could reasonably accept the call. Nevertheless, after contemplating the alternatives, he resolved as Pratt had

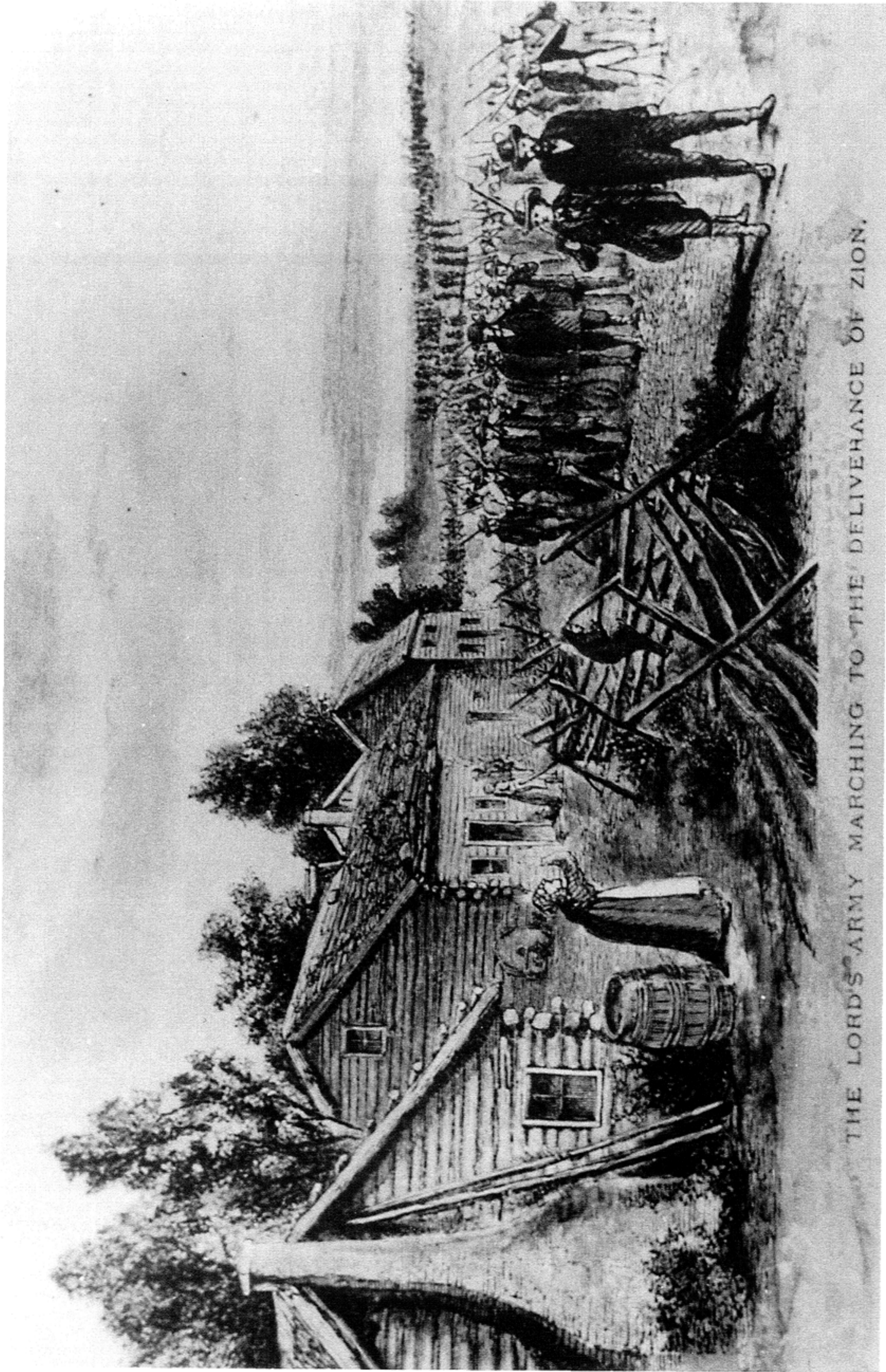
admonished to do his “duty to try to prepare” himself. Accordingly, he used “every exertion to settle” his accounts, arrange his affairs, and equip himself for the march to Missouri. He gave Azmon power of attorney to dispose of the property he could not sell before leaving for Kirtland.¹⁶

On April 11, 1834, he hitched up his team and wagon and parted from Azmon, Azmon's wife Elizabeth, their children, and others in the Richland area. Traveling with Harry Brown and Warren Ingles, Wilford drove across western New York and eastern Ohio to Kirtland. On the way, he became acquainted with the network of Latter-day Saints living in these areas. Wilford saw this experience as a sacred adventure, preparing him for his part in the redemption of Zion. One Sabbath on the road, he warmed to sermons by John Murdock and Orson Pratt, both former Cambellites,¹⁷ and on another day, he marveled over a draft of a plat for the City of Zion—Joseph Smith's plan for a model community.¹⁸

Arriving on April 25 in Kirtland, Wilford spent his short stay immersing himself in the society of this rapidly growing Ohio town. Between November 1831, when the first Mormon missionaries established a branch in Kirtland, and April 1834, when Wilford arrived there, the town's population had nearly doubled—to perhaps fifteen hundred inhabitants. Located south of a wide loop in the east branch of the Chagrin River, Kirtland lay on a crossroads formed by the Mentor Road heading north, the Chillicothe Road ambling south, and the Chardon and Willoughby Roads running east and west. In 1832, Newel K. Whitney had provided housing for Joseph Smith and his family in part of the store he owned at the crossroads. At the time of Wilford's arrival, the Prophet was apparently living there.¹⁹

When the travelers arrived, they found Joseph Smith and his older brother Hyrum shooting at targets with a brace of pistols. A handsome, open, and affable man, this prophet, seer, and revelator invited Wilford to stay with him while he prepared for the expedition. Joseph gave Wilford a wolf skin to tan, which the Prophet planned to use to pad his wagon seat for the journey. The following day Wilford met Brigham Young and his close friend Heber C. Kimball, both Vermont natives who had converted to the Church in New York and who, like Woodruff, would both become members of the Church's First Presidency. Young gave Woodruff a butcher knife blade and asked him to put a handle on it.²⁰

On Sunday, April 27, Wilford heard sermons from Orson Pratt; Sidney Rigdon, a Pennsylvania native, former Baptist, former Disciple leader, and First Counselor to Joseph Smith; and Orson Hyde, originally from New Haven and a former Methodist and Campbellite. Reflecting on the sermons, Woodruff remarked that “there was more light made manifest at that meeting respecting the gospel and Kingdom of God than I had ever received from the whole Sectarian world.”²¹



Woodcut of the march of Zion's Camp. Published in T. B. H. Stenhouse, *The Rocky Mountain Saints* (New York: Appleton, 1873), 52.

The March of Zion's Camp

Although Joseph Smith wanted the entire party to leave for Missouri on May 1, 1834, most were not ready. Less than a tenth of the army departed that day. Already prepared, Wilford left with the advance party for New Portage, Ohio, about fifty miles southwest of Kirtland, where they awaited the arrival of the remainder of the troops.²²

Reaching New Portage on May 6, Joseph used a combination of state militia and Old Testament patterns to organize the camp into companies of ten to twelve people. Originally numbering about one hundred men, the army swelled through the addition of recruits along the way and through the arrival of about twenty men that Hyrum Smith and Lyman Wight had gathered in Michigan. At its largest, Zion's Camp consisted of about 207 men, 11 women, and 11 children. A baggage train of some twenty-five wagons loaded with supplies for both the camp and the Missouri Saints accompanied the marchers. Like an American volunteer militia, each unit elected its own captain and assigned men as cooks, firemen, tentmakers, watermen, wagoners, runners, and commissaries.

Joseph appointed a number of men to his staff. He selected Frederick G. Williams as paymaster and banker to whom the recruits entrusted their money. A counselor in the Church's First Presidency, Connecticut native, and physician, Williams owned some of the land in Kirtland that the early Saints settled on. Lyman Wight served as Smith's second in command.²³

Better equipped than most of the Zion's Camp recruits, Wilford owned his team, wagon, and personal armaments. Appointed a teamster, he had charge of sixteen horses. Like the others, he furnished his own arms, but unlike some with antiquated weapons, he carried a rifle, sword, dirk, and pistol. Joseph asked for the sword, and Wilford made him a gift of it.²⁴

Zion's Camp took a generally straightforward route to Independence. Angling southwest to Dayton, Ohio, they turned west, traveling partly on the national road through Indianapolis and Terre Haute, Indiana, to Springfield and Jacksonville, Illinois. They crossed the Mississippi River at Louisiana, Missouri, and paralleled the Missouri River almost directly west across the Salt River. They crossed the Fishing River just inside Clay County.²⁵

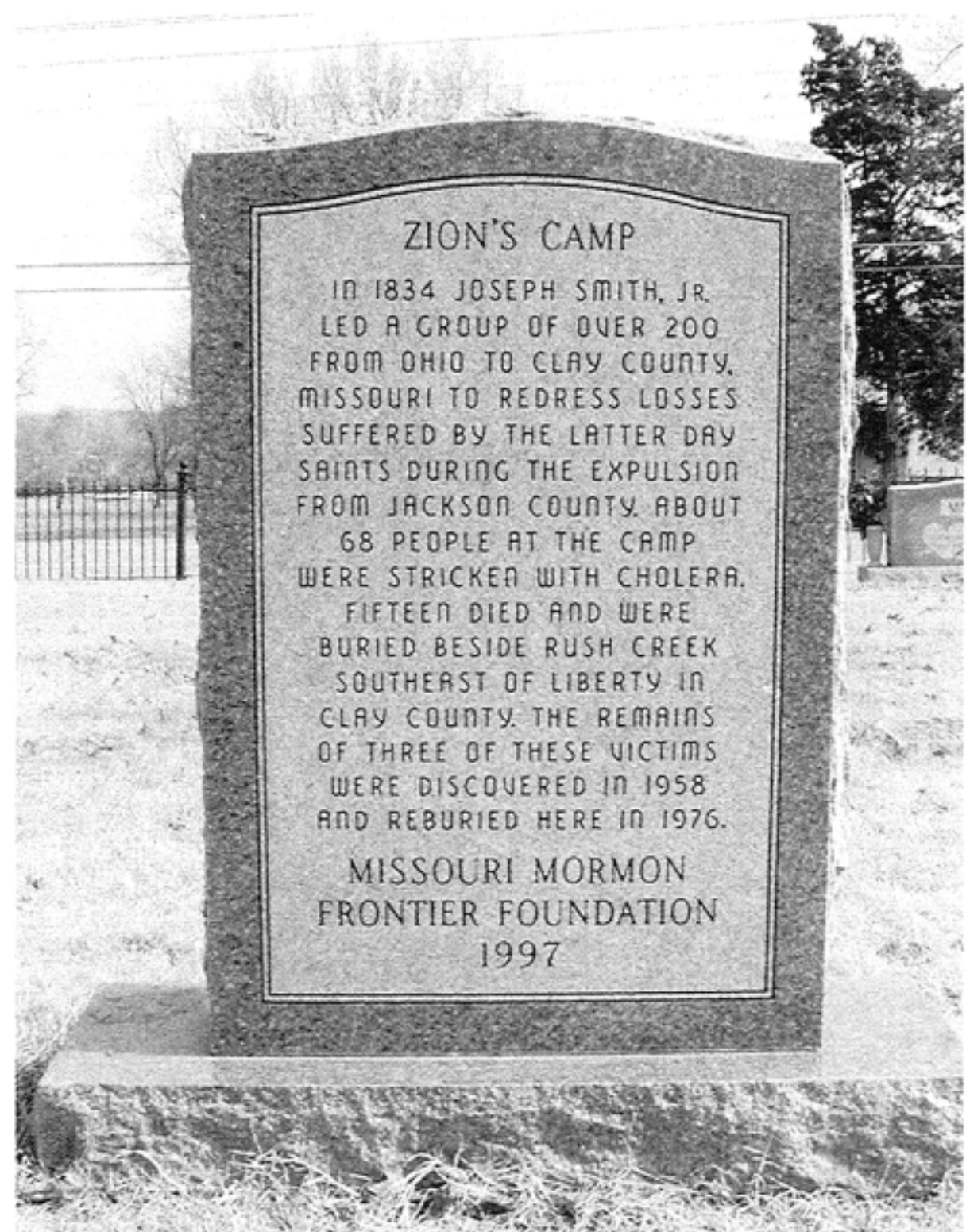
When the camp reached the Salt River, Joseph Smith, eager to secure the safe return of the Saints to Jackson County, sent Parley Pratt and Orson Hyde to Jefferson City to meet with Governor Dunklin. Waffling on what the Saints perceived as his commitment to assist the expelees, the governor refused to call out the militia to protect the Mormons. Dashing their hopes even further, he ordered Zion's Camp not to march under arms to protect their friends and suggested that they apply to the courts for relief.

Recognizing that following Dunklin's recommendation would leave them at the mercy of the Jackson County mob and a pack of unfriendly

judges, the Mormons continued marching west anyway. They encountered a well-armed force of perhaps three hundred men from Jackson, Ray, and Clay Counties on June 19 but escaped a potentially disastrous defeat through the intervention of a violent thunderstorm that poured large hailstones on the unprotected enemy.²⁶ The tempest damaged the enemy's clothing and arms and scattered their horses, as it swelled the Fishing River to an impassable flood. Some of the Zion's Camp recruits protected themselves by taking refuge in a Baptist meetinghouse.²⁷ On June 22, after the high water had subsided, Sheriff Cornelius Gilliam of Clay County came to the camp to discuss the impasse with the Mormons, and the Zion's Camp leadership wrote a statement of their purposes for public dissemination.²⁸

By this time, however, disaster had struck the relief army. Beginning on June 21, a cholera epidemic that had spread from India across western Asia and into Europe and Canada before descending on the United States swept through the camp. In the epidemic's wake, seventy people including Joseph Smith lay stricken. Thirteen of those who marched in Zion's Camp died, including Warren Ingalls, who had accompanied Wilford since they left Richland.²⁹

Sick, discouraged, and unable to solve the conflict through state intervention or force of arms, the Mormons tried to negotiate a settlement with the Jackson County residents. This too failed, since the old settlers insisted that either they or the Mormons buy all of the property. The Mormons declined both alternatives because they did not have enough money to buy all the old settlers' property and they refused to sell their inheritances in Zion. The Saints proposed instead to purchase the property of those who declined to live as their neighbors, paying cash within a year at the appraised price less the value of damages inflicted upon them by the mobs. The old settlers rejected this counteroffer.³⁰



Courtesy Ronald Romig

Zion's Camp marker at Mound Grove Cemetery, Independence, Missouri. The marker honors those who died in the cholera epidemic at Rush Creek, southwest of Liberty, Clay County, Missouri. The reverse of the marker is shown on page 155.

Ultimately, Zion's Camp accomplished none of its secular aims except furnishing the Missouri Saints with some clothing and supplies. Many soldiers, poorly shod and unused to such marching, experienced blistered and bloody feet, as well as illness. Moreover, the army had to contend both with spies seeking to thwart their purposes and with taunts and questions of the merely curious.³¹ However, in part because of these hardships they endured, Wilford and others found in the experience the fulfillment of the spiritual expectations awakened in their conversions.

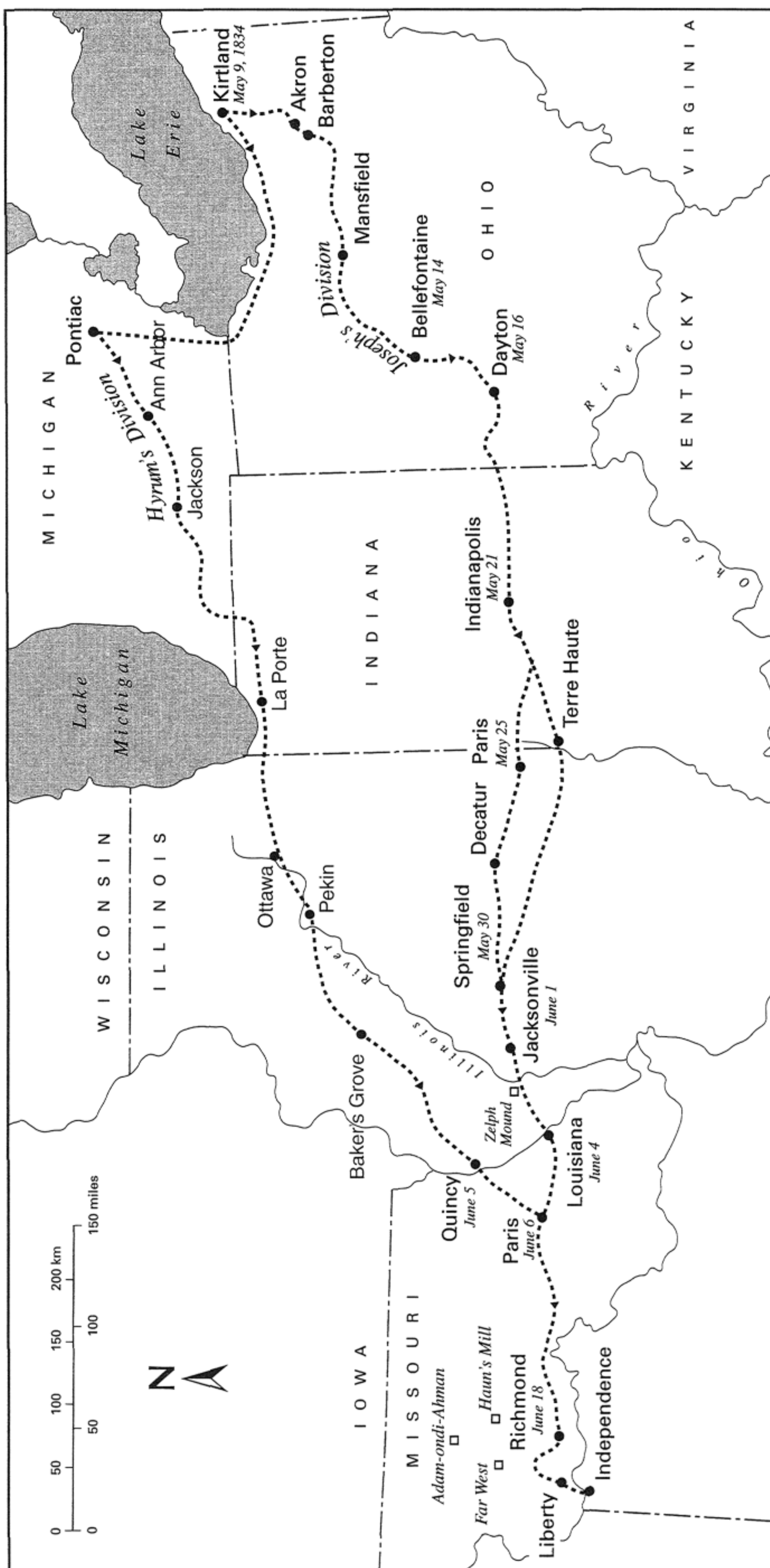
Wilford Woodruff's Observations during the March

Significantly for the participants, the march recapitulated on the American continent the expedition of the children of Israel to redeem the Holy Land, with Joseph Smith as the Lord's prophet. "Our march," Wilford wrote, "was similar to the ancient Israelites." The members of each company prayed together. On Sundays selected brethren preached, and "Joseph often addressed us in the name of the Lord while on our journey and often while addressing the camp he was clothed upon with much of the spirit of God."³² Joseph Smith's teachings, Woodruff wrote, "were very inspiring & Edefying."³³

A number of events along the trek struck Wilford as singularly inspiring. Near the Illinois River, they encountered a series of high mounds constructed by the region's ancient inhabitants. While digging in one mound with other militia members, Milton Holmes found a human skeleton with an arrow embedded in its back. Joseph then reported a vision about the remains. The man, Joseph explained, was a soldier by the name of Zelph, who was one of the Lamanites mentioned in the Book of Mormon, and who had died in battle under the command of a prophet named Onandagus.³⁴ Impressed with the find, Woodruff put one of Zelph's thigh bones in his wagon and carried it to Clay County, Missouri, where he reburied it. By this symbolic act, Woodruff took Zelph as near to the New Jerusalem as he safely could.³⁵

Other events impressed him with the power of God and the authority of Joseph Smith. All things considered, he wrote, the expedition was "a great school for us to be led by a Prophet of God a thousand miles, through cities, towns, villages, and through the wilderness."³⁶ The hailstorm at Fishing River was "the mandated vengeance . . . gone forth from the God of Battles to protect his servants from the Destruction of their enemies."³⁷

But the Lord had decreed punishment for the members of Zion's Camp as well. After some murmuring in camp, "Brother Joseph prophesied That in consequence of these things . . . a scourge awaited the camp." God punished them with cholera, which brought sickness and death.³⁸ Wilford believed this plague fell upon the Camp because, as Joseph said, the recruits had not imparted "of their substance, as becometh saints, to the poor and afflicted among them" (D&C 105:2-4).³⁹



Zion's Camp routes

The Effect of Zion's Camp on Wilford Woodruff and His Family

On June 23, two days after the cholera outbreak and the day following the revelation chastising the recruits for disobedience, the Prophet ordered Lyman Wight to leave a reserve unit to care for the sick and to disperse the remainder of the camp. Wight invited Wilford, Milton Holmes, and Heman T. Hyde to spend the summer working for him at Liberty, Clay County. Wight needed capable workers, since he had contracted to make one hundred thousand bricks and to build a house for a man named Michael Arthur.⁴⁰ Wilford and Wight lived in the Arthur's home, and throughout the summer and early fall, they made bricks, cut wheat, quarried rocks, and worked as laborers.⁴¹

On July 3, 1834, before returning to Kirtland, Joseph Smith called a meeting in Arthur's yard, where he organized a presidency and high council to govern Church affairs among the refugees in Clay County. Choosing David Whitmer as president with W. W. Phelps and John Whitmer as assistants, he then called twelve others including Lyman Wight, Parley P. Pratt, Orson Pratt, and John Murdock to the high council. Joseph remained in Liberty until July 7, when he left for eastern Clay County and then for Kirtland.⁴²

Wilford could have returned to Kirtland or to Richland, but he decided to remain in Liberty because Joseph had asked those who could arrange their affairs to stay with the Missouri Saints.⁴³ Wilford's decision to abandon his previous life and remain with the Saints in Missouri deepened a breach that had opened between him and other family members after he left Richland. In August 1834, Azmon collaborated with their brother Ozem Thompson (called Thompson), who had joined him in Richland, to write Wilford a letter telling him that he (Azmon) had abandoned Mormonism. Wilford did not receive the letter until November. Opposed to Zion's Camp from the beginning, Azmon proclaimed his pacifistic views. Citing Jesus' teachings against violence and His admonition to turn the other cheek, Azmon questioned how God's revelations to Joseph Smith could contradict the Savior's counsel. He also questioned the terms under which Joseph had counseled members to gather to Kirtland or Independence. In this connection, he rejected the counsel that if his wife and children refused to gather to Zion, he should leave them and go himself. This seemed to contradict biblical teachings about the responsibility to care for his family. He found also a basic inconsistency in Joseph Smith's teachings that Kirtland was merely a temporary gathering place. He pointed out that the feverish activity in Ohio, especially the projected temple construction, gave every indication of permanence. Thompson added a postscript in which he urged Wilford to return home to his family, invoking the name of their father, Aphek, in telling Wilford that he had "gone after such erroneous [*sic*] principles."⁴⁴

Notwithstanding this chastisement, Wilford's experiences in Kirtland and with Zion's Camp and the Missouri Saints had deepened his resolve to separate himself from the world—even from his family if need be—and to devote his life to Mormonism. In an apocalyptic letter, Wilford clarified both the sorrow he felt at the cleft that separated him from his family and his conviction that he had taken the right course. He warned of the tribulations that were prophesied to precede Christ's Second Coming. Referring to Genesis 19 and Matthew 24, he said he believed that "Lot would have been as safe to have remained in Sodom after being warned to flee out by the Angel of God, as I should have been to have remained in Richland. . . . I believe," he wrote, "that sword, pestilence, and famine await this generation of the human family, who do not repent and turn unto God, and stand in Holy places." In turn he pleaded for his family to accept the new revelations as from Jesus, and he denied any contradictions in the teachings of Joseph Smith.⁴⁵

Earlier in the fall of 1834, Wilford had also written to his parents laying out similar arguments in different terms. In apocalyptic passages, he wrote that God had restored the new and everlasting covenant to prepare for Jesus' Second Coming. The kingdom that God had established, as Daniel had prophesied, would break the kingdoms of the earth apart and grow to fill the whole earth. Joseph Smith, he wrote, was God's spokesman who gave true prophecies to the world.⁴⁶

Convinced of the gravity and divinity of the work he had taken up, Wilford began to keep a personal journal sometime during the last half of 1834. Seeing it in some sense a counterpart to scripture, he entitled the first volume "The first Book of Willford." For him the journal testified that God had received him into the new and everlasting covenant, that he stood as a witness "for the gospel of Jesus Christ," that he willingly followed the Savior "through evil as well as good," and that he had surrendered "himself a living sacrifice holy and acceptable unto God." Believing in the benefit of reviewing his past life and in the duty and privilege of keeping an accurate account of his present activities, he wrote, "I shall endeavour henceforth to keep a journal of my travels that when required I may give an account of my stewardship."⁴⁷

Next he took steps to consecrate himself to the work of Jesus Christ. Lyman Wight, with whom he was living, recommended Wilford, Stephen Winchester, and Heman T. Hyde [Hide], all former Zion's Camp members, for ordination as priests. The high council approved Wight's recommendation, and they were ordained on November 5, 1834.⁴⁸ Then, desiring to preach the gospel to the unconverted, Wilford prayed about the matter, and after Elias Higbee told him he had a strong impression that Wilford should serve, Bishop Edward Partridge called him on a mission to Arkansas, Tennessee, and Kentucky. Woodruff asked Harry Brown, whom he had known since Richland and who was ordained as an elder, to accompany him.⁴⁹

In a sacred act of dedication, on December 31 he signed a deed consecrating all of his property to the Church. Valued at \$240, his possessions included a trunk of books, his weapons, personal items, and \$150 in collectible notes. He gave his property to the Church to become “a lawful heir to the Kingdom of God even the Celestial Kingdom.” Following the biblical model, he left on his mission without purse or scrip.⁵⁰ He would become one of the most powerful and successful missionaries in the Church, baptizing hundreds of converts in the United States and the British Isles.

Conclusion: A Life Apart

For Wilford Woodruff, as for many others, Zion's Camp constituted a spiritual crossroad in the path he had chosen in Farmington. The experience washed away his previous temporal and spiritual life and returned him to fundamentals. In part he and the others in Zion's Camp, in the words of Dwight Bozeman, had “lived ancient lives,” or to paraphrase Mircea Eliade, they returned symbolically to primordial times.⁵¹ Since they viewed Mormonism as the restoration of all things ancient and modern, the Old and New Testaments, the Book of Mormon, and Joseph's revelations coalesced into an omnipresent spiritual unity. Woodruff perceived a nexus connecting the exodus of the children of Israel, the kingdom of God which Daniel had prophesied, the expectation of Christ's Second Coming, the lives of Nephites and Lamanites, and the establishment of the New Jerusalem as a covenant community and refuge.

Totally immersed in the experience of Zion's Camp, Woodruff's life, as well as the lives of many others who participated, took on a new meaning with the Savior at its center. Little wonder that many of Mormonism's future leadership came from Zion's Camp recruits. Like others, Woodruff felt at once an intense desire to “go forth into the world to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ,”⁵² to “repent and turn unto God and stand in Holy places,”⁵³ and “to consecrate and dedicate all their properties with themselves unto God in order to become lawful heirs to the Celestial Kingdom.”⁵⁴

He wanted desperately for his family and friends to share in his new spiritual life, but, rather than spurn these precious gifts, he intended to remain a subject of God's kingdom and a member of Christ's family instead of returning to his earthly family and to the sinful world he had left behind.⁵⁵ A convert who had just experienced a baptism by fire or a thirsty pilgrim who had just crossed a trackless, arid wilderness to arrive at a flourishing oasis, Wilford drank in Joseph's teachings like the water Jesus offered the Samaritan woman that quenches all thirst and springs “up into everlasting life” (John 4:14). Wilford Woodruff had emerged from Zion's Camp as an unconditionally committed disciple of Jesus Christ under the new and everlasting covenant.

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1. On the life of Wilford Woodruff, see Thomas G. Alexander, *Things in Heaven and Earth: The Life and Times of Wilford Woodruff, a Mormon Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1991, 1993); Francis M. Gibbons, *Wilford Woodruff, Wondrous Worker, Prophet of God* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1988); and Matthias F. Cowley, *Wilford Woodruff: History of His Life and Labors* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1964).

2. For a discussion of some of the changes that led to these conditions in Connecticut see Richard L. Bushman, *From Puritan to Yankee: Character and the Social Order in Connecticut, 1690–1765* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1970); C. C. Goen, *Revivalism and Separatism in New England, 1740–1800: Strict Congregationalists and Separate Baptists in the Great Awakening* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1987); and Charles Roy Keller, *The Second Great Awakening in Connecticut* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942; reprint, [Hamden, Conn.]: Archon Books, 1968).

3. Noah Porter's son of the same name became president of Yale University.

4. Wilford Woodruff, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833–1898*, typescript, ed. Scott G. Kenney, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983–84), 1:6–7 (January–April 1833); Wilford Woodruff, "Autobiography of Willford Woodruff," 35–36, photocopy, Special Collections and Manuscripts, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. In the LDS Church, elder is the first office in the Melchizedek (or higher) Priesthood. A teacher is the second office in the Aaronic (or lesser) Priesthood, preceded by deacon and followed by priest.

5. The Latter-day Saints considered Matthew 24 so important that they published Joseph Smith's revision of the chapter as part of the Pearl of Great Price in 1851 and accepted it as scripture in a general conference on October 10, 1880.

6. For a discussion of the law of consecration and stewardship, see Leonard J. Arrington, Feramorz Y. Fox, and Dean L. May, *Building the City of God: Community and Cooperation among the Mormons* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976). On the events in Missouri, see Milton V. Backman Jr., *The Heavens Resound: A History of the Latter-day*

Saints in Ohio, 1830–1838 (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1983), 69–70; 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, 1959), 1:196 (hereafter cited as *History of the Church*).

7. For a discussion of the development of the Mormon community in Missouri, see Warren A. Jennings, "Zion Is Fled: The Expulsion of the Mormons from Jackson County, Missouri" (Ph. D. diss., University of Florida, 1962), 10–118; the statistic is on page 105.

8. Scott H. Partridge, "The Life and Times of Edward Partridge," typescript, in the author's possession, 1–2.

9. *History of the Church*, 1:374–76, reproduces a document written by the leaders of those in Missouri who attacked the Saints and wanted them to leave.

10. Parley P. Pratt, *History of the Persecution of the Saints*, 26–29, quoted in *History of the Church*, 1:376–77 n.

11. For a full list of the demands, see Jennings, "Zion Is Fled," 138–41.

12. Backman, *Heavens Resound*, 164–73.

13. Woodruff counted 902 road miles from Kirtland, Ohio, to Liberty, Missouri. Woodruff, *Journal*, 1:15 (December 1834).

14. Backman, *Heavens Resound*, 172–74.

15. For a discussion of the situation, see Warren A. Jennings, "The Army of Israel Marches into Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review* 62 (January 1968): 108. For a detailed treatment of Zion's Camp, see Roger D. Launius, *Zion's Camp: Expedition to Missouri, 1834* (Independence, Mo.: Herald House, 1984); James L. Bradley, *Zion's Camp 1834: Prelude to the Civil War* (Salt Lake City: Publisher's Press, 1990); David F. Boone, "Zion's Camp: A Study in Obedience, Then and Now," in *The Heavens Are Open: The 1992 Sperry Symposium on the Doctrine and Covenants and Church History* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1993), 59–82; Peter Crawley and Richard L. Anderson, "The Political Realities of Zion's Camp," *BYU Studies* 14, no. 4 (1974): 406–20; Wilburn D. Talbot, "Zion's Camp" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1973); and Paul Bailey, *The Armies of God* (New York: Doubleday, 1968), 1–29.

16. Woodruff, "Autobiography," 37, 54; Woodruff, *Journal*, 1:7 (January–April 1834); Wilford Woodruff to Aphek and Azubah Woodruff, September 26, 1834, photocopy, Aphek Woodruff Family Papers, Archives Division, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives).

17. Woodruff, *Journal*, 1:7–8 (January–April 1834).

18. Woodruff, *Journal*, 1:7–8 (April 1834).

19. Backman, *Heavens Resound*, 137–40 and maps on 72, 76, 78.

20. Wilford Woodruff, *Leaves from My Journal, Third Book of the Faith-Promoting Series*, 2d ed. (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1882), 5.

21. Woodruff, *Journal*, 1:8–9 (April–May 1834); Woodruff, "Autobiography," 38–39.

22. Woodruff, *Journal*, 1:9 (April–May 1834).

23. Backman, *Heavens Resound*, 182–85.

24. Woodruff, "Autobiography," 41.

25. Backman, *Heavens Resound*, 183–90; see especially the map on page 183.

26. On the size of the army, see Jennings, "Army of Israel," 128.

27. Backman, *Heavens Resound*, 190–91.

28. Jennings, "Army of Israel," 130–31.

29. Backman, *Heavens Resound*, 194–95. On the inner workings of Zion's camp, see Crawley and Anderson, "Realities of Zion's Camp," 406–20. On the cholera epidemic, see Robert T. Divett, "His Chastening Rod: Cholera Epidemics and the Mormons,"

Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought 12 (fall 1979): 6–12. The first cholera epidemic apparently began in India, spread through the Middle East, reached the United States from Canada in 1832, and spread southward and westward from the Great Lakes region. The Zion's Camp marker lists fifteen cholera victims. Two of those listed, Algernon S. Gilbert and Phebe Murdock, did not march with Zion's Camp but met the expedition in Missouri.

30. Backman, *Heavens Resound*, 191–92.
31. Backman, *Heavens Resound*, 191–92; Woodruff, *Journal*, 1:10 (April–May 1834).
32. Woodruff, *Journal*, 1:9–10 (April–May 1834).
33. Woodruff, “Autobiography,” 41.
34. Woodruff, *Journal*, 1:10 (May 1834). For more information on the Zelph story, see Kenneth W. Godfrey, “The Zelph Story,” *BYU Studies* 29, no. 2 (1989): 31–56.
35. Woodruff, *Leaves from My Journal*, 6.
36. Woodruff, *Leaves from My Journal*, 6.
37. Woodruff, “Autobiography,” 46.
38. Woodruff, *Journal*, 1:12 (June 1834); Backman, *Heavens Resound*, 194.
39. Woodruff, “Autobiography,” 47.
40. Woodruff, *Journal*, 1:12–13 (June–July 1834); Woodruff, “Autobiography,” 47–52.
41. Woodruff, *Leaves from My Journal*, 6; Woodruff, *Journal*, 1:12–13 (June–July 1834).
42. *History of the Church*, 2:122–24, 136.
43. Woodruff, “Autobiography,” 51–52.
44. Azmon and Thompson Woodruff to Wilford Woodruff, August 9, 1834, Woodruff Correspondence, LDS Church Archives. Wilford did not receive the letter until November. Woodruff, “Autobiography,” 53–57.
45. Wilford Woodruff to Azmon and Thompson Woodruff, November 29, 1834, Woodruff Correspondence; Woodruff, “Autobiography,” 58–65.
46. Wilford Woodruff to Apehek and Azubah Woodruff, September 26, 1834. See Daniel 2:31–45.
47. Woodruff, *Journal*, 1:3. At the beginning of each year for some time he added a new title. Thus, his journal for 1836 is entitled “The Second Book of Willford for 1836,” apparently since he started it at the first of the year rather than late in the previous year as in the case of the first book.
48. Woodruff, *Journal*, 1:13–14 (November 1834).
49. Journal History of the Church, January 13, 1835, LDS Church Archives, microfilm copy in Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.
50. Woodruff, *Journal*, 1:16–17 (December 31, 1834). I find no evidence that he received any of this property back as an inheritance, and he traveled on his mission without visible means of support.
51. Theodore Dwight Bozeman, *To Live Ancient Lives: The Primitivist Dimension in Puritanism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988); Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*, trans. Willard R. Trask (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1959). See also Mircea Eliade, *The Myth of the Eternal Return: Or, Cosmos and History*, trans. Willard R. Trask (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974).
52. Woodruff, *Journal*, 1:17.
53. Wilford Woodruff to Azmon and Thompson Woodruff, November 29, 1834.
54. Woodruff, *Journal*, 1:16.
55. Wilford Woodruff to Apehek and Azubah Woodruff, Liberty, Missouri, September 26, 1834, Apehek Woodruff Family Papers, LDS Church Archives.

We Also Marched: The Women and Children of Zion's Camp, 1834

Andrea G. Radke

“All victory and glory is brought to pass unto you through your diligence, faithfulness, and prayers of faith” (D&C 103:36). On February 24, 1834, Joseph Smith received this promise for the members of the Zion's Camp expedition. Further, the assurance came that “my [the Lord's] presence shall be with you. . . . Let no man be afraid to lay down his life for my sake; for whoso layeth down his life for my sake shall find it again” (D&C 103:26–27). Certainly the expedition to Missouri in 1834 held terrible possibilities for danger, sickness, and violence. Nevertheless, spiritual blessings were promised to those who offered their lives, safety, comfort, and worldly goods. Most often associated with the more than two hundred men who volunteered to march with Zion's Camp, spiritual benefits also enriched the women and children who accompanied the expedition.

While considered a failure in its ultimate goal of reclaiming lost lands and relieving the heavy persecutions in Missouri, Zion's Camp has been seen as a historical turning point for The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. From the members of Zion's Camp, Joseph Smith drew a majority of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles and the whole of the First Quorum of the Seventy. The hardships of the 1834 Missouri expedition provided important enduring legacies: uniting its members in a stronger loyalty to Joseph Smith and other leaders; solidifying the participants' dedication to the Church's cause; and schooling young leaders in the organizational skills necessary to move masses of people. Much focus has been placed upon how the above-mentioned factors influenced male Church leaders. According to J. Karl Wood,

While those lands [Missouri] were not redeemed at this time, the effort made by Zion's Camp was of great value to the church. It helped train leaders for a later trek across the Great Plains; it challenged the attention of the world with a striking example of faith, unity, and unselfish purpose manifest by members of this new and much maligned Christian denomination; and finally, it brought to light latent qualities of strength as well as hidden weaknesses in a group of men from whom leaders in God's church were to be chosen.¹

These same qualities and cultural legacies have yet to be applied to the camp's lesser known participants. Little attention has been paid to the women and children who marched with Zion's Camp in 1834. Two major works on

Zion's Camp have devoted brief focus to the female and minor-age participants. Roger Launius's *Zion's Camp: Expedition to Missouri, 1834* (published in 1984) contains one incomplete list of the women and children of Zion's Camp, along with a few anecdotal references to the women.² James L. Bradley, in *Zion's Camp 1834: Prelude to the Civil War* (published in 1990), claims that "little attention, before this study, has been given the women and children of Zion's Camp," and further suggests that "these forgotten but important members of the camp should be remembered along with the men."³ He attempts to remedy this omission by providing a complete and fairly accurate summary of all available primary lists of female and child members but does not move beyond a listing of the women's names, which are placed in appendix B.

In recent years, historians have dedicated more attention to the contributions of women to Mormon history. The role of women in military expeditions received some attention in *Women of the Mormon Battalion*, by Carl V. Larson and Shirley N. Maynes. That work has shown the role of women as cooks, "nurses, laundresses, and companions to their husbands during the long march." It has also recognized that hardships were shared by both men and women.⁴ A similar study can be applied to the women who marched with Zion's Camp. Beyond that, broader interpretations of the cultural and spiritual legacies of the expedition may be ascertained. This essay will examine the impact of the Zion's Camp experience on twelve women and several children who also marched to Zion in 1834.

Very little primary documentation exists about the specific activities of the women and children of Zion's Camp. No journals, diaries or letters from the pens of the women have survived, if they ever existed. The male diarists and recorders have provided us with lists of names, a few anecdotes, and some descriptions of illness and death as these hardships affected the women. Only two husbands, Jacob Gates and Joseph Holbrook, wrote about the activities of themselves and their wives on the expedition. Information about the women of Zion's Camp must be pieced together through later sources, genealogical records, and second-hand accounts.

Historical Background

On February 22, 1834, two days prior to Joseph Smith's revelation discussed above, Lyman Wight and Parley P. Pratt arrived from Missouri with the news of devastating persecutions against the Missouri Saints. In late fall of 1833, atrocities against the Jackson County Saints were so severe that the Saints were forced to relocate to Clay County in November and December 1833. When Joseph received word of the troubles in Jackson County, he

resolved immediately to organize an expedition to Missouri to relieve the Saints and reacquire their lands. At the Sunday meeting on February 24, the Prophet called for volunteers to offer supplies, money, and personal service. Within a few days, recruiters left Kirtland to find more volunteers, money, and supplies in the East. By the end of March, finances were still scarce and recruits were arriving slowly.

The need for more recruits prompted Joseph to send Hyrum Smith and Lyman Wight north to Michigan and Illinois to find volunteers among the northern Saints. Smith and White left Kirtland on April 21, 1834. From Michigan, they were to lead their detachment to a rendezvous point on the Salt River in northern Missouri, where they would meet the main body of the camp. Joseph's larger detachment would depart from Kirtland and travel west through Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois to the point on Salt River, where a sizable branch of the Church was led by James Allred. Women and children participated in both the Michigan and Ohio detachments of Zion's Camp.

In late April, Hyrum Smith and Lyman Wight arrived in Pontiac, Michigan, where there was a small branch of the Church. They accepted recruits, most of whom intended to travel to Missouri to settle permanently. A few families took advantage of the opportunity to accompany the expedition, and approximately nine men, three women, and three boys left Pontiac with Smith and Wight on May 5, 1834.⁵

Joseph's group had been collecting recruits since February. He determined the departure point as New Portage, Ohio. A few families also joined Joseph's detachment with the intent of settling in Missouri. The detachment left Kirtland on May 5, coincidentally the same day as Hyrum's departure. With Joseph's group traveled eight or nine women, one girl, and at least five small children.

One woman played a role in the financing of Zion's Camp. Joseph and the other leaders worried greatly over money, as the Church had a great deal of debt and few resources. Only small amounts of money trickled into Kirtland. While fretting over finances, Joseph declared, "I want some money to help fit out Zion and I know that I shall have it." Wilford Woodruff recorded that the next day, "Brother Joseph Received a letter from Sister Vose of Boston, containing \$250. He took the money out of the letter and showed it to the brotherin present and said. 'Did I not tell you last night that I should soon have some money and here it is.'"⁶ Sister Vose was Ruth D. Vose of Massachusetts, later a plural wife of Joseph Smith and still later, in Salt Lake City, wife of Edward Sayers.⁷ Although not a member of the camp, Sister Vose contributed the largest cash donation received by the Prophet and thus provided the means for the final provisioning of the camp.

Who Were the Women and Children of Zion's Camp?

The exact number and the identity of the women and children are not definitely known. Many discrepancies exist among the various lists of participants, and few primary sources have provided an exact account of the nonadult, nonmale camp members.⁸ List keeping even by those who were present was difficult due to the fluid nature of camp participation. Individuals joined and left the expedition periodically as the groups moved to Missouri. Many of the available records originated not from Zion's Camp but from the reunions that were held in Salt Lake City in 1864, 1869, and 1870.⁹

Joseph Smith's Detachment

Joseph's contingent left Kirtland in early May 1834 and marched through Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois before meeting Hyrum's group at the Salt River in Missouri on June 6. The group of over 180 people included eight women and six children.

Sarah Ripley. Sarah and her husband, Alanson Ripley, traveled with Joseph's detachment. Records of Zion's Camp list her simply as "Mrs. Ripley," but other records of the time reveal her first name. Sarah was thirty-two years old at the time of Zion's Camp. She is mentioned in Heber C. Kimball's record of his experience at Salt River as he attempted to wash his clothes, mentioned below.

Alanson Ripley served as bishop in Iowa Territory from 1839 to 1841. Records indicate that Sarah and Alanson Ripley later attended the Nauvoo 4th Ward, along with George, Maria, and Milo Ripley, presumably their children.¹⁰ Sarah and Alanson were endowed in the Nauvoo Temple on January 23, 1846.

Thomas Bullock's record of the October 12, 1864, reunion listed "Alanston [*sic*] Ripley and wife" as living in California.¹¹ They attended none of the Zion's Camp reunions in Salt Lake City.

Diana Drake. Diana is included in B. H. Roberts's list, Thomas Bullock's list, and Launius's list reprinted from the *History of the Reorganized Church*. She is not included in either Joseph Holbrook's or Solon Foster's lists. The *Historical Record* gives the name of a "Diantha Drake," born December 15, 1815, in Vermont, of Daniel and Patience Perkins Drake.¹² If this person accompanied Zion's Camp, she would have been eighteen years old, and most likely unmarried: no men with the surname Drake appear on any Zion's Camp lists. Diana Drake probably remained loyal to the Church and traveled to the West with the Saints; she is one of three women who attended the Zion's Camp reunion on October 9, 1869.¹³

Jane Clark. Jane appears on Joseph Holbrook's 1864 list as a participant in Joseph Smith's detachment.¹⁴ Unfortunately, because many Jane

Clarks can be found in Church genealogical records, it is currently impossible to determine which Jane Clark may have marched in Zion's Camp. Like Diana Drake, Jane's single status can be assumed from the absence of any men with her surname.

Ada Winchell Clements. Ada Clements's life is well documented, but unfortunately her participation in Zion's Camp is not. Only the list of Zion's Camp participants recorded in the *History of the Church* indicates that she traveled to Missouri in 1834,¹⁵ and she did not attend any Zion's Camp reunions.

Ada (Aidah) Winchell was born December 24, 1801, in Hebron, New York. She married Albert Clements on January 21, 1821 or 1822. The couple joined the Church after their marriage and later traveled with the Ripleys from New York to Florence, Ohio, in 1833.¹⁶ The Clements endured persecution in Missouri and even lost a son, Paul, in the Missouri violence. The couple continued loyal to the Church and proceeded with the Saints to Nauvoo, Illinois. After Joseph Smith's martyrdom, Ada attended the August 8, 1844, meeting at which the Saints chose the new leader of the Church. Ada received a witness of Brigham Young's authority, but Albert, who was not at the meeting, aligned himself with Sidney Rigdon's claim to Church leadership.¹⁷ A rift developed in the marriage, and Ada made plans to accompany the main body of saints to the West without her husband. She received her temple ordinances by herself on January 27, 1846.¹⁸

Ada resolved to "go with the Saints and share their fate even unto death"¹⁹ and proceeded to the Salt Lake Valley with four young children, arriving there in October 1852. She and Albert divorced a few years later. Both remarried and were widowed. Sometime in the 1870s, the children arranged a surprise meeting between their parents. Both granted forgiveness to the other and decided to remarry.

Mary Chidester. Mary Chidester appears on most of the Zion's Camp lists. Born April 2, 1809, in Vernon, New York, Mary Parker married John Madison Chidester on December 28, 1830. In the spring of 1832, they joined the Church and moved to Ohio, where they joined Zion's Camp in 1834. They brought their two small children, John, age 2, and Eunice, age 1.²⁰ Surely the difficult conditions of the expedition were augmented by the necessity of caring for two small children. The Chidesters continued with the Saints through the difficulties in Missouri and Illinois and settled in Utah, where they were called to settle Dixie in 1862. They attended the October 10, 1864, reunion of Zion's Camp, and their residence was given as Washington, Washington County, Utah.²¹ Mary died on February 3, 1879, in Washington.

Mary Snow Gates. Born July 30, 1813, Mary grew up in St. Johnsbury, Vermont, and developed a lifelong love of astronomy.²² She married Jacob

Gates on March 16, 1833, and joined the Church in June 1833. She was twenty years old when they left Vermont along with two of Mary's brothers, Zerubbabel and Willard, to join Zion's Camp in the spring of 1834.²³ Presumably they learned about Zion's Camp from one the pairs of messengers that Joseph Smith had sent to the East. When they finally met the main camp, Jacob saw "the face of our beloved Prophet Joseph Smith," an experience he remembered and recorded almost sixty years later.²⁴ Jacob also noted that Mary "was present dureing the time of the cholerra when 14 or 15 of our Brethren were slain by its ravages."²⁵ Mary and Jacob moved to Nauvoo with the Saints and migrated to Utah in late 1847.²⁶

Jacob served the Church in many capacities, including a call as one of the First Seven Presidents of Seventy; his responsibilities often took him away from home. Mary's life included much sadness and difficulty. Plagued by continual marital problems, Jacob and Mary separated, and she settled into a house in St. George, Utah. In a letter to Mary's brother Erastus, Jacob related Mary's history of personal problems:

I am aware that she has long since been an unwelcom visiter to her brothers and all of your family & everybody els & it is a miserable condition for any one to be in. You know she has been insane one half of her life & the spirit she has cherised has produced but little comfort to her self or me but with all her faults I neve harbor biterness in my heart toard her for I believe her naturley to be a good woman.²⁷

Childlessness and anguish over her husband's polygamous marriages caused Mary great mental anguish in her later life, but the earlier hardships of Zion's Camp and life in Missouri may have contributed to her emotional difficulties. Jacob recognized the severity of Mary's experiences in Missouri, as "she was left alone in the midst of enemies." Years later, Mary and Jacob set aside their difficulties briefly in order to attend two Zion's Camp reunions, one in 1864 and the other in 1869.²⁸ Obviously, her emotional and spiritual connection to the expedition was important enough to desire reunification with the group. Mary Snow Gates died February 9, 1891, in St. George, Utah.²⁹

Nancy Lampson Holbrook and Eunice Holbrook. Sisters-in-law by marriage to brothers Joseph and Chandler Holbrook, Nancy and Eunice traveled with their husbands to Missouri with Zion's Camp. These women shared many hardships on the expedition, including sickness, harsh weather conditions, and the care of small children.

Nancy Lampson Holbrook, born August 14, 1804, showed extreme concern when her husband, Joseph, began studying Mormonism in 1832. She was hesitant and even hostile to Joseph's curiosity. He remembered that "my wife became alarmed and thought I had better be at work than spending my time reading such deception."³⁰ She began staying away from

the house for long periods and listened to the opposing views of local ministers. In spite of these forces, "which kept her in much fear," Nancy eventually "became convinced that Mormonism was true."³¹ Nancy was baptized January 7, 1833, shortly after her husband's baptism. Joseph's brother and sister-in-law, Chandler and Eunice, chose to join the Church in the early spring of 1833. Chandler and Eunice, ages twenty-five and twenty-three, had been married two years earlier in the same community of Weathersfield, New York.

The two couples immediately felt much opposition to their religious choice from family and friends, but they remained loyal to the Church. In April 1834, Nancy and Joseph, with two baby girls in tow, and Chandler and Eunice, with one baby girl, left Weathersfield for Kirtland, Ohio, to join the Saints traveling to Missouri with Zion's Camp.

Along the way, the sisters served as helpers in the laundering chores of the camp. Heber C. Kimball recalled his experience:

My first attempt at washing my clothes took place at Salt River. My shirts being extremely dirty, I put them into a kettle of water and boiled them for about two hours, having observed that women who washed boiled their clothes, and I supposed by so doing they boiled out the dirt; I then took them and washed them, endeavoring to imitate a woman washing as near as I could. I rubbed the clothes with my knuckles instead of the palm of my hand, and rubbed the skin off so that my hands were very sore for several days. My attempts were vain in trying to get the dirt out . . . and finally gave it up, and wrung them and hung them out to dry. Having no flat irons to iron them, I took them to Sisters Hollbrook and Ripley to get them ironed. When they saw them they said I had not washed my clothes. I told them I had done my best, and although I had boiled them two hours before washing, and had washed them so faithfully that I had taken the skin off my knuckles, still I had not been successful in getting the dirt out. They laughed heartily, and informed me that by boiling before washing I had boiled the dirt into them.³²

Hopefully, the Zion's Camp experience gave the men a stronger appreciation for the toilsome domestic responsibilities of nineteenth-century women.

Both Nancy and Eunice contracted cholera during the epidemic. Joseph Holbrook described the outbreak: "About this time the cholera began to make its appearance in our camp and my wife was one of the first that was taken down with it but she recovered from it in a few days, being administered to by Brother Bugetts [Brother John Burkett] below Liberty."³³ Soon after, Eunice contracted the disease, but her suffering was more acute:

In the morning my brother's wife, Eunice, was very sick with cholera. We therefore thought it best to get some place as soon as possible so we removed to the stable and corn crib although it was raining. By the middle of the forenoon, my brother's wife was cramping with most violent spasms for life but Brother Cyrus Daniels and Carlos Granger took her into the house and nursed her with the greatest attention so that in a few days she had escaped the hands of the destroyer.³⁴

The two couples continued to reside in a “stable and corn crib” for ten weeks, until a small house was built.

Both Nancy and Eunice remained active and loyal to the Church, even in the midst of extreme persecutions in Missouri. Nancy “suffered much,” remembered her husband. In the early spring of 1839, when Mormons fled Missouri to Quincy, Illinois, Nancy carried her infant daughter and guided her other three young children across the Mississippi River. The families settled in Nauvoo, where Nancy died of cholera on July 16, 1842. Nancy’s suffering was exacerbated by continual hardships, illness, and exposure since she participated in Zion’s Camp in 1834. Nevertheless, through all of her difficulties, Nancy remained loyal to the movement that required so much personal sacrifice. Joseph Holbrook described his wife’s courage and endurance:

Thus I had in an unexpected moment been deprived of one of the best of wives and the best of mothers. She had stood with me in six troubles through the Missouri troubles with death with fortitude, all the attendant evils with sickness and her faith had always been firm and unshaken in the cause of the Lord in these last days without a murmur or a reflection. She had firm hope in a glorious resurrection for which she had obeyed the gospel and lived and spent her life, for we had lived together in the most perfect understanding for almost twelve years.³⁵

The Holbrook family members showed devotion to their cause and continued loyal to the Church throughout their lives. Joseph Holbrook and his second wife, Hannah, continued to Utah with Joseph and Nancy’s three surviving children, including Sarah Lucretia and Charlotte, who had traveled with Zion’s Camp in 1834. Nancy’s legacy lived on through her daughters; they remained faithful to Mormonism in Utah.

Eunice and Chandler Holbrook also continued west and settled in Utah. They attended the reunion of Zion’s Camp in 1864 and listed their residence as Millard County, Utah. Their daughter, Diana, who was only an infant when she traveled with her parents to Zion, attended the 1870 reunion of Zion’s Camp members, indicating the strength of the bonds that were formed with the group.³⁶

Betsy Parrish. Little is known about Betsy Parrish except for the circumstances surrounding her death. Betsy appears on all of the lists of Zion’s Camp members. She and her husband, Warren,³⁷ joined Joseph’s group somewhere in Ohio. On or about June 24, 1834, the group reached Rush Creek, about two and a half miles from Liberty, Missouri, and cholera overtook the camp. George A. Smith recalled that “Sister Parrish and several others were taken with the cholera.”³⁸ From June 24 through early July, cholera raged through the camp. Many in the group felt that it was a punishment from God for the sins of murmuring and discord that had occurred in Joseph’s detachment.

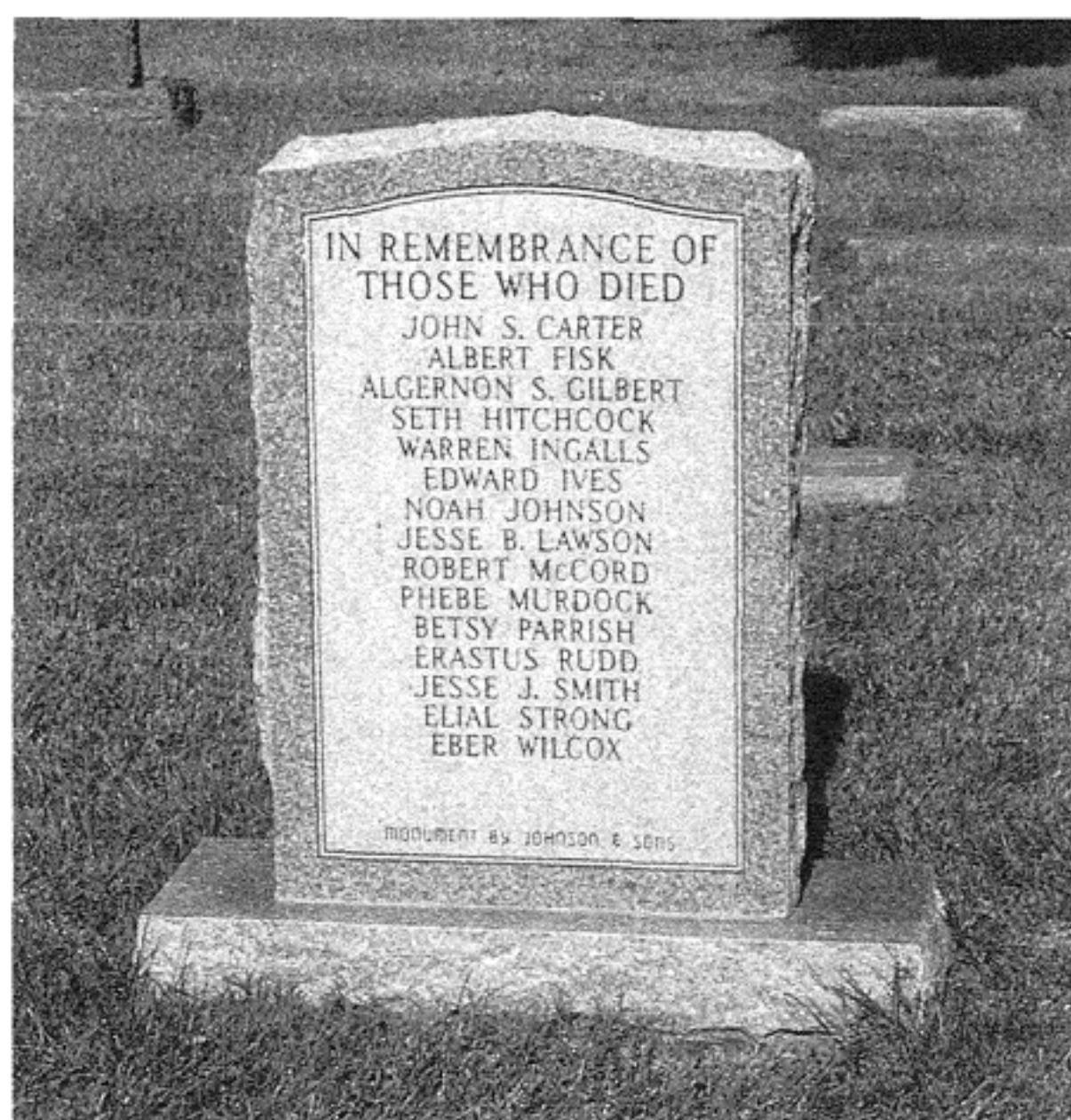
The cholera outbreak created a memorable impression in the minds of the camp members. Many diarists noted the circumstances of suffering and death with much sympathetic feeling. Cholera was very contagious and quickly caused violent spasms of vomiting. On June 24, Wilford Woodruff remembered that “our ears were saluted with cries and moanings and lamentations on every hand.”³⁹ As a treatment for the disease, the victim was doused with cold water or dipped in a stream, then fed a concoction of “whiskey thickened with flour to the consistence of starch.”⁴⁰ According to Woodruff, about sixty-eight members suffered from the malady. Of the women, at least Nancy Holbrook, Eunice Holbrook, and Betsy Parrish became ill. Betsy Parrish was the only female member of Zion's Camp who died.

Amasa Lyman adequately summarized the effect of watching his brothers and sister die:

There were some half dozen of the brethren stricken down, and all lying on the floor in a small apartment. This was a scene that can be more easily imagined than described, to see men stricken down in a moment, and in a short hour the ruddy glow of health displaced by the palor of death. To see the human form divine, that at the dawn of morning was stately and erect, in all the perfections of manly beauty, to see its perfections and beauty of form melt away in the death struggle of a few short hours.⁴¹

To Lyman, these were not just nameless, faceless deaths. He continued:

And to think the sufferers, who are they? The question reaches to and stirs the fountain of feeling within us for they are no strangers that are writhing at our feet, these are the forms of the loved, the faithful and the brave, with them we had labored—with them we had rejoiced together in the truth; they were endeared to us by the tenderest ties that bind heart to heart and soul to soul. . . . Ere I left, I gave a parting look, breathed a hasty prayer, and tore myself away from the scene of death.⁴²



Courtesy Alexander Baugh

Zion's Camp Marker. This monument honors the fifteen Saints who died of cholera at Rush Creek, Missouri, in June and July 1834. All but two (Algernon Sidney Gilbert and nine-year-old Phebe Murdock) had come to Missouri with Zion's Camp. Betsy Parrish was the only female member of Zion's Camp who died. The monument was erected by the Missouri Mormon Frontier Foundation in 1997 at the Mound Grove Cemetery, Independence, Missouri, where remains unearthed in 1958 at Rush Creek were reburied. The obverse of the marker is shown on page 138.

Records of Betsy Parrish's death provided proof of the burial site of some cholera victims. In 1958 in Missouri, cattle on a farm at Rush Creek unearthed three skeletons there. Scientists from the University of Missouri at Columbia studied the remains and determined the age and gender of the individuals. One was a woman who had probably died "between 25 and 35 years old."⁴³ Because of the gender identification and the location of the remains, scientists identified them as belonging to members of Zion's Camp: "The bones are all good and with one of them being a woman it looks pretty authentic. It's quite likely those were the people because everything balances out."⁴⁴ This finding matched Joseph Smith's description of the 1834 burial: "As it was impossible to obtain coffins, the brethren rolled the corpses in blankets, carried them on a horse-sled about half a mile, buried them on the bank of a small stream, which empties into Rush Creek."⁴⁵

Hyrum Smith and Lyman Wight's Detachment

On assignment from the Prophet Joseph, Hyrum Smith and Lyman Wight traveled north to Michigan for more recruits. From Pontiac, Michigan, the group of twenty marched southeast and met Joseph's division in eastern Missouri. Elijah Fordham recorded the daily workings of this camp, including the prayers and religious services conducted by its leaders. This detachment seemed to run more smoothly than Joseph's group and had fewer conflicts than its larger counterpart. The leaders assigned specific responsibilities to each of the men; the three women assisted with laundering and cooking.⁴⁶ The camp took on the appearance of a small family unit, unlike Joseph's detachment, which had more of a military character with its smaller group divisions. The Michigan band also benefited greatly from the assistance of members along the route and never lacked for food. Fordham noted a relative scarcity of illness and tension in the camp, but they still endured suffering, often walking with bloody and blistered feet. The group included three women.

Aurelia Houghton. Louisa Aurelia Curtis Houghton was born January 12, 1819, in Canatee, Pennsylvania.⁴⁷ She and her husband, Osmon (also identified as Ornon, in various spellings), left Pontiac, Michigan, with other members of the Huron Branch traveling to Missouri. Osmon worked as a woodchopper and often gave the opening prayer for the camp, and Aurelia served in various capacities with the other women as a cook and laundress. The only documented case of discord within the group arose concerning the Houghtons. A spirit of conflict emerged because members of the branch felt that the couple did not carry their full workload. Fordham remembered that

as some of the brethren had thoughts that Bro. & Sister Hou[gh]ton had not done their duty, and we had cast reflections and hints, we were astonished at the consequences when we were informed of them by Bro. Smith. We saw the Evil, felt humble, and readily confessed to each other and to God and with uplifted hands covenanted to forget and forgive all that had passed and do so no more.⁴⁸

After this experience, no other occasions of conflict occurred in Hyrum's group, and the Houghtons returned to full fellowship with the group. Fordham celebrated that "truly the Lord is with us all things go smoothly and we are rejoicing." Aurelia became ill during the trek, as the group neared Quincy, Illinois in early June 1834.⁴⁹ Aurelia and Osmon continued with the Church to Nauvoo, where Aurelia died on March 10, 1845.⁵⁰

Sophronia Curtis. Sophronia joined Hyrum's group with her husband, Mecham, and his brother Lyman Curtis.⁵¹ James Bradley's *Zion's Camp* gives Sophronia's age as 24 and Mecham's age as 17 at the time of the expedition. Bradley also states that they died active in the Church, but gives no location of death.⁵² Another record suggests that Mecham died in 1887, but no mention is made of Sophronia.⁵³

Charlotte Alvord. Charlotte Alvord was born September 25, 1815, at Lockport, Niagara County, New York. A member of the branch at Pontiac, Michigan, in 1834, the eighteen-year-old was one of two or three single women who traveled to Missouri with Zion's Camp.

A misconception connected with Charlotte began in 1983, when Milton V. Backman listed some of the children in Hyrum's group as being "four sons of Charlotte Alvord."⁵⁴ This error stems from the grammatical nature of George A. Smith's and Elijah Fordham's lists of members. Charlotte's name appears sequentially last in the grouping of women: "Sisters Aurelia Houton, Sophronia Curtis, Charlotte Alvert and 4 Boys George Fordham Lyman Littlefield, David D. Dart, Josiah Littlefield."⁵⁵ Somehow the statement has been interpreted as "Charlotte Alvert and her four boys." In truth, the "4 Boys" are George Fordham, Lyman Littlefield, and Josiah Littlefield; David D. Dort was forty-one years old at the time of Zion's Camp. The "4 boys" are not some nameless sons of Charlotte. Besides misrepresenting Charlotte's marital status, this error also caused an overestimation of the number of children in the camp.

Charlotte was single during the trek, but her marital status soon changed, possibly as a result of her participation in Zion's Camp. She drew the attention of another member from the branch at Pontiac: Lyman Curtis, a twenty-two-year-old man traveling with his brother, Mecham, and sister-in-law, Sophronia. Whether the romance grew before, during, or after the expedition is unknown, but the couple was married either in late 1834 or February 1835 in Missouri.⁵⁶

Lyman and Charlotte Alvord Curtis had eleven children between 1835 and 1860. The couple followed the Saints through the Missouri and Nauvoo experiences. Together they received their temple endowments in Nauvoo on February 7, 1846. On the overland trek, Lyman left Charlotte and six children at Winter Quarters. He continued to the Great Salt Lake Valley with Brigham Young's advance company and was one of the first to enter the valley on July 22, 1847. He returned to Winter Quarters with President Young in the fall of 1847, and the family continued to Salt Lake together.

Charlotte Alvord Curtis established her home in Salt Lake City. As a polygamist, Lyman Curtis probably had various residences but listed his own permanent home as Pondtown, named after Salem Pond, in present-day Salem, Utah. They both attended the first reunion of Zion's Camp in Salt Lake City in 1864, but their names were listed separately as Lyman Curtis and Charlotte Alvord, as they had been listed on the original camp lists, before their marriage. Charlotte gave her residence in 1864 as the "19 Ward G. S. L. City" whereas Lyman's residence was "Pondtown, Utah."⁵⁷ Charlotte and Lyman attended the 1869 reunion, and Charlotte attended again in 1870 by herself, where she was finally listed as "Charlotte Curtis."⁵⁸ Charlotte died September 9, 1879, in Salt Lake City.

The Children of Zion's Camp

The number of Zion's Camp children is still debated. Interestingly, Joseph Holbrook gave no children's names in his list even though the two Holbrook couples had three daughters between them.

Joseph Smith's Detachment. Joseph and Nancy Holbrook had two daughters that accompanied the camp: Sarah Lucretia Holbrook was born January 21, 1832, in Weathersfield, New York, and Charlotte was born November 26, 1833. Neither Sarah, two years old at the time of Zion's Camp, nor Charlotte, six months, would have any recollection of the march. However, their association with the camp remained important all of their lives. When Charlotte died in Utah at age thirty-two, her father made a particular mention that she "went to Missouri with her father's family in Zion's Camp 1834."⁵⁹ Cousin to Sarah and Charlotte, Diana Holbrook was the daughter of Chandler and Eunice. Born October 27, 1833, she was only a few months old as her family traveled to Zion. Diana attended the Zion's Camp reunion of 1870, showing that despite being an infant during Zion's Camp, she felt a connection with the marchers.

John and Mary Chidester brought their two small children, John, age two, and Eunice, age one. Neither ever attended a reunion.⁶⁰

Ten-year-old Bradford Elliott accompanied his father, David. The only mention of Bradford is that he fired off a gun, which "went through a tent and lodged in the axle tree of a wagon." Charles C. Rich further recorded

that “two [unidentified] young men were playing with a pistol, it went off, when one was shot in the thigh, cut it some, [and] the bullet lodged in his shirt.”⁶¹ Bradford Elliott is often counted among the male adults on camp lists. He died in Salt Lake City in 1852.⁶²

Some lists include Sarah Pulsipher, who would have been nine years old in 1834. The *History of the Church* lists Sarah Pulsipher as the “daughter of Zera Pulsipher.”⁶³ Zera Pulsipher was not a member of the camp, so Sarah might have been traveling with another family.

An unnamed child appears on some lists: a daughter of Alvin Winegar. This seems unlikely, as Alvin was an unmarried eighteen-year-old traveling with his father, Samuel.⁶⁴

Hyrum Smith and Lyman Wight's Detachment. Like Bradford Elliott, two members of Hyrum's detachment could be considered children but are sometimes listed as adults: George Fordham, age nine or ten, and Lyman Littlefield, age thirteen or fourteen.⁶⁵ George Fordham traveled with his father, record keeper Elijah Fordham, as part of the Smith-Wight detachment. Lyman Littlefield and his brother Josiah (age unknown, but probably in his late teens) accompanied their father, Waldo, also with the Michigan group. George Fordham and Lyman Littlefield continued to Utah with the Church.⁶⁶

Zion's Camp had a great impact on the lives of these young men. Lyman Littlefield provided some understanding of this impact in his “Recollections,” written near the end of his life. He claimed to have been “thirteen years and six months” at the time of the march. He regretted that “he was not a man in stature so that he might participate more in the performance of camp duties, as was the privilege of the men.” More important than his physical contribution to the camp was the opportunity Littlefield had to see the Prophet. He recalled:

As the camp was making ready to depart I sat tired and brooding by the roadside. The Prophet was the busiest man of the camp; and yet when he saw me, he turned from the great press of other duties to say a word of comfort to a child. Placing his hand upon my head, he said, “Is there no place for you, my boy? If not, we must make one.” This circumstance made an impression on my mind which long lapse of time and cares of riper years have not effaced.⁶⁷

Littlefield's experience with Joseph Smith during Zion's Camp instilled in the young man a great loyalty to the Prophet. The same can be said for most of the people who worked closely with Joseph during those few weeks. The opportunity to hear Joseph's teachings firsthand was an irreplaceable process of promoting faith and allegiance. Any number of Zion's Camp participants could have echoed Littlefield's words of testimony:

I was a mere boy, between thirteen and fourteen years old, when I first met the Prophet. His appearance as a man won my reverence for him; but his conversation and public teaching—all attended by a power truly Godlike—established

me in the faith and knowledge of his prophetic mission which strengthened with the lapse of years until he sealed his testimony with his blood in the jail at Carthage in 1844.⁶⁸

The Zion's Camp experience contributed to Lyman Littlefield's conviction about Joseph's leadership.

Women and the Zion's Camp Experience

Much like the women of the Mormon Battalion and other military expeditions, the Zion's Camp women contributed in various ways to the overall character of the group and its success and helped prepare for later mass migrations to the West. The women helped with the traditional domestic duties of cooking and laundering and caring for children. They also provided a civilizing influence on the camp.

Men, women, and children all suffered from inclement weather, shortages of food and shelter, and difficulties of epidemic illness. Perhaps seventy people, or 35 percent of the camp, suffered from cholera, which then killed thirteen camp members. That a woman, Betsy Parrish, can be included among its martyrs is an important statement about the sacrifice that women were willing to make. Those that did sacrifice their lives were promised many eternal and spiritual blessings.

The unifying aspect of social interaction left a lasting impact on the Zion's Camp veterans. In spite of the difficulties, camp life ran smoothly much of the time. These people prayed together, sang together, and communed together. Responsibilities for overall camp productivity were shared equally, thus encouraging cooperation among members. Humor and socializing represented the lighter side of these interactions. The laughter, play, and mischief of young children and teenage boys must have had a cheering effect on the serious atmosphere surrounding the camp. Even romance and courtship were present—one can only suspect at what point Charlotte Alvord and Lyman Curtis began to notice one another. Although Zion's Camp was a pseudo-military expedition, it also had the makings of a mass familial migration with all of the social, spiritual and civilizing qualities associated with men, women, and children traveling together. The attendance at the reunions of 1864, 1869, and 1870 shows how important both male and female veterans considered the friendships they had made while marching to Missouri.

Even more important than the social unity of Zion's Camp was the spiritual unity. Much has been studied about the impact that the 1834 march had on creating a Church membership and leadership that was loyal, faithful, and devoted to Joseph Smith and the Church. Firsthand observations of Joseph Smith taught the members important leadership skills. As Lyman Littlefield explained, his witness of Joseph's sermons

“established me in the faith and knowledge of his prophetic mission.” Direct interaction created a strong tie among the early members and between the members and leaders.

The sisters and children of Zion's Camp had testimonies that were powerful and individual. The event that most adequately summarizes this faith building among the women is told by Joseph Holbrook.

After joining with Hyrum's group at the Salt River Branch in Missouri with the purpose of continuing to Jackson County, Joseph Smith anticipated possible violent altercations with Missouri mobbers. He wanted to protect the women and children and asked the men who had brought families to acquire cabins for them. They were to leave them there at Salt River until any military actions were concluded. Joseph Holbrook began to obey this counsel: “I provided a house for my family as directed and was about to leave my family as was the rest of the brethren who had wives with them.”⁶⁹ Either the women protested at this arrangement or the Prophet simply had a change of heart, for he then declared that “if the sisters were willing to under go a siege with the camp they could go along with it.”⁷⁰ Truly it was a revolutionary notion for the sisters to accompany the men into a possible military skirmish. The women said they would like to go and “they liked Brother Joseph better than before for the privilege he gave them of continuing in the camp.”⁷¹ This statement captures the important legacy of Zion's Camp on its women participants, as they gained powerful faith and lasting devotion to the Church.

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1. J. Karl Wood, *The Church, Its History and Mission* (Salt Lake City: LDS Department of Education, 1952), 331, quoted in James Bradley, *Zion's Camp: Prelude to the Civil War* (Salt Lake City: Publisher's Press, 1990), xvii.

2. Roger D. Launius, *Zion's Camp: Expedition to Missouri, 1834* (Independence, Mo.: Herald Publishing House, 1984).

3. Bradley, *Zion's Camp*, 265.

4. Clark V. Johnson, review of Carl V. Larson and Shirley N. Maynes, *Women of the Mormon Battalion*, in *BYU Studies* 37 (fall 1997): 237.

5. See Craig K. Manscill, “‘Journal of the Branch of the Church of Christ in Pontiac, . . . 1834': Hyrum Smith's Division of Zion's Camp,” in this issue of *BYU Studies*, 171.

6. Wilford Woodruff, "The History and Travels of Zion's Camp . . .," [1882], holograph, microfilm, 3-4, Archives Division, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives).

7. Andrew Jenson, *The Historical Record* (Salt Lake City: By the author, 1889), 8:1104.

8. According to James Bradley, there are seven lists of the members of Zion's Camp, provided by B. H. Roberts (1902 and 1947), Andrew Jenson (1889), Thomas Bullock (1864), the *Deseret News* (1864), Joseph Holbrook (1864), Solon Foster (copied by Thomas Colborn in 1879), and James Bradley (1988). Bradley, *Zion's Camp*, 263. An eighth list might be added: Roger Launius's reprinting of the list in Joseph Smith III and Heman C. Smith's *History of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints*.

B. H. Roberts's list in Joseph Smith's *History of the Church* (published in 1902 and 1947) is the most comprehensive and inclusive. It lists "Charlotte Alvord, Sophronia Curtis, Mary Snow Gates, Nancy Lambson Holbrook, Betsy Parrish, Ada Clements, Mary Chidester, Diana Drake, Eunice Holbrook, Mrs. Houghton, ——— Ripley." Other lists differ only slightly from this one. The most significant difference is Roberts's inclusion of Ada Clements. She and her husband, Albert, appear only on this list. Joseph Holbrook, in his history of 1864, includes neither Ada Clements nor Diana Drake but does include Jane Clark.

The participation of some of the women can be presumed from a comparison of the various lists. The identities of the women who traveled with Hyrum Smith and Lyman White are recorded in Elijah Fordham's journal: "Sisters Aurelia Houton [*sic*], Sophronia Curtis, [and] Charlotte Alvert [*sic*]." Elijah Fordham, "Journal of the Branch of the Church of Christ in Pontiac Michigan Territory," holograph, microfilm, [May 5, 1834], LDS Church Archives; Manscill, "Journal of 1834," 176. George A. Smith's report noted the arrival of Hyrum's detachment on Salt River and his list of camp participants included Charlotte Alvord [*sic*], Sophronia Curtis, and "Ornon Houghton and wife." George A. Smith, "History of George Albert Smith," holograph, 43, 44, 45, 49, LDS Church Archives.

The women who traveled with Joseph's detachment are less easily identified, Mary Snow Gates, Nancy Holbrook, Eunice Holbrook, Betsy Parrish, Mary Chidester, and Sarah Ripley all appeared on enough lists to be considered definite members of the camp. Those who are less certain are Diana Drake, Ada Clements, and Jane Clark.

9. The participant lists that were made after the Zion's Camp reunions are: Joseph Holbrook, "History of Joseph Holbrook," typescript, microfilm, 10, LDS Church Archives; Thomas Bullock, "Zion's Camp," Historical Notebook, 1864–1872, holograph, microfilm, 82, LDS Church Archives; "Festival of the Camp of Zion," *Deseret News [Weekly]*, October 12, 1864, 13; "The Zion's Camp Party," *Deseret News Semi-Weekly*, October 12, 1869, 2; "Party at the Social Hall," *Deseret News [Weekly]*, October 19, 1870, 1.

10. Susan Easton Black, comp., *Membership of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830–1848*, 50 vols. (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1989), 36:957, 958, 960, 962, 964, 965; Paul F. Smart, comp., *Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register* (Salt Lake City: Genealogical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1974, 1983), 190.

11. "Zion's Camp," Historical Notebook, 1864–1872, holograph, microfilm, 82, LDS Church Archives.

12. Jenson, *Historical Record*, 8:1104.

13. "The Zion's Camp Party," *Deseret News Semi-Weekly*, October 12, 1869, 2; and Bradley, *Zion's Camp*, 277–78.

14. Holbrook, "History of Joseph Holbrook," 10.
15. *History of the Church*, 2:185. Andrew Jenson states that the Clements desired to move to Missouri, so they "joined Zion's camp at Mansfield, Ohio, May 10, 1834, and became a member of Orson Hyde's company." Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia: A Compilation of Biographical Sketches of Prominent Men and Women in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Memorial Association, 1901–36), 4:688.
16. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4:688.
17. Lynne Watkins Jorgenson and BYU Studies Staff, "The Mantle of the Prophet Joseph Passes to Brother Brigham: A Collective Spiritual Witness," *BYU Studies* 36, no. 4 (1996–97): 133–34, 189–90.
18. "Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register," Family Land and Records Center, LDS Visitors' Center, Nauvoo, Illinois.
19. Mina Blain Watson, "The Lonely Trail," in *Our Pioneer Heritage*, comp. Kate B. Carter, 20 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1958–77), 3:111.
20. *History of the Church*, 2:185, and AncestralFile.
21. "Festival of the Camp of Zion," *Deseret News [Weekly]*, October 12, 1864, 13; Bradley, *Zion's Camp*, 276.
22. Andrew Karl Larson, *Erastus Snow: The Life of a Missionary and Pioneer for the Early Mormon Church* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1971), 11.
23. Jacob Gates recorded that on April 11, 1834, he departed Vermont "with my young Wife for the land of Zion in fulfillment of a Revelation given Feb. 24, 1834 in regard to the redemption of Zion." Jacob Gates, "Items of History of the Life and Labors of Jacob Gates," holograph, microfilm, 1, Jacob Gates Collection, LDS Church Archives.
24. Gates, "Items of History," 1.
25. Jacob Gates, Obituary of Mary Snow Gates, February 11, 1891, typescript, microfilm, Jacob Gates Collection, LDS Church Archives.
26. Larson, *Erastus Snow*, 178.
27. Jacob Gates to Erastus Snow, May 15, 1885, typescript, microfilm, 1, Jacob Gates Collection, LDS Church Archives.
28. "Festival of the Camp of Zion," 13; "The Zion's Camp Party," 2.
29. Larson, *Erastus Snow*, 734.
30. Joseph Holbrook, "History of Joseph Holbrook," typescript, microfilm, 10, LDS Church Archives.
31. Holbrook, "History of Joseph Holbrook," 11, 12.
32. Orson F. Whitney, *The Life of Heber C. Kimball: An Apostle, The Father and Founder of the British Mission* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1967), 50.
33. Holbrook, "History of Joseph Holbrook," 17.
34. Holbrook, "History of Joseph Holbrook," 17–18.
35. Holbrook, "History of Joseph Holbrook," 28.
36. "Party at the Social Hall," *Deseret News [Weekly]*, October 19, 1870, 1.
37. After Betsy's death, Warren married Martha H. Raymond on December 3, 1835, Geauga County, Ohio. Milton V. Backman Jr., comp., *A Profile of Latter-day Saints of Kirtland, Ohio, and Members of Zion's Camp, 1830–1839: Vital Statistics and Sources* (Provo, Utah: n.p., 1983). Warren Parrish became the personal secretary to Joseph Smith for a season. He eventually left the Church. Milton V. Backman Jr., *The Heavens Resound: A History of the Latter-day Saints in Ohio, 1830–1838* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1983), 219–20, 287.
38. Smith, "History of George Albert Smith," June 24, 1839.

39. Woodruff, "History of Zion's Camp," 76.
 40. Woodruff, "History of Zion's Camp," 86–87.
 41. Journal History of the Church, June 25, 1834, LDS Church Library, Salt Lake City, Utah; microfilm copy available at Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.
 42. Journal History of the Church, June 25, 1834.
 43. F. G. Spiers, quoted in *Kansas City Times*, January 17, 1959. A copy of the newspaper clipping is appended to a letter from Parley Rhead Neeley to Leonard J. Arrington, July 19, 1972, LDS Church Archives.
 44. J. Mette Shippe, quoted in newspaper article "Clay County Skeletons Were Mormon 'Army'" that is appended to a letter from Parley Rhead Neeley to Leonard J. Arrington, July 19, 1972, LDS Church Archives. Shippe was a University of Missouri archaeologist-in-residence in Clay County.
- The remains were reburied at the Mound Grove Cemetery, Independence, Missouri, which belonged to the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. The Missouri Mormon Frontier Foundation dedicated a monument to the cholera victims at the Mound Grove Cemetery on October 11, 1997. See "Zion's Camp Monument," *Missouri Mormon Frontier Foundation Newsletter* (summer 1997): 1–3; "Zion's Camp Cholera Victims Monument Dedication," *Missouri Mormon Frontier Foundation Newsletter* (fall 1997): 1–6; "Monument Commemorates Zion's Camp Victims," *Saints Herald* 144, no. 11 (1997): 33.
45. Journal History of the Church, June 26, 1834.
 46. Fordham, "Journal," May 26, 1834; Manscill, "'Journal of 1834,'" 180.
 47. AncestralFile.
 48. Fordham, "Journal," May 13, 1834; Manscill, "'Journal of 1834,'" 178.
 49. Fordham, "Journal," May 18 and June 3–5, 1834; Manscill, "'Journal of 1834,'" 179, 181.
 50. Black, *Membership of the Church, 1830–1848*, 23:996–97.
 51. In addition to being listed in Elijah Fordham's journal, Sophronia and Mecham Curtis are listed in Thomas Colborn, "Muster Roll of Members of Zion's Camp . . . 1879," LDS Church Archives.
 52. Bradley, *Zion's Camp*, xxiv.
 53. Temple Index Bureau, cited in Black, *Membership of the Church, 1830–48*, 12:747.
 54. Backman, *Heavens Resound*, 380. Roger Launius repeated this error in *Zion's Camp*: "One widow, Charlotte Alvord, with her four boys joined the camp for the purpose of settling in Zion." Launius, *Zion's Camp*, 94. James Bradley also made no attempt to correct or investigate this error, stating that "Whether both [Jane Clark and Charlotte Alvord] were married has not been determined." Further, "Charlotte Alvord is listed by Milton Backman as having four sons whose names are not included." Bradley, *Zion's Camp*, 265.
 55. Fordham, "Journal," May 5, 1834; Manscill, "'Journal of 1834,'" 176.
 56. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4:689.
 57. "Festival of the Camp of Zion," 13; "Zion's Camp," Historical Notebook, 1864–1872, 70, 72.
 58. "Party at the Social Hall," 1; Bradley, *Zion's Camp*, 278.
 59. Holbrook, "History of Joseph Holbrook," 89.
 60. Some researchers have mistakenly assigned the Chidester children to Hyrum's division while they assign the parents to Joseph's division.
 61. Charles C. Rich, "Journal of Travel to Redeem Zion," holograph, June 23, 1834, LDS Church Archives.

62. Bradley, *Zion's Camp*, xxv.

63. *History of the Church*, 2:185.

64. *History of the Church*, 2:185.

65. Lyman Littlefield lists his birthday as November 22, 1819, in his book *Reminiscences* but later estimates his age during Zion's Camp as thirteen or fourteen years old in another source. Lyman O. Littlefield, *Reminiscences of Latter-day Saints* (Logan, Utah: Utah Journal Co., Printers, 1888), 26.

66. Bradley, *Zion's Camp*, xix, "Statistics."

67. George Q. Cannon, *Life of Joseph Smith the Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1986), 344.

68. Lyman Littlefield, "Recollections," July 27, 1892, 65, Family Land and Records Center, LDS Visitors' Center, Nauvoo, Illinois.

69. Holbrook, "History of Joseph Holbrook," 16.

70. Holbrook, "History of Joseph Holbrook," 16.

71. Holbrook, "History of Joseph Holbrook," 16.

Towards a History of Provo

Here's a black-and-white
photograph taken in the 30s
at the intersection of Center
and University, looking north.

In the picture, it must be
early morning—there are
dusty cars parked at angles
on both sides of the street,

and it's gloomy and cold—
looking without a soul
in sight—the kind of morning
where you want to go

into a cafe for breakfast
and not come out until
July—so foggy you can't see
further than First North.

I find myself wanting to
climb into one of those
cars and drive off,
into that gray, that fog.

—R. A. Christmas

“Journal of the Branch of the Church of Christ in Pontiac, . . . 1834”: Hyrum Smith’s Division of Zion’s Camp

Craig K. Manscill

On April 21, 1834, Hyrum Smith and Lyman Wight set out from Kirtland, Ohio, for Pontiac, Michigan, to recruit volunteers for the march of Zion’s Camp. Their objective was to lead their recruits on a six-hundred-mile march to a prearranged rendezvous with Joseph Smith’s Kirtland division in Missouri. Typically, scholarly treatments of the march of Zion’s Camp have focused on the accounts of the Kirtland, Ohio, legion while overlooking the Hyrum Smith-Lyman Wight division of Zion’s Camp. Yet Hyrum’s group, when compared with Joseph’s command, demonstrated a similarly significant commitment to addressing the needs of their fellow Saints in Missouri. In addition, a study of the Smith-Wight division offers new and insightful details about the recruitment, organization, and march of this ecclesiastical militia.

Zion’s Camp arose as a result of an earlier conflict between the Latter-day Saints of Independence, Jackson County, Missouri, and the original settlers of the region. Members of the Church began migrating to Independence when it was designated as the center place of Zion in 1831 (D&C 57:1–4). The Saints were never accepted by the “old settlers,” who judged the Mormons to be self-righteous fanatics, abolitionists, and knaves laying claim to Jackson County as a land divinely chosen just for them.¹ In return, the Saints viewed the original residents as irreligious, lazy, and immoral.

These differences provoked a violent confrontation between the two groups in Independence during the summer and fall of 1833, which eventuated in the forced expulsion of twelve hundred Saints from their homes and land at the hands of vigilante mobs the following winter. Crossing the Missouri River, the Saints found temporary refuge and sympathy from Missourians to the north, in Clay County.² Church leaders petitioned Missouri governor, Daniel Dunklin, to remedy their losses, but the request for help did little good. However, R. W. Wells, the attorney general of Missouri, informed the legal counsel of the Church that Governor Dunklin pledged to use militia and state arms to restore the Mormons to their lands if they could raise a sufficient force to maintain the peace after their return. The communication further stated that these conditions were contingent upon a formal application to the governor, which he could accept at his

own discretion.³ This tenuous pledge gave the exiled Saints hope and was one of the primary reasons for the organization of Zion's Camp.⁴

Early in January 1834, Church leaders in Clay County sent Parley P. Pratt and Lyman Wight to Kirtland to apprise the Prophet Joseph of the plight of the Missouri Saints.⁵ Fighting the harsh winter elements, these two volunteers began their journey on January 12 and traversed nearly a thousand miles in forty days, arriving in Kirtland on February 21, 1834. Three days later, the messengers reported to the newly organized Kirtland high council the devastation and expulsion of the Missouri Saints. Of their Kirtland brethren, they queried, "When, and how and by what means Zion was to be redeemed from her enemies?" The minutes of the high council meeting report the response:

Brother Joseph then arose, and said that he was going to Zion, to assist in redeeming it. He called for the voice of the Council to sanction his going, which was given without a dissenting voice. He then called for volunteers to go with him, when some thirty or forty volunteered to go, who were present at the Council. . . . Joseph Smith, Jun., was nominated to be the commander-in-chief of the armies of Israel, and the leader of those who volunteered to go and assist in the redemption of Zion; the nomination was seconded and carried by the vote of all present.⁶

Later that day, the Prophet Joseph received the will of the Lord by way of a "revelation and commandment" about "how to act in the discharge of your duties concerning the salvation and redemption of your brethren, who have been scattered on the land of Zion" (D&C 103:1). To fulfill his charge, Joseph was instructed to take from "the strength of my house" between one and five hundred of "my young men and the middle aged" (D&C 103:22). The volunteers were to be enlisted from the various branches of Israel and gathered by four sets of missionary recruiters: Joseph Smith and Parley P. Pratt; Lyman Wight and Sidney Rigdon; Hyrum Smith and Frederick G. Williams; and Orson Hyde and Orson Pratt (D&C 103:30–40). This was the inception of Zion's Camp, one of the most unusual and important chapters in Church history.

The purpose of the volunteer enlistees was to reclaim the lands of the dispossessed Saints in Jackson County. In addition, they were to render assistance to the Saints in the form of supplies and to show support to the suffering Church members harbored in Clay County.⁷ The recruits might be required to give more than supplies and assistance, however. One revelation to the Prophet Joseph detailed that the "redemption of Zion" and the avenging of the Lord's enemies could require even the laying down of one's life for the sake of the Lord and Zion (D&C 101:15, 43, 58). As details of the camp began to take shape, it was decided to muster in two places: Kirtland, Ohio, and Pontiac, Michigan.⁸ Joseph Smith was to lead the Kirtland division,



Courtesy Carole Call King

Hiram Smith

and his older brother, Hyrum Smith, with Lyman Wight were to head up the Pontiac section.

Over the next ten weeks, members of the Church and the recruiters set about obtaining volunteers, supplies, and the financial means to support the march of Zion's Camp. The recruiters' travels and the general Church's efforts covered most of the states in the northeastern part of the country.⁹ Although success varied among the recruiters, their total effort barely measured up to the number of recruits that the Lord had required in the revelation organizing the camp.¹⁰ At the designated time of mustering in Kirtland, approximately 120 volunteers gathered with Joseph and nearly \$190 had been collected. Still, Joseph was not discouraged, and he pressed forward in his plans to redeem the Saints on the western border.

On April 14, 1834, while assembling his own division, Joseph directed Hyrum Smith and Lyman Wight to go west to gather additional recruits and lead them to Missouri.¹¹ Since Hyrum and Lyman had served proselyting missions to Pontiac, Michigan, in 1831, they were acquainted with the Pontiac Saints and familiar with the route of travel from Pontiac to Independence. Instructed to move through Ohio and then swing north to the Saints of the Huron Branch in Pontiac,¹² the missionary pair was "to gather up as many men as possible and bring them to the Allred Branch on the Salt River near Paris, Monroe County, Missouri," the rendezvous point. The first of June was the target date for arrival.¹³ The company reaching the rendezvous point first was to wait for the other before proceeding on to Jackson County.

The Church at Pontiac

The emergence and growth of the Church in Pontiac is credited to Almira Mack and Lucy Mack Smith. Lucy's brother Stephen Mack moved from Tunbridge, Vermont, to Detroit, Michigan, in 1807 and then settled in Pontiac, twenty-six miles north of Detroit in 1818.¹⁴ Almira Mack,¹⁵ the youngest of Stephen's twelve children, left Pontiac to visit her aunt Lucy in Manchester, New York, in May 1830. On hearing the message of the restoration, she received baptism into the Church.¹⁶ In 1831, Almira moved to Kirtland, Ohio, with the Smiths.

On June 7, 1831, Hyrum Smith, John Murdock, Lyman Wight, and John Corrill were commanded by revelation to journey to Missouri "by the way of Detroit."¹⁷ Almira Mack and Lucy Smith accompanied Hyrum on this mission as far as Pontiac in order to visit the Macks. The missionary efforts in Michigan proved fruitless for Hyrum and his companions. Leaving Lucy with the Mack family, the four missionaries left Michigan and traveled in a southwesterly direction, preaching as they journeyed toward Independence, Missouri.¹⁸

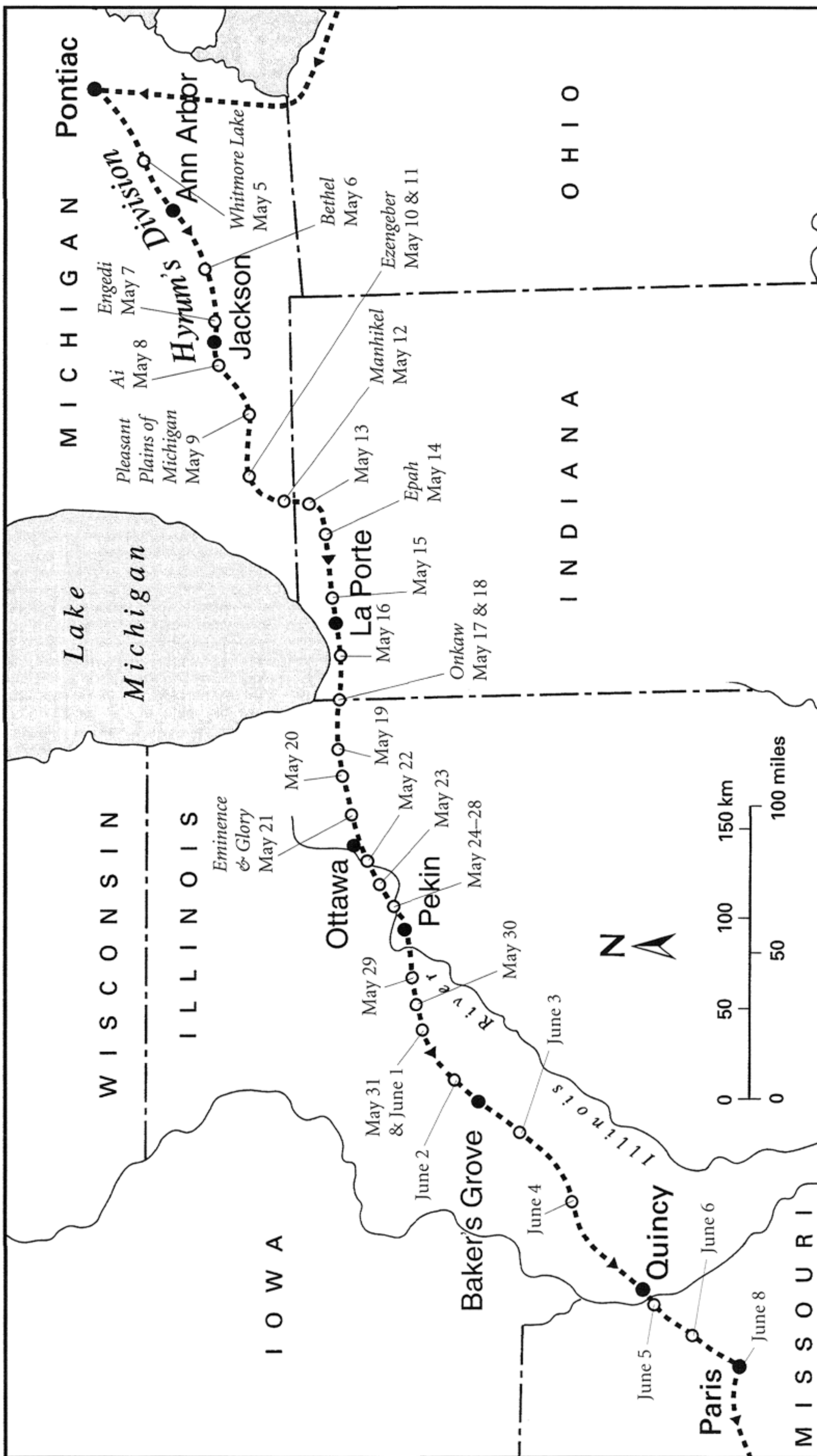
Lucy remained in Pontiac for four weeks. She and Almira were enthusiastic about the new religion, and Lucy “never missed an opportunity to advance it.”¹⁹ Among others, Lucy introduced the gospel to her sister-in-law Temperance Mack.²⁰ Lucy won the hearts of many, but not all. In one biting exchange with the minister of the local Congregational Church, the Reverend Isaac W. Ruggles, Lucy warned that “within three years her son Joseph would have a third of his church, including the deacon.”²¹ Two years later, the Prophet made good on Lucy’s promise when he dispatched Jared Carter and Joseph Wood to Pontiac for missionary service. They arrived January 7, 1833, and within several weeks the Reverend Ruggles lost his first deacon, Samuel Bent,²² and seventy members of his flock to the Saints.²³ The Church achieved a stronghold in Pontiac with Samuel Bent presiding over the branch.²⁴

On April 21, 1834, Hyrum Smith and Lyman Wight began their recruiting mission to Pontiac, traveling with a team of horses and one light wagon. They left Kirtland, heading west while “visiting the churches and ascertaining what they would do for the brethren in Missouri.”²⁵ (See their route on map on page 172). Their first stop was in Florence, Ohio, where they got recruits for Joseph’s division.²⁶ After a short stay in Florence, they moved on to Pontiac, Michigan, where they called on the Saints of the Huron Branch.

Fifteen members of the Huron Branch responded to the call and volunteered to join the Camp of Zion: nine men, three women, and three children.²⁷ With the exception of Charlotte Alvord, who traveled without husband or parents, the women and children joined the camp in order to be with their husbands and parents and to settle in Zion once the Saints were reestablished on their land.²⁸ Adding Hyrum Smith and Lyman Wight from Kirtland, and Charles C. Rich, who joined the camp in Illinois, the number traveling with the camp was eighteen. The youngest in camp was nine-year-old George Fordham and the oldest was fifty-six-year-old Samuel Bent.

The March of the Pontiac Saints

The company, only a fraction the size of the Kirtland division, left Pontiac on May 5, 1834, the same day the Prophet Joseph Smith left Kirtland with the larger party of Zion’s Camp. Elijah Fordham recorded that the Pontiac camp traveled with “two light Wagons, two Span of horses, [and] One tent.”²⁹ The small camp was formally organized on the second day of the march. Hyrum, aware of the revelation received on February 24, 1834, in Kirtland, knew how he should “act in the discharge” (D&C 103:1) of his duty as leader and organized the camp after the ancient pattern established by Moses for the camp of Israel (Ex. 13:21; Deut. 1:15). Hyrum Smith and



Route of Hyrum Smith's division of Zion's Camp

Samuel Bent were appointed moderators, and Lyman Wight was appointed steward over the provisions. The duties of tent pitchers, woodchoppers, teamsters, and water carriers were divided among the other men. Elijah Fordham, in addition to acting as a tent pitcher, accepted the duty to serve as company historian and keep the official journal.³⁰ Prayers were to be held each morning and evening, and the Sabbath was to be observed with meetings and rest.

A significant feature of the trek was Hyrum Smith's designation of campsite names for places where they rested during the first days of the march. A number of sites received biblical names such as Engedi, Ai, and Epah.³¹ These camp names often reflected events during the march or expressed sentiments about the day. For example, on May 8, one horse had thrown a shoe, it rained much of the night, the cooking took too long, and the horses wandered away from camp. Accordingly, the following morning, Hyrum dubbed the camp "Ai" with the explanation "for we sustained loss."³² The name of the Old Testament city Ai means "heap or ruin."³³ In biblical times, the Israelites had burned the city, killed everyone, and made it into a heap (Josh. 8).

Elijah Fordham's account of the Pontiac march rarely refers to the company's private affairs and contains little evidence of any bickering; Joseph's group, conversely, was plagued by dissent. In fact, according to the Pontiac journal, this march was executed with almost military precision. Lyman Wight's previous military experience as a militia member during the War of 1812 and Hyrum Smith's meticulous attention to detail undoubtedly helped to make the march more efficient.³⁴ The makeup of the camp also had something to do with the ease of movement. The group was small and easily managed, and most members of the camp were well acquainted with each other due to their previous association in the Church.

The inherent hardship of trail travel was coupled with the monotonous routine of daily camp life. Over the course of the journey to Missouri, the group averaged between twenty and thirty miles a day in a southwesterly direction. The march took thirty-eight days, including seven days of no travel. Teamsters rode in the two wagons, and everyone else walked the six-hundred-mile route. Lyman Wight walked the entire distance barefoot. Fourteen-year-old Lyman O. Littlefield later wrote that the "whole company walked almost the entire distance, as the teams were too heavily loaded to admit of our riding." Littlefield pointed out that the travelers endured this discomfort with little complaining.³⁵ Members of the camp from time to time also experienced ill health. The "ague," a malaria-like malady, affected several along the trail. The sick were attended to with priesthood blessings, and all arrived safe and healthy in Missouri.

Despite the overall favorable circumstances of travel, nine days into the march, on May 13, a small altercation occurred. Camp members complained that Brother and Sister Houghton, one of two married couples on the trek, “had not done their [camp] duty,” and some grumbling and hard feelings were expressed. Hyrum warned them of the consequences of the dispute, and afterward everyone “felt humble” and forgave each other of ill feelings.³⁶ The timely resolution to this problem reflects well on Hyrum’s leadership. Lyman O. Littlefield recalled years later that “our company had already learned to love and honor Hyrum Smith because of his dignified and upright course and correct teachings.”³⁷

While the company marched under the leadership of Hyrum Smith, Lyman Wight was often gone looking for recruits. On May 27, for example, Wight rode five miles out of his way to hold a meeting with persons who might be persuaded to join the expedition. These recruiting efforts were so persuasive that they nearly convinced Hosea Stout, who was not yet a member of the Church, to join the brigade. Stout, who joined the Church in 1838, later wrote, “The effect of their preaching was powerful on me & when I considered that they were going up to Zion to fight for their lost inheritances under the special directions of God it was all that I could do to refrain from going.”³⁸ The Pontiac journal indicates that Wight’s recruitment excursions met with success, however, when an important recruit was obtained from the effort—Charles Coulson Rich.³⁹ The twenty-four-year-old Rich, a two-year convert and future Apostle, joined the company at Pekin, Illinois, where he had lived for the previous ten years.

By June 2, the company had proceeded to within fifty miles of Quincy, Illinois, on the Mississippi River. Two days later, the party arrived at the junction of the Quincy Road and what Fordham called the Mormon Road,⁴⁰ and they reached Quincy the following day. Fordham described this thriving commercial center as a considerable “place [of] about 70 houses, 2 Inns, 9 Stores, [and] an Open Square in the Center [which] looks well.”⁴¹ On the afternoon of June 5, the company ferried across the Mississippi, described as being “about a mile wide at this place, full of Islands and a strong current [and] water riley.”⁴² After the crossing, they traveled southwestward toward the prearranged rendezvous point on the Salt River. Three days later, on June 8, Hyrum’s company reached its destination and discovered that “the Brethren [Joseph’s company] had arrived the night before.”⁴³

Hyrum Smith’s company, combined with Joseph’s, totaled 205 male volunteers, plus eighteen women and children. At the Salt River,

Joseph completely reorganized the expedition into companies of ten men each. The camp elected the prophet, once more, as the commander-in-chief, but Lyman Wight was elected as the general of the camp [second in command to Joseph], on the basis of his War of 1812 experience. Joseph also chose

two companies of ten men each to serve as his “lifeguard.” His brother, Hyrum, became captain of this personal bodyguard, and until the conclusion of the expedition, members of this guard were always at Joseph’s side to protect him.⁴⁴

The Results of Zion’s Camp

The unforeseen proceedings of Zion’s Camp after their arrival in Missouri ultimately led to the discharge of the volunteers on July 3, 1834. These events are familiar to students of Church history—the withdrawal of promised military support by Governor Dunklin,⁴⁵ the June 16 confrontation at a meeting in Liberty of the Jackson County delegates and the Saints, and the aborted battle at Fishing River on June 19. Additionally, a cholera epidemic left fourteen dead, and the Saints failed to receive redress following their petitions to the Missouri state government. Finally, on June 22, the Fishing River revelation announced that Zion would not be redeemed at this time and that the volunteers of Zion’s Camp were no longer required “to fight the battles of Zion” (D&C 105:14).

Although it might appear to have been an aborted enterprise, the affirmative outcome of Zion’s Camp can be measured in a number of ways. The Prophet Joseph formalized the Church on the frontier by organizing a stake in Missouri with leaders and a high council. Furthermore, the venture helped Church members in Clay County and elsewhere in Missouri realize the concern of the Church for their welfare. But the primary effect of the expedition centered on its impact on the lives of its participants. For most of the members of the camp, the trek had been a test of their mettle by uncommon trial, a winnowing that forged the future leadership of the Church. Zion’s Camp was designed to “to prove them worthy in the flesh of the great calling whereunto they were called in the eternal councils.”⁴⁶ Wilford Woodruff later proclaimed the enduring effects of Zion’s Camp:

We gained an experience that we never could have gained in any other way. We had the privilege of beholding the face of the prophet, and we had the privilege of travelling a thousand miles with him, and seeing the workings of the Spirit of God with him, and the revelations of Jesus Christ unto him and the fulfilment of those revelations. . . . Had I not gone up with Zion’s Camp I should not have been here to-day, and I presume that would have been the case with many others in this Territory.⁴⁷

In the larger scheme of the venture, the story of the Pontiac, Michigan, company helps to complete the remarkable story of Zion’s Camp. The day-by-day account of the march from Michigan to the Salt River in Missouri is contained in the following pages. These thirty-eight journal entries, recorded by camp historian Elijah Fordham, provide noteworthy details about the recruitment, organization, and march of the camp. Secondarily,

Fordham's description of the vast prairie of the American frontier and practical advice for the traveler, recorded with wit and wisdom, add fresh insight that situates Zion's Camp in the context of American history.

Previously unpublished in complete form, the journal of the Pontiac Branch kept by Elijah Fordham is found in the Archives Division of the Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Salt Lake City, Utah.⁴⁸ This account has been transcribed with as little editing as possible to preserve the character of the text. Capitalization, grammar, and spelling have been retained. In the case where handwriting is illegible, where the page has been torn, or where words have been introduced for clarity, the wording has been bracketed []. Strikeouts have been indicated as ~~strikeouts~~. For clarity and ease of reading, modern punctuation and paragraph breaks have been included.

The Journal of the Branch in Pontiac, 1834

Journal of the Branch of the Church of Christ⁴⁹ in Pontiac, Michigan Territory⁵⁰ which started for the Land of Zion [on] May 5th 1834 from the Huron Branch. Samuel Bent,⁵¹ Elijah Fordham,⁵² Ornan Hou[gh]ton,⁵³ Meacham Curtis,⁵⁴ Lyman Curtis,⁵⁵ Waldo Littlefield,⁵⁶ Alanson Colby,⁵⁷ Sisters Aurelia Hou[gh]ton,⁵⁸ Sophronia Curtis,⁵⁹ Charlotte Alvert [Alvord],⁶⁰ and 4 Boys, George Fordham,⁶¹ Lyman Littlefield,⁶² David D. Dart [Dort],⁶³ Josiah Littlefield⁶⁴ In Company with Hyrum Smith⁶⁵ of Ohio, and Lyman Wight⁶⁶ of Missouri, with two light Wagons, two Span of horses, [and] One tent. Traveled about 25 miles. Rained hard in showers, got wet. put up at Whitemore Lake [Whitmore Lake, Michigan] without any thing worthy of notice taking place. did not pitch tent. undertook to stay at a Relative of two of the Company. house too small. some slept on the floor, some in an open Log Barn. cold, wet, and hungry since no supper. [Had] but little rest. rose in the morning. would advise all Brethren not to stop at Relatives when on the Lord's business. will know better for the future.

[**May 6**] cooked breakfast in the house. Started about a Southwest course. at noon came to the Flourishing village of Ann Arbour [Ann Arbor, Michigan]. took the Calamaso Road. went 12 miles. put up _ mile from an Inn, having traveled about 25 miles. pitched tent. got supper. called [camp] to Order. Appointed Bro. E. Fordham, Historian; Bro. Lyman Wight, Steward; Hyrum Smith and Samuel Bent, Moderators. Prayer by Bro. Bent. Bro. O. Hou[gh]ton being sick, Hands laid on by Bro. Bent. Rejoicing in the Favour of God, we went to sleep. good rest. got Breakfast. gave thank by Bro. Smith. Struck tent. called the place Bethel. truly we have here found favour before God.

[**May 7**] Proceeded on our Journey. all well at 2 O'Clock. passed Grass Lake [Grass Lake, Michigan] on the Right. passed some very high sand hills [and] many marshes. Meacham Curtis got the Fever and Ague. paid 50 Cents per bushel for Oats. travelled 25 miles [on] a South of west course. pitched Tent a mile from Jacksensburgh [Jackson, Michigan] in a clean valley. some Rain. had an Invitation to Preach to the neighbours. at the first house Bros. Bent & Smith went to see them. [They] found the people gathering, [and] had to speak to them. [They] received it well. at the Tent had Singing. thank by Bro Fordham. retired to Rest. two of the Company did not bring any bedding. they slept cold. advise all that travel to Zion to take bedding clothes. Feet a little sore. otherwise all well. Called the place Engedi because it is a place of Rest and the Lord was there.

Thursday, May 8. proceeded on our journey. stopped at Jacksonsburg. got a poney's shoes set for 50 Cents. 100 [lbs.] of flour \$2.50. [The town has] about 25 houses, a tavern, and blacksmithshop. went on. passed many extensive marshes and Ridges of hard granite boulders. some good land,

some sand hills. passed through Spring Arbour [Spring Arbor, Michigan], a new place. travelled about 20 miles. stopped near hickory Ridge. Walnuts in abundance. some places ground most covered. camped in a pleasant hollow near a marsh. supped. Thank by Bro. Littlefield. rain in the night. horses strayed away. cooked cakes in a Spider & bake pan.⁶⁷ slow work. takes too much time. we want a tin oven. Called the place Ai, for in it we sustained loss. all well and in good spirits. no trouble to travel. Thank by Bro. Smith.

set off 9 May. bad road in the morning. [At] hickory Ridges came to good land. passed land that had been farmed and ploughed plain to be seen. [It is] now grown up with timber. passed the village of Marshal [with] 35 houses, 2 blacksmith shops, a tavern only 3 years old, grist and Saw Mill. saw Calamazoo river [which is] about 2 Rods wide. Camped on Ancient Farms. all well. thank by Bro. Smith. Cold. froze an eighth of an inch in a basen. called the place the pleasant plains of Michigan. travelled about 20 miles. thank by Bro. Fordham.

Saturday, May 10th. went on our journey. hickory Ridges, Black Oak plains, Wite Oak Openings. some good land. Crossed Calamazoo River [which is] 8 Rods wide. drove through it. went 1 mile to Prairie Go Goac. passed through good land through Climax Prairie, 3 miles long. passed 2_ miles through good Country and Camped in a Delightful place, having travelled 25 miles. all well. thank by Bro. Wight.

Sunday, 11th May. Rested. Prayer by Bro. Hou[gh]ten. heard Instruction from Bros. Smith & Wight and partook of the Lord's Supper. The Name of Places were all given by Bro. Smith. Called this place Ezengeber for in it we were blest of the Lord with much Instruction and the Holy Spirit.

Monday, May 12th. proceeded on. passed through Tounsand Prairie, 3 miles. Oak openings through Prairie Roade about 4 miles through very extensive Black & White Oak Plains. level for miles. some marshes. good Road. forded Portage River at its Junction with Stiny Creek, [being] 4 Rods wide, and Camped here. all well and in good Spirits. travelled 30 miles. Thanks by Bro Hou[gh]ton. cold in the night. frose ice in the pail.

May 13, Tuesday. called the place Manhikel because it is a place of many waters. Prayer by Bro. Wight. went _ mile and waded across the River St. Joseph's [which is] about 20 Rods wide. Oak Openings and plains. went down the River to Constantine [Michigan] a place of Rapid growth at the head of Navigation. [There are] about 20 houses [and] a good water power Grist & Saw Mill. Burr Oak plains and openings very level. White Pegion Prairie on the left.⁶⁸ crossed Chicago Turnpike at Mottsville [Mottville, Michigan] on the St. Joseph's River. went on down the River. Bro. James Dunn⁶⁹ of the Pontiac Branch Joined our company. Crossed Angalaw Creek and camped. pleasant weather. all well. this was before called little Elkhart

[Indiana]. Prayer by Bro. Smith. As som of the brethren had thoughts that Bro. & Sister Hou[gh]ton had not done their duty, and we had cast reflections and hints, we were astonished at the consequences when we were informed of them by Bro. Smith. We saw the Evil, felt humble, and readily confessed to each other and to God and with uplifted hands covenanted to forget and forgive all that had passed and do so no more. Bro. Wight closed by Prayer. cold night. frose _ inch. we are now 3 miles in Indiana. all Team in good order. Season backward. Prayer by Bro. Dunn. travelled 23 miles this day.

May 14. went on 10 miles. passed through the Village of Elkhart, on the River of the sam name, [with] 20 houses. Oak openings. land level. went down the St. Joseph's River to the Village of Mashtenaway [Mishawaka, Indiana]. [In this village of 20 or 30] houses [they are] building larger Iron works [due to the] great quantities of Iron ore. came to the village of Big Bend [South Bend, Indiana] on the St. Joseph's [with] 60 or 70 houses. went on to the Kankakee marsh and Camped having travelled 28 miles. all tired. Bro. Dunn Sick. hand laid on by Bro. Smith. Prayer by Bro. Bent. cold night. called the place Epah for the scarcity of Bread.

May 15th. Prayer by Bro. Littlefield. bad road for a few miles. went through Terecopia Prairie then through Rolling prairie, rather sandy. came to the edge of Door Prairie and camped. all in good health [but] a little tired. Prayer by Bro. Smith. frose hard again. travelled 25 miles this day. Prayer by Bro. Smith.

May 16th. Prayer by Bro. Hou[gh]ton. travelled 4 miles. came to the Village of Laport [La Porte, Indiana with] about 50 houses [and] a number of Stores &c. only 3 years old. very thriving. good prairie land all round. Mills &c about 5 miles off. timber scattered in the Prairie. passed through the Door of Door Prairie about about 10 Rods wide, a Singular place. went on the Sioux Trail. passed Clyburn Tavern. several miles very bad Road through heavy Timber on the trail. crossed a large marsh where the water parts to go to Lake Michigan and Illinois River and camped having travelled 22 miles this day. Heard that the Potawatamies were collecting about 2 miles off for the purpose of Rejoicing and dancing on the Occasion of their Removing to Missouri. ther are a great many of them and [they] have been collecting some time. [Had] Supper. Singing [and] Prayer by Bro. Wight.

May 17th. great man[y] Prairie hens on the marsh making a noise like the bellowing of the Cattle of a Thousand hills. mild weather, vegetation. move forward. Prayer by Bro. Fordham. pursued our course toward hickory creek over marshes through clay barrens. wet & dry Prairies. here a great many snakes. saw the prairie rattlesnake called in Michigan the Massauger [massasauga] having two rows of rattles in his tail. saw a kind of Jumping snake 1_ feet long. crossed several small brooks. travelled 23 miles.

came to Calamick creek which empties into Lake Michigan and camped on the Bank, having a good marsh near for fee [torn page] for the Horses. Prayer by Bro. Smith. went to rest. slept well [and] warm enough.

[interpolation on the top of the page written upside down reads: Hyrams Journal from Michigan to MO 1835]

May 18th, Sunday. Prayer by Bro Wight. rested this day. took of the Lord's Supper. had a comfortable Season. truly the Lord is with us. all things go smoothly and we are rejoicing. Prayer by Bro. Hou[gh]ton.

May 19th. all well. cloudy with some rain. mild weather. called the place Onkaw. here we heard the Noisy Pelican or Sand hill Crane, the same as in Michigan. Prayer by Bro. Bent. proceeded on our Journey through Prairies & marshes. passed big Calamick creek on the Sioux trail. the largest Prairie being 400 miles long, travelled 30 miles & came to hickory creek and camped. very tired. Prayer by Bro. Smith.

May 20. Prayer by Bro. Wight. went d[o]wn hicker Creek 5 miles and crossed at a Saw mill and went in and crossed the O Plain [Des Plaines] River, a considerable [flow] of a stream several rods wide, & Camped having travelled 18 miles through Prairie with little points of timber. this morning the horses broke loose from their spancils and ran off with rapidity several miles over the the Prairie and af[t]er running till they appeared like specks on the horison they would wait till we got within about a mile of them and then they would run again. and so they went untill they were tired. and when the boys caught them they were lost and were going from Camp when, fortunately, they came to a trail that led to Camp.

May 21st. all well. rose early. breakfast before sunrise. Prayer by Bro. Smith. went 8 miles. crossed River Dupage at the Grist Mill and crossed 25 miles over a wet & Dry Prairie with many miry places to get to a place to camp. traveled 33 miles this day. all tired. Prayer by Bro. Bent.

May 22. had plenty of milk. quite refreshed. called the place Eminence and Glory for much Provision was there and the place was beautiful. the Man that lives here has 240 head of Cattle & 40 Calves and all things Comfortable. Prayer omitted this morning; one of the Neighbours came and kept talking. we proceeded on our journey over Delightful Prairies and groves of Timber. at noon forded the Illinois River a mile below the Village of Ottoway [Ottawa, Illinois]. a delightful Situation. took dinner. excellent land. went on to Vermilion River. camped. got milk for 6 Cts. a quart. this morning we got it for 6 Cts. a pail, f[illegible word]. Prayer by Bro. Wight. very warm with showers today havig traveled 33 miles.

May 23. Prayer by Bro. Smith. went over over a 12 mile prairie [of] good land to Roberts Grove. got Dinner. went on. had a most tremendous

Shower. came to Crow Creek. Camped. wet and sore footed, having travelled 26 miles. rain in the night. this mornig saw plenty of Stone Coal. Prayer by Bro. Bent.

May 24. Prayer by Bro. Littlefield. proceeded on our Journey. all well. at noon came to a grove. Bro. Bent was taken with the Ague [but] was well enough to ride. went on our course to the willow Springs. came along timber land to a house. Camped. went in to get Milk and Water. found a Brother and Sister Earl very glad to see us. Prayer by Bro. Smith.

May 25. Prayer by Bro. Wight. went about 5 miles to Brother Rich at Pleasant grove Church. had meeting ~~meeting~~ morning & evening. the Church rejoiced to see us.

26 May, Monday. the Sisters Washed.

May 27. Bro. Wight held meeting 5 miles off.

May 28. Bro. Wight purchased a larger Wagon and a Yoke of Cattle in the place of the little wagon.

May 29, Thursday. took leave of the Brethren and went most to the Village of Pekin [Pekin, Illinois] on the Illinois River and broke one wheel of the big wagon. went to pekin. engaged a man to mend it. Pekin is a new place [that] has a large Steam Grist mill and a Steam Saw mill and about 15 houses. we crossed the Illinois and camped having traveled 10 miles.

May 30. waited till [al]most night for the wagon to be finished. got on about 10 miles and camped under the bluff on the Road to Canton [Illinois]. held meeting at a house. Bro. Smith & Wight spoke. Timber. bad roads.

May 31. set off. bad road. this region is infested with the Catterpillar & Grasshopper. the Woods look like winter with here and there a tree with leaves on, that they won't eat, making a strange appearance. [On] Road to Lewistown [Illinois]. camped camped about 4 miles east of Canton. Prayer by Bro. Hou[gh]ton.

June 1, Sunday. had a prayer meeting and the Lord's Supper. had a good Season. Bro. Colby Sick. all the rest well and in good spirits, as ever.

June 2, Monday. travelled through groves and prairies. forded Spoon River, a rapid Stream 3 rods wide at Barker's ford. went on 5 miles towards Quincy, our course being between Canton on the Right and Lewistown. traveled 25 miles. Prayer by Bro. Smith. Bro. Colby yet sick.

June 3. went on from Barker's Grove towards Quincy. traveled 15 miles, the length of a Prairie, along without a Road, a few rods from the Mormon Road and did not know it. got into the Mormon Road. forded Camp Creek. went in, forded Crooked Creek. this Creek can't be forded in high water; it is a mad stream. Camped. Colby better. Aurelia [Houghton] Sick, having travelled 30 miles this day. heard from Bro. Joseph and his troops, about 300 of them, all smart and hearty looking fellows. heard from Jackson Co. they have burned all the houses and keep guard all the time.⁷⁰ Prayer by Bro. Bent.

June 4. Prayer by Bro. Smith. Colby better. continued our course towards Quincy, Road from Quincy to Rushville. Prairie most of the way good. arrived at the Junction of the Mormon Road and the Quincy Road and Camped. Colby better. most well. Prayer by Bro. Charles Rich.

June 5. Prayer by Bro. Littlefield. went on to Quincy [Illinois] in a good, dry Prairie Road. Quincy is considerable of a place, about 70 houses, 2 Inns, 9 Stores, [and] an Open Square in the Center. looks well. got Lead for 6 Cts. a pound. Crossed the Mississippi, about a mile wide at this place, full of Islands and a strong current. water rily. a Steam Saw and Grist Mill here in Quincy. Camped on the Shore. Aurelia Sick yet. Colby well. all the rest well and in glad that we have got into Missouri. Prayer by Bro. Smith & Wight. traveled 20 miles this day. got the Axle of the wagon straitened. we crossed at Logsdens Ferry. advise all brethren to cross at his Ferry. he is Friendly.

June 6. Prayer by Bro. Wight. crossed the bottom lands. forded the North & South Fabius Rivers. passed through the Village of Palmyra [Missouri]. a thriving place of 100 houses, a goodly number of Stores, many houses of brick. passed on west to the 9 mile prairie on the Road to Salt river and Camped within four miles of the Church.

[**June 7, no entry**]

June 8, Sunday. Prayer by Bro. Rich. went on. forded West & South Salt River. Tremendous Rain, Thunder, & Lightning. arrived at Bro. James I. Ivy. found that the Brethren had arrived the night before and that we had camped only about 3 miles apart, after starting from different places through different countries and different hindrances. by the way, this being the place of meeting agreed upon without any time specified to meet in. It being agreed to wait for each other here. Surely the Lord is with us. this morning in going up the bank of the River the hammer of the tongue of Bro. Curtis' Wagon drew out. the wagon run back into the River and upset and wet a great many of the things. Soused George and Bro. Curtis into the River. gathered all the things. went on. attended meeting at Camp. Prayer by Bro. Wight. pleasant weather. all well.

June 9. the Siste[rs] washed cloathes. moved to the general Camp & pitched Tent.

June 10th. was formed into companies. exercised forenoon & afternoon out on the Prairie. This day Consecrated all our Money and Lead for Zion's Cause to Commissary Genera[1] Doctor Brown. this day appointed Bro. S. Bent, Steward, in the place of Bro. Wight, Resigned, and Bro. Jas. Dunn, Assistant.

June 11. made preparation for our Journey. fixed our Guns &c. kept them Loaded.

June 12th. formed our line of march. went about 13 miles. Camped on the Prairie. muddy water, but good Prairie.

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1. B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Century One*, 6 vols. (Provo, Utah: Corporation of the President, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1965), 1:321–23. See James L. Bradley, *Zion's Camp 1834: Prelude to the Civil War* (Salt Lake City: Publishers Press, 1990); Roger D. Launius, *Zion's Camp: Expedition to Missouri, 1834* (Independence, Mo.: Herald Publishing House, 1984); Peter Crawley and Richard L. Anderson, "The Political and Social Realities of Zion's Camp," *BYU Studies* 14, no. 4 (1974): 406–20; Lance D. Chase, "Zion's Camp," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 4:1627–29; B. H. Roberts, *The Missouri Persecutions* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965), 73–74.

2. Roberts, *Comprehensive History*, 1:346.

3. 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), 1:444–45 (hereafter cited as *History of the Church*).

4. Roberts, *Comprehensive History*, 1:358.

5. Parley P. Pratt Jr., ed., *The Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt*, 4th ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1950), 107.

6. *History of the Church*, 2:39–40.

7. The supplies, according to one historical account, included "clothing and other necessities to carry to our brethren and sisters, who have been robbed and plundered of nearly all their effects." The Camp also brought horses, wagons, firearms, and ammunition sufficient to make the journey and redeem the land in Jackson County by force. *History of the Church*, 2:63.

8. Bradley, *Zion's Camp*, 27.

9. Bradley, *Zion's Camp*, 14.

10. *History of the Church*, 2:48–49.

11. Bradley, *Zion's Camp*, 14.

12. The name of the branch of the Church in Pontiac, Michigan, is often referred to as the Huron Branch. The Huron Branch was named after the Huron River flowing southeasterly into Lake Erie.

13. Bradley, *Zion's Camp*, 28.

14. Temperance Mack did not join her husband in Pontiac until 1823; see John Cumming and Audrey Cumming, *The Pilgrimage of Temperance Mack* (Mount Pleasant, Michigan: n.p., 1967), 2–4.

15. Almira Mack was the youngest daughter of Stephen and Temperance Bond Mack. Born at Tunbridge, Orange County, Vermont, in 1805 (the same year as her cousin, Joseph Smith), Almira was baptized by David Whitmer in 1830. She married William Scoby in 1831, and he died in Pontiac, Michigan, on December 4, 1833. She married Benjamin Covey in 1836. Almira followed the Saints through Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois and crossed the plains to Utah in 1848, dying in Salt Lake City in 1886. Almira is also known as "Alvira" and "Elmira." Larry C. Porter, "A Study of the Origins of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the States of New York and Pennsylvania, 1816–1831" (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1971; Provo: BYU Studies, 2000), 261; Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989–92) 2:537; Cumming and Cumming, *Temperance Mack*, 7; *Pioneer Women of Faith and Fortitude*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1998), 1:685.

16. Cumming and Cumming, *Temperance Mack*, 8–9.

17. These four missionaries were part of a larger proselyting force that was journeying to Missouri, preaching the word of God as they took their various courses of travel. This was a significant mission for all. When they reached Missouri, they were informed that Jackson County was the New Jerusalem and Zion (D&C 52:1–8; 57).

18. Pearson H. Corbett, *Hyrum Smith—Patriarch* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1963), 87–91.

19. Cumming and Cumming, *Temperance Mack*, 10.

20. Temperance's husband, Stephen Mack, died in 1826. Cumming and Cumming, *Temperance Mack*, 6, 10–11.

21. Cumming and Cumming, *Temperance Mack*, 11.

22. The records for the Pontiac Congregational Church verify this event: "February 9 [1833] observed as a day of fasting and prayer on the occasion of the excommunication of Deacon Bent for embracing the Mormon delusion." Richard Lloyd Anderson, "His Mother's Manuscript: An Intimate View of Joseph Smith," Brigham Young University Forum, January 27, 1976, typescript, 10, Special Collections and Manuscripts, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

23. Lucy Mack Smith, *History of Joseph Smith*, ed. Preston Nibley (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1979), 217.

24. A year later, Joseph Smith Jr., Joseph Smith Sr., Hyrum Smith, the Three Witnesses to the Book of Mormon (Oliver Cowdery, Martin Harris, and David Whitmer), Frederick G. Williams, and Robert Orton visited Pontiac. These Church leaders made a great impression upon the local membership. John Cumming and Audrey Cumming, "Saints Come to Michigan," *Michigan History* 49 (March 1965): 16–18.

25. Launius, *Zion's Camp*, 94.

26. Milo Andrus and Nelson Higgins, among others, were from Florence, Ohio, and were recruited by Hyrum Smith and Lyman Wight. They joined Joseph's division on May 11 at New Portage, Ohio. Ivan J. Barrett, *Trumpeter of God: Fascinating True Stories of the Great Missionary and Colonizer, Milo Andrus* (Salt Lake City: Covenant Communications, 1992), 25–27.

27. Historians have given different totals for the number of people who joined the march from the Huron Branch. Launius claims nineteen people volunteered. Launius, *Zion's Camp*, 94. Bradley claims eighteen were recruited. Both authors include leaders Hyrum Smith and Lyman Wight and also Charles C. Rich, who joined later, in the number. These three brethren were not from the Huron Branch in Pontiac, although they were in the march. James Dunn joined the march nine days after the start and was from the Huron Branch. Dunn is not included in the initial list of camp members by the camp historian but should be included as one of the nine men counted as volunteers from the Huron Branch. Camp historian Fordham has Dunn joining the camp May 13, bringing the total men, women, and children to fifteen. If the three others not from the Huron Branch are added, then the total is eighteen. Two lists mistakenly state that toddlers John [Jr.] and Eunice Chidester marched with the Pontiac group; their parents, John and Mary Chidester, marched with Joseph's division. Bradley, *Zion's Camp*, 131; Milton V. Backman Jr., *The Heavens Resound: A History of the Latter-day Saints in Ohio, 1830–1838* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1983), 377, 379, 380.

28. For more on the women and children of Zion's Camp, see Andrea G. Radke, "We Also Marched: The Women and Children of Zion's Camp, 1834," 147–65, in this issue.

29. Journal of the Branch of the Church of Christ in Pontiac, 1834, May 5, Archives Division, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter LDS Church Archives). Smith and Wight arrived in Michigan with

one of the wagons. The second wagon may have been purchased from Hosea Stout. See Wayne Stout, *Hosea Stout, Utah's Pioneer Statesman* (Salt Lake City: by the author, 1953), 34.

30. Journal of the Branch of the Church of Christ, May 6; see also Wilburn D. Talbot, "Zion's Camp" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1973), 52–53. Additional accounts of Hyrum Smith's company were written by Charles C. Rich and Lyman O. Littlefield. See Charles Coulson Rich, *Diary, May–July 1834*, LDS Church Archives; and Lyman O. Littlefield, *Reminiscences of Latter-day Saints* (Logan, Utah: Utah Journal, 1888).

31. Of the thirty-eight camp sites on the march from Pontiac, Michigan, to the Allred Branch on the Salt River in Missouri, names of nine camp sites were recorded in Fordham's account.

32. Journal of the Branch of the Church of Christ, May 8.

33. Merrill F. Unger, *The New Unger's Bible Dictionary* (Chicago: Moody Bible Institute, 1988), 42.

34. On Lyman Wight's military experience, see Philip C. Wightman, "The Life and Contributions of Lyman Wight" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1971), 8–9. Lyman's first duty as a militia member was as part of a guard that escorted 1,236 prisoners of war on a march through New York State.

35. Littlefield, *Reminiscences*, 29.

36. Journal of the Branch of the Church of Christ, May 13.

37. George Q. Cannon, "The Prophet Joseph Smith in Zion's Camp," *Juvenile Instructor* 27 (January 15, 1892): 56.

38. Reed A. Stout, ed., "Autobiography of Hosea Stout, 1810 to 1835," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 30 (summer 1962): 259–60.

39. Charles Coulson Rich was born August 21, 1809, and was baptized April 1, 1832. After Zion's Camp, he became president of the high priest quorum for Missouri in August 1837. On March 30, 1841, he became a counselor to William Marks in the Nauvoo Stake presidency, and from 1849 until his death on November 17, 1883, he served as an Apostle. In addition to these ecclesiastical offices, Rich was a general, leading the Church troops opposing the invasion of Utah by the United States Army in 1857–58. See Leonard J. Arrington, *Charles C. Rich: Mormon General and Western Frontiersman* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1974), 58, 68–69, 217–22; Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia: A Compilation of Biographical Sketches of Prominent Men and Women in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History, 1901–36), 1:102.

40. Elijah Fordham refers to the junction of the Quincy and Mormon roads. Since 1831, members and missionaries of the Church had traveled between Kirtland and Missouri, often passing through Quincy, Illinois.

41. Journal of the Branch of the Church of Christ, June 5.

42. Journal of the Branch of the Church of Christ, June 5.

43. Journal of the Branch of the Church of Christ, June 8.

44. Launius, *Zion's Camp*, 102–3.

45. Roberts, *Comprehensive History*, 1:358–59.

46. Orson F. Whitney, *The Life of Heber C. Kimball: An Apostle, the Father and Founder of the British Mission*, 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City: Steven and Wallis, 1945), 34.

47. Wilford Woodruff, in *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1855–86), 13:158, December 12, 1869. For more on the impact that Zion's Camp had on Wilford Woodruff, see Thomas G. Alexander, "Wilford Woodruff and Zion's Camp: Baptism by Fire and the Spiritual Confirmation of a Future Prophet," 132–43, in this issue.

48. Bradley's treatment of Zion's Camp gives excerpts from the Fordham account and presents parallel entries with Joseph Smith's division. Bradley, *Zion's Camp*, 28–134.

49. On April 6, 1830, Joseph Smith Jr. and five others organized the Church of Christ (D&C 20:1). On May 3, 1834, the name was officially changed to the Church of the Latter-Day Saints. However, it was not until April 26, 1838, in Far West, Missouri, that the Church's name was changed by revelation (D&C 115:3) to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. See Donald Q. Cannon and Lyndon W. Cook, eds., *Far West Record: Minutes of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 1830–1844* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1983), 78, 157–58.

50. Michigan was a territory from 1805 until January 26, 1837, when it became the twenty-sixth state.

51. Samuel Bent was born July 19, 1778, and served as a colonel in the Massachusetts militia before joining the Church. He was baptized and ordained an elder by Jared Carter in 1833 in Pontiac, Michigan. After Zion's Camp, he attended the School of the Prophets. He was whipped by a mob and held prisoner by General Lucas in Far West in 1838. He was president of the Garden Grove, Iowa, station, where he died August 16, 1846. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:367–68.

52. Elijah Fordham was born in New York City on April 12, 1798. He was a lumber dealer and carpenter by profession. He married Jane Ann Fisher in 1822 and lived in Pontiac, Michigan, from 1831 to 1833. In 1837, while in New York City, he assisted the missionaries en route to Great Britain. He was miraculously healed by Joseph Smith in 1839 in Montrose, Iowa, and was appointed to the Iowa high council in 1839. He migrated to Utah in 1850 and died at Wellsville, Cache County, Utah. Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2:545.

53. Osman (also spelled Osmon or Ornan) Houghton was born October 1, 1806. His wife Aurelia was one of the few women of Zion's Camp and traveled with her husband. Osman lived in Far West and was marched to Richmond, Missouri, to be held as a prisoner without charge during the 1838 persecutions and expulsion. Osman married Mary Curtis in 1845, after the death of Aurelia. He died August 18, 1847. See Susan Easton Black, *Membership of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830–1848*, 50 vols. (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1989), 23:996–97.

54. Meacham (also spelled Mecham) Curtis traveled with his wife, Sophronia, and his brother Lyman Curtis during Zion's Camp.

55. Lyman Curtis was born January 21, 1812, in Massachusetts and was baptized in 1833 in Pontiac, Michigan. He married Charlotte Alvord, another of the volunteers from Pontiac, in February 1835. He was driven out of Far West and settled in Nauvoo. A member of the vanguard company of pioneers, he entered the Salt Lake Valley in 1847. In 1853 he served a mission to the Indians of southern Utah, and he died in Salem, Utah, on August 6, 1898. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4:689.

56. Waldo Littlefield was born May 24, 1797, at Petersburg, Rensselaer County, New York. He married Mercy Higgins in 1817. He joined the Church in 1832 and resided in Missouri and Illinois before crossing the plains to Utah. He died January 29, 1879, in Cannonville, Garfield County, Utah. Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2:566.

57. Alanson Colby was born in Vermont on May 9, 1811. According to Andrew Jenson,

he was converted to "Mormonism" in Michigan in 1834. . . . Colby passed through the persecutions in Missouri with the rest of the saints, being expelled from that state in 1839. After he had made his own escape from Missouri he went back and helped another family to remove to Illinois. After

sharing in the troubles in Illinois, he migrated to the Great Salt Lake Valley in the fall of 1848. His death occurred February 19, 1875, in Utah. (Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4:688–89)

58. Aurelia Houghton was the wife of Osman Houghton.

59. Sophronia Curtis was the wife of Meacham Curtis.

60. Some accounts of Zion's Camp err by stating that Charlotte Alvord was the mother of the four boys. In fact, Charlotte was nineteen years old and not married at the time of the march. The three boys were: George Fordham, the son of Elijah Fordham, and Josiah and Lyman Littlefield, the two sons of Waldo Littlefield. The fourth "boy" mentioned is David Dort, who was actually forty-one years of age at the time of the march. See Radke, "We Also Marched," 157.

61. George Fordham was born April 21, 1825. He married Serene Elrick in 1853. He died October 22, 1922.

62. Lyman Omer Littlefield, the second son of Waldo Littlefield and Mercy Higgins, was born November 22, 1819, at Verona, Oneida County, New York. He married Adalillne Hamblin. He was baptized in Clay County, Missouri, by Peter Whitmer and resided in Missouri and Illinois. Littlefield crossed the plains and eventually settled in Smithfield, Cache County, Utah. Lyman died September 1, 1893. Talbot, "Zion's Camp," 98; Littlefield, *Reminiscences*, 26.

63. David D. Dort was born January 6, 1793, at Surry, Cheshire County, New Hampshire. He was converted to the Church by Lucy Mack Smith in Pontiac, Michigan, in 1831. He married Mary and later Fanny Mack, both daughters of Stephen and Temperance Mack. He resided in Ohio and Missouri and was one of the first settlers in Nauvoo. He was on the high council at both Far West and Nauvoo. David died in Nauvoo, Illinois, on March 10, 1841. Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2:542.

64. Josiah Littlefield was the son of Waldo and Mercy Higgins Littlefield.

65. Hyrum Smith was born in Tunbridge, Vermont, on February 9, 1800. He married Jerusha Barden in 1826 while residing in Manchester, New York. One of the Eight Witnesses to the Book of Mormon, he was appointed Second Counselor in the First Presidency in 1837. He was imprisoned at Liberty, Missouri, with his brother Joseph and Lyman Wight in 1838–39. In Nauvoo he was appointed Patriarch and Assistant Church President in 1841. Hyrum was killed with his brother Joseph in Carthage, Illinois, in 1844. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:52.

66. Lyman Wight was born at Fairfield, New York, on May 9, 1796. He was affiliated with the Campbellites in Kirtland, Ohio, when he converted to Mormonism in 1830. He was among those driven from Jackson County, Missouri, in 1833 and was imprisoned at Liberty, Missouri, in 1838–39. A member of the Quorum of the Twelve from 1841 to 1848, he moved to Texas in 1845 and was excommunicated in 1848. He died at Mountain Valley, Texas, on March 31, 1858. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:93–96.

67. A spider is a cast-iron frying pan with a long handle.

68. The following is a contemporaneous description of the prairie in the White Pigeon area:

From Sturges Praire to White Pigeon is 13 miles, the road very fine & quite level, there are but one [or] two log homes in this distant. the road runs thro the forest on the [illegible word] of the Indian trails, of course it is very winding. there cannot be anything more delightful than the ride from Sturgis P[rairie] to W. P. thou a winding road this [is] the most beautiful nature forest I have ever seen. No underbrush at all, & the trees stately & beautiful: the road is exceedingly circuitous & reminds me of the roads which are sometimes laid out by gentlemen in their parks tho no artificial improvement can

equal this most beautiful improvement of nature. White Pigeon is a pleasant little village (at which we arrived at _ past 7 o'clock Saturday evening) situate in the centre of a extensive & beautiful prairie 6 or 7000 acres. What is a prairie? It looks like a great ocean, for there is nothing to obstruct or intercept the view except here & there a house, a perfectly level plain without a tree or bush or stone encircled in the back ground with the dense & noble forest which looks like the frame of the picture. It is a picture & it is to me a most wonderful & impressive exhibition of the works of the creator. How exquisitely beautiful O Lord are all thy works. (Trip to Illinois, July 27, 1833, Charles Butler Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.)

69. James Dunn was born June 6, 1810, and was a member of the Mormon Battalion. The "Historical Notebook" records that he died at Nauvoo. See "Zion's Camp," Historical Notebook, 1864–1872, microfilm, holograph, 74, LDS Church Archives.

70. Historians James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard write, "Rumors of imminent Mormon invasions . . . during the last week of April brought a hasty mustering of Missourians. When no invasion materialized, the Missourians vented their anger by burning the remaining Mormon houses in Jackson County." This was a further discouragement for the Saints in Liberty to return to their property and land. The word of the burning houses was passed on to Zion's Camp. James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-Day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 100.

Self-Discovery

Marilyn M. Nelson

When I was seven, I realized that I had two selves: one was the self that played and got new shoes and that people talked to. The other was inside of it, and this self mostly thought about things. It was the second self, the inner one, that fascinated me most. Where could it have come from? Had I always possessed it? I didn't remember it developing; it was just there, suddenly, like one of the mysterious bruises that were always appearing on my knees and shins. This inner self had come to my attention, it seemed, from two realizations.

The first had to do with words. I read, in kindergarten, every Hardy Boys book I could get my hands on. Nancy Drew I scorned—I thought, stubbornly, and with no sense of justice for my own sex, that she was too much of a girl to be a good detective. I read *The Chronicles of Narnia*. I also read, but where my brothers wouldn't see me, *Little House on the Prairie*, *The Secret Garden*, *A Little Princess*, and *The Boxcar Children*. My kindergarten teacher took pity on me and gave me a school library card, with strict instructions not to tell the other children. In class, I went through the motions of learning the alphabet letters: Mr. "F" has funny feet; Mr. "M" has a munchy mouth. To my annoyance, the little songs and rhymes we learned to help us with the alphabet kept up a constant hum in my subconscious. I had learned to expect this with words, though. No matter how I tried, I couldn't banish them—the sounds, the rhythms, the shapes of them—from my mind.

These are the facts of it: words slithered through my head always, and sometimes they stuck there like burrs, and sometimes they battered themselves against my consciousness like angry dogs against a fence. Some came in phrases, familiar as puzzle pieces fitting into my thoughts. They were from books, from records, from songs: *Hey, Little John! I'm all right; I've been breathing through this reed . . . The duck, played by the oboe in the very low register . . . And like a thunderbolt, he falls*. Some I did not understand, but they seemed familiar all the same. They played in my head like music—and sometimes, inexplicably, they were music. I woke up with symphonies crashing in my head, and somehow they were words and notes and rhythm all wound into one. *Shall I part my hair behind? Do I dare to eat a peach? . . . In my place, I leave Mr. Baggins . . . Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian . . . My apple trees will never get across and eat the cones under his pines, I tell him*. They wove trails and patterns in my thoughts. Looking at words,

I had to make them fit the patterns in my head, and I involuntarily arranged and rearranged words, sometimes making them meaningless, mentally adding letters, lengthening pieces of *y*'s and *m*'s, giving numeric value to symbols and making them add up until they fit into their proper puzzle-piece places in my mind. I couldn't define what made a word or a phrase fit, but I knew when one did. Later I learned about physical phenomena that were similar: membranes vibrating at a specific frequency, enzymes linking with specific body chemicals, sound waves striking at the correct angle to make echoes. This is how words were for me. They struck at my head, but only some resonated. *Goblin. Moon. Skink. Papaya. Flapjack.* They bounced back and forth, echoing.

The second realization came to my consciousness during a bike ride. I learned late to ride a bike, and so when I learned, I was dizzy with the joy of doing what I had so long wished to do. On a bike, I could push the limits of my neighborhood further. The most distant point in my world was a winding dirt road called Old Willow Lane. It nestled right up beside the mountain, flanked by a high hill on one side and an irrigation canal on the other. It was a little-used road, partly because of the potholes in it. There was always water in these potholes, and my newly acquired bicycle skills were tested every time I tried to avoid them. If you walked off the road, you'd be immediately on the hill, and you could climb up to the closest ridge and see the whole city beneath you.

There was danger on Old Willow, not just the puddles and the seclusion and the wildness of it, but snakes sometimes and cougars, too, I supposed, though I'd never actually run into one. Worst of all, there were boys who rode their dirt bikes beneath the apricot trees down by the canal—big boys, who'd throw lighted matches at you if you got in their way. It had happened to my friend Rachael on her way home from school once, in broad daylight. They called themselves the Oak Hills Vandals, and the neighborhood rippled and hummed over their exploits. Once I'd seen some of their vandalism: a bright red "OHV" spray painted on the fence by the school playground. I couldn't understand why they'd painted their symbol so flagrantly on the fence; everyone knew who they were, and the PTA was hopping mad. If I'd done it, I thought, I would have painted some letters that no one knew, a word not standing for anything, a made-up word even, and nobody would ever find out who did it. I said so to my mother, and she said that the boys wanted people to know who they were. It didn't make sense. If I were a vandal, I'd be better at it, I thought.

I suddenly realized, riding my bike past the apricot-tree lair of the Oak Hills Vandals, that I thought about things like this a lot. And this, this unexpected criminality in myself, both terrified and amazed me. At school, inside the skin of my obedient outer self, I thought secretly and rationally

about the things I could get away with because of my very goodness. My first-grade teacher, Miss White, knew she could trust me to go to the office and pick up copies for her or to take a note to another teacher. I learned from these errands. For example, I knew from watching frustrated teachers that the door to the faculty lounge would unlock if you wiggled the door-knob. I read notices on the faculty bulletin board: there will be a fire drill tomorrow; this afternoon the superintendent is dropping in. I knew from listening to loud-voiced secretaries what the code for the copy machine was. I knew which closet contained the secret trapdoor to the cellar. And as I walked dutifully down the shiny halls to do my teacher's errands, I made detailed plans about the things I could do with these bits of knowledge. Nearly all the teachers knew me, and I was always good; they wouldn't question anything I did. There were, I thought in my secret thoughts, no crimes I could not commit at school. The clarity with which I could see how I could commit them frightened me.

I plotted. At the airport, the buckle on my patent-leather shoes set off the metal detector, and the guard, assuming it was a mistake, waved me on with a bored hand. I was indignant that I wasn't even considered a threat. That night, I lay in bed devising a secret spy bomb that I could carry in my shoe and smuggle past metal detectors in foreign countries. When I was alone, I stood by the mirror and practiced looking innocent.

I amused myself by thinking up alibis for misdeeds I had never done. I thought of ways I could get away with things: Forgery? I'm only seven, officer. We don't learn cursive till next year.

I thought these things, and I did not know why I thought them, because I actually had no urge to be bad. But I did not seem to be able to stop seeing the ways I could be bad. I didn't understand it, and I wondered if it were something to feel guilty about and repent of. I hoped not, and then I did feel guilty for trying to get out of repenting.

I rode my bike past the Old Willow canal, and chills of terror crept up my arms, not just because of the boys, but because of my own thoughts. What was to stop me, I thought, from turning into a vandal myself? I seemed to be headed there already, and the thought horrified me. I could hardly see to steer around the puddles in the dirt road. Worried, I pushed my bike off the road and a little way onto the hillside. There were flowers here in spring, and, just as pretty, weeds in fall. Today I picked them in small enough bundles that I could carry them in one hand curled around my bike's handlebar, because I did not ride one-handed. Sometimes my brothers would coast gloriously along with no hands at all, but I would do no such thing. This bike riding was a perilous enough thing without devising additional dangers for it. And, curiously, the emergence of this thought brought me a sudden thrill of hope where reason had not: would a vandal,

a criminal, be scared to ride one-handed? Surely not. I was saved. Riding home, I felt like singing, happy with the intense happiness of relief. *Hey, Little John! I'm all right.*

The idea, though, had been planted. These two realizations—my secret badness and the writhing, squirming chorus of words and sounds inside my head—led me suddenly and dazzlingly to this splendid discovery of my own inner life. I did not know if everyone had this shouting, this motion of words humming inside of them, just as I did not know if everyone else thought about committing crimes. But these things were inside of me, and they were the most real things I knew. They were also uniquely my own and hidden from everyone else unless I chose to share them. It was, I realized, as if I had a cocoon of skin, and inside it I was suddenly, joyously free. I delighted in knowing that, no matter what the situation, I could have any thoughts I wanted, and no one could stop me.

This capability—and it seemed to me an extraordinary one, even if everyone possessed it—was to carry me through many a horrible situation, and it never failed to gladden me when I thought of it.

In my third-grade year, a frazzled substitute teacher assigned us to read a story in our reading book. She had been fed up with us all day; she had arrived expecting a troublesome class—we were third graders, after all—and we had done our best to live up to her expectations. Even Rachael and I, who normally felt sorry for substitutes, had stayed out late at recess to protest this teacher's clear distaste for children. We started reading time. The substitute had given up any pretense of patience and announced that she would be reading the story along with us. If anyone finished before she did, she told us, she would know they hadn't really done the reading. The class, tired from the morning's exertions, called a temporary truce and fell silent. We read.

I had discovered several years earlier that I seemed to read faster than most people. Reading over my parent's shoulders, I would finish the page and sit, bored, for several long minutes waiting for them to turn it. My brothers would exclaim, exasperated, that I had just borrowed two Hardy Boys books that morning, and I couldn't possibly be finished already and need another. But the fact was, oddly enough, that I could and did read several hundred pages in a morning. I didn't understand why anyone would take more than a day to read a book; it was much better to just finish it all in one sitting so you didn't break up the action. But I also knew instinctively that this wasn't the sort of thing one talked about, and so when I read a book with someone else, I finished the page and then waited, pretending to be ready to turn the page only when they were. Sometimes I'd even linger a bit longer on the page after the other person had finished so they wouldn't find me out. When assigned at school to read the instructions

on standardized tests and then look up, I read them three times and looked up when the person next to me did.

I read the story the substitute had assigned us, and then I quietly turned back and read it again. I played my word game idly with the title, arranging the letters until they fit the right pattern in my head. After what seemed a suitable time, I looked up.

Obviously displeased that the class was, contrary to her assumptions, being good, the substitute caught my head motion. "Are you finished?" she asked. I nodded, wishing she wouldn't talk so loud. Yes, I was finished. No need to announce it to the whole class. "There's no way you could be," she said triumphantly. I stared at her. "I'm not even to the third page," she said. "Start over, and really read it this time." I was stunned by the outrage of it. How could she? But again, remembering my inner freedom brought sudden relief. I lowered my eyes to the book, rejoicing: I did not have to read this again! I could sit here, looking at the page, and I could think what I wished! I could listen to the steady pattering of words inside my head; I could take a mental bike ride; I could think about cats or frogs. I was giddily, breathlessly happy with this realization, and I sat, nearly overwhelmed with the wonder of it, until the teacher made her deliberate way to the end of the story and I could again take my eyes from my book.

From then on, I was free even under the most tyrannical of circumstances. I delighted in the knowledge that some part of me, at least, was entirely my own. I could now and forever listen to the exultation of words in my head: *Goblin! Goblin! Goblin! . . . His going forth is as prepared as the morning . . . Wild men, who caught and sang the sun in flight . . .* It was like a psalm. I listened, fascinated, thankful.

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Courtesy LDS Church Archives

Andrew Jenson, August 2, 1910 (image cropped). This photograph was taken in Copenhagen, Denmark, while Jenson was serving as president of the Scandinavian Mission. Photograph by Emil Clausen.

Andrew Jenson Chides the Saints

Paul H. Peterson

Historian Andrew Jenson frequently reminded the Saints of their obligation to be familiar with their history and to be diligent in keeping personal as well as institutional records.

“Brother Andrew Jenson has . . . written a good many things of great value, and is continually giving his mind to the work of collating and collecting data and facts concerning Church history,” President Anthon H. Lund told Saints at general conference in October 1917. “When he [Jenson] finds a new fact or a new date that he didn’t know before, he feels as happy as the placer miner who finds a nugget of gold in the first pan that he washes out, and it is no wonder that Brother Jenson estimates the value of the Historian’s office at a million dollars!”¹

Fellow Scandinavians, close friends, and Church historian associates, Anthon Lund and Andrew Jenson had enjoyed a meaningful professional and personal relationship for over two decades. But, friendship aside, in praising Jenson’s labors on this occasion, President Lund was hardly engaging in hyperbole. Since the Restoration, no one had evidenced more interest in preserving a record of the history of the Church than did this Danish convert. Not given to synthesis, analysis, or interpretation, Jenson was an indefatigable collector of facts—simple facts, but for Jenson, essential, almost larger-than-life facts that told the story of a unique people, facts that related the unfolding of the history of God’s people in this, the last dispensation.²

Sustained as assistant Church historian in 1898, Jenson first spoke in general conference in April 1903. Beginning in 1905, he became a “regular” on the general conference rotation list, most often speaking once a year at either annual or semi-annual conference until he gave his final conference talk in 1930.

A man that clearly had little fear of the pulpit, Jenson gave conference talks that often vacillated between historical recitation and historical encouragement. When in the recitation mode, Brother Jenson inundated Saints with an avalanche of names and dates and other relevant facts related to the history of the Restoration or to the history of the migration or to the history of missions and missionary work or to the history of temple building. When in the encouragement mode, Jenson promoted the

keeping of both institutional and personal histories. As one who traveled thousands of miles to compile histories of missions, stakes, wards, and quorums, Elder Jenson knew well the importance of maintaining such records. But along with urging stakes and wards to keep “official records,” Jenson, always interested in “ordinary” people, emphasized the importance of personal diaries and personal histories.

The following sermon, given in October 1926, was the third-to-last conference talk that Jenson gave. For the most part, it is a typical Jenson talk. For example, referring to or citing from scriptural sources and then pointing out that had not historians recorded the words of Jesus or the prophets, we would be without scriptural records, was vintage Jenson; detailing the current progress of the historian’s office was, understandably, standard Jenson procedure; encouraging Saints to keep records was normal fare; even chiding the Saints for being derelict in historical matters was not an uncommon tactic. What was different about this particular address was the tone of the chastening. Never accused of not saying what he had on his mind, Elder Jenson was especially candid on this occasion as he called the Saints to repentance for their record-keeping lethargy.

The plainspoken rhetoric perhaps had to do, in part, with Jenson’s advancing age and his coming to grips with the realization that most Latter-day Saints would never take to history and record keeping as he had. While Latter-day Saints, by comparison with other communities, were diligent record keepers, few approached their tasks with the fervor of Jenson. Likely, for many Church members, the problem was as much a lack of vision as a lack of discipline. For Andrew Jenson, it seemed so obvious: membership in the Lord’s church in the final dispensation—who wouldn’t want to write about it?

Andrew Jenson, General Conference Address, October 1926³

In just three years and a half from now the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints will be one hundred years old. It has been, and is, a most remarkable organization. There never has been another one like it upon the face of the earth. We do not have to compare the Church to which we belong with any of the so-called Christian churches of today, so far as members and progress are concerned, but we can consistently compare it with other dispensations that the Lord has established upon the earth for the salvation of mankind; and particularly do we take pleasure in comparing it with the Church which was organized more than eighteen hundred years ago by the Savior himself and his apostles. We can also draw comparison between the Church to which we belong and the Church organized among the Nephites about the same time that the Church was organized in what we call the old world. But the history of the Nephite Church is very brief. And the same might be said of the history of the original Church organized in Palestine, or in Asia.

There are some comparisons that I sometimes think of. Jesus was thirty years old when he commenced to preach. Up to that time we have but very little knowledge of what he did. Joseph Smith was twenty-five years old when he, as an instrument in the hands of the Lord, organized the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in 1830. After one hundred years had passed away from the time that Christ commenced his ministry we find (by referring to the historians of that day, such as Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, the Acts of the Apostles and the writings of the historian Eusebius, who wrote the history of the first 325 years of the so-called Christian church), that there was scarcely anything left of the original church. It is a strange thing that such should be the case, but it was undoubtedly in the providence of the Lord. Before the first century of that dispensation had passed away all the apostles had been killed except John; other leaders of the church had also gone to their rest, most of them falling as martyrs to truth, for that was a time of martyrdom. John, who did not taste death, as we understand it, was the only apostle left. So, at the end of one hundred years from the time that Christ commenced his ministry in Galilee the great majority of the people who belonged to the original church had passed away, either by natural death or had fallen as martyrs, or gone into apostasy. The falling away had become so universal during the latter part of the first century of the Christian era that there was scarcely anyone to speak of left professing the true gospel of Jesus Christ when the century ended. False doctrines had been introduced into the church, and the falling away, which had been predicted by Paul and others, had indeed taken place.⁴

It is different with the dispensation to which we belong. When this Church shall be one hundred years old, the historians will be able to record that it never before was any stronger or its membership more numerous. We can easily judge the condition of the Church three years and a half hence. At the present time we can say that the Church never had so many organized stakes of Zion as it has now, and never before so many bishop's wards, nor so many missionary fields at one time; that is, if we make exception of a few temporary missions established in the early days of the Church; but, taking it all throughout, the Church to which we belong never had a more prosperous existence than it has at the present time, when we refer to the thousands of noble men and women in it. We may regret that there are some weak members, who are not as true to the gospel of Jesus Christ as they might be, but there is a sufficient number of faithful men and women, both young and old, to warrant my statement; the majority of the members of this Church would be an honor to any community. That really should prove to all that we have borne good fruit, and our actions are now being copied by many of the people of the world who have figured with organizations that have been less successful than ours has been.

It is one thing to make history, another thing to write it. If it had not been for the writers I have mentioned, who belonged to the original Church, what would the doings of Christ mean to us? We would have known next to nothing of his activities. The doctrines he taught would have been hid in mystery and conjectures. For instance, if Matthew, or some other historian, had not recorded the Sermon on the Mount, we would not have had that splendid exposition of gospel truths. And if somebody had not recorded the many other beautiful sayings of Christ and his apostles, what would we have known of the ministry of Christ and of his apostles? We would merely have had some vague ideas handed down by tradition that would lead astray more than lead aright; but because these things that are written, we have at least some knowledge of these earlier dispensations.

In our day, the first thing the Lord did after the Church to which we belong was organized with six members, in the little village of Fayette, Seneca county, New York, was to command that a Church recorder should be appointed, a man who should write down what was taking place. That man was Oliver Cowdery. He had previously assisted Joseph Smith the Prophet in translating the Book of Mormon; and now, after that sacred record had been completed and printed, his labor with the pen was continued through his appointment as the first Church recorder. Since that time we have had recorders and historians in the Church who have been more or less faithful, and more or less efficient in doing their work. Soon Oliver Cowdery was appointed to other positions in the Church, and another

man was called to be Church recorder. But as that man was not very faithful in the discharge of his duties the early history of the Church is not as complete as we would like it to be. There are certain very important dates lacking because John Whitmer did not do his duty. Nevertheless, we have sufficient to show that the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is a most complete and successful organization, and we also rejoice in the promise made that it shall never come to an end. Other dispensations have ceased to exist, but this one to which we belong will continue, and the Church shall finally grow into the Kingdom of Heaven, over which Christ shall reign as King of kings, and Lord of lords.

It requires much effort and labor to keep track of the thousands and tens of thousands of missionaries who have gone out from the headquarters of the Church to preach the gospel. We are, at the present time, engaged in making a list of them. In a few weeks we expect to complete the same, and we will then be able to state approximately how many elders, and how many missionary sisters, have been sent out from the headquarters of the Church to preach the gospel in different lands and climes. We will also have a good idea of how many people have been baptized since the Church was organized, notwithstanding the fact that many important Church records have been destroyed or lost. We will also know approximately how many branches of the Church have been organized in the different countries of the world, where our missionaries have labored. You will, perhaps, be surprised to learn that they are numbered by thousands, and you will be astonished to know that at one time there were nearly a thousand branches of the Church in Great Britain alone. We will surely have something interesting to tell the Latter-day Saints when the Church is one hundred years old.⁵

It has already taken much time and money, and also necessitated much travel, to gather material and record the events of the history of the Church from the beginning to the close of the nineteenth century. Years ago we found, at the Historian's office, that we could not locate ourselves within the walls of that little building which stood across the street from where the large Church building now stands, and there write histories of the stakes of Zion and of the different missions of the Church. We found it was necessary to go abroad, travel extensively and gather material for history in many lands and climes. Your humble servant has had the pleasure, if I may call it such, to be a globe trotter. Some people have thought that I have traveled more than necessary, but I know better than that, and am convinced that I have not traveled nearly as much as I should have done in order to become a good and reliable historian. Yet I have traveled about 490,000 miles in the interest of the Church, and I have come to the conclusion that the work accomplished could not have been done in any other way than by

going into the field for material. We have had Church recorders and historians all the time since the organization of the Church, and they have found it possible to record facts as they have been reported to headquarters from time to time; but the recorders could never make a complete history of this Church unless they go abroad, visit with the elders and saints in different parts of the world, peruse records and become acquainted geographically with the stakes of Zion and the countries of the world. Then, in connection with the reports that are sent in from year to year, they can write history, and it may be said that these reports are now better than they have been before. A complete history of this Church, in my opinion, can never be written unless that mode of procedure is followed.

We do not know what will take place in the near future; only this we believe, that great events are close at hand. But we do sincerely hope and pray for a general awakening in the interest of Church history. Sometimes, when I visit some of the stakes of Zion in the interest of history I am looked upon as a sort of Rip van Winkle, or some ancient of days, who has been asleep for twenty years, or more, and it seems as if some people are actually annoyed by it. I do not say this as a slur upon the Saints generally. This lethargy can perhaps be traced to the fact that for years only very little attention has been paid to Church history in a public way. We preach about the Word of Wisdom. Imagine what the consequence would be, if our brethren from time to time did not open their mouths to draw attention to that particular word of God.⁶ Even, after mentioning it and speaking about it repeatedly, such conditions exist as those we have had explained to us in this meeting by the brethren who have preceded me.⁷ Now, inasmuch as the importance of history has not been mentioned much of late years, the people have become careless about it, and quite frequently we hear somebody say, "We have enough to do with the present and looking out for the future; let the past alone."⁸ It may be true that the present is more important to us than the past; and yet I contend that without knowing something about the past, we do not know where we come in as elders of the Church laboring in the vineyard both at home and abroad. It is necessary for us to know how we fit in as we continue the labors commenced by Joseph Smith the Prophet and continued by Brigham Young and his successors. In Great Britain we need to know how the present missionaries fit in with the labors in earlier days by Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde, Brigham Young, Orson Pratt, Wilford Woodruff, and many others. We from Scandinavia need to know how our present missionaries fit in with the labors commenced by Erastus Snow and his fellow-laborers seventy-six years ago. Without some knowledge in regard to the past, we scarcely know where we are at. We know we belong to a great organization, but not always what our particular duties are in building upon the foundation that the heroes and heroines of this Church laid many years ago.

My message as one of the historians of this Church is this: We want cooperation; we need a general awakening in regard to the importance of record-keeping. We must become better posted in regard to the history of this Church, the most important organization of its kind that ever existed upon the face of the earth. We cannot sit still and quietly at the Historian's office and steer the great ship of Zion historically, we need the cooperation of the local authorities and the people generally. We want the stake clerks and ward clerks, and clerks of the priesthood and auxiliary organizations to stand by us. And when we send out, or go out, for information we want to examine and peruse the records that are in existence for historical material. We raise our voice against the destruction or the losing of records, and draw attention to the folly of looking upon record-books in the same light that a school boy looks upon his copy book—when it is written full it is of no further use. The records of a ward or quorum are entirely different from that. A blank book is worth nothing to the historian, but being filled with records it is, in many instances, worth its weight in gold. We would, therefore, earnestly insist that the brethren and sisters in charge of records, or even private journals, do not destroy them or lose them. The time will surely come when they will be wanted. Probably much that is in them may be mere chaff, that never will be worth copying, but there will always be something found in these records that will be of use to the historian. I cannot remember that I ever in my life have perused a record book of any kind—and I have perused thousands of them—but what I have found something in it of historical importance.⁹

Now, brethren and sisters, let us wake up to a realization of the fact, that there is something of vital importance for us to know in the past, as well as in the present and the future. I speak as one who has devoted almost his entire life in the historical field, and who for many years has endeavored to draw attention to the fact that the writing of history is the next thing to making it. May God bless us and enable us to be faithful and diligent in discharging the duties pertaining to our respective callings in the service of God, I sincerely pray in the name of Jesus Christ. Amen.

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1. Anthon H. Lund, in *Eighty-Eighth Semiannual Conference of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1917), 12.

2. Relevant sources examining Jenson's life and historical contributions include Davis Bitton and Leonard J. Arrington, *Mormons and Their Historians* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1988), 41–55; Keith W. Perkins, "Andrew Jenson: Zealous Chronologist" (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1974); and Louis Reinwand, "Andrew Jenson, Latter-day Saint Historian," *BYU Studies* 14, no. 1 (1973): 29–46.

3. Andrew Jenson, in *Ninety-Seventh Semiannual Conference of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1926), 54–59.

4. Jenson had compared the restored Church with the original Church in a slightly more penetrating manner in an earlier general conference. See Andrew Jenson, in *Ninetieth Semiannual Conference of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1920), 66–67.

5. Jenson was able to deliver on the first part of this promise—identifying the number of missionaries—in the following April 1927 general conference. In his sermon on that occasion, after providing a detailed history of Latter-day Saint missionary work, he indicated that from the time of the organization of the Church until the close of the year 1926, 35,275 members had left Church headquarters to serve missions. But, Jenson added, if mission-field converts who were ordained to the ministry and proselyted in their native lands were added to that number, the total would be over 70,000. See Andrew Jenson, in *Ninety-Seventh Annual Conference of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1927), 71.

6. As an elderly, third-generation Latter-day Saint, Jenson was aware of the emphasis presiding Church authorities had given the Word of Wisdom over the years. In 1866 the fifteen-year-old Jenson migrated with his family to Utah—about the same time President Brigham Young began to stress Word of Wisdom observance with increasing frequency. From that period forward, Church leaders had alternately plead, cajoled, and threatened noncompliant Church members about Word of Wisdom lapses. Presidents Joseph F. Smith and Heber J. Grant were especially vocal in their emphasis that Word of Wisdom abstinence was a gospel requirement. See Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890–1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 258–71; and Paul H. Peterson, "An Historical Analysis of the Word of Wisdom" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1972).

7. The "brethren" who preceded Jenson in this general conference and who commented in one way or another on the importance of Word of Wisdom observance included President Heber J. Grant, who gave a lengthy talk on the revelation; Presiding Bishopric Counselor, David A. Smith; and M. Howard Randall, president of the Morgan [Utah] Stake. After Jenson spoke, Rey L. Pratt of the First Council of Seventy and Elders David O. McKay and Joseph Fielding Smith of the Quorum of the Twelve advanced Word of Wisdom themes. Elder McKay's talk was a major address on how tobacco stained human character. Altogether seven different general or local authorities broached the Word of Wisdom during October Conference of 1926, hardly an atypical approach or pattern during the Joseph F. Smith and Heber J. Grant administrations.

8. Jenson's analogy, suggesting that both Word of Wisdom observance and dutiful record keeping suffered unless the Brethren continually reminded the Saints of such responsibilities, is interesting but misleading. Keeping both institutional and personal records was never emphasized to the extent that Word of Wisdom observance was. Indeed, Andrew Jenson, by a considerable margin, was the foremost promoter (and for much of the time, the only consistent advocate) of record keeping during these years.

9. Were Jenson alive today, he would likely be disappointed that many local stake, ward, and quorum records are no longer kept. In 1973 local Church units were informed

it would no longer be necessary to send priesthood quorum and auxiliary minute records to the Historical Division for record-keeping purposes. The rationale behind this First Presidency circular letter was that “Church growth and the concurrent growth in the volume of records kept by units of the Church necessitate a modification in record-keeping procedures.” Four years later in 1977, it was determined that stake, district, ward, and branch meeting minutes need not be forwarded to Salt Lake City for permanent storage. In 1984 the First Presidency indicated that wards and branches were no longer required to “prepare a Historical Record to be sent to Church headquarters or the area office.” Stake, district, and mission historical records (which presumably included notable ward or branch events) were retained. See First Presidency letters to Stake, Mission, and District Presidents, Bishops and Branch Presidents, August 20, 1973; November 23, 1977; and April 2, 1984, Archives Division, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah. In all these letters, while reducing the number of records to be forwarded, the Brethren continued to assert the importance of keeping faithful institutional and personal histories. Obviously, electronic record keeping, which clearly will minimize storage and space considerations, and recent directives for concerted record keeping at the stake level offer intriguing possibilities for the creation and retention of important records in the future.



Courtesy Norma Grace Litchfield Smith, Raymond, Alberta, Canada

Fig. 1. Crowd at Alberta Temple site dedication, July 27, 1913, Henson Photo. This image has been computer enhanced to eliminate some damage to the right side of the original photograph.

New Photographs of the Alberta Canada Temple Site Dedication, 1913

Richard Neitzel Holzapfel

President Joseph F. Smith and a group of other LDS Church leaders, family, and friends left Salt Lake City on July 23, 1913, for Canada. During their visit, President Smith dedicated the site for the Cardston Temple, the first LDS temple outside the United States. President Smith's stay in the Mormon settlement of Cardston, Alberta, Canada, was captured in a series of photographs recently discovered in Canada.

Provenance of the Photographs

The first collection was found in the possession of Norma Grace Litchfield Smith (see fig. 1 for one of the images in this collection).¹ The collection's eight images are mounted on a black board measuring 19³/₄ inches by 15³/₄ inches.² The black board, identified as "Souvenir of Cardston Temple Site Dedication," was copyrighted by the Arthur T. Henson Photo Studio in 1913.³

A second collection of photographs, located at the University of Utah (see fig. 2 for one of the images from this collection), was originally identified as taken at the time of the dedication of the Cardston Alberta Tabernacle.⁴ The recent discovery of the photographs in Canada and subsequent research has demonstrated beyond a reasonable doubt that these two collections of images both derive from the dedication of the temple site.

Historical Context of the Photographs

A large contingent of LDS Church members from southern Alberta, a group estimated at being between 1,500 and 2,000, attended services held in the Alberta Stake Tabernacle on the Temple Block on July 27, 1913. Three meetings were held in the tabernacle itself, and following the afternoon meeting, another was held outside at the actual site dedication.

Like most photographs taken by a particular studio, the actual photographer of these historic images is unknown, even though they are copyrighted by Henson Photo Studio. Arthur T. Henson, the owner of the Henson Photo Studio, wrote in his autobiography, "I was made Stake Organist for the Alberta Stake. . . . During this time the land for the new Cardston Temple was selected and I was given the assignment of leading the singing of

the dedication of the site by Pres. Joseph F. Smith.”⁵ Henson’s assignment makes it likely that someone else working for him took the photographs.

Apparently, local LDS Church leaders asked all the young Sunday School children to attend the services specially dressed, as seen in the view of the crowd at the dedications (see fig. 1). This fact was verified by Alma C. Hanson, who as a young woman was present at the services. At 102 years of age, she recalled in August 1999, “When we met in the Tabernacle, all the Sunday School children were dressed in white.”⁶ She added, “We were all so thrilled. Quite a solemn occasion—a wonderful occasion.”⁷ Olive Wood Nielson, seven years old at the time, similarly recalled being present in the meeting dressed in white: “It was a happy day. A special day.”⁸ Both women played a significant role in verifying or identifying individuals in the photographs and confirming the historical setting of the images themselves.

The Alberta Stake president, Edward J. Wood, recorded his feelings on the occasion in this diary entry: “The Great Day for Canada—the greatest day in our history. The day our Temple site was dedicated. We had 1329 at our 10 A.M. meeting. President Smith, President [Charles W.] Penrose, Bishop [Charles W.] Nibley and Geo. A. [Albert] Smith, all spoke well and the music was excellent.”⁹

President Wood also described the actual site dedication:

We all went to the Temple site and never did I attend an out door meeting like it. We formed a hollow square—sang We Thank Thee Oh God for a prophet—Geo. Albert Smith offered prayer—We sang “O Ye Mountains High” and Pres. Smith offered the dedicatory prayer, which was inspired indeed. Bishop Nibley spoke well and took a vote from the hundreds present. We sang “Our God We Raise to Thee” and closing prayer offered by Pres. Penrose.¹⁰

The Cardston Globe expanded beyond President Wood’s diary entry:

At the conclusion of the [afternoon] services, the officials and members accompanied by the choir, proceeded to the site of the [dedication] . . . for the erection of the \$250,000 temple, which is to be built just west of the present tabernacle. The services were opened by the choir and congregation singing a hymn, and prayer was offered by Pres. Penrose. Pres. Smith then led in prayer, officially dedicating the land to its holy purpose, and giving his blessing to the Alberta Stake of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Bishop Nibley, delivered a short address, stating that the Church was taking a step which would mark an epoch in the history of Mormonism in Canada. The services were concluded with a short prayer by Apostle Geo. A. Smith, and an appropriate hymn by the choir.¹¹

Conclusion

The Henson Photo Studio in Cardston took several photographs at the dedication. These rare photographs preserve a visual record of an important moment in Church history. The event, wrote President Wood, “was

indeed a red letter day for the Church in Canada,” for it was the day when the site for the “only L.D.S. Temple in the British Empire” was dedicated.¹²

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1. Norma Grace Litchfield Smith obtained the collection of photographs in 1997 from Ruth Minor Fromm, who found them that year in her deceased husband’s photographic collection. Moses Fromm was a photographer in the Cardston area for a number of years. I recently donated these photographs, with the consent of Norma Grace Litchfield Smith, to the Archive Division, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah; hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives.

2. The other photographs, in addition to figure 1, attached to the “Souvenir of Cardston Temple Site Dedication” board are labeled as follows: “Cardston Temple Photo Taken from the Official Plans,” “Pres. Jos. F. Smith,” “Pres. Smith Speaking in the Tabernacle, July 27, 1913,” “Pres. Smith and Party at the Conclusion of Dedicatory Services on the Temple Site,” “1st Councillor Thos Duce,” “Pres. Ed J. Wood,” and “2nd Councillor Sterling Williams.” Originally, there was an additional mounted photograph, now missing, identified as “Cardston Tabernacle,” making a total of nine photographs originally on the board. A small photographic copy of “Souvenir of Cardston Temple Site” is found in Card Pioneer Home, located at 337 Main Street, Cardston, Alberta, Canada. A comparison between this copy and the original large “souvenir” board shows the missing image on the board to be one identified as opening of Tabernacle, Cardston, taken on May 18, 1912.

3. Arthur Thomas Henson (1888–1985) purchased the Jake Scott Photo Studio in 1904 and continued his photographic business in Cardston during the next eleven years except while serving an LDS mission to England from 1910 to 1912. He eventually moved to southern California, where he died in 1985. Like many other professional photographers at the time, Henson probably used employees to help him with his work, so it is not always possible to identify the specific individual responsible for the photographic work. Another photographer in the area was John Francis Atterton (1875–1966), who may have worked for Henson part time. Atterton came to Raymond, Alberta, Canada, around 1912 and was active in taking photographs during this period. He purchased Henson’s studio in 1916.

4. George Albert Smith Collection (P 0036), numbers 150–58, Manuscripts Division, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City.

5. Arthur Thomas Henson, “History of Arthur Thomas Henson,” typescript, microfilm, 2, Albert Henson Collection, 1885–1977, LDS Church Archives.

6. Alma Coombs Hanson, interview by Jeni Broberg Holzapfel and Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, August 7, 1998, Cardston, Alberta, Canada.

7. Hanson, interview.

8. Olive Wood Nielson, interview by Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, August 9, 1999, Cody, Wyoming.

9. Edward J. Wood, Diary, microfilm, holograph, July 27, 1913, Edward James Wood Collection, 1866–1956, LDS Church Archives; underlining in original.

10. Wood, Diary, July 27, 1913.

11. “Site of New Temple Dedicated, by President Joseph F. Smith,” *Cardston (Alberta) Globe*, August 1, 1913, 1.

12. Edward J. Wood, “Years Together, 1892–1952,” typescript, microfilm, 7, LDS Church Archives.



Courtesy Manuscripts Division, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah

Fig. 2. President Joseph F. Smith following the site dedication, July 27, 1913, Henson Photo. Front from left: unknown woman (partial view), Silas S. Smith, Joseph F. Smith, Royal G. Smith (holding hands with his father), Zina Card Young, Amy L. Allen, Henry L. Hinman, Nancy Ross Steed, Joseph E. Steed, and unidentified man (slightly blurred). Behind Royal G. Smith are two women: to the left is Pearl C. Card and to the right is Joseph F. Smith's wife Mary S. Smith (mother of Silas and Royal).

Book Reviews

RONALD W. WALKER, foreword by Jan Shipps. *Wayward Saints: The Godbeites and Brigham Young*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998. 399 pp. Illustrations, bibliography, notes, index. Hardback, \$49.95; paperback, \$25.00.

Reviewed by Dean L. May

The Godbeites were a group of Mormon dissenters, mostly of British birth, who in the 1870s took strong exception to the communal economic policies of Brigham Young and other leaders of the Church. So outspoken was their criticism that most were eventually excommunicated, several after becoming attached to Spiritualism. This belief apparently served as a surrogate for the excitement and zeal that they had experienced as new converts to Mormonism in Britain but that they lost in the workaday world of life in Utah's Zion.

Ronald Walker's study is principally a collective biography of the most prominent Godbeites: William S. Godbe, after whom the movement was named; E. L. T. Harrison; Edward W. Tullidge; Fanny and Thomas Stenhouse; Amasa M. Lyman; Henry W. Lawrence; and Eli B. Kelsey. This was not a clique of inconsequential cranks. In 1864, Tullidge and Harrison founded the first literary journal in the region, *Peep O'Day*. Starting in 1868, Godbe and Harrison published the *Utah Magazine*, and the next year founded the *Mormon Tribune*, which evolved into the *Salt Lake Tribune*. T. B. H. Stenhouse published *Rocky Mountain Saints* in 1873 and in 1874 *Tell it All*, the expose of Mormonism by his wife, Fanny. As a group, the Godbeites were extraordinarily accomplished in merchandising, writing, and publishing—certainly well placed among the intellectual and entrepreneurial elites of Utah in their day.

Thus Walker's study becomes much more than a collective biography. It provides a fascinating perspective on a critical decade in early Utah history, when the aging Brigham Young sought to complete the mission he had taken upon himself to fulfill Joseph Smith's agenda. Brigham's clear aim in the last decade of his life was to set the Church on a trajectory that would extend Joseph's agenda into the future in spite of the distractions that the railroad, mining, and federal antipolygamy laws would bring. In exploring the period through the lives of the Godbeites, Walker offers us a thoughtful and empathetic description of Utah's "high-noon" standoff between Brigham Young and the dissenters. Integral to that description is

Walker's exploration into the process by which an earnest group of Mormons began to question their faith, to seek for alternative spiritual underpinnings for their lives, and ultimately to move towards a resolution of stoic resignation—an aspiritual end to a remarkable spiritual journey.

Their movement began modestly enough, with these prominent merchants, who had long been working in a relatively laissez-faire economy, coming out in opposition to Brigham Young's efforts, started in the mid-1860s, to restructure Utah's economy along more communal lines. Walker sees the fundamental rift as arising from two opposite models of the appropriate character of economic life: an atavistic New England view that admitted central control for communal good, held by President Young; and a capitalistic, individualistic view, held by the British converts and arising from newly industrializing Britain. As the Godbeites became increasingly strident and open in their opposition to Brigham's policies, however, they seemed drawn to seek a spiritual foundation for their opposition, which they found in the currently popular enthusiasm for Spiritualism—communion with the dead through the agency of a human “medium.”

During a trip to New York City in the fall of 1868, Godbe and Harrison consulted a medium, probably the renowned Charles H. Foster. Their medium claimed to call up the spirit of Heber C. Kimball, one of Brigham Young's closest friends and his counselor in the First Presidency of the Church, who had died that June. In a series of seances, they received counsel and comfort from the voice of Heber C. Kimball and went on to receive subsequent revelations—some of which they recorded—from Joseph Smith Jr.; the ancient Apostles Peter, James, and John; the great German savant Alexander von Humboldt; Solomon; and even Jesus Christ. The messages they claimed to have received confirmed them in their stance against Brigham Young. They affirmed that the beginnings of Mormonism were divine and that even President Young had been an instrument of spiritual powers in helping to gather an “inspirational” people, now prepared to receive further light through Spiritualism. Godbe and Harrison thus found themselves at the vanguard of a “New Movement” that supposedly would help Mormonism achieve its full potential as an agent of human progress.

Returning to Salt Lake, the dissenters refurbished their ailing *Utah Magazine* and began, at first subtly, to lay the groundwork for the New Movement. While opposing Brigham's economic policies, they also argued that there was a great need for the counsel of “the great spiritual and intellectual ones who have for over six thousand years been passing away and studying the divine science in higher realms” (151). Angered, Brigham Young forced the issue by calling Harrison on a proselytizing mission. Harrison's refusal to accept the call was accompanied by a direct attack against Brigham in the *Utah Magazine*. Brigham responded by convening a

Church court that excommunicated Godbe and Harrison. Undaunted, the two forged ahead in angry opposition to the Church President, and one by one, close friends and associates followed their lead, some in a quietly philosophical mode, others in bitter opposition to the whole world of Mormonism. Though their commitment to Spiritualism and the New Movement eventually waned, most remained estranged from Mormonism. Some lived out their lives in Utah, and a few, such as Godbe, eventually regained status and respect in the Mormon world. Only three, William Shearman, Edward Tullidge, and Charlotte Ives Godbe, returned as active, believing members of the Church.

So what had their movement accomplished? Walker notes that Utah of the late 1870s was dramatically changed from that of the '60s. Rampant commercialism was in force, along with full-blown development of mines and mining, extensive railroad building, and much greater integration into the national economy. In effect, the economic policies this group urged were eventually realized and came to be acceptable to Brigham Young's successors. Their dissent certainly encouraged these developments. Still, it would be a stretch to see them as principal agents of such change. The broader economic forces at work were inexorable and would have happened whether the Godbeite protest had taken place or not. Their resistance was hailed by some as courageous and farsighted, but one cannot help but see their subsequent lives as diminished and narrowed, deprived of the social context and of the energy and commitment that their conversion had engendered and that they hoped in vain through the New Movement to recapture. In some senses, their story reads like a Greek tragedy.

Walker skillfully interweaves his accounting of their lives, providing a narrative that is informative, engaging, and compelling. His study is impeccably researched, thoughtfully conceptualized, and brightly written, making it not just a recitation of the chronology of the Godbeite journey, but also a vehicle for thoughtful consideration of the meaning and place of faith, its power and its limits in our lives.

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CHRISTIAN GELLINEK. *Christus in Amerika? Mormonentum als christliche Religion in vergleichender Kirchengeschichte*. Münster, Germany: agenda Verlag, 1999. 150 pp. Foreword, introduction, bibliography. Paperback, 24.80 DM (\$10.00 from BYU Studies).

Reviewed by Richard D. Hacken

A graphic on the cover of this German paperback juxtaposes the face of the Statue of Liberty with an image of Thorvaldsen's sculpture *Christus*. The title translates as "*Christ in America? Mormonism as a Christian Religion in Comparative Ecclesiastical History*." On closer reading, we realize that the question forming the first part of the title (*Christ in America?*) is not asked with the incredulity and indignation we might expect in a European exposé of *yet another sect*. It is posed with the positively charged curiosity of an author writing for a society that often understands theological differences in geographical terms. In that sense—and with alternate sociohistorical, philosophical, and figurative approaches to the central question—the author is able to give a positive answer. Going beyond the obvious and welcome reference in the subtitle to the LDS Church as a Christian religion, in his final summation he calls the Church "a powerful pacesetter of Christianity on its path to illumination" (141).

The author who came to this unusual conclusion—certainly unusual for a non-Mormon German critic—has a remarkable interdisciplinary background that includes training in civil and ecclesiastical law at Göttingen and a Ph.D. in German from Yale. He has taught at various institutions in Germany, Switzerland, Poland, Canada, and the United States in disciplines as far-ranging as Latin, medieval German literature, comparative urban history, peace research, and migration studies. He is well known for his biography of Hugo Grotius; in fact, he states in the foreword that only by studying the literary elements of Grotius's elegant jurisprudence and theology was he able to make ecclesiastical parallels to the standard works of Mormonism.

After living well over two decades in the United States, and spending the fall 1998 semester at Brigham Young University as a visiting professor, Professor Emeritus Gellinek demonstrates a fair-minded openness to the concept of contemporary revelatory religion. He has gained a perspective on the Mormon Church that is distinctly different from the general understanding (and misunderstanding) in his native Germany. The stated purpose of his book is to help clear away misconceptions and clichés about Mormonism for well-educated people in the German-speaking world. To this end, there is a balanced bibliography (142–46) listing literature in German, Dutch, and English that ranges from the standard works and

Dean Jessee's *The Papers of Joseph Smith* to a recent Swiss-German title that compares the Church to a cancerous tumor.

Although they are not the target audience for *Christus in Amerika*, LDS members who know both German and their own religion well will find certain accent shifts that may offer new and refreshing insights. One is the aforementioned affinity to Hugo Grotius, the father of international law. In an anthropological treatise of 1642, *De Origine Gentium Americanarum Dissertatio*, Grotius allegedly postulated that emigrants from the House of Israel had populated the Americas: one group among them, the "Nephtalitae," practiced circumcision and polygamy—as Grotius claimed to the derision of his contemporaries (72–73). Another forerunner of the Restoration, William Penn, published a little-known pamphlet in 1674 entitled *Urim and Thummim* (65–67). Also of interest is a short section on posthumously published sociological commentaries of Max Weber with regard to the Mormons (136–37). One example is Weber's refutation of sociology's capacity as a science to comment on the authenticity of the Book of Mormon.

The structural progression of the monograph leads through five stages: (1) Church history in the broader ecclesiastical context; (2) Mormon migration and settlement history; (3) processes of change in the LDS Church; (4) biographical vignettes of the Church founders; and (5) comparisons and summary. It is an ambitious project for a book of under 150 pages, and some "major peaks" (the author's own metaphorical formulation, see p. 127) are understandably brought into view more distinctly than are secondary summits. The third chapter ("Turning Points and Continuity in LDS Church History") and the fourth ("The Founding Personalities and Their Comparative Accomplishments for Mormon Society") are the most detailed, together taking up half of the book. This reviewer would have appreciated more depth in the areas of comparison and summation.

Yet Gellinek's analytical distillations can suggest a great deal with very few words. One example is his categorization of the first five Presidents of the Church: President Smith (bearing of spirit); President Young (pragmatism); President Taylor (rigor); President Woodruff (art of transition); and President Snow (openness to the world). On a stewardship spectrum from spirit to matter, he theorizes that Presidents Smith and Taylor were of one "human type," Presidents Young and Woodruff of another, with President Snow in between (127). While some might argue that these varying prophetic "types" only manifested themselves in the face of changing historical needs and circumstances, this theory does provide some mental nougat.

Quite foreign to LDS sensibilities—but not without a certain attraction—is a discussion of the Book of Mormon and other standard works in

traditional Christian terms of “apocrypha” and “canon.” The Mormon canon is not a “hermetically sealed” one, Gellinek finally concludes, but “a living [*lebendig*] mediated message” (20). His occasional references to LDS teachings as “dogma” are likewise not meant in a pejorative sense: a major part of his ecclesiastical comparison contrasts “permanent Calvinistic dogmatic burdens” to the doctrinal “alleviations” offered by Mormonism (134–35).

It is rejuvenating to be reminded by an outside observer—as we are here in the careful and objectively erudite scholarship of *Christus in Amerika*—that the seeming simplicity of spiritual truths may, on closer examination, possess an unappreciated profundity.

[Copies of this book may be obtained inexpensively from BYU Studies—Ed.]

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ARTHUR HENRY KING. *Arm the Children: Faith's Response to a Violent World*. Provo, Utah: BYU Studies, 1998. xxiii; 347 pp. Appendix, index. \$21.95.

Reviewed by Terrance D. Olson

The first precept I heard from the lips of Arthur Henry King was that an author is revealed by his work. Attitudes, prejudices, morality, commitments—all are unfolded in the works of any given author. At the very least, this expanded and edited volume, which draws upon Arthur Henry King's earlier work, *The Abundance of the Heart*,¹ reveals the man without being overtly autobiographical. Yet even his name unfolds key points of his academic and personal history. Arthur, a king, a legend; Henry the King, echoes of Shakespeare. As a Shakespearean scholar, he was unmatched. If this work reveals the man, he was a man of firm convictions, of great humility, and of guilelessness. He made the historical, the cultural, the philosophical accessible. In this book, this convert to the LDS faith affirms the life-changing experience of finding the Restoration of the gospel and then draws upon the understanding brought by it to recast the meaning of academic inquiry, tradition, judgment, language, education, effective writing, and wholeness. King—perhaps best described here as Brother Arthur Henry King—reveals how relentlessly transforming the fact of the Restoration is. His work invites the reader to see everything as measured by the gospel of Jesus Christ, whether the simplest issues of everyday life or the larger themes permeating a culture. The work prompts reflection and renewal after it has been devoured.

King's conversion story sets the stage—in both personal history and testimony—for the credibility of the rest of the chapters. His was not a life that skimmed the surface nor waded in shallow water. His reaction to academic life prior to his conversion, his finding so many ideas and approaches wanting, parallels the spiritual quest of a C. S. Lewis. He offers quick summaries of situations and contexts in order to get to the point that the world needed a restoration of religious truth. For example, upon arrival at Cambridge, he found “a generation trying to make the experience of literature and the other arts a substitute for religion” (30). But they cannot replace religion because of the difference between science and religion: “the ideas we have about the physical universe change; it is the moral and religious truths that are permanent” (31). He found that “modern world culture has socially denied the virtue of the individual; it is reducing human beings to a mechanism; it has allowed power to proliferate without control; and it has also allowed moral behavior to decline without control” (60). In other words, without the Restoration, confusion is abundant; with the Restoration, wholeness is possible.

King also offers generalizations that serve as both starting points and conclusions regarding issues and answers, principles and practices:

Today, we are living in a world that, having gone down from religious principles, is looking for an escape. That is why we have drugs and gambling. . . . They are a substitute. They are a means of being able to endure a life that is unendurable outside the gospel. My own experience is that life is unendurable outside the gospel. That is the kind of thing that we have to get home to our young people. (63)

It is not possible to live at the level that the Lord requires except through religion. Leave a society to act on the moral level, and it will decline, as society in the West during the last two hundred years has declined. (145)

In spite of criticizing many aspects of modern culture and of contemporary academic life, King has not abandoned the world. He seeks to sound the trumpet of alarm with clarity. He knows that we came to earth to do God's will and that it is possible to do so. But the opposition to the simplicity of truth is everywhere. We are to address this world gone awry, then correct it and revise it. Consequently, King uses current issues to illustrate his vision of how the world should and could be, if only we would be true. Gospel obedience, knowledge, and understanding relate to patriotism, friendship, identity in a tradition, language and rhetoric, literature, education, writing, and family history. Children deserve to be armed with this understanding, lest they become "of the world."

President Gordon B. Hinckley recently defended the Church's involvement in educational institutions such as BYU and Ricks College by explaining that while we can't help everyone receive an education at a Church school, the value of the enterprise justifies the Church helping as many as possible.² Some had wondered whether it matters that we help anyone at all. Arthur Henry King's general assessment of universities affirms the need:

I have been a member of several universities, and I have visited some two hundred. And I can assure you that the outstanding feature of the faculty of universities is an extraordinary immaturity that springs from self-regard, the praise given by others, arrogance, the belief in one's own powers—any of these things will bring it about. It is more difficult to grow up when one is clever. (272)

In contrast, King offers a foundation for "The Idea of a Mormon University" (271):

On the other hand, there is the Mormon tradition. For us, all learning is for God's sake, not for its own sake. As soon as we speak of learning for its own sake, we set up learning as an idol independent of God. The Mormon tradition is supremely one of work, work for the Lord and others—service. Work is the second great virtue. Caring or love is the first, and work should spring from caring. The object of a Mormon university must be to build the

kingdom of God, to serve the Church in the full sense of what that implies. Because we believe in the Church, because we believe it to be the most important organization on this earth, because we believe it to be the instrument of God's will, because we believe that Christ is its head, we must therefore believe that any organization that the Church sets up must finally and ultimately serve the Church. We are servants in that full sense of the word as it is used in the New Testament. (273)

King's philosophy is resonant with President Hinckley's affirmation of the value of a Church education.

King's statement of how a Church university should be founded on the mission of the Church is then used by King to suggest that BYU, for all the good it does, has not arrived. King suggests the BYU community has work to do if it is to be true to the purposes for which it was founded and if it is to fulfill the goal of offering an education in the Restoration to as many as can be helped.

This book is encyclopedic in its organization, which is logical, given that it is a presentation of thoughts given at various times and in diverse settings. But the editors have honed an offering that is consistent in tone, focus, and purpose. That is, the reader could take a topic, almost at random, and by reading the chosen chapter be exposed to the fundamentals essential to understanding the issues of that topic. The ideas are rigorous and elegant. However, the two crucial chapters, for those who want a springboard for understanding the whole of the book, are the first chapter and the story of King's conversion, for they provide a map to understand where the author is coming from—or more directly, “a reason for the hope that is in [him]” (JST 1 Peter 3:15).

Finally, I have reflected on whom this book is for. “Arm the children” sounds like a call to parents and teachers—but it is neither a parenting book nor an educational handbook. “Faith's response to a violent world” suggests it is a manual on turning principles into practices. But it is not a book which brandishes skill-building or gaining knowledge as a means of making one's way in the world. The depth and breadth of the book is that it is an expression of a man whose way of being in the world unfolds by his reflections on how the restored gospel transforms the meaning of everyday life and of our grand purposes here. Our salvation and our happiness hinge on being persons of commitment to light and truth. The world seems constantly to offer counterfeits to that light. The pure hearted can tell the difference. When those seeking to be pure in heart raise children, teach in homes and schools, are administrators in organizations, or seek to understand art, literature, or language, they see possibilities and understandings to which the worldly are blind. Arthur Henry King offers a light which helps illuminate. One measure of his success is that by the end of the book

the reader discovers he or she has been turned not to the author, but to Christ; not to procedures, policies, or rules, but to the grand invitation to see earthly experience by being in the Restoration.

[We regret to note the departure of Arthur Henry King from this world on January 15, 2000—Ed.]

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1. Arthur Henry King, *The Abundance of the Heart* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1986).
2. Gordon B. Hinckley, "Why We Do Some of the Things We Do," *Ensign* 29 (November 1999): 52–53.

Brief Notices

From Jerusalem to Zarahemla: Literary and Historical Studies of the Book of Mormon, by S. Kent Brown (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1999)

The ten scholarly studies collected in this volume represent a harvest of almost two decades of close and careful reading of the Book of Mormon. In these studies, Kent Brown draws on his training and experience in biblical studies, applying methodologies long used in the reading of biblical texts to the texts of the Book of Mormon with surprising and satisfying results. He asks questions of the Book of Mormon and finds that the text often contains much evidence that has previously been overlooked. The answers Brown finds are always insightful.

Six of the studies were previously published in various places and appear here significantly revised with updated bibliographies. These include a discussion of Lehi's record; the now-classic study of the Exodus pattern in the Book of Mormon; a study of six elements of Alma's conversion story, traceable throughout his sermons; the identification and analysis of prophetic lament forms in the words of Samuel the Lamanite; an article on Jesus' visit to the Americas; and a comparison of Moses and Jesus. Readers will appreciate having these articles together in one volume.

The four new studies will undoubtedly lead to further discussion. Readers of the Book of Mormon will find here new and sometimes unexpected insights about important issues: the nature of the sacrifices offered by Lehi in the wilderness, why Nephi chose to include Isaiah in his writings, the possible legal aspects of the abducted Lamanite daughters in Mosiah 20, and the meaning of the terms "sojourn," "dwell," and "stay" in relation

to Lehi's journey in the wilderness. For example, through a detailed word study of the pertinent terms used in 1 Nephi, Brown comes to the surprising conclusion that Lehi and his family experienced a "period of servility" (59) in their experience in the wilderness. Such studies raise a very important issue regarding the proper usage of Hebrew word studies in Book of Mormon scholarship. Some readers may disagree with Brown's conclusions in this study, but then again, they might not ever read this section in the same way again.

This collection deserves careful attention. As described by the author, these studies "set out the dimensions and complexities of the Book of Mormon record" without being "attempts to finalize what can or cannot be known about a subject" (x). They invite us to read the Book of Mormon more closely, and they provide useful models for future scholarly work in Book of Mormon studies.

—David R. Seely

A Lively Hope: The Suffering, Death, Resurrection, and Exaltation of Jesus Christ, by Richard Neitzel Holzapfel (Bookcraft, 1999)

A Lively Hope might be called a meditation on the death and resurrection of Christ based on the text of the four Gospels. Though not exactly a commentary, the volume nevertheless follows the commentary format: the work is divided neatly in two—the first half considers the Passion narratives, the second, the Resurrection narratives. Holzapfel discusses each Gospel separately but avoids repetition by treating major subjects only once, referring from the other narratives to the main discussion. In addition, after an

introductory summary of the development of Gospel harmonization and canonization, Holzapfel, a member of the Brigham Young University religion faculty, makes an eloquent argument for studying and evaluating each Gospel on its own merit rather than attempting to harmonize or build a parallel structure; therefore, the structure of his book is neither a harmony nor a parallel (4–6).

A notable strength of this book is its treatment of the original Greek of the Gospels. The original language of the text often has bearing on Holzapfel's understanding of the scripture. He is also often sympathetic with modern biblical textual criticism (rather than suspicious of it as is sometimes the case with LDS biblical scholarship), and he frequently shows how LDS belief and non-LDS biblical criticism may be compatible or at least not mutually exclusive. For example, he notes that the most reliable early manuscripts of Mark do not include 16:9–20, and therefore current scholarship generally does not accept these verses as part of the text. However, he points out that such a conclusion should not *per se* cause difficulties with Latter-day Saints, who believe the Bible to be the word of God only as far as it is translated correctly, leaving open the possibility of incorrect transmission of the text (170). He is also not afraid to challenge accepted beliefs, as when he debates the claim that the trial of Jesus was illegal (44–45).

Holzapfel is known for his books of photographs of Church history sites. While *A Lively Hope* has only one illustration, the text itself contains wonderfully visual descriptions of the geography of the Holy Land. Particularly noteworthy is the description of Christ's route to Gethsemane (133–34).

The discussion of the Resurrection narratives is the weakest section, with only a few pages devoted to each Gospel. The work is also somewhat marred by typographical errors and the repetition of phrases, which may be attributed to

an apparent lack of copyediting. Nevertheless, Holzapfel has written an enjoyable and thought-provoking book—one that is to be recommended.

—Robert L. Maxwell

New Genesis, a Mormon Reader on Land and Community, edited by Terry Tempest Williams, William B. Smart, and Gibbs Smith (Gibbs Smith, 1998)

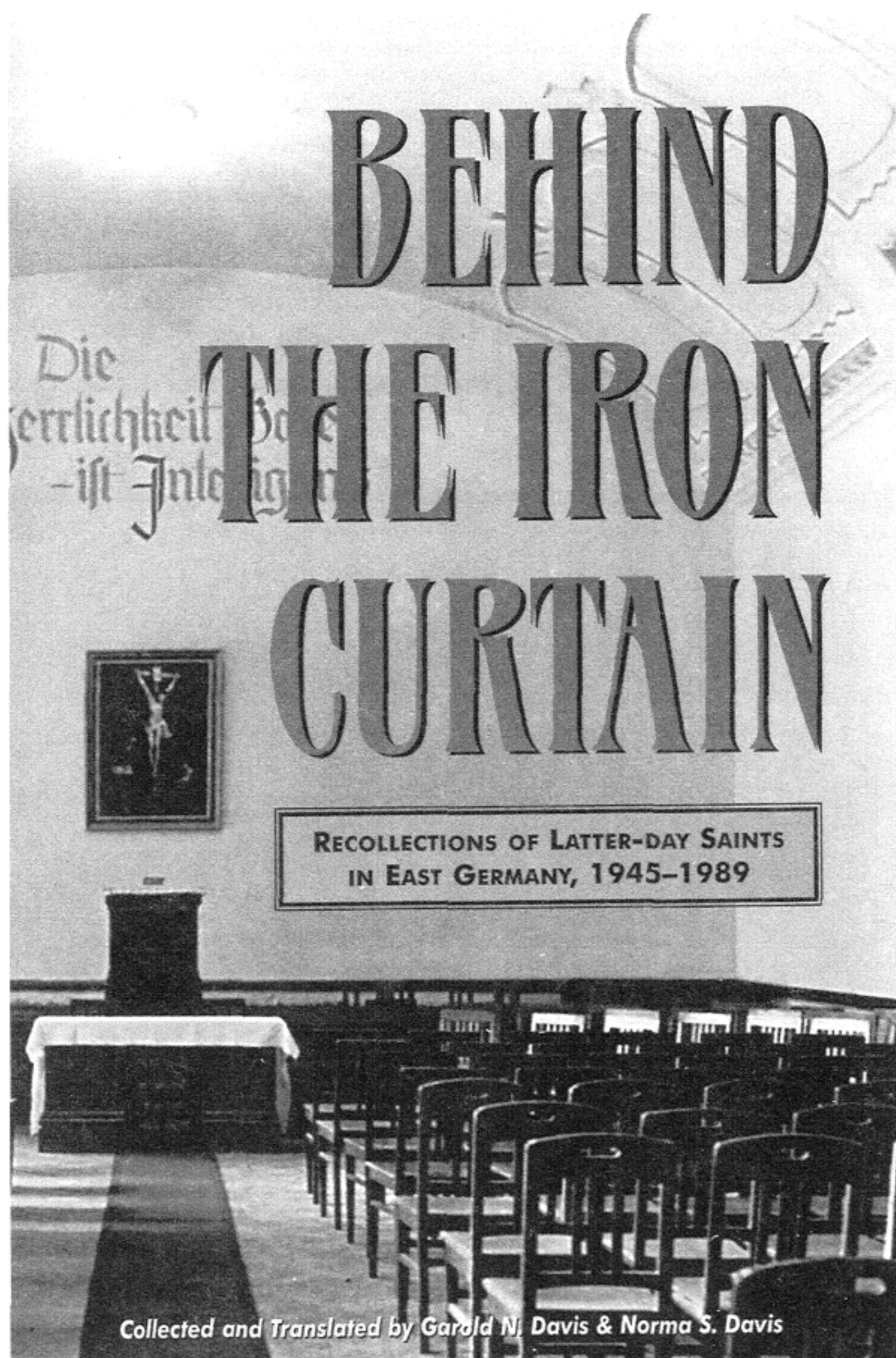
Perhaps no political issue is more divisive in the Mountain West Mormon community than environmental conservation. *New Genesis, a Mormon Reader on Land and Community* is a collection of essays that represent a wide spectrum of Mormon views on conservation, excluding only the advocates of unrestrained development. This collection may help to ease tensions among disparate stakeholders in Utah's open spaces.

The predominant nature of the essays is autobiographical: in most, the author sets out to tell or illustrate the roots and meaning of his or her conservation ethic. Many of the stories are grounded in family history and experience, making the collection a valuable contribution to Utah history as well. Some of the essayists address certain aspects of the Utah Mormon paranoia about federal intervention and control that manifests itself in an unwillingness to control growth even when its destructiveness is apparent. Other authors recount the gradual loss of the farms, streams, or wild spots of their youth.

The Mormon tent shelters both those who love the land for itself and those who view development as the prime good. However, advocates of conservation have often felt excluded from the dialogue on resource use. Many of the essays probe the pain of authors who unravel the tightly woven fabric of Mormon history and culture, separating the threads of stewardship and conservation from those of economic growth and development.

No coherent vision of a Mormon environmental ethic emerges from this collection of essays—the issue is too complex for that. The essays are a group of early attempts at defining an LDS environmental ethic, not as a doctrinal matter but as part of our cultural heritage. The collection is enlightening, thought provoking, and immensely interesting—a valuable contribution to the budding dialogue on conservation in the LDS community.

—Constance K. Lundberg



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—Günter Schulze

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POPOL VUH



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ANCIENT K'ICHE'-MAYA

Translated and Edited by
Allen J. Christenson

Allen J. Christenson

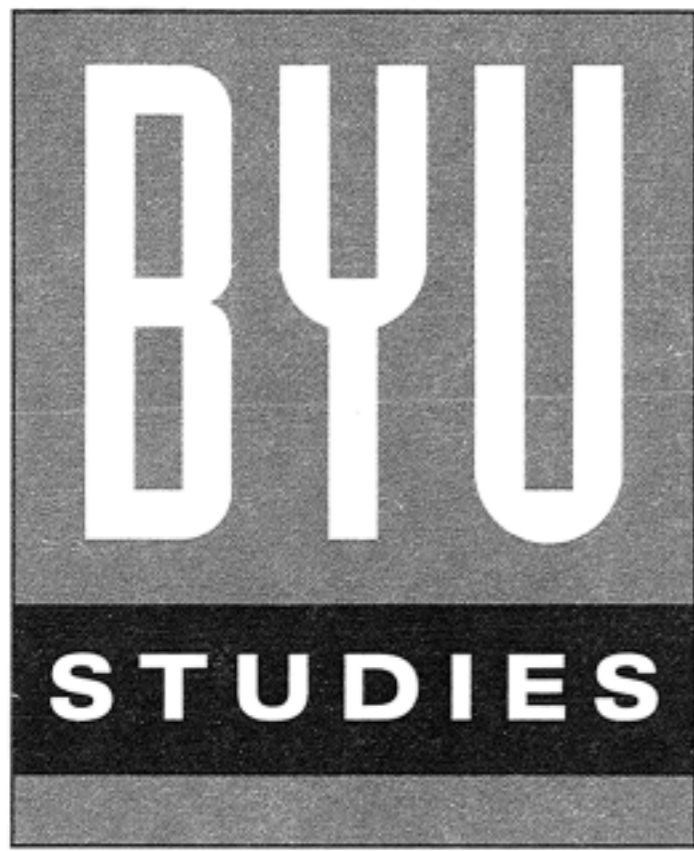
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A History of the Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri from 1836 to 1839

Leland H. Gentry

Learn the details of the settlement, troubles, and expulsion of the Latter-day Saints from northern Missouri, 1836–1839. Since its original publication in 1965, this work has remained a standard reference work for serious historians. Carefully written and copiously footnoted, this study draws heavily on timeless primary sources as it probes the leading causes for the Mormon War in Missouri.

A Call to Arms: The 1838 Mormon Defense of Northern Missouri

Alexander L. Baugh

As United States citizens, Latter-day Saints in Missouri "had every right to take up arms to defend themselves, particularly when local and state officials failed or refused to intervene in their behalf." While there was wrongdoing especially on the part of some Mormon extremists, this study, contrary to other recent interpretations, places the balance of responsibility for this antagonism heavily and decisively on the side of the Missourians.

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