BYU Studies Quarterly

Volume 51 | Issue 1 Article 1

1-1-2012

Full Issue

BYU Studies

Involving Readers
in the Latter-day Saint
Academic Experience

BYU Studies Quarterly is dedicated to the conviction that the spiritual and the intellectual can be complementary and fundamentally harmonious. It strives to publish articles that reflect a faithful point of view, are relevant to subjects of interest to Latter-day Saints, and conform to high scholarly standards. *BYU Studies Quarterly* also includes poetry, personal essays, reviews, and never-before-published documents of significant historical value to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Contributions from all fields of learning are invited, and readers everywhere are welcomed.

BYU STUDIES QUARTERLY
Vol. 51 • No. 1 • 2012

DOCUMENT

ARTICLES

ESSAY

POETRY

BOOK REVIEWS

BOOK NOTICE

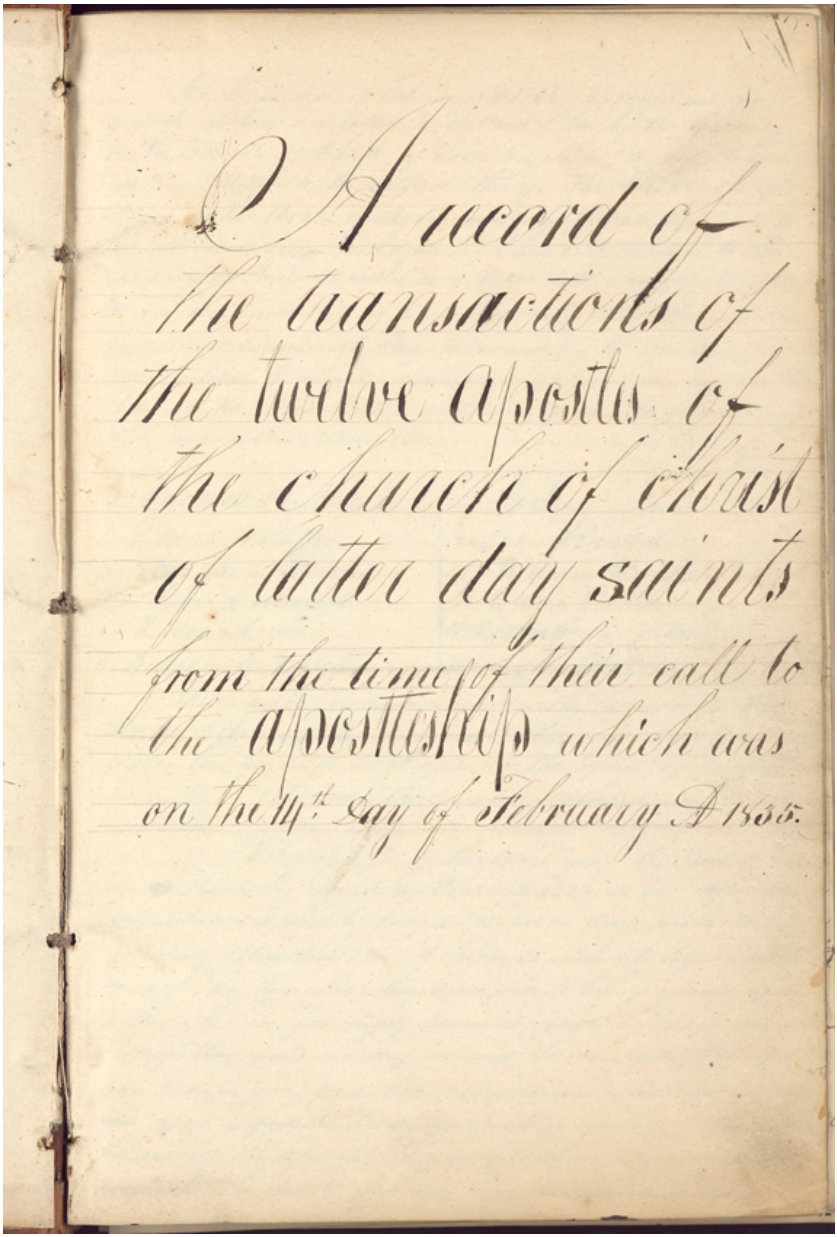


Figure 1. Second title page of the Record of the Twelve, 14 February–28 August 1835. Courtesy Church History Library.

DOCUMENT

The Record of the Twelve, 1835

The Quorum of the Twelve Apostles' Call and 1835 Mission

Ronald K. Esplin and Sharon E. Nielsen

The Joseph Smith Papers Project has recently published on its website a document created in 1835 and now known as the Record of the Twelve, 14 February–28 August 1835. This important record was made by Orson Hyde and William E. McLellin to chronicle the activities of the newly formed Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. Later, the same book Hyde and McLellin wrote in was used to record patriarchal blessings, which are private, and thus the book was not publicly available. Now images of the twenty-four pages pertaining to the activities of the Twelve have been posted, along with a transcription and links to related documents and to helpful information about people and places mentioned, at josephsmithpapers.org. The book is housed in the Church History Library of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Its second title page names it "A record of the transactions of the twelve Apostles of the church of christ of latter day saints from the time of their call to the apostleship which was on the 14th. Day of February AD 1835"[1] (see fig. 1). The full document transcription appears below.

This is the only known record created by the Quorum of the Twelve during its first several years. The lack of additional records is likely due in large part to the fact that most activities of quorum members over the next several years were undertaken either as individual assignments or performed in connection with other leadership quorums. For example, during fall and winter 1835–36, members of the Twelve joined with other

1. The wording of the first title page can be seen in the transcription on p. 21 below.

New Content Online at JosephSmithPapers.org

The document presented here is only one of many now available free of charge on the website josephsmithpapers.org. The Church History Department announced in May 2011 that all of the several thousand Joseph Smith documents in the possession of the Church History Department will eventually be posted, creating a searchable Joseph Smith document repository. Joseph Smith documents from other repositories, including the Community of Christ, will also be available. Many of the documents will also be published in book form by the Church Historian's Press; to date five volumes have appeared. The website links the text of the Joseph Smith documents to glossary terms, biographical notes, and place names to give background information. The interface includes an on-screen image of an original document with a facing transcription. The site also provides users with search capabilities using names, locations, and other terms as keywords. Future planned features include tools for highlighting and bookmarking. This exciting development in the definitive presentation of these important historical documents will be a boon for scholars and novices alike.

quorums in finishing the temple[2] in Kirtland, Ohio, and in preparing for and participating in the March 1836 dedication and solemn assembly. Following those activities, Joseph Smith announced that rather than having an anticipated quorum assignment, "the 12 are at liberty to go wheresoever they will, and if one shall say, I wish to go to such a place, let all the rest say Amen."[3] The quorum mission to England planned for 1837 was postponed because of division within the Church and within the quorum, although Heber C. Kimball and Orson Hyde of the Twelve did make the journey. The

2. Records kept in the 1835–36 period (for example, Joseph Smith's journals) usually refer to the Kirtland Temple as "the House of the Lord"; infrequently the word "chapel" is used; "temple" did not become standard until later.

3. Dean C. Jessee, Mark Ashurst-McGee, and Richard L. Jensen, eds., *Journals, Volume 1: 1832–1839,* vol. 1 of the Journals series of *The Joseph Smith Papers,* ed. Dean C. Jessee, Ronald K. Esplin, and Richard Lyman Bushman (Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Press, 2008), 215 (March 30, 1836). The Joseph Smith Papers project from the Church Historian's Press, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, has images and transcripts of all the revelations and minute books cited in this article available online at http://josephsmithpapers.org/.

denouement of the Church's activities in Kirtland, Ohio, and migration to Far West, Missouri, made a mission in summer 1838 impossible. Not until 1839–41, after the violent expulsion from Missouri, would the Twelve undertake their second mission as a quorum.

This introduction provides an overview of the Record of the Twelve and a historical introduction to the calling of the Twelve and their 1835 quorum mission. The document begins with a report of the call of the Apostles and organization of the quorum in February 1835 and preserves some of Joseph Smith's teachings to the new quorum about their role and functioning, including an admonition on record keeping. These teachings and the circa April 1835 instruction "On Priesthood"[4] were viewed as foundational documents for the new quorum.

According to the Record of the Twelve, on March 12, less than a month after the Apostles were called and before all had arrived in Kirtland to be ordained, Joseph Smith proposed that they serve their first mission "through the eastern States to the Atlantic Ocean" and suggested an itinerary with ten conferences in the field. In addition to preserving Joseph Smith's teachings to the quorum as they prepared to depart, this record documents the central activities of that mission. To enrich the content of the record itself, editorial notes and annotation below provide related accounts that fill in gaps and give additional details. While the Apostles' mission to the British Isles in 1839–41 is well known, this quorum mission to the eastern states also deserves attention. It is both the earliest mission and, because not all members of the quorum traveled to Britain in 1839–41, the only mission in which all twelve members of the quorum participated together. The publication of this document will assist in understanding the call and early activities of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles.[5]

---

4. This document, known as section 107 in modern LDS editions, was printed in the Doctrine and Covenants 1835 edition as section 3, "On Priesthood," pp. 82–89; reproduced in Robin Scott Jensen, Richard E. Turley Jr., and Riley M. Lorimer, eds., *Revelations and Translations, Volume 2: Published Revelations,* vol. 2 of the Revelations and Translations series of *The Joseph Smith Papers* (Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Press, 2011), 392–99; and online at http://josephsmithpapers.org/. The traditional date for this instruction is March 28, 1835, but because Joseph Smith was not in Kirtland on that date, it was probably taught and recorded the following week. Because no manuscript survives, the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants is the earliest known text for the first half of this document. The last half incorporates an earlier November 11, 1831, revelation.

5. For a historical study of the calling and early activities of the Twelve, including this mission, see Ronald K. Esplin, "The Emergence of Brigham Young and the Twelve to Mormon Leadership" (PhD diss., Brigham Young University dissertation, 1981; Provo, Utah: BYU Studies, 2006), 125–204 (47–77).

Technical Description of the Document (Source Note)

The Record of the Twelve begins with two title pages bearing slightly different inscriptions, with a variation in the name of the Church. The document was copied circa late 1835 from original manuscripts, apparently retained by William E. McLellin, into a bound volume that was later used to record patriarchal blessings. The volume measures 12 13/16 x 8⅛ x 1¼ inches (33 x 21 x 3 cm) and has 172 leaves measuring 12½ x 7⅞ inches (32 x 20 cm). The book has a tight-back case binding with a brown sheep- or calfskin quarter-leather binding. The outside covers are adorned in shell marbled paper. The Record of the Twelve was recorded on the first twelve leaves of the volume. The front cover of the book is labeled "R. T."—presumably for "Record of the Twelve"—in black ink. The inside front cover has "Y B | B | Book." written in ink and "L/P | POC | 12/=" written in graphite. Similar markings appear in at least three other extant volumes (Joseph Smith Letterbook 1, Minute Book 1, and Revelation Book 2, all in the Joseph Smith Collection, Church History Library). Three labels pasted on the spine, apparently in Utah, read "RECORD of the TWELVE", "PATRIARCHAL BLESSINGS BY JOSEPH SMITH S", and "Vol. 2 | Patriarchal | Blessings."

The record is in the handwriting of Orson Hyde except for the entries for May 23 and 25 (pages 12–13), which were inscribed by William E. McLellin. Hyde wrote page numbers at the top of each page except page 20. Use marks were made in graphite pencil on the record when it was used later as a source text for Joseph Smith's multivolume manuscript history of the Church. In the 1840s, the book was turned over so that the back cover became the front. This side of the book was used by Thomas Bullock to record patriarchal blessings and used 120 leaves, leaving 40 blank leaves between the two records. The cover is labeled "2," indicating that it was the second volume in a series of patriarchal blessing books. The volume is listed on Nauvoo, Illinois, and early Utah inventories of Church records, indicating continuous custody. (See Historian's Office, "Schedule of Church Records," [1]; "Historian's Office Catalogue Book March 1858," [7]; "Index of Records and Journals in the Historian's Office 1878," [14], Catalogues and Inventories, 1846–1904, Church History Library.)

Creation of the Document

Orson Hyde and William E. McLellin, members of and clerks for the Quorum of the Twelve, originally wrote not in a book but on loose pages (no longer extant) that they later copied into the large, permanent record book. McLellin apparently retained the original writings after he and Hyde inscribed the record reproduced here, likely soon after their fall 1835 return from the mission to the East.[6] A careful examination of the content of the record and the fact that the book is too heavy and large (at about 13 by 8 inches) for the men to have conveniently carried on their travels confirms that this was not where these texts were originally written.

In writing first on loose pages, Hyde and McLellin followed the standard record-keeping pattern of Joseph Smith's office: an original minute or letter or a dictation copy of a revelation would later be copied into a record book to create a more permanent record copy. The two minute books kept in Joseph Smith's office, for example, were created when loose minutes were copied into more permanent books of record, and a similar practice was followed with letterbooks and revelation books created under his general direction. Even though Hyde shared with McLellin the assignment to serve as clerk, and even though each actively served in creating the original minutes upon which this record is based, the existing record itself is almost entirely in the hand of Hyde. McLellin inscribed in this book only the entries of May 23 and 25.

This record may be thought of as consisting of three parts. The first three and a half pages record the calling and general instruction of the Apostles. The next three and a half pages, to the bottom of page seven, document a series of meetings as quorum members prepared for their spring and summer mission, a series that included Joseph Smith's April 26 "charge and instructions" to them and ended with a May 2 "grand council" consisting not only of the Twelve but of other leaders. The third part, the largest, consists of a twelve-page record of the conferences and other activities of the mission itself, including meetings of the quorum, conferences with members, and public preaching meetings that on occasion attracted audiences of hundreds (and in one case more than a thousand).

---

6. In a May 24, 1870, letter published in the September 15, 1870, issue of the *True Latter Day Saints' Herald,* McLellin wrote, "I was clerk of the conference in which the twelve were chosen, and I was appointed by the twelve as a scribe among them. And I now have our apostolic record, as we first made it up." As he did not retain the record book, he must have retained, as he said, the "record as we first made it up," that is, the original inscriptions. W. E. McLellan, "Elder D. H. Bays," *True Latter Day Saints' Herald* 17 (September 15, 1870): 553–54.

The Record of the Twelve Compared to Minute Book 1

In addition to the Record of the Twelve, another set of minutes was created by Oliver Cowdery and later transcribed by other clerks into a book which the editors of the Joseph Smith Papers have called "Minute Book 1." Minute Book 1 contains minutes kept in Kirtland, Ohio, from December 3, 1832, to November 30, 1837, including Oliver Cowdery's minutes of four meetings pertaining to the calling and instruction of the Quorum of the Twelve in February 1835. Those entries may be compared with the earliest entries of the Record of the Twelve. Minute Book 1 also contains another entry regarding a meeting on May 2, 1835, that included the Twelve just before their departure for New York. These supplement the Record of the Twelve. For other meetings and for the mission itself, the Record of the Twelve is not only the official but the only institutional account.

The first entry in the Record of the Twelve bears the date of February 14, 1835, and briefly describes the "conference or general meeting" convened by Joseph Smith to consider if the time had come to implement the June 1829 revelation "relative to the choosing of the twelve apostles."[7] According to the 1835 Record, after it was "ascertained that the time had come," twelve men were chosen and, it is implied, ordained.

The second entry in the Record of the Twelve, dated February 27, provides a context for seeing its entry of February 14 as a retrospective account likely written some two weeks later than the date it bears and also helps explain why a more complete account of the foundational February 14 meeting is found in the minutes kept by Oliver Cowdery, clerk for Joseph Smith and the Church Presidency.[8] As part of the February 27 meeting, Joseph Smith instructed the Twelve on the importance of record keeping. After lamenting that the records of the Church as a whole were not as complete as they should be, in his view a deficiency of considerable consequence, he urged that whenever they convened to transact business as a council, they always keep a record of proceedings and important decisions so "they will ever after remain upon record as law, covenants and doctrine." In that same February 27 council, the new quorum then appointed McLellin and Hyde to serve as clerks for the Twelve. This and additional instruction from Joseph Smith about the role of the quorum was duly noted by "William E. McLellin Clerk." Minute Book 1 also preserves Oliver Cowdery's account of this February 27, 1835, meeting.[9]

---

7. Revelation, June 1829-B [D&C 18:26–36], in Jensen, Turley, and Lorimer, *Revelations and Translations, Volume 2,* 46, online at http://josephsmithpapers.org/.

8. Minute Book 1, 147–51 (February 14, 1835), online at http://josephsmithpapers.org/.

9. Minute Book 1, 86–88 (February 27, 1835), online at http://josephsmithpapers.org/.

It seems evident that only with the February 27 instruction on record-keeping and the appointment of clerks did the Quorum of the Twelve begin keeping a record, and that the brief February 14 entry which opens the Record of the Twelve was therefore created after the February 27 meeting. This also explains why Minute Book 1 contains not only more information about the February 14 and February 27 meetings, but minutes of meetings on February 15 and 21 that are not part of the quorum's own record. Minute Book 1, therefore, provides both additional information about the calling and instruction of the Apostles and a context for understanding the Record of the Twelve prior to February 27.

The more extensive account in Minute Book 1 of the February 14 meeting[10] reports that Joseph Smith convened on that date the veterans of the Camp of Israel (later known as Zion's Camp), a military march to Missouri in the spring of 1834 in support of Saints violently dispossessed from their lands in Jackson County, Missouri, and that it was mainly from these veterans that the Twelve (and a second new quorum, the Quorum of Seventy) would be selected. The entry in Minute Book 1 then lists the names of fifty-six veterans. Although the Record of the Twelve reports that Joseph convened the meeting "to ascertain if the time had come" to implement the 1829 June revelation, Cowdery's contemporaneous account states that he assembled the veterans because "God had commanded it and it was made known to him by vision" to do so. Then, "according to a former commandment,"[11] he instructed the Three Witnesses "to choose twelve men from the church as Apostles to go to all nations, kindred toungs and people," which they then did, selecting Thomas B. Marsh, David W. Patten, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde, William E. McLellin, Parley P. Pratt, Luke Johnson, William Smith, Orson Pratt, John F. Boynton, and Lyman E. Johnson. Cowdery's more detailed minutes record that three of those called, Lyman Johnson, Brigham Young, and Heber C. Kimball, were then ordained, and the minutes preserve their "ordination blessings."

In addition to giving a fuller account of the February 14, 1835, meeting that began the process of organizing the Quorum of the Twelve, Minute Book 1 contains minutes of two follow-up sessions about which the Record of the Twelve is silent. At a meeting the following day, more of those appointed on the 14th were ordained and their ordination blessings recorded.[12] Minute

10. Minute Book 1, 147–51 (February 14, 1835).

11. Referring to Doctrine and Covenants 18:26–36 (Revelation, June 1829-B).

12. The blessings of Orson Hyde, David W. Patten, Luke Johnson, William E. McLellin, John F. Boynton, and William Smith are recorded as given February 15, 1835. Minute Book 1, 151–54 (February 15, 1835), online at http://josephsmithpapers.org/.

Book 1 also records a meeting on Saturday, February 21, 1835,[13] that was as important to the nascent quorum as were the meetings of February 14–15. At this meeting, Parley P. Pratt received his ordination and ordination blessing as a member of the Twelve, bringing to ten the number of new Apostles who had been ordained. (Before, or possibly as, the minutes of this meeting were copied from loose paper into Minute Book 1, the blessings of Thomas B. Marsh and Orson Pratt were also appended to the February 21 entry, bringing to twelve the number of blessings recorded in that book—but as the Record of the Twelve attests, Marsh and Pratt did not arrive in Kirtland until April 25 and 26, respectively.[14]) Following Parley Pratt's blessing on February 21, Cowdery gave him a detailed personal "charge" respecting his duty as an Apostle. Later in the meeting, Cowdery delivered a lengthy and substantive charge to the entire quorum respecting their responsibilities and future labors.[15] Cowdery's "charge to the Twelve" did not become part of their own record but was included in the official history of the Church begun in 1838.[16]

The account of the February 27 meeting of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles[17] is the final 1835 meeting of the new quorum recorded in Minute Book 1.[18] After this session, record keeping for the new quorum shifted to the Record of the Twelve, which then became not only the official record of the Twelve but its only extant record. The nature of the minutes for February 27, 1835, in the two records illustrates this shift.

That the two accounts of Joseph Smith's instructions to the Twelve are so similar suggests that both Cowdery and McLellin successfully captured much of what he said on this occasion. But unlike the accounts of February 14, in which Cowdery recorded much more detail than exists in the Record of the Twelve, the report for February 27 in the Record of the Twelve contains additional instructions not noted by Cowdery. Only the Record of the Twelve contains Joseph Smith's closing declaration on "the power and authority of

13. Minute Book 1, 154–64 (February 21, 1835), online at http://josephsmithpapers.org/.

14. Minute Book 1 agrees that Thomas B. Marsh and Orson Pratt "had not yet arrived to receive their ordinations" on February 27, 1835. Minute Book 1, 86 (February 27, 1835).

15. Minute Book 1, 158–64 (February 21, 1835), online at http://josephsmithpapers.org/.

16. History, 1838–56, Volume B-1, 571–75, online at http://josephsmithpapers.org/.

17. Minute Book 1, 86–88 (February 27, 1835).

18. Minute Book 1 records an assembly of Church leaders, including the Twelve, on May 2, 1835, the eve of the Apostles' departure on their mission. The Record of the Twelve also contains an account of this "grand council," as the Record of the Twelve terms it (pp. 26–29 below).

the priesthood"—that the Twelve had received their authority as Apostles "from God through me," and that they and only they now had the authority and "duty to go and unlock the kingdom of heaven to foreign nations."

Understanding the Content of the Record of the Twelve

After the February organizing meetings, most subsequent entries in the Record of the Twelve provide brief but informative accounts of preparations for the mission and then an account of the mission itself. The preaching and traveling activities of members of the Quorum of the Twelve when they were not acting as a traveling high council in formally appointed conferences is not the subject of the record. After the close of a conference, they generally traveled to the next conference two by two (though occasionally in larger groups), but those activities are documented only through their individual missionary journals or histories, not in the Record of the Twelve. For understanding the activities of the quorum as a whole in Kirtland and in the field, the Record of the Twelve is an invaluable document.

The entry for March 12, 1835, records not only the proposal by Joseph Smith that the new quorum take their first mission to the East but a plan for the mission that included a May 4 departure date and an ambitious itinerary, complete with dates for conferences with members in outlying branches in New York, Upper Canada, and New England. Later entries confirm that they largely followed this itinerary, regulating branches, teaching members, and preaching and proselytizing along the way. Among the several preparatory meetings in Kirtland was an April 26 assembly of the Twelve and some of the Seventy "in order to receive our charge and instructions from President Joseph Smith Jun. relative to our mission and duties"; a meeting two days later at which they decided to leave Kirtland at 2:00 a.m. on May 4 to ensure arrival at Fairport Harbor in time to catch a lake steamer for Dunkirk, New York; and a May 2 "grand council" of Church leaders at which Joseph Smith instructed the Twelve how to conduct themselves as a traveling high council and clarified both how the traveling high council related to standing high councils, and the role of the Seventy in the upcoming conferences in the field.

Despite preserving important accounts of six meetings with Joseph Smith during this time of preparation, the Record of the Twelve failed to notice at least one event that was as significant to the new quorum as were the events it did record. Sometime in early April, Joseph Smith met with the Twelve (and perhaps others) and delivered a lengthy exposition on priesthood and on church organization and government that included essential instructions regarding the roles of the Twelve and Seventy. About

the time the Twelve returned to Kirtland in September 1835, those instructions, entitled "On Priesthood," became publicly available with publication of the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants, but the content was known before their departure.[19] If there ever was a meeting at which the newly called Twelve endorsed a written testimony of the revelations about to be published in the Doctrine and Covenants as "given by the inspiration of God" and "profitable for all men" and "verily true," the Record of the Twelve is silent about it. However, W. W. Phelps read such a statement, as their testimony, into the record at a "general assembly" of the Church in Kirtland, August 17, 1835, in their absence. At that meeting, the leaders and quorums of the Church gave their voice in favor of the publication of the Doctrine and Covenants as the word of God, but it is not known how or when the Twelve approved or ratified their quorum's contribution to the minutes of this meeting at which the work of the committee on the Doctrine and Covenants was unanimously accepted.[20]

The Record of the Twelve also fails to note what was, in effect, their "missionary farewell" on Sunday, May 3, 1835, the day following the "grand council" mentioned above. Not only did each of the members of the quorum give a farewell address, President Sidney Rigdon "called upon those of the congregation who were satisfied with the choice which the Lord had made of the Twelve to manifest it by rising from their seats, which the congregation universally did."[21]

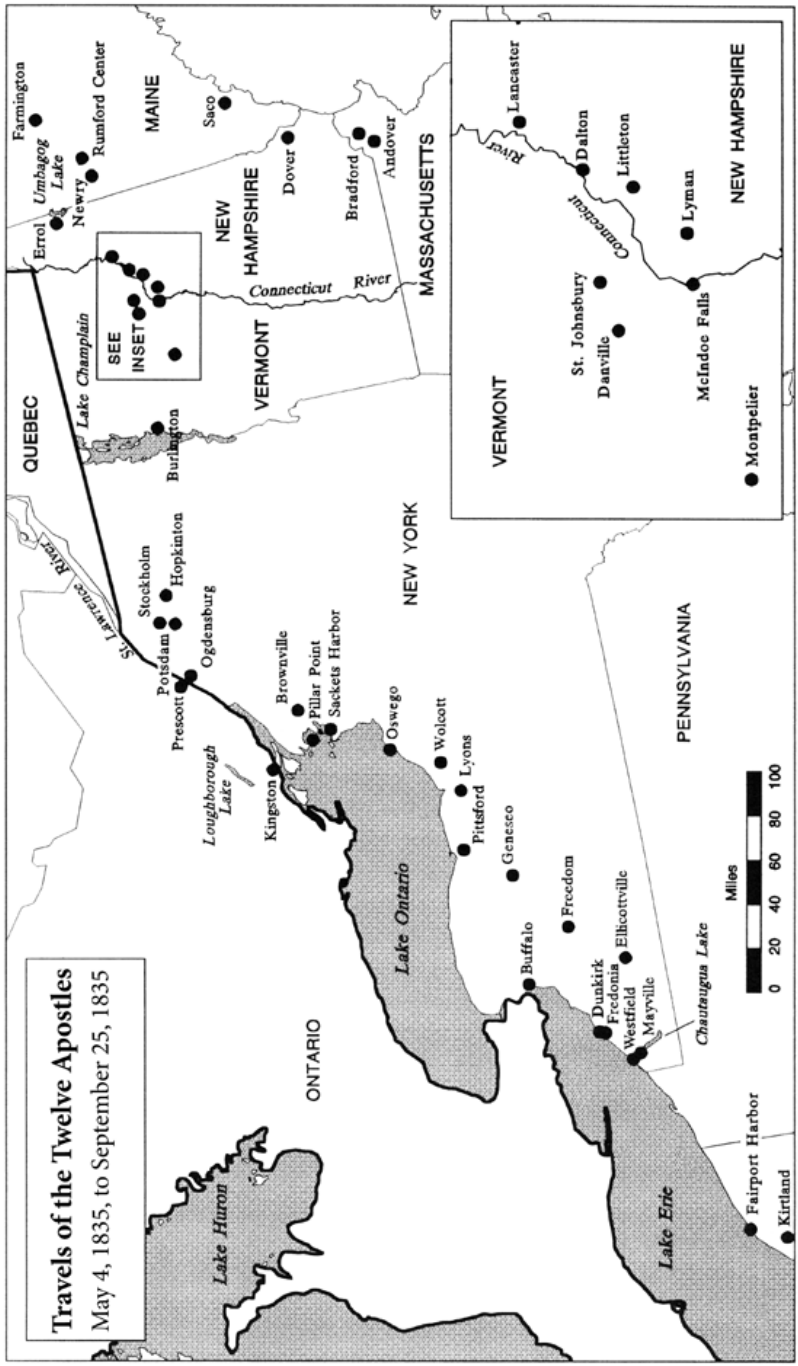
Mission Plan and Experience

A March 8, 1835, meeting provided the plan for the mission. An article in the Church's newspaper reported that a council of this date had taken into

19. See n. 4 above.

20. See what was recorded as "the written testimony of the Twelve" in the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants, 256, in Jensen, Turley, and Lorimer, *Revelations and Translations, Volume 2,* 566, online at http://josephsmithpapers.org/. The language of this testimony is essentially the same as the one prepared for publication in the 1833 Book of Commandments; the unpublished manuscript prepared for the 1833 book bore the endorsements of eighteen Kirtland and Missouri leaders, including six (Thomas B. Marsh, Orson Hyde, William E. McLellin, Luke Johnson, Lyman Johnson, and Parley P. Pratt) who would become members of the original Twelve. For the earlier version, see Robin Scott Jensen, Robert J. Woodford, and Steven C. Harper, eds., *Manuscript Revelation Books,* facsimile edition, first volume of the Revelations and Translations series of *The Joseph Smith Papers* (Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Press, 2009), 215.

21. *The Orson Pratt Journals,* ed. Elden J. Watson (Salt Lake City: N.p., 1975), 60 (May 3, 1835).


Travels of the Twelve Apostles
May 4, 1835, to September 25, 1835
QUEBEC
ONTARIO
MAINE
NEW HAMPSHIRE
VERMONT
MASSACHUSETTS
NEW YORK
PENNSYLVANIA
Lake Champlain
Connecticut River
Lake Huron
Lake Ontario
Lake Erie
Chautauqua Lake
Loughborough Lake
St. Lawrence River
SEE INSET
Farmington
Umbagog Lake
Errol
Newry
Rumford Center
Saco
Dover
Bradford
Andover
Burlington
Stockholm
Hopkinton
Potsdam
Ogdensburg
Prescott
Brownville
Pillar Point
Sackets Harbor
Kingston
Oswego
Wolcott
Lyons
Pittsford
Geneseo
Freedom
Buffalo
Dunkirk
Fredonia
Westfield
Mayville
Ellicottville
Fairport Harbor
Kirtland
Miles
0 20 40 60 80 100
Lancaster
Dalton
Littleton
Lyman
Connecticut River
St. Johnsbury
Danville
McIndoe Falls
Montpelier
Laboratory for Applied Spatial Information Research

consideration "the many pressing requests from the eastern churches for conferences" and concluded to send traveling elders from Kirtland to hold conferences in ten areas:

In Westfield, Chautauque Co. N.Y.	May 9th, 1835
In Freedom, Cateraugus Co. N.Y.	May 22d
In Lyonstown, Wayne Co. N.Y.	June 5th
At Pillow [Pillar] Point, Jefferson Co. N.Y.	June 19th
In West Loborough, near Kingston, Upper Canada	June 29th
In Johnsbury, Vt.	July 17th
In Bradford, Mass.	August 7th
In Dover, N. H.	Sept. 4th [later canceled]
In Saco, Maine	Sept. 18th [later changed to August 21]
and in Farmington, Maine	Oct. 2d, 1835 [later changed to August 28][22]

The printed announcement closed with these instructions: "The brethren in various churches and places mentioned above, may expect public preaching on the two days following each conference, and they are requested to see that the appointments are made at the most convenient houses. . . . All the Elders within reasonable bounds of these conferences are requested to attend them, and it will be their duty so to do."[23]

The pattern as the mission of the Twelve unfolded followed this original plan. Eight of the ten conferences opened with a Friday session with members. These involved instruction and the sacrament, but also business (discipline, appointment of officers, and ordinations). Raising funds for the redemption of Zion in Missouri was always a topic, and to some extent funds for the building of the temple in Kirtland. The business of these sessions often spilled over to Saturday (and occasionally to Monday). Generally the public preaching meetings fell on Saturday and Sunday. Monday often saw a concluding session (meeting, council, or preaching), after which members of the quorum could set out toward their next destination. Following the formal sessions, several of the traveling elders might linger

22. Orson Hyde and W. E. McLellin, "Bro. O. Cowdery," *Messenger and Advocate* 1 (March 1835): 90; the printed announcement presented the conference list in a paragraph, which we have changed to a table.

23. Hyde and McLellin, "Bro. O. Cowdery," *Messenger and Advocate* 1 (March 1835): 90.

Figure 2. Brigham Young traveled on the brand new rail line from Boston, Massachusetts, to Providence, Rhode Island, in July 1835. This drawing shows a close-by line, the Boston and Worcester Railroad, also in 1835. From E. Benjamin Andrews, *History of the United States from the Earliest Discovery of America to the Present Day,* vol. 3 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1895), 147.

to preach in the neighborhood, but most, sometimes all, set off two by two, preaching along the way to the next conference.

Seldom did these traveling officers spend funds on food or lodging. No doubt families in these eastern churches were pleased to host the elders from Kirtland but there was also an obligation. Joseph Smith had expressly declared on the eve of their departure that the traveling officers "have a right by virtue of their offices to call upon the Church to assist them."[24] When not where members could assist, they sought lodging as ministers (or "to be kept as disciples," as they sometimes termed it) with anyone who would host them. What few funds they had went to transportation. Although much of their travel was on foot and the occasional wagon ride was normally without charge, all took passage more than once on lake steamers. Stage travel was also a part of this mission experience; several of the elders traveled on the Erie Canal; and, in New England, at least Brigham Young and (separately) Heber Kimball traveled on one of the nation's early railroads (see fig. 2). Altogether, from May through September members of the traveling high council traveled not just hundreds but thousands of miles.[25]

Surviving accounts created by individual participants supplement the official record. William McLellin kept the most detailed journal during

24. Minute Book 1, 188 (May 2, 1835), online at http://josephsmithpapers.org/.

25. See the September 1835 summaries in Brigham Young, Journal, 1832–36, manuscript, Brigham Young Collection, Church History Library.

the mission, shedding light on activities, personalities, and events.[26] In making his way from one conference to another, he traveled first with Luke Johnson, then Orson Hyde, and then Lyman Johnson. On other occasions he traveled with Thomas B. Marsh, Parley P. Pratt, John F. Boynton, and Brigham Young. They traveled by foot, wagon, stage, canal boat, and steamer, setting up preaching meetings with varied success, with audiences ranging from small to hundreds of people.[27]

Brigham Young also kept a daily account, though generally with less detail than that of McLellin. One instance in which he included more than the usual detail was his brief "side mission" to the Indians that Joseph Smith had appointed him to do. On May 27, 1835, he recorded of his encounter with the Seneca along the Allegheny River that he, John P. Greene, and Amos Orton "saw many of the seed of Joseph, among them were two Chiefs one a Presbyterian the other a Pagan," and that on the following day they prayed with the Presbyterian chief.[28] Entries for June 27 and 28 captured his regret at missing the steamer *United States* to Kingston, forcing him and Elder Hyde to wait a full day for another. William Smith and other traveling companions connected with the steamer but neglected to awaken their companions, who had fallen asleep exhausted. Although Young reported feeling "very bad for a spell," he hoped it was all for "some wise purpose" in the Lord. The delay did provide them another day with a friendly local who had been willing to hear their message.[29] In addition to his journal, Young also included an overview of the mission in his history published in 1858 in the *Deseret News*.[30]

Orson Pratt did not arrive in Kirtland to be ordained as part of the Quorum of the Twelve until April 26, 1835, but from that date forward he kept an account of his mission. Between conferences he traveled first with Thomas B. Marsh, then with Lyman E. Johnson, and at other times with John F. Boynton and Heber C. Kimball. His journal provides helpful detail for many activities. But for much of August and half of September he preached in New England,

---

26. Jan Shipps and John W. Welch, *The Journals of William E. McLellin, 1831–1836* (Provo, Utah: BYU Studies; Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 170–97.

27. A trove of interesting information about traveling in New York in the 1830s can be found at "Stagecoach Days," a blog by Richard Palmer at http://stagecoachdays.blogspot.com/. The blog has discussions of methods of travel; scans and photographs of stagecoaches, canal boats, steamers, and wayside inns; and newspaper clippings advertising routes and prices.

28. Young, Journal, 40–41; spelling regularized.

29. Young, Journal, 34–35; spelling regularized.

30. "History of Brigham Young," *Deseret News,* February 10, 1858, 385–86.

alone, and therefore missed the August conferences attended by most other members of the Twelve.[31]

Many of Heber C. Kimball's activities during this mission can be pieced together from several sources. The last installment of the account he prepared for publication of his 1834 Zion's Camp experience contains information about the calling of the Twelve, their preparation, and the beginning of the mission.[32] His published history as a member of the Quorum of the Twelve provides an itinerary and overview of his mission.[33] Orson F. Whitney, Kimball's biographer, drew on additional sources to provide other colorful details.[34]

Finally, in addition to writing the original notes that were later copied to create this Record of the Twelve, clerks Orson Hyde and William McLellin also wrote reports of the quorum mission for publication in *The Latter-day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* in Kirtland. The first such account reported the Westfield Conference, the first on the Twelve's itinerary, and was published within weeks of their departure from Kirtland.[35] Unsigned accounts that clearly relied on documents prepared by Hyde and McLellin reported in print the conferences in Freedom and Pillow-point [Pillar Point], New York, and in Upper Canada. Another, from Hyde at Bradford, Massachusetts, reported on the conference at St. Johnsbury, Vermont.[36] In October, after the Twelve had returned to Kirtland, Hyde and McLellin prepared a lengthier summary of the calling of the Twelve and overview of their successful quorum mission.[37] These reports and the personal records noted

31. Watson, *Orson Pratt Journals,* 59–72.

32. "Extracts from H. C. Kimball's Journal," *Times and Seasons* 6 (April 15, 1845): 866–69; also available in Stanley B. Kimball, *On the Potter's Wheel: The Diaries of Heber C. Kimball* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1987), 205–8.

33. "Synopsis of the History of Heber Chase Kimball," *Deseret News* (April 14, 1858): 33.

34. Orson F. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball* (Salt Lake City: Kimball family, 1888), 92–100.

35. Orson Hyde and William E. McLellin, "To Oliver Cowdery, Esq.," *Messenger and Advocate* 1 (May 1835): 115–16. Prior to this, the *Messenger and Advocate* had published notices about the forthcoming conferences and instructed conference leaders how to prepare: Hyde and McLellin, "Bro. O. Cowdery," *Messenger and Advocate* 1 (March 1835): 90.

36. "Missionaries," *Messenger and Advocate* 1 (July 1835): 153, for the first three conferences; and "From the Letters of the Elders Abroad," *Messenger and Advocate* 1 (August 1835): 167, for Orson Hyde's report on St. Johnsbury.

37. Orson Hyde and William E. McLellin, "Dear Brother," *Messenger and Advocate* 2 (October 1835): 205.

above are used with the official record to present a more complete account of the 1835 mission experience.

Not all members of the Twelve attended all conferences. Occasionally one or another had a different assignment, and in late spring three of the Twelve were briefly recalled to Kirtland as witnesses in court on behalf of Joseph Smith. Through their August 7 conference in Bedford, Massachusetts, the schedule of conferences unfolded largely according to the plan. That day, however, they decided to alter plans for the remainder of the mission and return home a month earlier. The conference for Dover was canceled and the last two moved up. The record thereafter documents only two more conferences, both in Maine: Saco on August 21 and Farmington on August 28. With the account of the latter, the final formal gathering before quorum members returned home, the official record abruptly ends.

Note on Transcription

The text below was prepared following the transcription conventions of the Joseph Smith Papers Project. The text was transcribed word for word and has been through three levels of verification to ensure accuracy. Spelling, punctuation, and capitalization are original to the text. Scribal cancellations of any type are indicated with a strikethrough bar (~~canceled text~~). Scribal insertions appear within angle brackets (⟨inserted text⟩). Editorial insertions appear within square brackets ([editorial insertion]); these include supplied names and some spelling corrections. Datelines (in **bold**) have also been editorially inserted into the text. A slash mark (/) indicates a change in handwriting, with the scribes noted in a footnote. For a more complete discussion, see the "Editorial Method" statement posted on josephsmithpapers.org.

The Record of the Twelve, 14 February–28 August 1835

/[38]A record of the transactions of the Twelve apostles of the Church of the Latter Day Saints from the time of their call to the apostleship which was on the 14th. Day of Feby. AD 1835.[39]

A record of the transactions of the twelve Apostles of the church of christ of latter day saints from the time of their call to the apostleship which was on the 14th. Day of February AD 1835.

[*1 page blank*]

14 February 1835 • Saturday

On the 14th. Day of February AD 1835, a conference or general meeting was called in Kirtland Ohio by the Presidency of the Church of Christ of 'Latter Day Saints' in order to consult measures relative to the welfare thereof.[40] The Three special witnesses of the Book of Mormon being present, that part of the revelation given in Fayette N.Y. June 1829 relative to the chooseing of twelve apostles, was taken into consideration,[41] and it was ascertained that the time had come when they should be chosen: consequently They proceeded by the spirit of prophecy and revelation to choose and set apart from among all the elders of the church the following persons to fill that high and responsible station: (Viz)

1 Thomas B Marsh
2 David W Patten
3 Brigham Young
4 Heber C Kimball
5 Orson Hyde
6 William E McLellin
7 Parley P Pratt
8 Luke Johnson
9 William Smith
10 Orson Pratt
11 ~~Lyman~~ John F Boynton
12 Lyman ⟨E⟩ Johnson.

38. Text: Orson Hyde handwriting begins here.

39. The text of this title page is repeated as the second title page, on the recto of the following leaf, with larger lettering and with the additional words "of christ."

40. For a fuller account of this meeting see Minute Book 1, 147–51 (February 14–15, 1835); see also Minute Book 1, 86–88 (February 27, 1835), for more on the organization of the Twelve.

41. See Doctrine and Covenants 18:9, 26–39; Revelation, June 1829-B.

These were ordained under the hands of the Three Witnesses[42] and great blessings were pronounced upon the head of each one by the spirit of prophecy and to be obtained through faithfulness.

27 February 1835 • Friday

February 27th. of the same year the Twelve met in Kirtland by request of President J. Smith Jun.[43] After the council was opened by prayer, he arose and made the following observations, (Viz) "I have something to lay before this council, an item which they will find to be of great importance to them. I have for myself learned— a fact by experience which on reflection gives me deep sorrow. It is a truth that if I now had in my possession every decision which has been given ~~had~~ upon important items of doctrine and duties since the rise of this church, they would be of incalculable worth to the saints, but we have neglected to keep records [p. 1] of such things, thinking that prehaps that they would never benefit us afterwards, wh[i]ch had we now, would decide almost any point that might be agitated; and now we cannot bear record to the church nor unto the world of the great and glorious manifestations that have been made to us with that degree of power and authority wh[i]ch we otherwise could if we had those decisions to publish abroad.

Since the twelve are now chosen, I wish to tell them a course which they may pursue and be benefitted hereafter in a point of light of which they, prehaps, are not now aware. At all times when you assemble in the capacity of a council to transact business let the oldest of your number preside, and let one or more be appointed to keep a record of your proceedings and on the decision of every important item, be it what it may, let such decision be noted down, and they will ever after remain upon record as law, covenant and doctrine. ~~Any~~ Questions thus decided might at the time appear unimportant, but should they be recorded and one of you lay hands upon them afterward

42. Heber Kimball named each of the Three Witnesses and stated that "these brethren ordained us to the apostleship," then added: "After we had been thus ordained by these brethren, the first presidency laid their hands on us, and confirmed these blessings and ordinations." "Extracts from H. C. Kimball's Journal," *Times and Seasons* 6 (April 15, 1845): 868–69.

43. For another account of this meeting see Minute Book 1, 86–88 (February 27, 1835). Cowdery added details about the setting and people present that McLellin did not preserve. In his preamble, Cowdery wrote: "This evening a meeting of nine of the twelve of the Apostles, who had been chosen and ordained was held at the house of President Joseph Smith," after which he named the nine present and accounted for those not present.

you might find them of infinite worth not only to your brethren but a feast als[o] to your own souls.

Should you assemble from time to time and proceed to discuss important questions and pass decisions upon them and omit to record such decisions, by and by, you will be driven to straits from which you will not be able to extricate yourselves— not being in a ~~sufficient~~ situation to bring your faith to bare with sufficient perfection or power to obtain the desired information. Now in consequence of a neglect to write these things when God reveals them, not esteeming them of sufficient worth the spirit may withdraw and God may be angry, and here is a fountain of intelligence or knowledge of infinite importance which is lost. What was the cause of this? The answer is slothfulness [p. 2] or a neglect to appoint a man to occupy a few moments in writing. Here let me prophecy the time will come when if you neglect to do this, you will fall by the hands of unrighteous men. Were you to be brought before the authorities and accused of any crime or misdemeanor and be as innocent as the angels of God unless you can prove that you were somewhere else, your enemies will prevail against you: but if you can bring twelve men to testify that you were in some other place at that time you will escape their hands. Now if you will be careful to keep minutes of these things as I have said, it will be one of the most important and interesting records ever seen. I have now laid these things before you for your consideration and you are left to act according to your own judgments."

The council then expressed their approbation of the foregoing remarks and proceeded to nominate and appoint Elders William [E.] M'cLellin and Orson Hyde to serve as clerks for the 'twelve.'[44]

The following question was then proposed by president J Smith Jun. (viz) What importance is attached to the callings of these twelve apostles differrent from the other callings and offices of the church. After some discussion by Elders [David W.] Patten, [Brigham] Young, M'c Lellin and W[illiam] Smith, the following decision was given by President Smith, the Prophet of God.

"They are the twelve apostles who are called to a travelling high council to preside over all the churches of the saints among the gentiles where there is no presidency established. They are to travel and preach among the Gentiles

44. Only after this instruction by Joseph Smith about record keeping and the appointment of McLellin and Hyde as clerks for the Twelve did this record begin. The prior entry, then, was written retrospectively (and is less detailed than the minute kept by Oliver Cowdery). The activities of this day also explain why this Record of the Twelve does not contain a record of two significant meetings earlier in February that also related to the calling and instruction of the Twelve. See Minute Book 1, 147–51 (February 14–15, 1835), 154–64 (February 21, 1835). See p. 10 above.

until the Lord shall[45] command them to go to the Jews. They are to hold the keys of this ministry — to unlock the door of the kingdom of heaven unto all nations and preach the Gospel unto every creature. This is the virtue power and authority of their Apostleship — Amen. It is all important that the twelve should understand the power and authority of [p. 3] the priesthoods, for without this knowledge they can do nothing to profit. In the first place God manifested himself to me and gave me authority to establish his church, and you have receivd your authority from God through me; and now it is your duty to go and unlock the kingdom of heaven to foreign nations, for no man can do that thing but yourselves. Neither has any man authority or a right to go to other nations before you; and you, twelve, stand in the same relation to those nations that I stand in to you, that is, as a minister; and you have each the same authority in other nations that I have in this nation.["] The council was closed by Eldr W. E. M'cLellin.

William E M'c. Lellin } Clerk

12 March 1835 • Thursday

Evening of March 12th. the twelve assembled and the counsel was opened by president J. Smith Jun. and he proposed that we take our first mission through the eastern States to the Atlantic Ocean and hold conferences in the vicinity of the several branches of the church for the purpose of regulateing all things necessary for their welfare. It was proposed that the twelve should leave Kirtland on the 4th. May which was unanimously agreed to. It was then proposed that during their present mission, Elder B[righam] Young should open a door to the remnants of Joseph who dwelt among the Gentiles which was carrid.[46] It was motioned and voted that the twelve should hold their first conference in Kirtland, May 2nd.. In Westfield N. York May 9th. In Freedom N.Y. May 22, Lyonstown N.Y. June 5. On Pillow [Pillar] point June 19. In West Loboro'. [Loughborough] U.C. [Upper Canada]

45. Text: Inadvertent repetition of "shall" here.

46. On March 7, the Saturday previous, John P. Greene was "ordained a missionary to the Lamanites after others have unlocked the door; with a promise of gathering many to Zion. and of returning at the end of his mission with great joy, to enjoy the blessings of his family." Minute Book 1, 195 (March 7, 1835), online at http://josephsmithpapers.org/. Young's brothers Phineas H. Young and Lorenzo Young had also been ordained missionaries to the Lamanites. Minute Book 1, 196–97 (March 8, 1835), online at http://josephsmithpapers.org/. See also entries for May 2 and May 24, 1835, below, for Brigham Young's responsibility to "open a door."

June 29, In [St.] Johnsbury Vt. July 17. In Bradford Mass. Augt. 7. Dover N.H. Sept 4th. Saco Me Sept 18th. Farmington, Me. Oct. 2nd.[47]

Orson Hyde
W[illiam] E. Mc. Lellin } Clerks[48] [p.4]

26 April 1835 • Sunday

Kirtland April 26, 1835.

This day, pursuant to previous appointment, the Twelve Apostles and the Seventy (a part of whom had already been chosen,) assembled in the temple (altho' unfinished.) with a numerous concourse of people in order to receive our charge and instructions from President Joseph Smith Jun relative to our mission and duties.[49] The congregation being assembled, Elder Orson Pratt arrived from the south part of the state,[50] makeing our number complete, Elder T[homas] B. Marsh haveing arrived the day before.—

---

47. According to the *Messenger and Advocate,* the plan finalized and ratified on March 12 was prepared the previous Sunday, March 8, 1835. See pp. 14, 16 above. That Sunday evening council would have followed two days of meetings at which those who had assisted in building the temple received individual blessings—and at which three men were ordained as missionaries to the Lamanites. Minute Book 1, 192–97 (March 7–8, 1835), online at http://josephsmithpapers.org/. The *Messenger and Advocate* report gives the same planned schedule except that it does not include the May 2 Kirtland conference. On the same page another notice cancels all prior appointments for the East except the Freedom conference. A third notice advises Elders Thomas B. Marsh and Orson Pratt, who presumably did not yet know of their calls to the quorum, let alone the mission plan, to attend a meeting of elders in Kirtland April 26 "as their presence is very desirable." Hyde and McLellin, "Bro. O. Cowdery," *Messenger and Advocate* 1 (March 1835): 90.

48. By this point, the Record of the Twelve concerns itself mainly with the upcoming mission and therefore fails to record other important quorum events. See n. 4 above. Between this entry and the next, the Twelve received from Joseph Smith important instructions on priesthood, published as section 3 in the new 1835 Doctrine and Covenants [D&C 107], published just before the missionaries returned to Kirtland. See p. 14 above.

49. A surviving elder's license for Parley P. Pratt, dated April 26, 1835, suggests that the Apostles and others at this assembly of the Twelve and Seventy who did not yet have such licenses received them this day in preparation for their mission. See Elder's License for Parley P. Pratt, Kirtland, Ohio, April 26, 1835, Joseph Smith Collection, Church History Library.

50. In a later reminiscence, Orson Pratt recounted coming upon a member in Columbus, Ohio, who showed him a notice published in the *Messenger and Advocate* 1 (March 1835): 90 that requested that he be at Kirtland at an appointed time. The news set him immediately on his way by stage, and after walking the last three miles he arrived, valise in hand, as the meeting was beginning and as "it had been prophesied . . . I would be there that day." Orson Pratt, in *Journal of Discourses,*

28 April 1835 • Tuesday

April 28.—

The twelve met this afternoon at the school room for the purpose of prayer and consultation. Elder D[avid] W. Patten opened the meeting by prayer. Motioned and carried that when any of the council wishes to speak, he shall arise and stand upon his feet. Eldr [William E.] Mc Lellin then read the commandment given concerning the chooseing of the twelve before the council.[51] Motioned and carried, that we each forgive one another every wrong that has existed among us; and that from hence forth each one of the twelve love his brother as himself in temporal as well as in spiritual things; always enquiring into each others welfare.

Decided that the Twelve be ready an⟨d⟩ start on their mission from Elder [John] Johnson's tavern on Monday at 2 o'clock A.M. May 4th. Elder B[righam] Young then closed by prayer

Orson Hyde }
W[illiam] E. Mc. Lellin } Clerks

[Editorial Note: When the March 12, 1835, council approved a list of conferences, it designated ten conferences to be held in the East as they traveled, but also a May 2 gathering in Kirtland before their departure. As the minutes that follow make clear, the May 2 meeting was not only a conference of the Quorum of the Twelve but a "grand council" and a "grand assemblage" of other priesthood leaders and missionaries—and therefore a fitting setting for the instruction and counsel given by Joseph Smith not only to the Twelve but to other officials. Although this Record of the Twelve omits details of the business of the council pertaining to the recently called Seventy, they too were instructed and prepared for future missions.[52]*]*

2 May 1835 • Saturday

May 2nd. A grand council was held in this place this day, composed of the following officers of the Church (viz) Presidents Joseph Smith Jun. David Whitmer, Oliver Cowd[e]ry, Sidney Rigdon, Frederick G Williams, Joseph Smith Sen. and Hyrum Smith, with their council of twelve men— The

---

26 vols. (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1855–86), 12:86–87. According to Heber C. Kimball (who mistakenly places this event earlier in April), the other members of his new quorum were praying for Pratt's arrival when he walked in. "Extracts from H. C. Kimball's Journal," *Times and Seasons* 6 (April 15, 1845): 868–69.

51. Doctrine and Covenants 18:9, 26–39; Revelation, June 1829-B.

52. See Minute Book 1, 187–92 (May 2, 1835), online at http://josephsmithpapers.org/. The longer minutes show that this grand council lasted for hours, with two lengthy sessions separated by an intermission. See p. 13 above.

travelling high council or twelve apostles (Viz) T[homas] B. Marsh, David W Patten, Brigham Young[53] [p. 5] Heber C Kimball, Orson Hyde, William, E. Mc.Lellin Parley P Pratt, Luke Johnson, William Smith, Orson Pratt John F Boynton and Lyman Johnson.—

Bishop Edward Partridge and his two counsellors Isaac Morley and John corrill, from Zion Mo. Also Bishop Newel K Whitney and his counsellors Reynolds Cahoon and Oliver Granger, and also, some of the Seventy with their presidents (Viz) Sylvester Smith, Leonard Rich, Lyman Sherman, Hazen Aldrich, Joseph Young, Levi Hancock and Zebedee Coultrin [Coltrin]. (Z.C. was absent.)

These authorities were present together with a great many other Elders of the church from different parts. In the midst of this grand assemblage, President J Smith Jun arose and made many remarks, among which were the following. "It will be the duty of the twelve when in council to take their seats together according to their ages. The oldest to be seated as the head, and preside in the first council, the next oldest in the second; and so on until the youngest has presided."[54]

The twelve Apostles have no right to go into Zion or any of its stakes where there is a regular high council established, to regulate any mattrs pertaining thereto: But it is their duty to go abroad and regulate and set in order all matters relative to the different branches of the church of the 'Latter Day Saints.'

When the twelve are all together or a quorum of them in any church, they have authority to act independently of the church and form decisions and those decisions will be valid; but where there is not a quorum of them together, they must transact business by the common consent of the church.[55]

---

53. Even though McLellin, clerk of the Twelve, created both written records of the May 2 "grand council," he neglected to include in this Record of the Twelve an item related to their forthcoming mission. Only the May 2, 1835, minutes in Minute Book 1, 191, online at http://josephsmithpapers.org/, record that Brigham Young, John P. Greene, and Amos Orton were appointed ("motioned, seconded & voted") to preach to the Indians; that the door should be opened by Young and that the three should "go and preach the gospel to the remnants of Joseph." Referring to this in his later history, Young said that "the prophet Joseph" had declared that their labors on this forthcoming mission would "open the door to all the seed of Joseph." "History of Brigham Young," *Deseret News,* February 10, 1858, 386. For the service of Young, Greene, and Orton, see entry for May 25, 1835, later in this record.

54. The May 2, 1835, minutes in Minute Book 1, 187, report that in this council "the Twelve took their Seats regularly according to their ages," and then list the order, which is the same order as the names appear in the first paragraph of this entry.

55. Or "by the Voice of the Church." Minute Book 1, 187 (May 2, 1835).

No standing hig[h] council has authority to go into the churches abroad and regulate the matters thereof, for this belongs to the Twelve. [p. 6]

No standing high council will ever be established except in Zion or one of its stakes.

When the Twelve pass a decision, it is in the name of the church, therefore, it is valid.

No official member of the church has authority to go into any branch thereof and ordain any minister for the church unless it is by the voice of that branch. No elder has authority to go into any branch of the church and appoint meetings or attempt to regulate the affairs of the church without the advice and consent of the presideing Elder of that branch.

If the first seventy are all employed and there is a call for more labourers in the vineyard it will be the[56] duty of the seven presidents of the first seventy to call and ordain other seventy and send them forth to labour until, if need be, they set apart seven times seventy, and even until there are one hundred and forty & four Thousand thus set apart to the ministry. The seventy are not to attend the conferences of the Twelve, unless they are called upon or requested so to do by the twelve.

The twelve and the seventy have particula[r]ly to depend upon their ministry for their support and that of their families, and they have a right by virtue of their offices to call upon the churches to assist them.[57]

Resolved in this grand council; That we never give up the struggle for Zion until it is redeemed altho'. we should die in the contest. The vote was unanimous of all that were in the house.[58]

W. E. M'c. Lellin { Clerk [p. 7]

[Editorial Note: In addition to recording foundational instructions at the Saturday, May 2 "grand council," the Record of the Twelve records the departure of the traveling high councilors the following Monday. But it failed to note important activities with Joseph Smith and the Kirtland members on Sunday, the day before their departure. This May 3 Sunday meeting with the Saints served both as a time for the members to signify assent for the men called into the new quorum and as a missionary farewell. Six of the Twelve spoke in the morning, the remainder in the

56. Text: Inadvertent repetition of "the" here.

57. As their diaries make clear, throughout this mission, the Apostles followed this counsel to "call upon the churches" where they traveled for assistance.

58. Minute Book 1, 191 (May 2, 1835), elaborates on this theme: "President J. Smith Junr arose . . . and made some very appropriate remarks, relative to the deliverance of Zion and so much of the Authority being present, he moved that we never give up the struggle for Zion even until Death. or until Zion is Redeemed. The vote was unanimous and with apparent deep feeling."

afternoon, after which President Sidney Rigdon "called upon those of the congregation who were satisfied with the choice which the Lord had made of the Twelve to manifest it by rising from their seats, which the congregation universally did. He then bade them farewell."[59] *That evening, on the eve of their departure, Joseph Smith hosted the Twelve at his home.*[60]

The two entries that follow describe not only the departure of the Twelve but what became a pattern for their mission. After disembarking at the port of Dunkirk, New York, they preached in the vicinity several days before convening in nearby Westfield, their first Saturday conference with the Saints. The Saturday business and instruction session with members, which often during the mission was accompanied by public preaching, was followed by Sunday meetings, and then a Monday business meeting to close the conference. The traveling councilors then made their way to the next conference, preaching along the way.]

4–9 May 1835 • Monday–Saturday

May 4th 1835. The twelve left Kirtland this morning[61] and embarked on board the Steamer Sanduskey, at Fair Port, bound for Dunkirk N.Y.[62] where we landed the same day at 5 o'clock P.M.[63] We preached in those regions for a short time[64] and then met in Westfield pursuant to previous appointment

---

59. Watson, *Orson Pratt Journals*, 60 (May 3, 1835).

60. Young, Journal, May 3, 1835.

61. The men were "brought on our way" to Fairport by Roger Orton and William Bosley. Young, Journal, May 4, 1835; spelling regularized.

62. Several accounts mention the happy event, which the Twelve took as a good omen to begin their mission, that the steamer was present and ready to leave without delay. By leaving Kirtland at 2:00 a.m., they arrived at the harbor at 6:00, just in time for the *Sandusky*'s departure. According to Orson Pratt, "the Lord in his mercy provided a boat for us at the very moment we arrived which was according to our prayers." Watson, *Orson Pratt Journals,* 60 (May 4, 1835). According to Kimball's account, "a boat was there as had been predicted by Brother Joseph." "Extracts from H. C. Kimball's Journal," *Times and Seasons* 6 (April 15, 1845): 868–69.

63. Both Young and Kimball have 4:00 for their arrival. According to Kimball, they had traveled 150 miles and then "stayed over night in Mr. Pemberton's inn." "Extracts from H. C. Kimball's Journal," *Times and Seasons* 6 (April 15, 1845): 868–69. Brigham Young stayed instead with Julius Moreton, a relative. Young, Journal, May 4, 1835. Young later recounted that his relative "was not inclined to receive" the principles of the gospel: "He was a man considerably advanced in years,—had never made a profession of religion, but was very much of a gentleman: to avoid calling on me to ask a blessing at table, he asked the blessing himself, probably for the first time in this life." "History of Brigham Young," *Deseret News,* February 10, 1858, 386.

64. According to Orson Pratt, the Twelve "left Dunkirk, two by two in order to preach in the regions around about 3 or 4 days." Watson, *Orson Pratt Journals,* 60 (May 5–7, 1835). This was, says McLellin, because they "took council among

where we held a conference May 9th. in order to transact such business as should be found necessary. This [Traveling] High council met with the church, Elder Thomas B Marsh, being the oldest man in the council, took the chair, the meeting was opened by a solem appeal to Heaven that his blessings might be shed forth upon us.

The following items were suggested for the consideration of the council

1st Resolved that the limits of this conference extend south and west to the line of Pennsylvania, North as far as Lake Erie and East as far as Lodi, embraceing the branches of Westfield, Silver-Creek Perrysburgh and Laona, to be called the

"Westfield Conference."

2nd To inquire into the standing of all the Elders within the bounds of this conference

3rd To inquire into the manner of their teaching, dilligence and faithfulness in the cause of truth and whether any teach false ~~and~~ ⟨or⟩ erroneous doctrine.

4th. To inquire into the conduct, teaching and faithfulness of all the travelling Elders who have recently travelled through the bounds of this conf.

5th. To call upon the Elders, present to represent the several branches of the church over which they preside.

Upon inquirey all the Elders present were found to be in good standing. Their manner of teaching met the approbation of the council, except that of Elder Joseph Rose who was found to have taught [p. 8] some things contrary to the faith of the church, such for instance, "The Jewish church was the Sun and the Gentile church was the Moon &c. When the Jewish church was scattered, the sun was darkened, and when the Gentile church is cut off, the moon will be turned to blood and also some things relative to the Apocalyptic Beast, with seven heads and ten horns— and such like. He was shown his error and willingly made an humble confession. The faithfulness of all the travelling Elders was found to be good. The church at Westfield was represented by Elders Geo. Babcock & James Burnham (the presideing Elder, John Gould being absent on a journey) and was fou[n]d to

---

ourselves to separate for a few days and preach the Gospel in this region inasmuch as doors were opened to receive us." Luke Johnson set out with McLellin, and Lyman Johnson with Hyde. Shipps and Welch, *Journals of William E. McLellin*, 173 (May 4, 1835). Pratt preached with Thomas B. Marsh. Brigham Young remained in Dunkirk itself, "preaching for a few days." On the evening of May 5, Young and Parley P. Pratt preached in an academy to a large and attentive audience, and on May 6 L[yman?] Johnson and Young held a meeting in a nearby village. "History of Brigham Young," *Deseret News,* February 10, 1858, 386; Young, Journal, May 4–6, 1835.

be in good standing and fellowship with the exception of a difficulty resting in the minds of some of the church relative to the validity of the baptism of brother L[l]oyd L Lewis, in asmuch as he was baptized by Eldr Noah Hubbard, a travelling Elder, without the church being called together to know if they would receive him to fellowship, after much explanation had been given by the council on the nature and principles of church government it was decided that, if there was fault, it was in the administrator and not in the candidate. The number of disciples in this branch was Seventy Five in good faith and fellowship. The branch at Laona was represented by Elder Edmond Fisher [~~one of the~~][65] The number of disciples being Twenty in good standing but rather low in spirit in consequence of a neglect to keep the "word of Wisdom".[66]

After some farther instructions by the council on general principles, the conference adjourned until 8 o'clock A.M. Monday May 11. [p. 9]

10–11 May 1835 • Sunday–Monday

Sunday May 10, about Five Hundred people attended preaching. There was tolerably good attention by most of the congregation while Elders [Thomas B.] Marsh & [David W.] Patten addressed them in the fore and afternoon. They also broke bread ~~bread~~ in the afternoon to the saints. Five persons came forward desireing baptism, after haveing expressed their belief in our testimony. They were received to baptism by the church which was administered by Elder W[illiam] E. M'c. Lellin and confirmation was attended to in the evening.

Monday morning Conference met pursuant to adjournment and proceeded to business.

Resolved Unanimously, that this Conference go to immediately and appoint their "wise men" and gather up their riches and send them to purchase lands according to previous commandments that all things be prepared before them in order to their gathering. Much was said to the conference upon these important things, and they covenanted before the Lord that they would be strict to attend to our teachings.[67] Conference was

65. Text: Brackets in original.

66. The health code given in Revelation, February 27, 1833 [D&C 89], in Robin Scott Jensen, Robert J. Woodford, and Steven C. Harper, eds., *Revelations and Translations, Volume 1: Manuscript Revelation Books,* vol. 1 of the Revelations and Translations series of *The Joseph Smith Papers* (Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Press, 2011), 238–40.

67. After "instruction relative to the redemption of Zion" from the Twelve, members of the Westfield Conference "proceeded to appoint an honorable and

then dismissed[68] and publick preching commenced at 3 o'clock by Eld— B[righam] Young[69] and closed by the farewell exhortation of the Twelve after which seven came forward professing faith and repentance and were received by the church for Baptism which was administered by Elder Orson Hyde and confirmed in the evening by laying on of hands. Also laid hands upon many that were sick and infirm and they obtaind relief—Adjourned until the 22nd Inst. to meet in Freedom N. York—

Orson Hyde { Clerk [p. 10]

[Editorial Note: Following the conclusion of the Westfield conference, the Apostles set off in pairs to preach in different locations until assembling again on May 22 in Freedom, New York, for the next conference. As Brigham Young noted, the pattern was that "the quorum of the Twelve proceeded eastward, two going together preaching the gospel," until gathering "to hold conferences in the different branches, according to previous appointment."[70] In this instance, all moved on except Elders Hyde and McLellin, who "tarried to arrange the minutes of our conference and record them."[71] The two were, as McLellin noted in his diary, "joined in our ministry for the present in consequence of our clerkship." Their ministry included writing in addition to preaching and ordaining—and praying. On May 14 they spent six hours "together in the woods in prayrs and contemplation endeavouring to obtain an open vision but we did not altho. we felt that we drew very near to

---

wise man according to the revelation in whose hands they could deposit their monies for the purchasing of lands in Zion." Watson, *Orson Pratt Journals,* 61 (May 11, 1835). See Revelation, December 16, 1833 [D&C 101:70–74], in Jensen, Turley, and Lorimer, *Revelations and Translations, Volume 2,* 261–70, online at http://josephsmithpapers.org/; see also June 22, 1834 [D&C 105:26–31], in Jensen, Turley, and Lorimer, *Revelations and Translations, Volume 2,* 283–87, online at http://josephsmithpapers.org/.

68. This Monday session convened in the morning and ran until 2:00. The afternoon's public preaching was followed by "confirmation [of those just baptized] in the evening, when the Lord blessed us with his holy spirit and many that were infirm received the laying on of hands, and prayer. Meeting continued until nearly 12 o'clock." Hyde and McLellin, "To Oliver Cowdery, Esq.," *Messenger and Advocate* 1 (May 1835): 115–16. McLellin characterized it as "really . . . a good meeting and a powerful— It continued until about midnight with many good exortations." Shipps and Welch, *Journals of William E. McLellin,* 176 (May 11, 1835).

69. After reading "a portion of the Saviour's teaching in the book of Mormon," Young spoke ninety minutes "contrasting the religions of the day with the **truth**." Shipps and Welch, *Journals of William E. McLellin,* 176 (May 11, 1835), bold in original.

70. "History of Brigham Young," *Deseret News,* February 10, 1858, 386.

71. Hyde and McLellin, "To Oliver Cowdery, Esq.," *Messenger and Advocate* 1 (May 1835): 115–16.

God."[72] Orson Pratt and Lyman Johnson traveled together until May 14, when Pratt fell ill and Johnson pressed on to Freedom to get help. On May 16, a member from Freedom arrived with a wagon and carried the ailing Pratt to Freedom where he had "the hands of 3 or 4 of the elders laid upon [him]" and began to mend.[73] Traveling together, Brigham Young and William Smith reached the home of Warren Cowdery, presiding elder of the Freedom Conference, on Thursday, May 21, "where we found our Brethren the 12."[74] In Freedom, members of the Twelve presided over a Friday to Monday conference, following the pattern of their Westfield experience.]

22–23 May 1835 • Friday–Saturday

Freedom, N. York, May 22, 1835.

This morning agreeably to appointment, a conference met in this place,[75] The twelve Apostles or travelling high council being present, after an agreeable salutation and rejoiceing in each other's prosperity, Elder D[avid] W. Patten being chairman conference was opened by singing and prayer by the president.

Resolved that the limits of this conference extend from Lodi in the west so far East as to include Avon, South to Pennsylvania and North to Lake Ontario to be called the

"Freedom Conference"

includeing the branches of Freedom, Rushford, Portage, Grove, Burns, Geneseo and Avon, Java, Holland Aurora Green-Wood and Niagara.

An inquiry was made of the Elders present relative to their labours and teachings since their call to the ministry and also the inquiry was extended ~~to~~ ⟨concerning⟩ all those who lived in the bounds of this Conference. They were found to be in good standing and generally striveing to be faithful in their callings. No travelling Elders were represented to have recently passed through these regions whose conduct, faithfulness or teachings were not good. The presideing Elder, W. A. Cowdry [Warren Cowdery] represented the branch in this place to be 65 in number in good fellowship. F[razier] Eaton represented the branch in Rushford to be 28 in number & altho young, yet strong in the faith. Priest W[illiam] Marks represented the branch in Portage to be in fellowship but do not generally obey the "word of Wisdom." He also represented the chu[r]ch in Grove to Have remained the same as when last represented, also the church in Burns to be 30 in good standing Geneseo

72. Shipps and Welch, *Journals of William E. McLellin,* 176–77 (May 12–15, 1835).
73. Watson, *Orson Pratt Journals,* 62.
74. Young, Journal, May 21, 1835; spelling regularized.
75. Text: Comma possibly changed to a period.

and Java not represented. Holland branch represented by Elder P[arley] P. Pratt to be 15 in number who [p. 11] had suffered much from false teaching by hypocrites and knaves. Aurora also to be 4 in number. Green-wood not represented. Niagara by Elder Jacobs to be 4 in number also a few brethren liveing in Mansfield and round about were represented by Eldr J[ohn] Murdock as wanting instruction. The representation of the churches closed about 3 o'clock P.M. and the council then proceeded to give some general and particular instructions relative to the "Word of Wisdom", the gift of tongues and interpretation, prophecyings, and of a propper use of all the spiritual gifts &c. after these remarks conference adjourned until tomorrow morning—

/[76]May 23[rd.] Conference met according to adjournment[77] in order to take into consideration the meanes necessary for the redemption of Zion. Elder Patten opened the meeting by prayr—and five of the counsellors[78] addressed the conference on the nature and propriety of the gathering and the meanes necessary thereto. Much instruction was given upon these all important subjects while the spirit of God rested down and bore testimony to their utility. After which the church expressed their determination to put into practice the teachings we had given them.[79]

They were then dismissed with a blessing from the Presidents— Amen

---

76. Text: Orson Hyde handwriting ends; William E. McLellin begins.

77. This Saturday afternoon gathering was a continuation of the conference with members from Friday. It was preceded by "public preaching at 10 oclock in a large barn," where Kimball ("Very feelingly indeed") and McLellin both spoke from John 14. This was the first of two successful public meetings. The one held next day, a Sunday meeting lasting more than three hours, saw "a congregation of probably seven hundred assembled in a large barn" to listen to Orson Hyde's "plain and powerful discourse on the evidences of the book of Mormon" and Parley P. Pratt's discourse on "life and immortality." Because members were also present, the sacrament was administered and some additional church business was conducted. Shipps and Welch, *Journals of William E. McLellin,* 179 (May 23–24, 1835).

78. That is, the Apostles, members of the traveling high council.

79. The diary of William E. McLellin confirms that the purpose of the conference was to instruct the members "respecting the deliverance of Zion." After he, Hyde, and Parley Pratt each spoke at length on the topic, "the brethren seemed to receive our teachings and they s'd that they would obey or endeavor to at least 'To appoint their wise men' &c." Shipps and Welch, *Journals of William E. McLellin,* 179 (May 23, 1835). The instruction to appoint such wise men is Revelation, December 16, 1833 [D&C 101:70–74]; see also Revelation, June 22, 1834 [D&C 105:26–31]. These teachings at the Freedom conference emphasizing Zion and the gathering without also mentioning the temple later became a matter of contention between the Twelve and the Presidency (see epilogue, pp. 48–52 below).

25 May 1835 • Monday

May 25th.

The twelve met this morning in order to do some business and to pray for one another to be preserved until we meet again at our succeeding conferences. Elder D[avid] W. Patten presiding opened by calling upon the Lord.*

⟨*The traveling high council or twelve Apostles never proceed to do any business without first calling upon the Lord. In future therefore this will not be recorded⟩[80]

1st Resolved, that we recommend and council [counsel] Elders J[ohn] Murdock and L[loyd] Lewis to go to the churches at Shenang-point [Chenango Point] N. York and Springville Penn. (among whom we understand there is some difficulty,) and set in order the things that are wanting in those branches. [p. 12]

2nd. Resolved, that Elder B[righam] Young go immediately from this place to an adjacent tribe of the remnants of Joseph and open the dool [door] of salvation to that long dejected and afflicted people.[81] The council according to his request, laid their hands upon him that he might have their faith and prayrs to fill (with humility and power) that very important mission. They also laid hands on Elders J. P. Green [John P. Greene] and A[mos] Orton for the same purpose, in as much as they expected to accompany him.

[Editorial Note: Although Young and his companions left Freedom for their Indian mission immediately following the Monday morning conference described above, because "there was a general meeting given out for Saturday and Sunday," some of the Twelve stayed through the following weekend. Four of them attended and presumably all preached at those public meetings ("Elders P. Pratt and J. Boynton preached on Saturday") before traveling to the next conference, appointed for June 5 in Lyons, New York. Usually the missionaries traveled and preached in

---

80. Text: This insertion was written at the bottom of the page, keyed to the text by the asterisk.

81. This side mission to Native Americans had been planned in Kirtland. See May 2, 1835, above. Young, Greene, and Orton departed soon after the close of this May 25 morning conference to visit "an adjacent tribe" of New York Indians and began their separate mission by preaching that evening. According to William McLellin, their mission was to the "Senecas of the remnants of Joseph on the Allegany river." Shipps and Welch, *Journals of William E. McLellin,* 179 (May 25, 1835). Young and his associates met with many Indians, including two chiefs, one a Presbyterian. On June 1, Young started on his "journey for the east" to rejoin his brethren at the June 5 conference in Lyons. Young, Journal, May 25–June 1, 1835.

pairs (Parley Pratt and John F. Boynton traveled together on this occasion), but this time "six or eight of the twelve" arrived together at Portage, "where there is a small branch." Appointments were immediately set for public preaching the following weekend, and four of the Twelve, including Elders Pratt and Boynton, remained in the village for those meetings.[82]

Traveling without funds for food and lodging presented both challenges and opportunities as the men attempted to stay with members or be "kept as disciples" in homes along the way. Sometimes they were well received, but on other occasions they went without food and sometimes without shelter. As they made their way to the next conference, one night Heber C. Kimball and Luke Johnson stopped at a dozen different homes seeking shelter but were turned away. At midnight they used their last coin to pay for lodging at a tavern but went to bed without supper. After a six-mile walk next morning, they finally found hospitality at the home of Esquire David Ellsworth, a friendly non-Latter-day Saint who later joined the Church.[83] *This leg of the journey was less taxing for some. McLellin reported that on June 2 the Pratt brothers, L[yman?] Johnson and John Boynton overtook him and Hyde at Genesee, a thriving branch until most members moved to Kirtland, and June 3 the group traveled by wagon almost to Pittsford where "we took a canal boat about sunset for Lyons and rode smoothly on." The next day a five-mile walk got them to their destination.*[84]*]*

5 June 1835 • Friday

/[85]Rose or Lyonstown N.Y. June 5, 1835.

Met this day in council, three of the Twelve being absent (Viz) Elders Brigham Young, Parley P Pratt and William Smith. Conference being ~~being~~ opened, no business of importance was presented, there being but few disciples in these regions, Resolved therefor, that it is not necessary to establish a conference here. After some remarks to those present, the conference adJourned, and after a number of sermons were preached in these regions, Elders Orson Hyde and Brigham Young, who arrived just in time, returned to Kirtland Ohio as Witnesses[86] on a certain case wherein President Joseph

82. Watson, *Orson Pratt Journals,* 64–65 (May 25–June 1, 1835).

83. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball*, 93.

84. Shipps and Welch, *Journals of William E. McLellin,* 181 (June 1–4, 1835).

85. Text: William E. McLellin handwriting ends; Orson Hyde begins.

86. As the opening lines of this minute confirm, Young did not rejoin his brethren in time for the June 5 conference, but instead joined them at the site of the conference just in time to turn around and head back to Kirtland. After leaving Indian lands June 1, he managed to catch rides east but by June 5, the day of the conference, had traveled only as far as Mendon, New York, where he stopped to visit former

Smith Jun was concerned, before the county courts, in which he rightiously triumphed over his enemies.

[Editorial Note: As the above entry confirms, with so few members there was little business of the usual sort, but the gathering was still an opportunity to counsel together and to teach the few. According to McLellin, the meeting, held on Friday "at Elder Coburn's," lasted from 10:00 to 4:00, after which some of the elders immediately left for the next conference, set for June 19, at Pillar Point. But for those who remained, two days of public preaching (Saturday and Sunday) followed the otherwise short conference. McLellin and Patten were entertained hospitably that Friday night by someone who had been a Methodist, and they preached at a church on Saturday night. On Sunday, June 7, they attended a Baptist service before their own preaching appointment. That night, reported McLellin, "a Methodist man who received us in the name of deciples" entertained them well.[87] *After Young preached Sunday, he and Hyde (and presumably William Smith) headed west for Kirtland, answering their summons to testify at a trial for Joseph Smith.*[88]

If members and business were scarce in Lyons, the conference two weeks later in Pillar Point was very different. It opened with a two-day conference with members, with Friday's business meeting lasting "till late in the afternoon" and reconvening Saturday morning. McLellin presided because Hyde, whose turn it was, was absent.[89] *If they followed the usual pattern, there may have been public preaching Saturday afternoon or evening and Sunday, as the Record of the Twelve*

---

friends and neighbors. He then traveled by canal to Lyons, where he arrived June 6 and learned that he and Orson Hyde had been sent for. He stayed in Lyons for the two days of public preaching following the conference (and preached on Sunday), and then Monday, June 8, he, Orson Hyde, and William Smith started for Kirtland and arrived Thursday, June 11. "History of Brigham Young," *Deseret News,* February 10, 1858, 386. "I found my family and friends all well and in good spirits and the Lord was with them," he reported. According to his journal, since leaving Kirtland on May 4 he had traveled 800 miles and preached twelve times. Young, Journal, June 4, 1835; spelling regularized.

87. Shipps and Welch, *Journals of William E. McLellin,* 183 (June 5–8, 1835).

88. Young, Journal, June 8, 1835. The trial involved a charge claiming that Joseph Smith had assaulted his brother-in-law Calvin Stoddard. Interestingly, the Record of the Twelve notes only Brigham Young and Orson Hyde being called to Kirtland for the trial. The record of the trial indicates that Stoddard, William Smith, Lucy Smith, and an individual named Burgess testified before the grand jury on June 16. Although Young and Hyde apparently were not called as witnesses, they may have been interrogated before the trial and possibly were in court on June 20. The court dropped the charges against Joseph. *State of Ohio v. Smith,* No. 03002, Geauga County Court of Common Pleas, Transcript of Proceedings; *Painesville (Ohio) Telegraph,* June 26, 1835, 3.

89. Shipps and Welch, *Journals of William E. McLellin,* 185 (June 19, 1835).

hints, likely included both a meeting with members and public preaching, with public preaching Monday morning closing the conference.]

19–22 June 1835 • Friday–Monday

Pillow-Point [Pillar Point] N.Y. June 19, 1835.

According to previous appointment, nine of the counsellors met with the church in conference. Elder W. E. M'c. Lellin Chairman.

Resolved, that the limits of this conference embrace all the north-eastern part of this state to be called the "Black River Conference." Upon inquiry it was found that the Elders in the bounds of this conf. had generally been delligent in their callings and ministry. Their manner of teaching, in some respects, needed correction and they willingly received our teaching and instruction. [p. 13] Elder Thomas Dutcher represented the church in this place to be 21 in fellowship, but do not generally observe the "Words of Wisdom." Elder Calvin B Childs representd the church in Sackets Harbour to be 19 in number. The branch at Burbille was represented by Elder Ducher to be 7 in number, also 6 in the Town of Champion all in good standing. The branch in Ellisburgh was represented by Elder James Blakeslee to be 33 in number also 4 in Henderson. Elder Ira Patten represented 4 in Alexandria and 4 in the Town of Lyme, also 2 in Orleans, as being very anxious to have Elders call on them and add to their numbers. Elder Fuller represented 6 in Stockholm and Three in Potsdam The opinion of all the travelling Elders was that a great field for faithful labourers was open in this region.

Five of the Counsellors then proceeded to give the conference such information upon church government, the natur of the spiritual gifts, and the exercise of them in Wisdom, upon the "Word of Wisdom" and also upon the propriety of chooseing wise men and sending them with their moneys to purchase lands in Zion and in the regions round about, so that they might not gather in confusion but have all things prepard before them.[90] The conference unanimously acquiesced in the teachings of the counsellors & resolved to put them in practice as fast as practicable. Adjourned until the 20.th Then met[91] and ~~the case~~ John Elmer was presented as holding very incorrect principles, such for instance, that the spirit of God some times took him and threw him down and that he could die the death of the righteous and of the wicked in order to show his power

90. According to Revelation, December 16, 1833 [D&C 101:70–74].

91. That is, on Saturday, June 20, the conference with members reconvened in a session that lasted until about 11:30. That meeting was followed by the first public meeting. Shipps and Welch, *Journals of William E. McLellin,* 185–86 (June 20–21, 1835).

with God. He also stated that he had passed through a kind of death so as to become immortal & should exist forever without any other death or [p. 14] change only grow brighter and brighter eternally. He persisted in these things and would not receive the teachings of the council, nor give heed to the faith of the church, therefore the conference lifted their hands against him. Conference closed and after public meeting and breaking bread among the saints,[92] the next day 5 persons were baptized & ad[d]ed to the church. Public meeting closed on Monday forenoon after haveing a good season and much liberty in teaching.——

[Editorial Note: Again, the Apostles divided up to travel in pairs, but this time not all had the same destination. Only some, including Parley P. Pratt, Thomas B. Marsh, and William E. McLellin, took a lake steamer to Kingston for the conference on Monday, June 29, in West Loughborough, Upper Canada. Others, wrote McLellin, "not thinking it would be important for them to go, started easterly for the next conference," at which they would all be expected to attend, set for July 17 in St. Johnsbury, Vermont.[93] *Still, six of the Twelve were present at the West Loughborough conference on June 26 after the three who headed to Kingston from Pillar Point were joined by the return of the three who had traveled to Kirtland. According to McLellin, this unusual Monday appointment for the conference with members was preceded by Sunday preaching to "a large congregation collected in a barn," where he spoke in the morning and Elder Marsh and others in the afternoon, "and just as we were about to dismiss [on Sunday, June 28,] Elder Hyde &*

92. Soon after the conference adjourned, the public meeting began. Lyman Johnson spoke on the February 16, 1832, vision of the afterlife later published as The Vision [D&C 76], David Patten spoke briefly, and the meeting closed at 1:30. McLellin then exercised his presiding prerogative and appointed another session at 5:00, "supposing that the brethren would go home and take dinner and return, but the most of them tarried and stood round talking, waiting with anxiety for 5 to come." Parley P. Pratt complained to McLellin "that his feelings had not been so tried with any president since he had started on his mission," because he had appointed another meeting when Pratt and others thought there was no need for one. Thomas B. Marsh, apparently also upset with McLellin, then declined taking his turn to preach. Feeling forsaken by his brethren but determined to finish what he had begun, Elder McLellin both conducted the meeting "and spoke about two hours on the Priests Hoods to the general satisfaction and edification of all present even to the brethren who had opposed me." After counseling together, Sunday saw better harmony, with agreement that Elders Marsh and Patten, next in the rotation, "should conduct the meetings as it mig[h]t seem them good." They did so, reported McLellin, and "we had a good meeting." Shipps and Welch, *Journals of William E. McLellin,* 185–86 (June 20–21, 1835).

93. Shipps and Welch, *Journals of William E. McLellin,* 186 (June 23, 1835).

Young arrived from Kirtland" with letters and news.[94] *Elder Smith, who caught an earlier steamer, had already arrived, but Young and Hyde were a day behind after falling asleep and missing the lake steamer that carried Smith and other elders to Kingston.*[95]*]*

29 June 1835 • Monday

Our next conference was held in West Lo[ugh]borough Upper Canada June 29.th Six of the counsellors were ~~were~~ absent (viz) D[avid] W. Patten, H[eber] C Kimball Luke Johnson Orson Pratt, J[ohn] F. Boynton and Lyman Johnson.—

P[arley] P. Pratt presided in council, The business of necessity was done by common consent of the church a majority of the Twelve not being present.

Twenty Five members compose the church in this place, We found them uninformeed in the principles of the new covenant, not haveing had an opportunity for instruction, being under another government and aside from the general course of the travelling elders: But we endeavored to instruct them faithfully in the knowledge of God.[96] Bros. Henry & Jacob Wood who had been suspended for some time, were privilegeed with a re-hearing, it was decided, however, that they should loose their standing in the church, consequently the conference lifted their hands against them. Elder Frederick M Van Leuven was chosen as the presideing elder in this branch. A number were ad[d]ed to this branch during our stay and we left them all rejoiceing in the light of truth: and thence we passed through a dreary uncultivated region to meet our breth[r]en at the next conference in Vt. [p. 15]

[Editorial Note: Following their usual pattern, after a few days preaching in the region, the traveling councilors "seperated to meet again in [S]t Johnsbury V.T."

94. Shipps and Welch, *Journals of William E. McLellin,* 187 (June 28, 1835).

95. Young, Journal, June 26–30, 1835. After having spent nearly two weeks in Kirtland and vicinity, Young, Hyde, and Smith departed Kirtland for the East on June 24. Young, Journal, June 4–24, 1835. In his later history, Young wrote that once the court in Ohio was finished and they were "liberated, we again started and joined the Twelve in holding conferences, preaching and baptizing, regulating and organizing the churches through the eastern country." "History of Brigham Young," *Deseret News,* February 10, 1858, 386.

96. Though isolated and inexperienced, the members of this small branch "not far from the source of the majestic St. Lawrence" River, impressed the traveling councilors. Hyde and McLellin characterized them as "a branch of the Saints who not only received us cordially, but also received our teachings with joy of heart." Hyde and McLellin, "Dear Brother," *Messenger and Advocate* 2 (October 1835): 205.

on July 17 for their next conference. Elders Young and McLellin preached together before the July 1 scattering of the Twelve and then "concluded to tarry a while longer in Canada," extending their missionary labors there, before joining their brethren in Vermont.[97] *Others of the Twelve who had skipped the conference in Upper Canada were making their own ways to St. Johnsbury, preaching along the way. Orson Pratt reported leaving Pillar Point on June 25 "in company with four of the twelve in a wagon, which brought us to Pottsdam Village," where he preached that evening. Two days later he and Heber C. Kimball traveled by wagon to Plattsburg, where they caught a steamboat to cross to St. Albans, Vermont.*[98] *Here Pratt and Kimball separated, Pratt making his own way to the next conference. Kimball visited Sheldon, Vermont, his birthplace, and on Sunday, June 28, he preached alone: "I preached to my friends and relatives several times. I passed over the Green mountains on foot and alone, ten miles between houses, through deep gorges," a shortcut that allowed him to arrive on time at the next conference.*[99] *]*

17–19 July 1835 • Friday–Sunday

St. Johnsbury— Vt July 17th

This day the Twelve met in conference agreeably to previous appointment, Elder Luke Johnson presided.— Resolved that this State be the limits of this conference, also to include the branches in Littleton, Dalton and Landaff of N. Hampshire to be called the— "Vermont Conference"

The Presideing Elder, Gardner Snow, represented the branch in this place to be 41 liveing in great unity and harmony whose faith and works we can speak of as being ⟨of⟩ that saint-like kind which the Lord loves. Elder John Badger represented the little branch in Danville to be 23. Elder William Snow represented the Congregation in Charleston to be 21 in good standing, also the number in Jay to be 11 who had lately covenanted to do the will of God in all things. Dalton Branch was represented by L. B. Wilder 15 in number, also 4 in Landaff, als[o] 10 in Littleton, 15 in Andover Vt. In Benson 7 and in— Lewis N.Y. 17, represented by Z. Adams. After an adjournment of one hour, the conference assembled and Six of the oldest counsellors proceeded to give such general and particular instructions to the assembly on the principles of faith and of action as the Spirit of God suggested to their minds, and they really had great liberty in delivering those instructi[o]ns which were well calculated for the perfection of the Saints, and also

97. Shipps and Welch, *Journals of William E. McLellin,* 187–88 (June 29–July 12, 1835); see also Young, Journal, June 30–July 13, 1835.

98. Watson, *Orson Pratt Journals,* 66–67 (June 19–July 17, 1835).

99. "History of Brigham Young," *Millennial Star* 26 (September 3, 1864): 568; Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball,* 94–95.

instructed them relative to the nature and propriety of the gathering and the necessity of their attending to it for their temporal salvation.

July 18th. the remaining six enforced the necessity of sending up wise men and purchaseing lands according to the commandments,[100] which they readily agreed to do. [p. 16]

Our public meeting on Sunday was attended by a vast concourse of people, say over One Thousand. A deep interest was felt by the more candid part of community in those everlasting and glorious principles of truth and salvation, delivered them by the speakers. Nine persons, during our conference, manifested their faith by repenting of their sins and being baptised for the remission thereof. We truly had an interesting meeting in this place.

Orson Hyde }
W[illiam] E. Mc. Lellin } Clerks

[Editorial Note: Orson Pratt wrote of the St. Johnsbury conference that "a large number of brethren and official members [men ordained to priesthood office] were present from all the surrounding branches. The twelve sat in council and transacted such business as came before us."[101] In a later published report, Hyde and McLellin described Saints "with whom we had a pleasant season of rejoicing, and whose memory is fixed indelibly upon our heart, because of their firm faith, and also their liberality in the support of the gospel."[102]

A report by clerk Orson Hyde summarized the conference this way: "Our conference in St. Johnsbury, Vt. was attended by a goodly number of brethren and sisters from different parts. The limits of this conference extends throughout the State, and the number belonging to it, as nearly as we could ascertain, was one hundred and fifty members, in good standing and fellowship. On Saturday our meeting was attended by a respectable number of people. After a sermon was delivered by Elder O. Hyde and exhortation by Elder Lyman Johnson, six came forward to obey the everlasting gospel. Sunday, we had, as was judged, from one thousand to fifteen hundred people, to hear the word preached by Elders McLellin and P. P. Pratt: after which two came forward for baptism, which was administered by Elder L. Johnson."[103] Young's estimate was higher still. After reporting "a good Conference and a large Congregation" on Saturday, on Sunday "the barn and the yard was crowded it was thought there were between 2 and 3 thousand

100. See Revelation, December 16, 1833 [D&C 101:70–74].

101. Watson, *Orson Pratt Journals,* 67 (July 17, 1835).

102. Hyde and McLellin, "Dear Brother," *Messenger and Advocate* 2 (October 1835): 205.

103. "From the Letters of the Elders Abroad," *Messenger and Advocate* 1 (August 1835): 167.

People," and 144 carriages were counted. Young noted that in St. Johnsbury they found "Fathers and Mothers, Brothers and sisters [and] here we had our wants administered to ⟨more⟩ than any other church."[104]

Orson Pratt stayed in the vicinity of St. Johnsbury for "two or three days" following the conference, then set out on a broad preaching circuit around many parts of New England and that would keep him from meeting again with the Twelve at the next appointed conferences. McLellin, too, set off alone on his own preaching circuit and would not attend the Bradford conference.[105] *On July 20, Young and Hyde left for New Bradford, with stops along the way. On July 25, they visited with the father of John Boynton of the Twelve and there "found Brother Thomas Marsh who came in the Stage to Concord and on foot from there." After preaching meetings in the vicinity, Elders Marsh and Young reached Boston on July 27. Young went on to Providence, Rhode Island, "on the railroad" and seemed to marvel that a forty mile journey had required only two hours and twenty minutes. He also returned again to Boston before reaching Bradford for the conference.*[106]*]*

7 August 1835 • Friday

Bradford Mass. Augt. 7, 1835.

Met in Conference in order to transact such business as should be brought before them, three of the counsellors being absent (viz) David W Patten, W[illiam] E M'c. Lellin and Orson Pratt. Elder William Smith presided, and it was unanimously Resolved that the limits of this conference should embrace the State to be called the.

"Massachusetts Conference"

The Elders present except Chase, Holmes & G. Bishop— were in good standing. Elder Chase had his licence and membership taken from him because of gambling for money and then breaking bread to the saints before he confessed his sins. Elder Holmes' licence was taken from ⟨him⟩ in consequence of a disagreement between him and his wife which was of long standing, it was therefore considered that if a man cannot preserve peace in his own family, he is not qualified to rule the Church of God. A letter of complaint was written to Kirtland by Elder Gibson Smith of Norfolk Conn. against Elder G. Bishop, upon which he was suspended and referred to the conference at Bradford for his trial. No one appeared to substantiate the complaint, he was therefore acquitted on that point, but upon further

104. Young, Journal, July 17–19, 1835; spelling regularized.

105. Watson, *Orson Pratt Journals,* 67–72 (July 17–September 14, 1835). Shipps and Welch, *Journals of William E. McLellin,* 191–95 (July 23–August 25, 1835).

106. Young, Journal, July 20–August 6, 1835; spelling regularized.

inquirey it was [p. 17] proven that ⟨he⟩ had erred in Spirit and in Doctrine and was considerably inclined to enthusiasm and much lifted up. The council therefore took his licence from him until he become more instructed and also get his spirit and feelings amalgamateed with his brethren[107]

Elder James Paten of North Providence ⟨R.I.⟩ was legally excommunicated for impropper conduct by the authority of two witnesses, and he, refuseing to give up his licence, was ordered to be published in the "Messenger and Advocate:" but little business to be done at this Conference. People were, generally hard and unbelieveing & but little preaching called for, but by the church.

It was decided, that, in consequence of the small number of disciples at Dover N.H. and no business to attend to of much importance, our conference in that place should be recalled, and also that the conferences at Saco & Farmington should be altered so as to close our last conference at Farmington jast one month earlier than the former appoint[ment] and we sent letters by mail to inform them of the alteration in time for the news to be circulated. This alteration, the counsel was dictated to do by the Spirit of God.

Orson Hyde } Clerk

[Editorial Note: In a later published report, Hyde noted of the Bradford conference that there were "but few brethren in this region, yet we found them seeking to become liberated from their temporal encumbrances" so that they could gather with the Saints in the West when the call came. He and his brethren also found some "who had not united themselves to the church, who entertained us very kindly. . . . May the Lord . . . bestow his choicest blessings upon this little society, on account of their generosity towards his servants."[108]

The shortened itinerary established at Bradford meant only two (instead of four) weeks between the Bradford gathering and the next conference, and three weeks (instead of eight weeks) before the end of their quorum mission. Elders

---

107. According to Hyde's report published in *Messenger and Advocate*, "Elder G. Bishop has been tried before us, and was acquitted; the charge on which he was suspended, not being sustained. But there were some things in his teaching conduct, &c. for which the council chastised him, and he instead of confessing his faults, arose and justified himself. We saw that he was likely to cleave to the same things still; therefore, we took his license." "From the Letters of the Elders Abroad," *Messenger and Advocate* 1 (August 1835): 167. When Bishop appealed his case to authorities at Kirtland, as the Twelve invited him to do, this case later contributed to tension between the Twelve and Kirtland authorities. See Jessee, Ashurst-McGee, and Jensen, *Journals, Volume 1,* 66 (September 28, 1835), 157 (January 16, 1836).

108. Hyde and McLellin, "Dear Brother," *Messenger and Advocate* 2 (October 1835): 206; this mission report was by clerks Hyde and McLellin, but McLellin was not present at this conference.

Hyde and Young traveled first to Lowell, where on subsequent nights they each preached (first Hyde, then Young) in the Jefferson Hall. They spent August 14–16 in Boston, where Elders Marsh, Parley Pratt, and Young preached in the Julian Hall. Elder Kimball, also with them in Boston, reported that each of them were there presented with a new suit of clothes by sisters Fanny Brewer, Polly Voce, and others. Kimball also reported that at Dover they visited a large cotton factory where work stopped while all hands gazed with curiosity at the "Mormon Apostles." On August 17 they left Boston for the Saco, Maine, conference and arrived on August 19, two days ahead of the appointed gathering.[109] *Meanwhile, on August 17 in Kirtland, the General Assembly of the Church met to approve the publication of the Doctrine and Covenants.*[110]*]*

21–23 August 1835 • Friday–Sunday

Saco Maine Augt. ~~28~~ 21st. 1835.

Seven of the Twelve met in Conference at this place (Viz) T[homas] B. Marsh, B[righam] Young, H[eber] C. Kimball, Orson Hyde, William Smith, J[ohn] F. Boynton & Lyman Johnson. There was no business of importance for the conference here to attend to. Elder Boynton presided and the church in this place was represented by the priest to number 57 generally in good standing. Elder Boynton represented a little branch in Dover N. Hampshire consisting of eight members in good fellowship. Adjourned one [p. 18] hour. At the opening of the conference in the afternoon, Elder P[arley] P. Pratt arrived from Boston and we hailed him with joy. The council then proceeded to deliver many general and particula[r] instructions to the conference upon the following subjects (Viz) The redemption, the Building of the house of the Lord in Kirtland, and the printing of the word of God to the nations;[111] and also, various other topics connected with the welfare of the saints. Our public meeting on Sunday

109. Young, Journal, August 11–19, 1835; Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball,* 95.

110. See p. 14 above.

111. "Redemption" referred to redeeming Zion, that is, raising funds to buy lands as part of the process of gathering on and redeeming the land of Zion in Missouri. That both the house of the Lord and printing the word of God are mentioned here, for the first time in the Record of the Twelve, along with the usual emphasis on Zion, indicates that the Twelve had now received the August 4, 1835, letter from Joseph Smith instructing them to emphasize first the house of the Lord, second the cause of Zion, and third "publishing the word to the Nations." See Joseph Smith and Kirtland High Council to Quorum of the Twelve, August 4, 1835, Joseph Smith Letterbook 1:90–93, Joseph Smith Collection, Church History Library. They may have mentioned both the house of the Lord and publishing the revelations at other conferences, but after the letter they here ensure that the record also reflected those priorities. See epilogue, pp. 48–52, for more information about the letter and these priorities.

was attended by a large concourse of people of almost all classes who paid good attention to the proclamation of the glorious truths of Prince Emanuel.[112] Some were ad[d]ed to the church in this place during our stay.

Orson Hyde } Clerk

N.B. The Church in the above place contributed money unto us to assist us in returning home to Ohio, to the am[oun]t of 70 or 80 Dollars, many of the brethren and sisters opened their hearts liberally to assist us, for which May the Lord in great mercy prosper and favour them, and safely bring them to Zion and to the celestial Kingdom. This record is according to our covenant with them.[113]

Orson Hyde. } Clerk.

[Editorial Note: The Sunday conference with Saco members and public preaching meeting that followed did not end the official activities of the conference. Although the minutes do not reflect it, the conference ended with a second session with members on Monday at which the Traveling Council of the Twelve "gave them such instruction as was necessary for them to have." On Tuesday the visiting elders departed for their conference in Farmington, Maine, where they arrived on Wednesday, two days before the Friday conference, their last.[114]

Although eleven of the Twelve attended this final conference, only by heroic effort did William E. McLellin arrive in time. Having missed the August 7 Bradford conference where the remaining conference schedule was truncated and the Farmington conference moved up from October 2, he was not aware of the August 28 meeting until Tuesday, August 25, when "Elder Dan[ie]l Bean came and brought me word" that the conference would be held "the ensueing Friday and the Twelve had sent word that they wished me to attend." He and Elder Bean left immediately

112. John Boynton and L[yman?] Johnson preached at this Sunday session. This was only one of a number of public preaching meetings in connection with the Saco conference. On Saturday, Luke Johnson had preached in the morning, Young in the afternoon; Young had also preached on the Thursday evening before the conference opened. Young, Journal, August 20–29, 1835.

113. This important N.B. (*Nota Bene*—note well or take special notice) addition to the record was likely composed after the August 21 conference as Hyde prepared the permanent record, and many of the donations likely came sometime after the conference. Young recorded that following the Farmington conference a week later, some of the Twelve returned to Saco, "where the Brethren helped us to some money to get home." Young, Journal, August 30, 1835; spelling regularized. Hyde and McLellin later wrote of Saco that "we found many Saints striving to live according to the law of the celestial kingdom, and this they manifested by their works, which are had in remembrance before the Lord and by those who visited them." Hyde and McLellin, "Dear Brother," *Messenger and Advocate* 2 (October 1835): 206.

114. Young, Journal, August 24–26, 1835; spelling regularized.

"and traveled the worst road that I ever see in all my life. Night overtook us and it rained hard and we could see just as much (in passing about 3 miles through the wood) with the ends of our fingers as with our eyes—I shall never forget this night Though I may travel ore the world." They arrived Thursday afternoon for the Friday conference.[115]]

28 August 1835 • Friday

Farmington Me. Augt. 28, 1835.

The travelling high council assembled in conf. in this place, all except Orson Pratt. Elder Ly[man] Johnson took the chair and presided during the meeting.— Resolved, that this be called the Maine conference. Elder S[ylvester] B. Stoddard was called upon. ~~to~~ He arose and gave an account of his [p. 19] labours in the ministry, his manner of teaching &c It appeared that he had been dilligent and faithful in his ministry and baptized a number. He represented the church in this place to number 32 Elder Daniel Bean, a travelling Eldr represented the branch in Letter B. to number 22. also in Newry to number 25. Also, in Errol N.H. to number 20, all in good standing and abounding in faith and good works. Adjournd one hour, then proceeded to give the conference such instructions[116] as the nature of our mission and ministry required [p. [20]]

[Editorial Note: Again, the Friday conference was followed by two days of public preaching. On Saturday, Elder Luke Johnson preached in the forenoon, Brigham Young in the afternoon; Elder McLellin indicated that he also spoke. On Sunday, John Boynton and Lyman Johnson preached. The conference was held at "Mr Pinkham['s] tavern" and the public meetings in the meetinghouse at the center of Farmington.[117] On Monday, following the second day of public meetings, "We parted to meet in Buffalo N.Y. the 24 Sept."[118]]

115. Shipps and Welch, *Journals of William E. McLellin,* 195–96 (August 25–29, 1835).

116. Text: Possibly "instruction,".

117. Young, Journal, August 28–30, 1835.

118. Shipps and Welch, *Journals of William E. McLellin,* 196 (August 30–31, 1835).

Epilogue

Despite being in New England, the site of the final conferences, Orson Pratt missed not only the Farmington conference but all three of the August conferences that concluded the quorum mission of the Twelve. He was thus unaware of the specific plan for a return to Kirtland until September 8, when he received a letter from Elder John Boynton "stating that it was necessary to return to Kirtland as soon as possible, that the council had agreed to meet at Buffalo on the 24th of Sept. at sunrise in the morning without fail."[119] Pratt preached much of another week until September 14, when he left Andover, Massachusetts, to rendezvous with his brethren.

Pratt was likely unaware of the shortened conference schedule adopted at the August 7 Bradford conference, and he was surely unaware of an August 4 communication from Kirtland that added urgency to their intentions to finish their mission and return home "as soon as possible." Although the letter from Kirtland did not arrive in time for the Bradford conference, decisions at the conference and the letter worked together toward an early wrap-up and return home—and the decision to rendezvous at Buffalo so that all reached home together.

The August 4 letter[120] was the result of a council meeting in Kirtland that same day in which the Church Presidency and other leaders considered news they had received reflecting upon the conduct of the missionaries in the East. Their information included a letter from Warren Cowdery, presiding elder in Freedom, New York, charging that the Twelve had neither informed them about the importance of, nor collected funds for, the temple in Kirtland. The letter from Joseph Smith and Kirtland leaders to the Twelve then enumerated priorities as the Presidency saw them, priorities they believed had been communicated to the Twelve but which do not appear in the April and May Kirtland minutes or in the Record of the Twelve as plainly as they were now stated in the letter. After referring the Twelve to the revelation that proclaimed that Zion could not be redeemed until after the elders "are endowed with power from on high" in the temple,[121] Joseph then asked, "Did we not instruct you to remember first the house, secondly the cause of Zion, and then the publishing the word to the Nations?" This they should have understood, and this he believed they had not done.

A second item was a letter from William McLellin to his wife in which he had made disparaging remarks about the school in Kirtland conducted by

119. Watson, *Orson Pratt Journals,* 70 (September 8, 1835).

120. Joseph Smith and Kirtland High Council to Quorum of the Twelve, August 4, 1835.

121. Revelation, June 22, 1834 (D&C 105:9–13).

Sidney Rigdon of the Presidency.[122] Since the remarks at issue were based on comments by Orson Hyde following his brief return to Kirtland early in the mission, Joseph Smith's August 4 letter informed "Elders McLellin and Hyde that we withdraw our fellowship from them until they return and make satisfaction face to face." The other Apostles could continue—"let the hands of the ten be strengthened, and let them go forth in the name of the Lord, in the power of their mission"—but the two were hereby recalled.

The Twelve as a quorum felt the sting of rebuke. Not only were they reproved for not emphasizing the temple, they were charged with another infraction of proper order. Speaking of the Twelve as a quorum, "as far as we can learn from the churches through which you have traveled," wrote Joseph, "you have set yourselves up as an independent counsel [council] subject to no authority of the church." While the letter did not expressly instruct the entire quorum to return home without delay, the now shortened schedule permitted a quick return and no doubt their concerns, and their desire to resolve the difficulties, required it.[123]

Although some of the Twelve left the Farmington conference in pairs,[124] they did not travel to Buffalo together or even two by two. Each was responsible to find his own means and make his own way. Kimball "passed through Concord, N.H., and at Plainfield I received seven dollars, a bequest left me by my aunt, which enabled me to proceed home. I went by stage, railroad, and canal, visiting my sister by the way, at Byron" as he traveled to Buffalo.[125] Young, in contrast, reported returning to Saco, where "the

122. McLellin wrote to his wife, Emeline, "You say that it will not be in your power to go to school this summer. I am glad that it is not, since Elder Hyde has returned and given me a description of the manner in which it is conducted; though we do not wish to cast any reflections." Shipps and Welch, *Journals of William E. McLellin*, 207 n. 65.

123. Those in the Church Historian's Office in about 1858 believed that the Twelve had been called home. A statement in the draft of a history of William McLellin prepared for publication in the *Deseret News* indicates that McLellin's letter "casting censure upon the presidency in Relation to the school in Kirtland" had repercussions not only for him but "resulted in calling the Twelve to Kirtland." Historian's Office, "Histories of the Twelve, 1856–1858; 1861," Church History Library.

124. "Elder William Smith and I traveled together in a small wagon 47 miles to Newry," McLellin wrote on the day they left Farmington. Shipps and Welch, *Journals of William E. McLellin*, 196 (August 31, 1835).

125. "History of Brigham Young," *Millennial Star* 26 (September 3, 1864): 568. Kimball's cousin Charles Spaulding lived in the house where Kimball's mother was born and reared. Charles passed on the money from his mother, Speedy Spaulding, who had died a short time before. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball,* 96.

Brethren helped us to some money to get home."[126] No doubt Young was not the only one who relied on donations provided by the generous Saints in Saco, Maine (see August 21, 1835, above). Though each made his own way west, all arrived at Buffalo, Kimball by stage only an hour before the appointed time.[127]

The trip home from Buffalo to Kirtland was generally speedy but not uneventful. Aboard the steamer *United States,* they traveled only as far as Dunkirk, "where she ran aground and sprung a leak." Only with difficulty did the ship make it to Erie, Pennsylvania, and then "we were under the necessity of running upon a sand bar to save the boat from sinking." At Erie they boarded another steamer, traveled safely to Fairport Harbor, and then traveled the few miles home to Kirtland in a hired wagon.[128]

The summary with which Kimball closed his mission account no doubt spoke for his companions as well. "A considerable portion of this mission was performed on foot, and I suffered severely from fatigue and blistered feet, which were sometimes so sore I could not wear my boots nor proceed without. I was frequently threatened and reviled by unbelievers, and had great difficulty in finding places to sleep and procuring food to eat."[129] The men covered impressive distances during their nearly five months in the East, especially the three, including Brigham Young, who were recalled to Kirtland and then returned to the East. Young calculated that he covered more than three thousand miles between May 4 and September 26.[130] In their published report, Hyde and McLellin characterized their accomplishments in other terms. "The nature of our mission to the east was peculiar, and required us to spend most of our time among the various branches of the church; however, as we had opportunity we proclaimed the gospel in every place where there was an opening, and truly there is an effectual door opened for good and faithful laborers among the intelligent and liberal people of the east."[131]

The Twelve arrived home on September 25, perhaps late that night,[132] and on the evening of September 26 they met with Joseph Smith and other Kirtland leaders. Orson Pratt termed the meeting "a conference," as if it

126. Young, Journal, August 30, 1835; spelling regularized.

127. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball,* 96.

128. "History of Brigham Young," *Millennial Star* 26 (September 3, 1864): 569.

129. "History of Brigham Young," *Millennial Star* 26 (September 3, 1864): 569.

130. Young, Journal, September 26, 1835.

131. Hyde and McLellin, "Dear Brother," *Messenger and Advocate* 2 (October 1835): 206.

132. Joseph Smith's diary records that he met with them the evening of September 26, "the twelve having returned from the east this morning," but accounts of the

were a business meeting such as they had held in the East.[133] But Joseph Smith's diary reports that "we met them [the Twelve] and conversed upon some matters of difficulty which ware existing between some of them, and president [Sidney] Rigdon," that is, the same matter for which Orson Hyde and William McLellin were recalled from their mission to resolve. As far as Joseph Smith was concerned, "all things were settled satisfactorily."[134]

This, however, was not the end but the beginning of a season of difficulty between the Presidency and the Twelve. Rather than return home to accolades after a job well done, which they had some reason to expect, it was instead to criticism and charges and chastisement—and tension over a range of issues that could not be settled in one evening's "conference."[135] There would be high points (on October 5 Joseph had a "glorious time" in a "high councel of the twelve apostles") and low times (a November 3 revelation chastising the Twelve),[136] but there would be no full and final resolution of all difficulties until the following January.

With planned religious activities associated with the nearly finished temple close at hand, Kirtland Church leaders, including the Quorum of the Twelve, spent the weekend of Saturday, January 16, and Sunday, January 17, 1836, meeting together to resolve all difficulties.[137] On Saturday, after listening patiently to the complaints and perspective of the Twelve, Joseph calmly responded with his own explanations and then asked for their forgiveness, "for I love you and will hold you up with all my heart in all righteousness before the Lord." He then covenanted with them that he would neither listen to nor credit "any derogatory report against any of you nor condemn you upon any testimony beneath the heavens, short of that

---

missionaries converge on September 25. See Jessee, Ashurst-McGee, and Jensen, *Journals, Volume 1*, 64 (September 26, 1835).

133. "I, in company with the rest of the twelve, met in conference on the 26th of Sept." Watson, *Orson Pratt Journals*, 72 (September 14–October 1, 1835).

134. Jessee, Ashurst-McGee, and Jensen, *Journals, Volume 1,* 66 (September 26, 1835).

135. For the details of this period of tension and then reconciliation, and Joseph Smith's ultimately successful efforts to bring resolution and unity to his family and to Church leadership in preparation for dedication of the Kirtland Temple and solemn assembly, see Jessee, Ashurst-McGee, and Jensen, *Journals, Volume 1,* 64–160 (September 26, 1835–January 16, 1836); for an analysis of these events as they pertain to the Quorum of the Twelve, see Esplin, "Emergence of Brigham Young," ch. 4, especially pp. 152–86 (57–83 of reprint edition).

136. See Jessee, Ashurst-McGee, and Jensen, *Journals, Volume 1,* 68 (October 5, 1835), 83 (November 3, 1835).

137. See Jessee, Ashurst-McGee, and Jensen, *Journals, Volume 1*, 156–60 (January 16–17, 1836).

testimony which is infallible, until I can see you face to face" and asked the same of them. They then "took each other by the hand in confirmation of our covenant and their was perfect unison of feeling . . . and our hearts overflowed with blessings." Instead of preaching, the Sunday meeting was devoted to "the presidency and twelve in speaking each in their turn," and "the Lord poured out his spirit upon us, and the brethren began to confess their faults one to the other and the congregation were soon overwhelmed in tears and some of our hearts were too big for utterance."[138]

In the words of Heber C. Kimball, these meetings "of humiliation, repentance, and confessing of sins, were truly the beginning of good days to us, and they continued through the endowment."[139] The reconciliation was accomplished just in time: that very week, beginning on January 21, the spiritual blessings associated with the temple began unfolding.[140]

Ronald K. Esplin (who can be reached via byustudies@byu.edu) is managing editor of the Joseph Smith Papers Project, Church Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. He received history degrees from the University of Utah, the University of Virginia, and Brigham Young University.

Sharon E. Nielsen (who can be reached via byustudies@byu.edu) is an editor on the Joseph Smith Papers Project. She holds an MA in Ancient Civilizations and Biblical Studies from the University of Michigan.

---

138. Jessee, Ashurst-McGee, and Jensen, *Journals, Volume 1*, 156–61 (January 16–17, 1836).

139. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball,* 100; see 98–100 for more on this from the perspective of Kimball.

140. See Jessee, Ashurst-McGee, and Jensen, *Journals, Volume 1,* 166–71 (January 21, 1836).

Pools of Living Water

No Longer a Thirsty Land?

Bruce C. Hafen

I like to go home. So I like living in St. George, Utah, now, after living elsewhere for half a century. This once-parched corner of the earth is soaked with rich Church history.

In earlier times, not everyone was thrilled to come here. J. Golden Kimball's St. George stories suggest that he believed the Brethren sent him here as some kind of punishment. On one of many occasions, J. Golden was assigned to a summer stake conference in St. George with one of the senior Brethren. After two long, hot days of wall-to-wall meetings, they finished the Sunday afternoon general session. They and most of the ward and stake leaders were fasting until all of their meetings were finished. The two visitors held one final meeting designed to motivate the stake leaders to increase their subscriptions to the *Improvement Era,* the Church's magazine. Elder Kimball knew he could do this one of two ways: either he could give a pep talk about the *Era* for an hour, or he could offer them the chance to go home early and eat. So Elder Kimball stood up and said, "'All you men that will take the *Era* if we will let you go home, raise your right hand.' There was not a single man who did not raise his hand and subscribed and paid $2.00 cash for the *Era.*"[1]

May I share one other story told about a local family whose children found it hard to be very energetic in the Dixie heat. Reportedly, the sheriff came to the family home one day and told the father that his teenage son was growing marijuana in the family vegetable garden. The father replied, "Now, sheriff, don't be too hard on the boy. It's the first thing he's taken an interest in."

I'm glad to reflect today on some of the founding stories of the St. George region. Stories about pioneers and pilgrims often involve classic themes about outcasts searching for a promised land in the face of great hardships.

The Dixie founders faced unusually daunting tasks, yet they produced unusually rich fruit.

Of course, as Leonard Arrington once said, "The remembered desolation of the Great Basin before the arrival of the Mormons became more formidable with each subsequent telling."[2] Still, in a scouting report to Brigham Young, Parley P. Pratt wrote that the St. George area had several abrupt promontories "showing no signs of water or fertility; . . . a wide expanse of chaotic matter presented itself," consisting of "huge hills, sandy deserts, cheerless, grassless plains, perpendicular rocks, loose barren clay, dissolving beds of sandstone . . . lying in inconceivable confusion; in short, a country in ruins dissolved by the pelting of storms of the ages and turned inside out, upside down, by terrible convulsions of some former age."[3] In the context of this discouraging scene, historian Larry Logue wrote, "No Utah community of any size [was] settled . . . under more faith-trying hardships than the town of St. George."[4]

In 1861, Brigham Young announced in the Salt Lake Tabernacle the names of three hundred men and their families whom he called to settle St. George. Even though most of these people were already weather-beaten veterans of the demanding first settlements in northern Utah, they "were unprepared for the starkness"[5] of what waited for them three hundred miles to the south. "Soil" seems like too generous a word for Dixie's red dirt. The settlers could grow only half as much grain per capita as elsewhere in Utah, on farms half as big and ten times harder to water—not only because of weak soil and little water, but also because the Utah miracle of irrigation didn't work well when desert cloudbursts frequently washed out sandy dams and ditches. No wonder a young man would have to take such a keen interest in marijuana to get it to grow in the red dirt. And no wonder that when he was called to Dixie, Robert Gardner said, "I looked and spit, took off my hat and scratched [my head] and said, all right, [I'll go]."[6]

Also in the early 1860s, Brigham Young sent my own Hafen ancestors here, along with the other settlers of Santa Clara, after they had just arrived from Switzerland—perhaps the greenest, best watered, and tidiest country in all the world. Having recently returned from living for a few years in Germany, I cannot imagine a greater contrast in physical environments than comparing the barren Dixie chaos to those lush and tidy Swiss hillsides. If I ever make a movie about my great-grandfather Hafen's life story, I plan to show those Swiss settlers standing on a verdant green hill north of Zürich, with Heidi and her goats grazing contentedly in the background. The Swiss immigrants will begin singing, "O Babylon, O Babylon, we bid thee farewell." Then I'll have them keep singing in the same pose as the background abruptly changes to show skinny mesquite bushes clinging to red alkaline

Southwestern Utah desert landscape.

dirt, with scary lizards and a baked cow skull on the ground. Their song will continue, "We're going to the mountains of Ephraim to dwell."

One new Swiss immigrant to Utah asked incredulously upon seeing his dry, stark new surroundings, "Is *this* Zion?" Perhaps he'd have been comforted by Brigham Young's answer to his question: "It is the shortsightedness of men which causes their disappointment when they arrive here. . . . They [expect] to find Zion [here] in its glory, whereas their own doctrine should teach them that they are coming here to *make Zion*. . . . The people can make Zion; they can make a heaven within themselves."[7] Making Zion is an internal matter of the heart.

Of the many stories told by those who settled this region, one account captures what is for me a key insight. My friend Lowell Wood told me this story from the life of his great grandparents William and Elizabeth Wood. In 1867, Brigham Young called the Woods to help settle an extension of the Dixie Cotton Mission ninety miles southwest from St. George along the Muddy River in Moapa Valley, Nevada. Historian L. A. Fleming wrote that no colonization in any area of North America presented greater difficulties than those faced by the settlers on the Muddy.[8] To accept this mission call, the Woods sold their profitable butcher shop and their comfortable home in Salt Lake City.

The grave of Susetta Bosshard Hafen, born in Switzerland and died in Santa Clara, Utah.

Conditions in the Muddy settlement were much like those in nearby Dixie. As one descendant of that group put it, "Those people were so poor, they couldn't even pay . . . attention."[9] After five years of frustrating effort, William's family lost everything trying to settle the Muddy. The settlement closed in 1872, partly due to the quirky demands of Nevada tax laws on people who thought they lived in Utah—but that's another story. Many of them moved just up the road to Orderville, east of St. George. The Woods returned penniless and exhausted to Salt Lake City, where they began living in a dugout with a dirt floor and a sod roof.

One day William and Elizabeth stood looking at the beautiful home they had sold to accept their mission call. William asked, "'How would you like such a house now as our old home?'" Elizabeth replied, "'I would rather [live in a] dug-out with [our] mission filled than [live] in that fine house with [our] mission unfulfilled.'"[10] Why would Elizabeth feel that way? Her answer says not simply that she was glad she survived the hardships, but also that she honestly believed she was a different and better person because of the way they had learned and grown by facing their hardships together. Like the survivors of the Martin and Willie handcart experiences, they came to know God in their extremities. And the price they paid to know him was "a privilege to pay."[11]

I can understand Elizabeth's discovery better by comparing it with the experience of the Aborigines in Australia's Northern Territory (NT). This is a vast expanse of hot, dry bush so isolated and environmentally harsh that you or I wouldn't last more than a few days if we found ourselves there without both instructions and supplies. While visiting the NT as part of a mission tour in the Australia Adelaide Mission a few years ago, I learned that a few Aborigines in this and other barren parts of Australia still live off the land in their traditional, deeply religious ways. Anthropologists believe

these people have been living according to this ancient pattern for an estimated forty thousand years—which would make the Aborigines the oldest continuously surviving culture on the earth today. I find it striking that the human culture with the greatest longevity would be located in one of this planet's most hostile physical environments. Something about that connection between hardship and thriving echoes the hardiness of Dixie's people.

The comparison between southwestern Utah and Australia's Northern Territory became complete for me the day we saw Ayers Rock, known to the Aborigines as Uluru. One of Australia's two or three most celebrated landmarks, Uluru is a huge red rock, a thousand feet in height with a circumference of five miles. It sits like a massive Sphinx all by itself on a flat desert plain that stretches out for hundreds of miles. In a comparison of eerie closeness, the red color and sandy texture of Uluru look exactly as if someone had carved it from the Vermillion Cliffs above St. George or Ivins. Maybe the Australians should have called it the Really Big Dixie Sugar Loaf.

Shortly before Marie and I left Sydney a few years ago, a great cloudburst poured upon the Northern Territory for several days. The rain was so intense for so long that something quite miraculous occurred—as Uluru absorbed all of that rainwater, its red sandstone color changed to a rich, deep purple. An alert photographer captured this amazing dance by Mother Nature, and the photo was published on the front page of a major newspaper. The night before we left Australia, a friend brought us a framed enlargement of this photograph, which shows water gushing down the now-purple rock's crevices and pooling in the foreground in that red dirt that looks so much like St. George's soil. On the frame below the photograph, our friend had inscribed these words from a scripture that for him describes the influence of heaven on Australia, an influence symbolized by the dramatic change the rain brought to Uluru: "And in the barren deserts there shall come forth pools of living water; and the parched ground shall no longer be a thirsty land" (D&C 133:29). (See photographs on the cover of this issue.)

What happened to Uluru is not unlike what happened to William and Elizabeth Wood. Something about digging essentially with your bare hands until you find pools of living water in a barren desert changes you for the better, especially when your motive for digging is to help and cooperate with your neighbors. With irrigation as with everything else they did, early St. George settlers knew that their very lives depended upon their mutual cooperation. They learned that human interdependence is not a pleasantry but a necessity. As one St. George family used to say, nobody would get rich in Dixie, but nobody would starve either. Maybe those two beliefs reinforced each other. In that sense, irrigation and other community processes like it also bring forth human pools of living water.

The rain upon Uluru prompts a memory of another founding story of Dixie—Lorenzo Snow and the windows of heaven. In 1899 President Snow came to St. George out of sheer compassion over the awful drought that was choking the life out of this parched corner. He was also weighed down by a larger problem—the Church's very survival was threatened by financial debt. Speaking in the St. George Tabernacle, he felt prompted to promise the local Saints that if they paid their tithing, the windows of heaven would pour out a blessing of rain. In addition, if the people accepted his counsel, he promised that "the shackles of indebtedness [would] be removed" from the Church.[12]

I once had in my office a large painting of a family kneeling together in prayer in their field, thanking God for their harvest. When I looked at that scene, I sometimes thought of the families in St. George in 1899 who again followed the founding principles that had guided their original settlement: obedience, cooperation, and sacrifice. Again they prayed together, planted together, and yielded up both their tithing and their self-interest. And the rain came. The rain poured down continually upon their upturned faces, like the Australian downpour on Uluru. And with the rain, their faith was confirmed. I marvel at the change in human character symbolized by red rocks that become purple.

The red sandstone of Uluru turned purple because it became so saturated with water that it couldn't hold any more. The stone's coarse texture literally swelled and changed as it overflowed with its heavenly gift. For me, this swelling change captures what happens when the windows of heaven have poured out such a blessing on us that we don't have room enough to contain it (see Malachi 3:10). As that happens, heaven embraces and nourishes the earth, and Zion takes root and grows within a person's heart.

Shortly after Lorenzo Snow's 1899 visit, my father was born in Santa Clara. Historian Douglas Alder has aptly described the span of my dad's lifetime—from 1903 to 1964—as a transitional generation between the poverty of the original settlers and the prosperity of the modern residents and tourists who now flock to the area.

For the earliest Dixie pioneers, self-denial had become a way of life, frugality being one of their highest virtues. For example, my Swiss grandfather, John Hafen of Santa Clara, once bought a new suit. He wore the new jacket one Sunday with some old pants, and then he wore the new pants the next Sunday with an old jacket. When asked why, Grandfather said he didn't want to be seen coming out in it all at once. And when my father, Orval Hafen, was elected to the Utah legislature in 1951, he sought advice from Albert E. Miller, who had represented Dixie in the state capitol years earlier. Offering a little tip about building a good political network, Albert E. told

my dad that while Dad couldn't afford to eat in Salt Lake's better restaurants, he should always go to the lobby of the Hotel Utah to pick his teeth.

Dixie College was founded in 1911, at the beginning of the transitional period, clearly signaling that education would help build the bridge from poverty to prosperity. During his lifetime, my father and other townspeople were involved with two major crises, one in 1933 and the other in 1953, when Dixie College struggled for survival, and the community saved it both times by again exerting their commitment to the principles of obedience, cooperation, and sacrifice. The people of St. George were determined to save their college because they knew that in the long run, education would help save *them*.

My father's own life story, punctuated by his involvement with Dixie College, illustrates how Washington County people in the transitional era discovered and embraced the values discovered years earlier by William and Elizabeth Wood on the Muddy and by the people who followed the counsel of Lorenzo Snow. I won't tell much of my dad's story, but I will share something that shows how he came to feel about St. George's barren desert after living most of his days in a growing love affair with his vision for the area's future.

Orval Hafen really hadn't planned to return to St. George after finishing law school at Berkeley. For him, Phoenix was the city of his future. He came to St. George temporarily, however, at the invitation of Joseph K. Nicholes, then president of Dixie College and president of the St. George Stake. One community project led to another, and despite Orval's years of planning to move on soon, he stayed. Gradually, the heavenly dew that distills upon those who live Dixie's founding principles began to change his internal color from red to purple.

As time rolled on, Orval developed a genuine passion for the people and the environment of this area. I want to illustrate how he came to feel by quoting a passage from his journal. Long before the Tabernacle Choir and the rest of the world discovered Tuacahn in 1995, Orval Hafen owned the land where that spectacular outdoor theatre now sits. He would go there by himself, riding his horse and dreaming up plans for golf courses and retirement communities, all of which seemed outrageously unrealistic to his family and friends. His favorite spot for contemplation was on a high ridge just north of Tuacahn. In a journal passage recorded in about 1960, he describes the first time he saw that view. Note how different his perception is about the same chaotic and hopeless landscape Parley P. Pratt described with such gloom a century earlier:

"I was awe-struck. There before me lay a scene of indescribable beauty: wild, primitive, unspoiled, largely unknown, waiting to be enjoyed, waiting

Orval Hafen overlooking Tuacahn and neighboring Snow Canyon State Park, in about 1962.

to inspire folks and bring them near to their God. [In this place,] it is easy to declare the glory of God, to feel the strength of the hills, to rejoice in the goodness of God, and to sense the order and the planning in the Universe." Within these "towering red sandstone cliffs," he desired that "others [might one day] share this beauty and drink of the inspiration that is here." He thought there might be "places more spectacular, but few could equal [this one] in serenity and peace."[13]

Could this possibly be the same land of "cheerless, grassless [and] inconceivable confusion" that Parley Pratt had seen in its "terrible convulsions of some former age"? Or does the world just look different when one's interior color changes, and from somewhere, maybe heaven, pools of living water come forth and the parched ground is no longer a thirsty land? Perhaps when one lives in a place so demanding that its inhabitants must stay close to both the heavens and the earth, toil and sacrifice turn a foreigner into a native. Orval Hafen's people were indigenous to Switzerland, but he became a *native* of St. George.

Since my father's death in 1964, Dixie has moved from its transitional era into full-blown opulence. A few years ago, the *Wall Street Journal*

published a story on the explosive growth in St. George, noting that while the Mormon pioneers who settled here came to get away from the world, the world is now coming to them.[14] The tough demands of pioneer times nourished a religious culture that produced thrift and character and stable families. As the Hopi Indians said of their habitat, they needed to live in a difficult place so they wouldn't forget their need for God. But now, some people wonder if the modern evils of luxury and urban blight will descend upon Dixie's people and put their old values at risk. Perhaps that is why, when my mother was in her eighties, she started asking our children at dinner almost every night, "Well, what did you do today that was hard for you?"

Is it possible during a time of prosperity to develop the character formed by a time of poverty? The Dixie founders blessed their posterity with a tamed desert and a comfortable existence by conquering the very oppositions that had so profoundly shaped their character. The irony of that statement reminds me of Winston Churchill's introduction to the last volume of his World War II memoirs: "How the great democracies triumphed, and so were able to resume the follies which had so nearly cost them their life."[15]

Brigham Young told the early Utah settlers about the risks of future prosperity: "Should we live in peace year after year, how long would it be before we were glued to the world? Our affections would be so fastened to the things of the world that it would be . . . contrary to our feelings to attend to anything but our own individual concerns to make ourselves rich."[16]

How, then, will we teach our children to live outside themselves with cooperation and sacrifice, rather than becoming self-absorbed and "glued to the world"? One very good way to teach the rising generation to build Zion within their hearts is to tell them the founding stories of St. George and other places like it.

Our children need to know those stories. A nationally known storyteller named Carmen Deedy said, "We now not only do not teach the Koran, the Bible, and so forth, but we teach nothing! In this void we have children" who "don't know how to live. . . . They don't know how to die. They don't know how to deal with the old and the aging. They don't know how to deal with their fears. They have no maps! . . . Stories fill that place! . . . Cultural . . . and family stories were what we gave each other to say . . . this is how you [help someone when they fall into trouble]."[17] Bringing local history to life is a crucial way to keep sharing the stories that teach our children how to live. As some of you have heard, the reason history repeats itself is because no one was listening the first time.

Here is one other perspective on how to teach our children. I have rediscovered in the last few months that the temple is the best long-term solution to Brigham Young's concern about the Saints losing their pioneer

Left to right: Richard Hafen, Jonathan Hafen, Guy Hafen, and David Hafen, sharing a favorite story at a family reunion.

values. And the St. George Temple played a key role in the restoration of the ordinances that keep those values alive in today's temple worship.

Three temples were needed to restore the fullness of temple ordinances and blessings—Kirtland, Nauvoo, and St. George. The keys of the temple sealing power were restored in the Kirtland Temple. The first baptisms for the dead and the first endowments and sealings for the living took place in Nauvoo. But the first endowments for the dead in this dispensation took place in the St. George Temple in January 1877.[18] It was also in the St. George Temple that the temple ordinances were first put into written form.

Why did St. George end up playing such a pivotal role? Brigham Young felt a keen urgency to finish a temple in Utah because the Saints had been driven out of Nauvoo before he was able to pass the torch of temple work to his successors. The temple was such a high priority that Brigham designated the site for the Salt Lake Temple on July 28, 1847, only four days after entering the valley. The building of the Salt Lake Temple began in 1853, but after nearly twenty years of excruciating labor, the Salt Lake Temple's construction was bogged down in a sea of troubles. Brigham could see that he would never live to see that temple finished. Yet he held sacred, confidential information and authority that he could pass along only in a dedicated

St. George, with the temple in the distance, as it was in 1959.

temple. So in 1871 he asked the people in remote and tiny St. George (population 1,142) to build a temple. Although they lived in extreme poverty, the Dixie Saints (assisted by volunteers from all over Utah Territory) built their temple in six backbreaking years, during which their sacrifice was exceeded only by their spiritual growth. The temple was dedicated in January and April 1877. Only four months later, Brigham Young died, finally able to face Joseph Smith to report that all of the work for the dead was now underway and all of the ordinances were written and secure in the hands of Wilford Woodruff, the St. George Temple president. In the last years of Brigham's and Joseph's lives, both were swamped by persecution, apostasy, legal troubles, and health problems. Yet uppermost in both of their minds was the completion of two temples—Nauvoo for Joseph and St. George for Brigham.

Joseph Smith had taught Brigham and the Twelve that the endowment is an essential ordinance for exaltation.[19] Otherwise they might have decided that the endowment is like a patriarchal blessing—a wonderful source of inspiration and direction, but not a necessary ordinance. Because we don't do patriarchal blessings for the dead, receiving that blessing is usually a once-in-a-lifetime experience. But Church members who live near temples—a group that now includes most of the Church's membership—can have a lifetime of experience in temple worship because they return repeatedly to do endowments for the dead.

Is there a link between pioneer values and endowment-based temple worship? Brigham Young wanted to build the St. George Temple—and therefore all subsequent temples—upon the principles of the United Order. Indeed, he re-established the United Order in several Utah communities just before dedicating the St. George Temple.

In the words of Richard Bennett, "The united order failed [in the mid-1870s] as an economic system. However, the adoption of the endowment for the dead [in the St. George Temple] with its emphasis on obedience, sacrifice, and consecration . . . fulfilled [Brigham Young's desire] to rebuild a Zion community and reestablish a consecrated people."[20]

Performing endowments for the dead makes possible true temple worship for the living. In that pattern of worship, the covenants of the temple continually reinforce the doctrine and the practice of a disciple's life—a life not glued to the things of this world. Temple-going people seek the very life of sacrifice and cooperation that William and Elizabeth Wood discovered in their mission on the Muddy. So if Latter-day Saints can't take their children to the Muddy to learn about consecration, they *can* take them to the temple.

By the way, many of the destitute refugees from the failed Muddy settlement moved directly to Orderville, near St. George, when it was established in 1875. The United Order flourished longer in Orderville than it did anywhere else—and why? Because that community was full of disciples who had already proven their willingness to sacrifice in order to build Zion.

Building Zion and establishing a covenant people, as the temple helps us to do, were not just *temporal* goals related to settling the West. They also were and are *spiritual* goals related to the spiritual growth of all the Saints, wherever they are. It was Joseph Smith who first taught Brigham Young and others that "a religion that does not require . . . sacrifice . . . never has power sufficient to produce the faith necessary unto life and salvation; for, from the first existence of man, the faith necessary unto the enjoyment of life and salvation never could be obtained without the sacrifice of all earthly things."[21]

As the Lord said in Doctrine and Covenants 97: "All . . . who . . . are willing to observe their covenants by sacrifice . . . are accepted of me. For I . . . will cause them to bring forth as a very fruitful tree which is planted in a goodly land, by a pure stream, that yieldeth much precious fruit." And in the very next verse, the Lord directs the building of a temple.

I am deeply grateful to the people who came to Dixie and built the tabernacle, the temple, and the communities in and around St. George. They built families whose lives teach us how and why to live. Their stories show how, both physically and spiritually, "in the barren deserts there shall come forth pools of living water; and the parched ground shall no longer be a thirsty land" (D&C 133:29). I want to follow their life pattern.

Bruce C. Hafen (who can be reached via byustudies@byu.edu) is president of the St. George Utah Temple and is an emeritus member of the First Quorum of the Seventy of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. This speech was presented at the annual conference of the Mormon History Association in May 2011 in St. George, Utah. All photos are courtesy of Bruce C. Hafen.

1. J. Golden Kimball, in *One-Hundred Twelfth Annual Conference of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1932), 78. ^

2. Leonard J. Arrington and Dean May, "'A Different Mode of Life': Irrigation and Society in Nineteenth-Century Utah," *Agricultural History* 49 (January 1975): 3. ^

3. Quoted in Larry M. Logue, *A Sermon in the Desert: Belief and Behavior in Early St. George, Utah* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 2–3. ^

4. Logue, *Sermon in the Desert,* 1. ^

5. Logue, *Sermon in the Desert,* 2. ^

6. "Robert Gardner Jr. Self History and Journal," 35, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, quoted in Steven E. Snow, "Get On with Our Lives," *Ensign* 39 (May 2009), 83. ^

7. Brigham Young, in *Journal of Discourses,* 26 vols. (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1855–86), 5:4 (July 5, 1857). ^

8. L. A. Fleming, "The Settlements on the Muddy, 1865 to 1871: 'A Godforsaken Place,'" *Utah Historical Quarterly* 35 (1967): 147. ^

9. Bill Cox, conversation with author, October 6, 2002. ^

10. Melvin S. Tagg, "The Life of Edward James Wood" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1959), 10. ^

11. Francis Webster, cited in William R. Palmer, "Francis Webster," text of a radio address given over KSUB (Cedar City, Utah), April 25, 1943, 1–2, William R. Palmer Collection, Church History Library; William R. Palmer, "Francis Webster," *Instructor* 79 (May 1944): 217–18. ^

12. Journal History of the Church, May 8, 1899, Church History Library; *Messages of the First Presidency,* comp. James R. Clark, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965), 3:322. ^

13. Orval Hafen, Journal, in possession of the author. ^

14. Tony Horwitz, "Cultural Mismatch: Californians Flood In and Tension Is Rising in Small Towns in Utah," *Wall Street Journal,* April 29, 1994. ^

15. Quoted in Geoffrey Best, *Churchill: A Study in Greatness* (London: Continuum, 2001), 275. ^

16. Brigham Young, in *Journal of Discourses,* 5:294 (October 6, 1857). ^

17. *Call of Story,* DVD, BYU Broadcasting, 2002. ^

18. Richard E. Bennett, "'Line upon Line, Precept upon Precept': Reflections on the 1877 Commencement of the Performance of Endowments and Sealings of the Dead," *BYU Studies* 44, no. 3 (2005): 38–77. ^

19. Wilford Woodruff, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833–1898, Typescript,* ed. Scott G. Kenney, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983–84), 2:161, March 20, 1842. ^

20. Bennett, "'Line upon Line, Precept upon Precept,'" 57. ^

21. Lecture 6.7, *Lectures on Faith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1985), 69. ^

Stripping the Kitchen Floor

I peel up linoleum like juniper bark,
Scrape at the glue, sand to discover
The white pine of this kitchen floor.

Black streaks scatter like bugs.
Four generations dissipate to dust
And settle in cracks between boards.

Since nineteen-five, these planks
Have born the scuffs of children's shoes,
Blackened nail holes stained with paint.

I sand through the houses this house has been:
Patched-up three-family tenement;
A condemned pile near the street's dead end,

Hovel of spiders and stray cats;
A hobo stop by the tracks,
Leaves heaped at the foot of the stairs;

A dowry and a family home;
A farmhouse in alfalfa fields . . .
I feel the lines, the amber grain

Of pines that stood in the canyon
When this valley spread out
Birdloud and empty of towns.

—William DeFord

Reprinted by permission from Tyler Chadwick, ed., *Fire in the Pasture: Twenty-First Century Mormon Poets* (El Cerrito, Calif.: Peculiar Pages, 2011), 138.

Mormonism in the Methodist Marketplace

James Covel and the Historical Background of Doctrine and Covenants 39–40

Christopher C. Jones

On January 5, 1831, Joseph Smith received a revelation directed to one James Covill, an experienced Protestant minister and a potential convert to Smith's nascent Church of Christ. Like so many of Joseph Smith's early revelations directed to specific individuals, this one assured the recipient that the Lord knew him personally: "I have looked upon thy works and know thee and verily I say unto thee thy heart is right before me." The Lord promised Covill that if he obeyed the revelation and submitted to baptism that he would be assigned "a greater work"—to "Preach the fullness of my Gospel, . . . to build up my Church & to bring forth Zion" in preparation for the Second Coming of Christ.[1] Unlike most other revelations contained in the Doctrine and Covenants, though, this was followed by another the next day received by Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon, "telling them why James obeyed not the Command which he Received." Covill, according to this second revelation, succumbed to the temptations of Satan and "the fear of persecutions & cares of the world."[2] Because his interest in the Church was short-lived, Covill has largely been excluded from historical narratives

1. The revelation is today canonized in the Doctrine and Covenants as Section 39. For the earliest manuscript version of the revelation, see "Revelation, 5 January 1831," in Robin Scott Jensen, Robert J. Woodford, and Steven C. Harper, eds., *Manuscript Revelation Books,* facsimile edition, first volume of the Revelations and Translations series of *The Joseph Smith Papers,* ed. Dean C. Jessee, Ronald K. Esplin, and Richard Lyman Bushman (Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Press, 2009), 87–91.

2. "Revelation, 6 January 1831," in Jensen, Woodford, and Harper, *Manuscript Revelation Books*, 91.

Christopher C. Jones

At the annual meeting of the Mormon History Association in 2009, I listened to several researchers and editors at the Joseph Smith Papers Project speak on the recently discovered Book of Commandments and Revelations. I was especially intrigued by a comment made almost in passing about a seemingly insignificant correction to the historical record—James Covill, the subject of two revelations in the Doctrine and Covenants, was identified as a Methodist rather than a Baptist preacher, as the current historical note accompanying section 39 indicates. I was, at the time, completing a master's thesis exploring the influence of Methodism on early Mormonism and immediately wondered how this new information about Covill spoke to my research.

After finishing the thesis, I began a close reading of the two revelations and was both surprised and delighted at the ways in which Covill's religious affiliation changed the way I read them. Baptists and Methodists were bitter competitors for converts in antebellum America and the most successful evangelicals of their day. They shared a commitment to proselytizing the new nation but differed in key points of doctrine and church government—those themes immediately stood out to me in the Covill revelations, and I drafted a short historical note on why it matters that James Covill was a Methodist and not a Baptist that I planned on submitting for publication. Before doing so, I learned that other historians had identified a Methodist preacher by the name of James Covel, who they supposed was the James Covill in question. Encouraged by this possibility, I began scouring Methodist sources online and then later in the archives. Digging through manuscript records and microfilm copies of old periodicals, I was slowly able to piece together James Covel's preaching career—I even found two letters he wrote that were published in denominational newspapers.

The life of James Covel was even more fascinating than I initially imagined. It adds important context to two revelations in Mormon scripture, and reveals much about the ways in which Mormonism spoke to the cultural environment into which it was born.

of Mormonism, aside from an occasional mention as an example in lesson materials on the consequences of rejecting the Lord's counsel.[3]

When the Doctrine and Covenants was first published in 1835, the two revelations discussing Covill were included as sections 59 and 60, respectively, and included for the first time Covill's last name; in the earliest manuscripts he is simply called "James," and in the Book of Commandments, published in 1833, he was identified as "James (C.)."[4] In 1839, while preparing the Manuscript History of the Church, Joseph Smith and his scribes added a little more detail to Covill's story. James Mulholland recorded that Covill first approached Joseph Smith after the Church's conference held in Fayette, New York, on January 2, 1831, noted that Covill "had been a Baptist minister for about forty years" and added that upon rejecting Mormonism, he "returned to his former principles and people."[5]

That additional biographical information has been repeated by historians for years and is the basis for the current historical headnotes accompanying the revelations in Latter-day Saint scripture. The Book of Commandments and Revelations, a manuscript discovered in 2005 during a search through historical documents possessed by the First Presidency of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints by the Joseph Smith Papers Project, however, identifies Covill not as a Baptist minister but rather "a Methodist priest."[6] Written primarily in the hand of John Whitmer from 1831 to 1835 and recently published as volume 1 of the Revelations and Translations series of the Joseph

---

3. See, for example, "Revelations to James Covill: Sections 39–40," in *Doctrine and Covenants Student Manual: Religion 324 and 325* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1981, 2001), 79–80.

4. *Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of the Latter Day Saints: Carefully Selected from the Revelations of God, and Compiled by Joseph Smith Junior, Oliver Cowdery, Sidney Rigdon, Frederick G. Williams, Presiding Elders of the Church* (Kirtland, Ohio: F.G. Williams & Co., 1835), 187–88; *A Book of Commandments, for the Government of the Church of Christ, Organized According to Law, on the 6th of April, 1830* (Zion [Jackson Co., Missouri]: W. W. Phelps and Co., 1833), 85–87.

5. See Manuscript History of the Church, A1:91 in Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Papers of Joseph Smith, Volume 1: Autobiographical and Historical Writings* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989), 346; "History of Joseph Smith," *Times and Seasons* 4 (October 15, 1843): 353–54.

6. "A Book of Commandments and Revelations," in Jensen, Woodford, and Harper, *Manuscript Revelation Books*, 387. The heading to Doctrine and Covenants 39 does not actually identify Covill's religious affiliation at all, but the index found at the back of the Book of Commandments and Revelations identifies the section as "A Revelation to James a Methodist Priest." Like nearly all non-Anglican Protestants, Methodists in early America did not actually recognize "priest" as a priesthood office; their ministers were Deacons, Elders, or simply "preachers." In January 1831, James Covel was an Elder in the Methodist Protestant Church.

Smith Papers, the "Book of Commandments and Revelations" contains the earliest surviving manuscript copies of several of Joseph Smith's revelations, including the two discussing James Covill, likely written soon after they were received in January 1831.[7] Because of the earlier provenance of these manuscript versions of the revelations, they are likely more accurate than the details provided later by Mulholland and other scribes. Additionally, attempts to find a Baptist minister in the Fayette area in January 1831 have proved fruitless.[8]

Following up on the suggestion that Covill was a Methodist and not a Baptist, historians Sherilyn Farnes and Steven Harper found insightful corroborating evidence:

> Covill had been a minister for forty years and then covenanted to obey the Lord's will as revealed to Joseph Smith—but he had been a Methodist, not a Baptist minister. There is no sign of Covill in Baptist records, but a James Covel appears in Methodist records beginning in 1791, forty years before section 39 was received, when he was appointed as a traveling preacher on the Litchfield, Connecticut, circuit. He rode various Methodist circuits for four years as an itinerant preacher. In 1795 James married Sarah Gould, the daughter of a Methodist preacher, on October 28. James rode the Lynn, Massachusetts, circuit for a year before he "located." That is, he settled, raised a family, apparently practiced medicine, and largely dropped out of the Methodist records. Sarah and James had a son, James Jr., who followed his father into the ministry. The Covels moved to Maine and then to Poughkeepsie, New York, around 1808. It is not clear where they were when they heard of Joseph Smith and the restored gospel about 1830, but most likely they were still somewhere in New York.[9]

---

7. While March 1831, when John Whitmer was called by revelation to keep a history and record of the revelations received by Joseph Smith, seems the more likely date the Book of Commandments and Revelations was started, some argue for an earlier date, pointing to the summer of 1830. Based on the available evidence, I tend to favor early 1831 as the likely starting point. Either way, the manuscript copies of the two revelations focusing on Covill were likely transcribed no later than November 1831, when John Whitmer and Oliver Cowdery took the collection to Missouri in an abortive initial attempt to publish the Book of Commandments. See Robert J. Woodford, "Introducing a Book of Commandments and Revelations: A Major New Documentary 'Discovery,'" *BYU Studies* 48, no. 3 (2009): 7–8; and Robin Scott Jensen, "From Manuscript to Printed Page: An Analysis of the History of the Book of Commandments and Revelations," *BYU Studies* 48, no. 3 (2009): 19–52.

8. Robert J. Woodford, "James Covel (Covill, Covil)," unpublished paper in my possession, 3. As Woodford notes, "Lyndon W. Cook found a Baptist minister named James Covell over 130 miles away in Chautaugua County whom he supposed was the man found in LDS Church records." See Lyndon W. Cook, *Revelations of the Prophet Joseph Smith: A Historical and Biographical Commentary of the Doctrine and Covenants* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1981), 56.

9. Steven C. Harper, *Making Sense of the Doctrine and Covenants: A Guided Tour through the Revelations* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2008), 132–33. See also Harper,

Additional research in Methodist manuscript collections and periodicals adds further detail to Harper and Farnes's initial findings, confirming that James Covel, the Methodist preacher, was stationed near Fayette, New York, in January 1831 and that the details from his ministry bear out suggestions that he is likely the James Covill discussed in sections 39 and 40 of the Doctrine and Covenants. In addition to presenting that evidence, this article also considers what this newfound knowledge contributes to our understanding of the revelations.

Understanding that James Covel was a Methodist (and not a Baptist) preacher sheds new light from a unique vantage point on the key debates and issues that permeated the religious world in which early Mormonism emerged; it also reveals the way its earliest investigators and converts understood its message regarding the proper nature and mode of baptism, missionary work, and church government.[10] The Covel case is particularly important precisely because he never converted to Mormonism. Analyses of Mormonism's reception by others are generally drawn from either the later remembrances of its most faithful converts or the writings of its most bitter enemies, but the story of James Covel—a man intrigued and perhaps even somewhat convinced by what Mormonism had to offer, but who ultimately rejected that message—provides a new and refreshing point of view. He had much in common with many of Mormonism's other early investigators, and Mormonism surely appealed to him for many of the same reasons it did to others; but, by contrast, Covel likely found such stances as the necessity of baptism by immersion offensive, Mormonism's mode of missionary work familiar but ultimately unsuitable to his own situation, and the authority possessed by a twenty-six-year-old prophet simultaneously powerful and imprudent. To understand why, we must first examine Covel's lengthy career as a Methodist that almost led him into Mormonism.

"I have looked upon thy works and I know thee": James Covel's Preaching Career, 1791–1831

As noted above, James Covel's career as a Methodist preacher began in 1791, when he was admitted on trial and assigned to the Methodist Episcopal Church's Litchfield circuit (Connecticut) under the leadership of Jesse Lee,

---

"Historical Headnotes and the Index of Contents in the Book of Commandments and Revelations," *BYU Studies* 48, no. 3 (2009): 61, where he credits Farnes.

10. While I have heretofore used the spelling of his last name presented in LDS records ("Covill"), I have chosen to use "Covel" from this point on, in keeping with the spelling most common in Methodist records and which Covel himself used. It should be noted, though, that the name is alternately spelled "Covell," "Coval," "Covil," and "Covill" in Methodist records, and when quoting such sources, I maintain the original spelling.

a pioneer of Methodism in eighteenth-century New England.[11] Covel was born in Chatham, Barnstable County, Massachusetts, the son of a Baptist minister and a Methodist mother. Although little is known of Covel's early life and religious wanderings, his entrance into the Methodist ministry at the age of twenty-two follows the pattern of many other energetic young converts to the Methodist faith in that region. The first Methodist Episcopal preachers had entered New England only a few years earlier, and Covel was among the earliest Methodist preachers born and raised in the area. As recently detailed by historian Glen Messer, these native New England itinerants were typically "young men on the threshold of manhood who were not completely devoid of prospects, but not endowed with great wealth either." They generally came from religious upbringings and saw a career in the Methodist itinerancy as both a response to a divine call to preach and an opportunity "to make modest advancements in their own economic status."[12] Covel's conversion and call to the ministry seems to have followed this pattern. So, too, did his subsequent advancement in the Methodist ministry.

In 1792, Covel remained on trial but was transferred to the Otsego circuit (New York), where the elder in charge of his district was yet another eminent Methodist in early America, Freeborn Garretson. Such transfers, which relocated itinerant preachers on a year-to-year basis and often took them across state lines, were standard procedure in Methodism. Many spent time in both the North and the South, and some even ventured into Canada and the West Indies.[13] While Covel was never assigned to such distant locales, his early years as an itinerant preacher did take him throughout New England and New York State; after one more transfer to another circuit in New York, he was reassigned to his initial circuit in Litchfield and then to the Marblehead and Lynn circuits in Massachusetts. As was typical among Methodist preachers, Covel completed his two-year probationary period and was admitted into full connection in 1793, then constituted a deacon in 1794, and finally elected and ordained an elder in 1796.[14] By that point, Covel had relocated to Marblehead, Massachusetts, where

---

11. *Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the Years 1773–1828. Volume 1* (New York: T. Mason and G. Lane, 1840), 39, 42. See also Payne Kenyon Kilbourne, *Sketches and Chronicles of the Town of Litchfield, Connecticut, Historical, Biographical, and Statistical: Together with a Complete Official Register of the Town* (Hartford, Conn.: Case, Lockwood, and Co., 1859), 183.

12. Glen Alton Messer II, "Restless for Zion: New England Methodism, Holiness, and the Abolitionist Struggle, circa 1789–1845" (ThD diss., Boston University School of Theology, 2006), 92–94.

13. See Cynthia Lynn Lyerly, *Methodism and the Southern Mind, 1770–1810* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 15.

14. Methodist Episcopal Church, *A Form of Discipline, for the Ministers, Preachers, and Members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America. Considered and*

he married Sarah Gould in October 1795. After another year spent as a traveling minister, Covel "located"—that is, became a local instead of an itinerant preacher—in 1797 and pursued a career in medicine. His short career as an itinerant preacher was by all accounts typical of many Methodists.[15]

Interestingly, Covel's experience as a traveling preacher prompted his future career path. In an 1808 letter, he recalled having anticipated that at the time of his marriage to Sarah "the time would come, when his family concerns would be such as to prevent his traveling in his ministerial vocation." After the birth of James and Sarah's first son, James Jr., on September 4, 1796, that time had apparently arrived. As early as 1792, Covel began "the study of physic . . . with a view to obtain a more general knowledge of men and things." During his time as an itinerant minister, Covel became sensitive to "the distresses of many of the poor among whom he travelled," which "induced him to obtain all the knowledge in the healing art he could." He thus "formed a friendly acquaintance with several gentlemen in the medical line" and from them "obtained not only books but advice and instruction." By the time he and Sarah moved to Eden, Hancock County, Maine, in 1799, Covel felt satisfied that he had adequately "applied himself . . . to the study of physic, surgery and midwifery" and "commenced the practice." Over the next seven years, he worked as a family physician and established a reputation "in that part of the country as a skilful and judicious practitioner."[16]

James Covel's time as a Methodist preacher did not end when he pursued a career in medicine, though. Methodists often relied on "located" preachers to administer the sacraments of baptism and marriage and to work with itinerant preachers in ministering to local classes and societies.[17] In addition to Covel's continued activity in Methodist affairs, his older brother and two of his sons followed his example and became Methodist preachers themselves. Zenas Covel, three years James's senior, was admitted on trial in 1801 and assigned to the Saratoga circuit, just north of Albany, New York.

Approved at a Conference Held at Baltimore, in the State of Maryland, On Monday the 27th of December, 1784, in Which the Reverend Thomas Coke, L.L.D. and the Reverend Francis Asbury, Presided. Arranged under Proper Heads and Methodised in a More Acceptable and Easy Manner. With Some Other Useful Pieces Annexed (Elizabeth-Town, N.J.: Shepard Kollock, 1788), 7–13.

15. For details of Covel's preaching career, see *Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1:44, 47–48, 51, 53, 56, 59, 62, 65, 70, 72–73. See also Abel Stevens, *Memorials of the Introduction of Methodism into the Eastern States: Comprising Biographical Notices of Its Early Preachers, Sketches of Its First Churches, and Reminiscences of Its Early Struggles and Successes* (Boston: Charles H. Peirce, 1848), 119.

16. James Covel, "Communication," *Poughkeepsie Journal,* February 10, 1808, 3.

17. On "located" preachers, see Messer, "Restless for Zion," 59–61.

He accelerated through the ranks of Methodist preachers, being admitted into full connection and ordained an elder after just two years, traveling several circuits throughout New York State in his decade-long career as an itinerant. In 1805, Zenas was assigned to the Newburg circuit (New York); the following summer, James and Sarah moved just twenty miles north of Newburg, settling in Poughkeepsie. Four years later, Zenas located and settled in Dutchess County, New York, where he had been assigned the previous year, and took up work as a private tutor and teacher to a family there.[18] In addition to Zenas, other Covels lived in the area, including James and Zenas's father, who passed away while living there in 1814.[19]

James Covel's activities in Poughkeepsie are relatively well documented. By the time he and Sarah moved again in 1819, James had apparently established himself in the community. He purchased property, practiced medicine, performed marriages, and occasionally preached. But he initially got off to a rough start. On May 11, 1807, the Dutchess County Medical Society charged Covel with "practicing Physic and Surgery contrary to a requisition of a law of this state." After the notice was published in the local newspaper, Covel sent a letter in his defense, rehearsing his qualifications and attaching letters of recommendation from patients in Maine.[20] How the dispute was eventually resolved is not entirely clear, but in December of that year Covel opened a store with one Jonathan Ward selling "genuine Drugs and Medicine" as "physicians and druggists." In time, Covel became a member of the Dutchess County Medical Society.[21] In addition to his medical career, James also remained busy with clerical responsibilities, marrying couples, and preaching. Interestingly, though, the extent of his involvement with the Methodist church in Poughkeepsie is not clear. His name does not appear in the few surviving contemporary Methodist records in Poughkeepsie, and reports of

18. For details of Zenas Covel's ministry in the Methodist Episcopal Church, see *Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1:95, 100–101, 105, 108, 112, 124, 136, 177, 178. See also Janet Rohrabaker, "Update: Note on Rev. Mr. Zenas Covel and Rev. Dr. James Covel, Brothers and Ministers," *The Dutchess* 29 (Spring 2002): 108.

19. See "1810 Census Records: Village of Poughkeepsie, Town of Poughkeepsie," *The Dutchess* 4, no. 2 (December 1976): 23. The March 16, 1814, issue of the *Poughkeepsie Journal* contained a notice that "the good and chattels, lands and tenements of James Covel, Jun." were for sale. This is likely Doctor Covel's father, who had passed away in January. See *Poughkeepsie Journal,* March 16, 1814, 4.

20. *Poughkeepsie Journal,* February 10, 1808, 2–3.

21. *Poughkeepsie Journal,* December 20, 1807, 3; Covel's name is recorded in the list of members of the Medical Society in James H. Smith, *History of Dutchess County, New York, with Illustrations and Sketches of Some of Its Prominent Men and Pioneers* (Syracuse, N.Y.: D. Mason and Co., 1882), 109.

his preaching that made it into the local newspaper note him preaching at the Episcopal—not Methodist—church. In the summer of 1818, for instance, "the Rev. Doct. Covel" delivered a discourse as part of the celebration of the Festival of St. John the Baptist.[22] None of the notices of marriage performed by James Covel mention a denominational affiliation, and in the 1808 letter in which he defended his medical credentials, Covel describes his "ministerial vocation" in a way entirely omitting any mention of Methodism. He referred to his time as "an itinerant preacher" without noting his connection to the Methodist Episcopal Church.[23] Furthermore, in 1809, James and Sarah purchased and lived in the Glebe House, which formerly housed the Rector of the Episcopal Church in Poughkeepsie. They remained there until 1812 or 1813 when they sold the property and moved within the community.[24]

---

22. *Poughkeepsie Journal,* June 24, 1818, 3. The celebration was apparently a civic affair, and in addition to Episcopalians, Masons participated in and sponsored the event. The Festival of St. John the Baptist celebrated the arrival of the midsummer solstice each year and featured into both Masonic and Christian liturgical calendars. John Henry Hobart, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in New York State, who was stationed in Poughkeepsie at the same time Covel lived there, spent several pages discussing the festival in his *Companion for the Festivals and Fasts of the Protestant Episcopal Church*. See John Henry Hobart, *A Companion for the Festivals and Fasts of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, Principally Selected and Altered from Nelson's Companion for the Festivals and Fasts of the Church of England, with Forms of Devotion*, 2d ed. (New York: T. and J. Swords, 1817), 229–34. In addition to the 1818 discourse, the July 7, 1813, issue of the *Poughkeepsie Journal* summarized the community's Fourth of July celebration, noting that it began at "the Episcopal Church, where the exercises of the day were opened by a highly impressive address to the throne of grace by the Rev. Mr. Covel." See *Poughkeepsie Journal,* July 7, 1813, 3. This, however, appears to refer to Zenas Covel, not James, who was identified as "Rev. Dr. Covel." See Rohrabaker, "Note on Rev. Mr. Zenas Covel and Rev. Dr. James Covel," 108.

23. *Poughkeepsie Journal,* February 10, 1808, 3. For marriages performed by Covel, see *Poughkeepsie Journal,* March 4, 1812, 3. Additionally, the paper contains ads for "Covel and Patten, Booksellers in Poughkeepsie" peddling among other volumes a book written by Methodist minister Billy Hibbard, who entered the ministry in 1798 and preached mostly in the New York Conference. It is unclear whether this Covel is James or Zenas, but it seems likely that it was Zenas, who, in addition to his responsibilities as a teacher and tutor, worked as publisher around this time. See *Poughkeepsie Journal,* June 3, 1812, 1; and *Poughkeepsie Journal,* June 10, 1812, 1. In 1813, Zenas Covel published the memoirs of noted New Light Presbyterian preacher William Tennent Jr. See Elias Boudinot, *Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. William Tennent, Late Pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Freehold, in New-Jersey: With an Account of His Views While in a Trance, Which Continued Three Days* (Kingston, N.Y.: Zenas Covel, 1813).

24. See "Sales by Mortgage," *Poughkeepsie Journal,* July 8, 1812, 2. The Covels are the only non-Episcopalians I have been able to find who lived in the Glebe house.

What are we to make of Covel's relationship with the Episcopal Church during this time? Had he left Methodism? The answer to the latter question appears to be no; there is no mention of the Covels in the detailed records of Poughkeepsie's Episcopal Church. Instead, Covel's actions may be seen as a conscious attempt to elevate his social standing and advance his professional career. While there remained some lingering anti-British sentiment toward the Protestant Episcopal Church in the early nineteenth century, in Poughkeepsie the Episcopalians' Christ Church was the ecclesiastical home of several of the town's most prominent citizens, including Samuel Bard, president of the Dutchess County Medical Society, and James Livingston Van Kleeck, the Society's secretary, who had penned the notice charging Covel with practicing medicine illegally.[25]

Yet while Covel may have consciously sought to be included in the civic and professional society dominated by Episcopalians, he never severed ties with Methodism, as did some other Methodist ministers who grew weary of the physical rigor and low pay.[26] Covel's wife, Sarah, and his brother's wife, Mary, are both listed as members on the Methodist class list kept by class leader Charles Duncomb from 1805 to 1812. In 1811, James Covel's medical and religious careers overlapped when itinerant Methodist preacher Landford Whiting contracted smallpox while traveling along the Hudson River. Methodist leaders stopped off in Poughkeepsie and "committed [Landford] to the care of Doctor James Covell."[27] The Covels' continued activity in the Meth-

---

25. The Bards and Van Kleecks not only rented pews at Christ Church but also donated generous amounts to pay for the church's first steeple and, later, its organ. It is also possible that Jonathan Ward, with whom Covel went into business, was Episcopalian, too. There is listed among pew renters during this period a "Ward," whose first name is not mentioned. See Helen Wilkinson Reynolds, ed., *The Records of Christ Church, Poughkeepsie, New York* (Poughkeepsie, N.Y.: Frank B. Howard, 1911), 42, 95, 128, 171.

26. Because of the historical relationship between the two groups (Methodism began as a revival movement within the Church of England, and Methodists in America formally separated in 1784), movement between Methodism and Episcopalianism was not entirely uncommon in the early Republic, and cultural connections between many members of each group remained strong in spite of the institutional separation. See Kyle Bulthuis, "Four Steeples over the City Streets: Trinity Episcopal, St. Philip's Episcopal, John Street Methodist, and African Methodist Episcopal Zion Churches in New York City, 1760–1840" (PhD diss., University of California, Davis, 2006), 30–31.

27. Class Meetings list in L. M. Vincent, *Methodism in Poughkeepsie and Vicinity: Its Rise and Progress from 1780 to 1892, with Sketches and Incidents, a Brief Summary of Other Religious Denominations* (Poughkeepsie, N.Y.: A. V. Haight, 1892), 62. "Sarah Coval" is the eighth individual listed and "Mary Covel" is the eighteenth. Methodist preachers belonged not to local congregations or classes but rather to

odist Episcopal Church is further evidenced in the lives of their two oldest sons—James Jr. and Samuel—who each entered the Methodist itinerancy as well. After experiencing conversion at age sixteen, James Jr. began preaching in 1815, was admitted on trial in the New York Conference in 1816, and took up as his first assignment his father's old circuit in Pittsfield. In 1818, he was admitted into full connection and ordained a deacon, and then, in 1820, he became an elder. The following year, Samuel was admitted on trial and sent to Charlotte in western New York.[28] It was during this time—perhaps because the two eldest sons had left home, perhaps because their father was looking for opportunities to advance his medical career—that James and his family relocated to New York City. It is not clear exactly when they moved. In late 1818, Covel performed the marriage of "Mr. Thomas Burrows, to Miss Ann Warren," and his name was listed on the membership roll of the Dutchess County Medical Society as late as May 1819.[29] As early as October of that year, though, the Covels had moved to New York City. On the 23rd of that month, "Rev. Dr. Covel" performed the marriage of "Mr. Abraham F. Rush, to Miss Ann Blauvelt, both of Greenwich Village."[30] In September 1820, the Covels were settled in their new home, and James applied for membership in the Medical Society of the County of New York.[31] Their arrival in New York coincided with a point of

---

ministerial conferences, perhaps explaining the absence of James's name from this list. For more on the relationship between local Methodist societies and clerical conferences, see Russell E. Richey, *The Methodist Conference in America: A History* (Nashville: Kingswood Books, 1996). For the Lansford Whiting incident, see *Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1:207.

28. For James Jr., see *Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1:269, 285, 288, 301, 304, 317, 321, 336, 340, 351. For Samuel, see *Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1:354, 375, 390, 395, 416, 440–42, 465–66, 495, 497; John M'Clintock and James Strong, *Cyclopædia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature,* 12 vols. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1884), 12:140. James would go on to gain some notoriety with the Methodist Episcopal Church as an author and educator, publishing in 1843 *A Concise Dictionary of the Holy Bible, Designed for the Use of Sunday School Teachers and Families, with Maps and Numerous Fine Engravings* (New York: G. Lane and P. P. Sandford, 1843). See Stephen Parks, *Troy Conference Miscellany, Containing a Historical Sketch of Methodism within the Bounds of the Troy Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, with Reminiscences of Its Deceased, and Contributions by Its Living Ministers, with an Appendix* (Albany: J. Lord, 1854), 185–93.

29. *Poughkeepsie Journal,* December 2, 1818, 3; Smith, *History of Dutchess County*, 109.

30. "October 30, 1819," in *The Ladies' Literary Cabinet, Being a Miscellaneous Repository of Literary Productions, in Prose and Verse*, ed. S. Woodworth, vol. 1 (New York: Woodworth and Heustis, 1819), 200.

31. *Minutes of the So-Called Medical Society of the State of New York* (New York: Medical Society of New York, 1878), 231. In the January 1823 list of the "Members

transition in American Methodism, one that proved particularly disruptive for New York City's Methodists. Though he did not know it at the time, this disruption would also signal a transition in James Covel's own religious identity.

The first two decades of the nineteenth century saw Methodists in America grow from a small sect to one of the country's largest Protestant denominations. With growth came influence, and with influence some measure of respectability. The overtly emotional worship and radical social positions that had characterized the Methodists in America gradually gave way to a more refined and moderate religious experience and a cultured clergy increasingly at peace with American social norms. In response, some Methodists began calling for reform. In New York City, these debates took on explicitly class- and race-laden tones, as the city's predominantly working-class uptown Methodists decried the influence exerted by the merchant-class congregants who worshipped at the downtown John Street chapel. Tensions boiled over in 1818, when rumors began to spread that John Street's wealthy members convinced Methodist city trustees to build a more ornate building with pews for rent instead of simply repairing the aging structure in place. Wary of displays of worldliness at odds with the Wesleyan tradition and fearing that the Methodist community's few assets were being disproportionately handled and distributed by a select few in collusion with church leaders, many working-class Methodists at uptown churches left in protest, accusing local leaders of "popery." Led by recently ordained itinerant Elder William Stilwell, the dissenters formally organized themselves under the name of the Methodist Society of New York in 1820.[32]

While class tensions were at the heart of the Stilwellite schism, they were inseparable from broader debates over church government and the episcopacy in Methodism during this period. Following the death of beloved Bishop Francis Asbury in 1816, these debates came to a head in local conflicts over the concentrated power exerted by both bishops and presiding elders. In New York City, these were accompanied by calls for greater lay representation and voice in church affairs, attempting to claim in both their actions and their chosen name a more primitive and pure Methodism.

---

of Medical Society of the county of New York," Covel was listed among "Legal Practitioners, not Members." See *The National Advocate for the Country,* January 31, 1823.

32. I have drawn heavily from Kyle Bulthuis's excellent analysis of this and other ecclesiastical schisms in New York City during this period. See Kyle T. Bulthuis, "Preacher Politics and People Power: Congregational Conflicts in New York City, 1810–1830," *Church History* 78, no. 2 (June 2009): 261–82. See also Elizabeth A. Georgian, "A Church in Crisis? Paradoxes in the Rise of American Methodism, 1777–1835" (PhD diss., University of Delaware, 2010), 110–23. Stilwell entered the itinerancy in 1814 and was ordained an elder in 1818. See *Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church,* 1:235, 305.

It is not clear how James Covel first came into contact with Stilwell—there was a William Stillwell who was prominent in the affairs of the city's medical community, though there is no discernable relationship between the doctor and the dissenting preacher.[33] If the site of the marriage performed by Covel in October 1819 is any indication of where he lived and worshipped in the city, then he resided near the uptown Methodists who followed Stilwell out of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Covel, listed as a local preacher in Methodist records during this period, withdrew from the Methodist Episcopal Church on January 12, 1821, and had united with the Stilwellites by July. On July 16, 1821, Stilwell recorded with satisfaction that "a number of other preachers have joined the Society; and among the number Doctor Covil, who was an Elder in the Methodist Episcopal Church at the time he withdrew and joined the Methodist Society."[34]

Covel's reasons for uniting with Stilwell's society are not clear. Perhaps he felt the Stilwellites represented something closer to the Methodism of the late eighteenth century, when he was first converted and began preaching. Perhaps he rediscovered his commitment to the poor and working classes after tiring of trying to impress the upper class Episcopalians in Poughkeepsie. But whatever his reasons, he was not alone in his actions. The Methodist Society grew rapidly, attracting as many as six hundred new members in their first year of existence.[35] Probably because of his age and experience, Covel immediately became a leader in the new religious society, working closely with William Stilwell and his uncle Samuel Stilwell. When black Methodists in New York City sought and were denied ordination at the hands of Methodist Episcopal leaders, they turned to William Stilwell, who had previously been assigned as the white leader of the city's two black Methodist congregations. Christopher Rush, who would later be elected bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, recalled the episode. After having their request denied by Methodist Episcopal Bishop William McKendree,

> the committee, thus authorized, promptly went forward, and shortly after obtained the consent of Doctor James Covel, Silvester Hutchinson and William M. Stilwell, all regularly ordained Elders of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and members of the Methodist church lately established in this city, (having recently withdrawn from the old connexion, for reasons

33. *Minutes of the So-Called Medical Society of the State of New York,* 4, 23, 316.

34. Methodist Episcopal Church Records, vol. 79, New York Public Library; Samuel Stilwell, *Historical Sketches of the Rise and Progress of the Methodist Society in the City of New York* (New York: Bolmore, 1821), 45. I am indebted to Kyle Bulthuis for providing the reference in the manuscript record of the Methodist Episcopal Church held at the New York Public Library.

35. Bulthuis, "Four Steeples over the City Streets," 126.

> mentioned in the foregoing part of this work,) and on Monday night, June 17th, 1822, they attended the appointed meeting in Zion Church, and after an appropriate and solemn sermon, delivered by Doctor Covel, they ordained Abraham Thompson, James Varick and Leven Smith, Elders in the church of God, in the presence of a large and respectable audience. Thus, after twenty-one months struggling through a kind of spiritual wilderness, Zion Church obtained three ordained Elders.[36]

In addition to Covel's participation in this historic ordination of African American ministers, in 1822 he and William Stilwell were named to the board of directors for the newly-established New York Society for Promoting Communities—an interdenominational organization headed by Quaker doctor Cornelius Blatchly and dedicated to social justice and biblical communitarianism. "James Covel, [Minister] and Physician" signed his name to a statement declaring the society's aim "to convince the pious of all denominations, that their duty is to institute and establish in every religious congregation, a system of social, equal, and inclusive rights, interests, liberties, and privileges to all real and personal property" in imitation of the "community of goods among the Apostles and first Christians."[37] Both of these actions lend credence to the suggestion that Covel had renewed his commitment to uplifting and assisting the poor. He also remained active in his ecclesiastical responsibilities, developing a reputation as "a man of ability, excellent character, and gentleness of temper," while preaching sermons, performing marriages, and ordaining others as deacons and elders.[38]

By 1825, over 2,500 had joined the Methodist Society, both within and beyond New York City, including Lorenzo Dow, the famed revivalist whose own journey in and out of the Methodist Episcopal Church roughly paralleled that of Covel.[39] But as the group of Methodist dissenters grew in size, dissension within their own ranks eventually occurred as well. In 1824,

---

36. Christopher Rush, *A Short Account of the Rise and Progress of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in America, Written by Christopher Rush, Superintendent of the Connexion, with the Aid of George Collins: Also, a Concise View of Church Order or Government, from Scripture and from Some of the Best Authors on the Subject of Church Government, Relative to Episcopacy* (New York: By the author, 1843), 84.

37. "Preamble to the Constitution of the New-York Society for Promoting Communities," in Cornelius Blatchly, *An Essay on Commonwealths* (New York: The New-York Society for Promoting Communities, 1822), 3–4.

38. Samuel Stilwell Doughty, *The Life of Samuel Stilwell, with Notices of Some of His Contemporaries* (New York: Brown and Wilson, 1877), 44. For Covel performing marriages, see *New-York Spectator,* December 9, 1823, col. A; for other activities, see T. H. Colhouer, *Sketches of the Founders of the Methodist Protestant Church, and Its Bibliography* (Pittsburgh: Methodist Protestant Book Concern, 1880), 366–67.

39. Bulthuis, "Four Steeples over the City Streets," 126.

William Stilwell published an updated edition of the group's *Discipline*, apparently without the consent of the society's voting members and ministers—a potentially explosive move in a group predicated on representation and voting rights. Additionally, disagreements broke out over union with other dissenting Methodist groups along the eastern seaboard. In November 1826, a majority of the society's members, regarding themselves as the rightful heirs of the movement Stilwell had started six years earlier, met in conference. Consisting of representatives from not only New York, but also Connecticut, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, the conference dismissed William Stilwell and others from the society and drafted a resolution charging William Stilwell with "maladministration" and "despotism."[40] They also formed a union that year with other dissenting Methodists throughout the United States, attracting Congregational Methodists, Independent Methodists, Wesleyan Methodists, and Reformed Methodists (from whose church came several early Mormons, including Brigham Young and his brothers). The president of the New York Conference elected to represent this newly united Methodist Society was James Covel.[41] Covel's tenure as president lasted one year—this Methodist Society was adamant that no individual should remain in a position of authority too long.[42]

---

40. *Extracts from the Minutes, &c. of the Sixth Yearly Conference, and the First Annual State Conference of the Methodist Society, Held in the City of New-York, in November, 1826, and June, 1827* (New York: Aaron G. Brewer, 1827), 3–5, 22–24. For a comparison of the changes Stilwell made to the Society's *Discipline*, see *The Discipline of the Methodist Society, as Adopted in the City of New-York, 16th July, 1821* (New York: Bolmore, 1821); and *The Discipline of the Methodist Society, as Adopted in the City of New-York, 16th July, 1821*, 2d ed. (New York: John C. Totten, 1824). Stilwell maintained that he was right and continued leading the Methodist Society of New York until his death in 1851. See Samuel A. Seaman, *Annals of New York Methodism: Being a History of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the City of New York from A.D. 1766 to A.D. 1890* (New York: Hunt and Eaton, 1892), 215–31; and Emory Stevens Bucke, ed., *The History of American Methodism, in Three Volumes* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1964) 1:625–29.

41. *The Declaration, Constitution, and Bill of Rights; Together with the Articles of Religion, and Form of Government of the Methodist Societies, as Adopted by a Convention of Delegates, Held in the City of New-York, June, 1826* (New York: S. Budd, 1826), xix–xxi. In 1824, James's brother Zenas had helped organize a conference of the Methodist Society in Rochester, which maintained regular contact with the New York Conference, and in 1825, James Covel presided at their annual conference. See minutes of "The Rochester Conference of Methodist Societies," in *The Methodist Protestant Church in Central New York State to 1930,* ed. Gilbert T. Smith (New York State: Commission on Archives and History, North Central New York Annual Conference, United Methodist Church, 1999), 3.

42. *Extracts from the Minutes of the Sixth Yearly Conference*, 3–7.

The year 1827 witnessed further expansion and union between dissenting Methodists throughout the United States, with additional conferences formed in upstate New York, Baltimore, Georgia, Ohio, and Kentucky. And then, in 1828, the several conferences of the Methodist Society sent representatives to a general convention of Methodist reformers in Baltimore. Led by a group of prominent ministers from the Methodist Episcopal Church who had been agitating for reform within Methodism's main body for a decade, the convention organized many of the disparate Methodist dissenters in America under the name of the Associated Methodist Churches. Along with Aaron G. Brewer, Covel was called upon to travel to Maryland and attend the convention, which he did. The minutes from that convention noted that "Dr. James Covell, from the Methodist Society, having been requested, stated the causes which led to the establishment of said Society, and their progress to the present time. And, on motion of Brother Hill, the thanks of the Convention were voted."[43]

Over the course of the next two years, the Methodist Society considered the proposed measures, and in the early months of 1830, the New York Conference and the Rochester Conference both joined several other bodies of reform-minded Methodists in approving and adopting the Associated Articles of the 1828 convention. Covel was active in bringing these endeavors to fruition, serving as a book agent in New York City for literature published by Methodist reformers, traveling between Rochester and New York, and coordinating efforts in both locales.[44] He was present in Ontario, Wayne County, New York, on February 13, 1830, when the Rochester Conference formally adopted the Associated Articles and became the Genesee Conference of the Associated Methodist Churches. He then assisted two months later in New York City with the organization of the New York Conference of the same body on April 21, 1830.[45] Seven months later, representatives from the Associated Churches met in Baltimore and established the Methodist Protestant Church. Covel was recognized as "a duly elected member" but was not present.[46]

It was in 1830 that James Covel moved north to assist the newly formed Genesee Conference, where yet another one of his sons—this one

---

43. *Mutual Rights and Christian Intelligencer,* December 5, 1828, 26.

44. *Mutual Rights and Christian Intelligencer,* February 20, 1829, 48.

45. For Rochester Conference, see Edward J. Drinkhouse, *History of Methodist Reform, Synoptical of General Methodist, 1703 to 1898, with Special and Comprehensive Reference to Its Most Salient Exhibition in the History of the Methodist Protestant Church,* 2 vols. (Baltimore: The Board of Publication of the Methodist Protestant Church, 1899), 2:243–44; Ancel H. Bassett, *A Concise History of the Methodist Protestant Church* (Pittsburgh: Charles A. Scott, 1877), 82. For New York Conference, see Smith, *Methodist Protestant Church in Central New York State*, 11, 25–26.

46. Drinkhouse, *History of Methodist Reform*, 2:252. Only two of the eight elected representatives from New York were apparently present in Baltimore.

named Zenas, presumably after his uncle—had followed his father into the Methodist ministry. In what was apparently intended as a temporary relocation, James Covel was assigned to the Richmond circuit.[47] Writing in December 1831, he recalled, "One year ago I made this place my stand, among a people as regardless (with few exceptions) of religion, as I ever saw. The providence of God having cast my lot among them, I determined to labour faithfully for four months for their good. If I saw no fruits of my labour in that time, to return to the city of New York."[48]

It is not entirely clear where Covel first heard about Joseph Smith and the Book of Mormon. Nor is it clear what he was doing in Fayette—roughly forty-five miles east of Richmond—in January 1831 when he attended the Mormons' conference there. Methodist records provide no additional evidence or context to the scant mentions of his attendance by Mormon scribes, but Covel's duties as conference president might very well have had him visiting a Methodist class in the area at that exact time. It is also possible that he was drawn by curiosity or a desire to evangelize the upstart sect. It is certain, though, that among Methodists, Covel was not alone in feeling drawn to Mormonism.

"He received the word with gladness": The Appeal of Mormonism to Methodists

Historians have long noted the connections between Methodism and Mormonism. Joseph Smith himself remembered as a youth being "somewhat partial to the Methodist sect" and later told Methodist preacher Peter Cartwright that "we Latter-day Saints are Methodists, as far as they have gone, only we have advanced further."[49] Many others attracted to the Mormon message on both sides of the Atlantic came from Methodist backgrounds—perhaps more than any other religion—including the Church's first three presidents and eight of the original twelve Apostles.[50] Nor were early Latter-day Saints

47. Smith, *Methodist Protestant Church in Central New York State*, 26. The 1830 census, taken during the summer, lists Covel as living in Canadice, Ontario, New York, approximately six miles south of Richmond. See *1830 US Census: Canadice, Ontario, New York*, 263; National Archives and Records Administration Roll: M19–101; Family History Film: 0017161.

48. James Covel, letter dated December 26, 1831, in *Mutual Rights and Methodist Protestant,* January 13, 1832, 9.

49. Joseph Smith, "History, 1839," in Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith,* 1:270; Peter Cartwright, *Autobiography of Peter Cartwright*, with an introduction by Charles L. Wallis (Nashville: Abingdon Press reprint, 1984), 225–26.

50. For statistics of early Mormons' religious backgrounds, see Stephen Fleming, "John Wesley: A Methodist Foundation for the Restoration," *Religious Educator* 9 (Summer 2008): 141–42. For a helpful compilation of biographical sketches that identifies

shy about noting the connections they sensed between Methodism and Mormonism. In addition to Joseph Smith's comments to Peter Cartwright, Parley P. Pratt declared "John Wesley a Latter-Day Saint, in regard to the spiritual gifts and the apostasy of the church" in an 1841 editorial; and British convert Edward Tullidge noted that "there are no people so much like John Wesley and his early followers in spirit, faith and missionary energy, and almost every other distinctive feature, as the Mormons."[51]

Pratt's and Tullidge's comments highlight some of the reasons Methodists were attracted to Mormonism. Methodists and many other evangelicals in early America emphasized the centrality of enthusiastic religious experience to Christian worship, promoting the importance of spiritual gifts and accepting dreams and visions as legitimate manifestations from God to an individual. While these practices were closely guarded by clerical defenders of orthodoxy wary of competing claims to revelation, according to historian David Holland, "the explosive experimentalism of revival ran the risk of blowing holes in the canonical threshold," and Shakers, Mormons, and others did just that in claiming direct revelation and producing supplemental scripture.[52] Indeed, it was likely Joseph Smith's flirtation with Methodism that led him to believe that God would answer his question regarding which church to join in a visionary and miraculous way, and the experiences of other Methodists certainly influenced the way Smith understood his first vision.[53] Steven Harper thus concluded that it was "the empirical and revelatory blend by which [Mormonism] simultaneously catered to the metaphysical, rationalistic, and democratic" that attracted early converts like John P. Greene, Brigham Young's

---

many early Latter-day Saint leaders' prior religious affiliation(s), see "Appendix 6: Biographical Sketches of General Officers of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830–47," in D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994), 533–613; and "Appendix 2: Biographical Sketches of General Officers of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Appointed 1839–1932," in D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997), 641–725. See also Christopher C. Jones, "'We Latter-day Saints Are Methodists': The Influence of Methodism on Early Mormon Religiosity" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 2009), 13–40, for an analysis of how Methodist converts to Mormonism understood and discussed the relationship between the two.

51. "John Wesley a Latter-Day Saint," *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* 2 (June 1841): 23, capitalization modernized; Edward Tullidge, "The Mormon Commonwealth," *Galaxy* 2 (October 15, 1866): 356.

52. David F. Holland, *Sacred Borders: Continuing Revelation and Canonical Restraint in Early America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 129.

53. Christopher C. Jones, "The Power and Form of Godliness: Methodist Conversion Narratives and Joseph Smith's First Vision," *Journal of Mormon History* 37 (Spring 2011): 88–114.

brother-in-law who briefly joined James Covel in the Genesee Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church in 1831 before converting to Mormonism the following year.[54] Stephen Fleming likewise argued that "Mormonism spoke . . . to those with a worldview imbibed through certain cultural and religious inheritances," including an embrace of charismatic religious experience that especially appealed to "enthusiastic Methodists."[55]

And many of those Methodists attracted to Mormonism had left the Methodist Episcopal Church of their childhood at the time of their conversion, affiliating instead, like James Covel, with one of the several reformist Methodist branches in America, Canada, or Great Britain. In addition to Covel and John P. Greene, Brigham Young and his brothers, Solomon Chamberlain, and John Taylor, to name just a few, each left mainstream Methodism and united with smaller schismatic Wesleyan groups in their search for truth in the years leading up to their introduction to Mormonism. Many of these reformist groups that decried the consolidated authority of the Methodist Episcopacy and championed the rights of church laity also actively campaigned for greater egalitarianism within the church, denouncing racism and slavery, empowering women as class leaders and exhorters, and striving to lift the poor. When James Covel attended the Mormon conference on January 2, 1831, in Fayette, he probably heard a message that resonated with him. A revelation received that day by Joseph Smith, intended as "a Commandment to the Church in New York," explained that the Lord had "heard your prayers & the poor have complained before me, & the rich have I made, & all flesh is mine, & I am no respector to persons," and then entreated all present to "esteem his brother as himself & practice Virtue and Holyness before me," reminding them that they were to "be one & if ye are not one ye are not mine." It further outlined the need for "certain men among them [to] be appointed" to "look to the poor & the needy, & administer to their relief, that they shall not suffer."[56] As a Methodist minister who had previously ordained the first black Methodist elders in 1822 and thereafter united himself with an effort dedicated to socioeconomic equality, Covel

54. Steven C. Harper, "Infallible Proofs, Both Human and Divine: The Persuasiveness of Mormonism for Early Converts," *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation* 10, no. 1 (2000): 112.

55. Stephen J. Fleming, "'Congenial to Almost Every Shade of Radicalism': The Delaware Valley and the Success of Early Mormonism," *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation* 17, no. 2 (2007): 132. See also Stephen J. Fleming, "The Religious Heritage of the British Northwest and the Rise of Mormonism," *Church History* 77 (March 2008): 73–104.

56. "Revelation, 2 January 1831," in Jensen, Woodford, and Harper, *Manuscript Revelation Books*, 74–75.

would certainly have found the ideals of this revelation appealing, especially given the other connections between Methodism and Mormonism.

While there were thus many similarities between Methodism and Mormonism, and while several converts to Mormonism praised their former affiliation with Methodism as a stepping-stone in their religious journeys, there were also sticking points and stark differences between the two religions. James Covel's ultimate rejection of Mormonism speaks to these differences emphatically, and the new knowledge that he was a Methodist and not a Baptist makes sense of the revelations directed to him in January 1831.

"Arise and be baptized, and wash away your sins": Debates Over Baptism in Antebellum America

Perhaps most notably, Methodist and Mormon views of baptism diverged sharply—a point commented on by several early converts to the Church. While it is not known whether James Covel received baptism before deciding to reject Mormonism, it is likely that Mormonism's rejection of infant baptism and insistence on adult immersion would have caused the Methodist elder some consternation.[57] While Mormons today may read the command to "arise and be baptized" in section 39 as commonplace and uncontroversial, baptism has a long, complicated, and at times contentious history within the Christian tradition.[58] To Christians in early America, baptism meant different things (depending on the denomination), and different groups adhered to various modes of baptism.

Baptists, of course, insisted upon baptism by immersion, reflecting their credobaptist stance that baptism was a reflection of one's profession of faith as an adult, and Mormons agreed with them on this point, drawing upon both Joseph Smith's revelations and the preference of a number of early converts. Early Methodists, meanwhile, were more flexible regarding the

57. Deidrich Willers, a German Reformed preacher in Fayette, New York, who felt contempt toward the "Mormonites" in the area, apparently reported that Covel was baptized, though Willers is the only source to make such a claim, and as such should be treated with some caution. See 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* (Provo, Utah: BYU Studies, 2000), 103–4.

58. For an insightful analysis of the history of baptism within the reformed tradition, see Bryan D. Spinks, *Reformation and Modern Rituals and Theologies of Baptism: From Luther to Contemporary Practices* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2006). For the history of baptism in American Methodism, see Karen B. Westerfield Tucker, *American Methodist Worship* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 82–117. See also Bernard G. Holland's useful *Baptism in Early Methodism* (London: Epworth Press, 1970), which focuses primarily on British Methodism.

proper mode of baptism. John Wesley took a largely pragmatic stance on the proper mode of baptism, allowing adult converts to choose between immersion, affusion (pouring), and aspersion (sprinkling) in attempting to provide a sensible solution to what had proved a controversial issue within the Anglican Church. Yet while maintaining an accommodating stance, in time Wesley came to prefer affusion or aspersion, prompted in part by antagonistic Baptists who insisted on immersion and also by Wesley's study of scripture, which convinced him that "the manner (whether by dipping or sprinkling) is not determined in Scripture," and that "there is no example from which [we] can conclude for dipping rather than sprinkling."[59] Methodists in America followed Wesley's example, including in *The Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America* the following instructions: "Let every adult person, and the parents of every child, to be baptized, have the choice either of immersion, sprinkling, or pouring."[60] Early Methodist preachers generally adhered to these instructions, offering choices to converted souls based on personal preference.

As they had in England, Baptists in America ridiculed the Methodist stance and, together with other upstart groups like the Campbellites, maintained that only adult baptism by immersion was valid in God's eyes. Oftentimes these groups would utilize the very New Testament passages alluded to in the revelation to James Covel—Acts 22:16 ("Arise and be baptized")—in their defense of immersion.[61] This constant badgering of Methodists, who not only regularly baptized by affusion or aspersion but also baptized infants, provoked intense debates between these several evangelical groups and were often the source of great contention.[62] The resulting rhetorical battles in the competition for converts eventually caused many Methodists to prefer alternate forms of baptism to immersion more adamantly than Wesley ever had. As Karen Westerfield Tucker has noted, Methodist attitudes toward baptism were generally formulated not at an official level but rather "in reaction to local and more widespread controversies," and "relentless antagonism from the exclusive immersionists created antipathy

59. As quoted in Holland, *Baptism in Early Methodism*, 98. See also 181–88.

60. *The Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, with Explanatory Notes by Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury* (Philadelphia: Methodist Episcopal Church, 1798), 118.

61. See, for example, "Letter from an Independent Baptist," *Christian Baptist,* July 3, 1826, 283; and Alexander Campbell, "The Extra Defended," *Millennial Harbinger,* October 10, 1831, 18.

62. See Christine Leigh Heyrman, *Southern Cross: The Beginnings of the Bible Belt* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1997), 153–54; and Lester Ruth, *Early Methodist Life and Spirituality: A Reader* (Nashville: Kingswood Books, 2005), 223–23.

toward that mode."[63] An early nineteenth-century Methodist hymnist in Kentucky captured the debate in a bit of humorous verse:

> You say: "Go read the scriptures / And in them we shall find / The ordinance immersion / Upon us all enjoined." / How can you be immersed? / The word we cannot find. / And if it's in your bible / I'm sure it's not in mine. . . . But when you do immerse them / Which we do think is wrong, / It makes my heart to tremble / They think the work is done. / You say my Lord's a Baptist. / How do you realize / For there never was a Baptist / But one who did baptize? . . . Your charity is scanty / And that the world can see. / If you do not quit immersion / We cannot all agree.[64]

Such attitudes were expressed closer to Covel's home in New York, too. George Coles, a Methodist Episcopal preacher who spent time stationed in two of Covel's old circuits—Poughkeepsie and New York City, recorded in his journal in 1832 that following a baptismal service, he "preached against *immersion*."[65] The other Methodist groups to which Covel belonged in the 1820s and 1830s largely followed suit. William Stilwell's Methodist Society of New York, for example, instructed that when baptizing, the minister "shall sprinkle or pour water upon him, (or if he shall desire it, shall immerse him in water) saying, I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. *Amen*."[66] Yet they, too, occasionally found themselves defending their practices of sprinkling and pouring, as well as infant baptism, to competing Christian groups.[67] Methodist Protestants seem to have echoed the official stances of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Society on the issue of the proper form of baptism. But it also appears that, like other Methodists, some Protestant Methodists were driven to defend sprinkling and pouring as acceptable (and even preferred) forms of baptism in opposition to Baptist ministers. George Brown, who, like Covel, was among the original members of the Methodist Protestant Church, accused both Baptists and Campbellites of doing "all [they] could to indoctrinate the converts, whom God had given [to the Methodists] . . . into the belief that infant baptism was wrong, and that immersion was the only

63. Tucker, *American Methodist Worship*, 98.

64. *Collection of Spiritual Songs* (Winchester, Ky.: n.p., n.d.), 15–16, as cited in Ruth, *Early Methodist Life and Spirituality*, 223–24.

65. George Coles, Journal, November 4, 1832, George Coles Collection, Methodist Collection, Drew University, Madison, New Jersey. I first discovered this reference in Tucker, *American Methodist Worship*, 98.

66. *The Discipline of the Methodist Society* (1821), 50.

67. See, for example, "A Short Method with the Anti-Paedo Baptists," *Friendly Visitor,* September 9, 1825, 291; and "To Prove that Water Baptism is a Christian Institution," *Friendly Visitor,* October 5, 1825, 315.

Scriptural mode of baptism for adult believers." Countering the claims of Baptist ministers that "'bapto' . . . and 'baptizo' in the New Testament meant immersion only," Brown related that "it became necessary for me to vindicate our position on the subject of baptism" by showing "from some very learned authorities, that the two Greek words in question had sundry other shades of meaning beside immersion, all favoring our view of the matter."[68]

Other early investigators of Mormonism found themselves similarly caught up in these debates. Edward Tullidge, who maintained that the Latter-day Saints "differ very little, excepting in a few peculiarities . . . from the ancient Wesleyans," nevertheless conceded that, by insisting on immersion, Mormons "are Baptists" and ultimately concluded that they were "Wesleyan Baptists."[69] Others similarly found in Mormonism the spirit of Methodism with what they saw as the proper form of baptism. Henry Boyle, who converted to Methodism during his youth in Tazewell County, Virginia, nevertheless "had always believed in baptism by immersion"; and since "the Methodists never would immerse me, because I had been sprinkled when a child," he finally left Methodism and was baptized (by immersion) a Campbellite before joining Mormonism six months later.[70] John Lowe Butler, who converted to Mormonism in 1835, came down on the side of baptism by immersion as well. After joining a Methodist class "on trial" in 1828 following a conviction of his sins, Butler grew dissatisfied when he solicited baptism. "Baptism by immersion seemed right to me though I had been christened when a child," he wrote, but "the Methodist would not baptize the second time." After his Methodist father tracked down "a Methodist priest" whom he believed "would immerse some five or six that desired it," Butler was frustrated to hear that the Methodist minister not only refused to baptize by immersion but also mocked Butler and the others. "When it was attended to, the Methodist came to see it and made all manner of fun and game of us possible." "That hurt my feelings to see those professing to be saints make light of the commandments of God," concluded Butler, who proceeded to be baptized by a Baptist minister despite his misgivings about Baptist theology.[71]

Butler's account reveals yet another layer of these debates, this one centered on rebaptism for adult converts. As Karen Westerfield summarized,

---

68. George Brown, *Recollections of Itinerant Life: Including Early Reminiscences* (Cincinatti: R. W. Carroll, 1866), 340.

69. Tullidge, "Mormon Commonwealth," 356.

70. Henry G. Boyle, Autobiography, typescript of original, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

71. John Lowe Butler, Autobiography, typescript of original, Perry Special Collections.

even when Methodists maintained an open stance on the proper form of baptism, they often opposed being baptized as an adult if they had been baptized as an infant, because they felt "that to rebaptize was to concede the necessity of a particular mode or the illegitimacy of infant baptism."[72] Methodists of all persuasions similarly criticized those who claimed that baptism by anything other than immersion was invalid in God's eyes. An 1825 editorial in the Stilwellite periodical *The Friendly Visitor* took aim at the "Antipaedo-Baptists" for refusing to accept infant baptism as valid: "Thus we see how *they* think on the subject of baptism, and how they make it valid only, when they perform it; and disturb the consciences of weak believers without cause," concluding that "for this, and the like reasons, I never wished to attach myself nor my children to the Baptist church, in form, doctrine, nor order."[73]

Mormonism, of course, recognized as valid only baptism by immersion performed by one ordained to the LDS priesthood. Deidrich Willers, a German Reformed preacher in Fayette, noted in 1830 that Mormonism was "winning over many members of the Baptist Church, . . . first because of their teachings about the universal grace of God and lastly because of their agreement in attitude toward the proper subject of holy baptism."[74] Indeed, an April 1830 revelation received by Joseph Smith spoke to those who "*were anxious to Join the Church without Rebaptism,*" equating their previous baptisms in various Protestant sects with the Law of Moses. "Behold I say unto you that all old covenants have I caused to be done away in this thing & this is a New & an everlasting covenant. . . . Wherefore, enter ye in at the gate as I have commanded." In Mormonism, there would be no compromise on this issue, and the revelation concluded with the ominous warning, "seek not to counsel your God. Amen."[75] While Methodism's stance on baptism pushed individuals like Henry Boyle and John Butler into Baptist and Campbellite churches and then ultimately into Mormonism, Mormonism's strict adherence to immersion and the necessity of being baptized again could also work the other way, as it appears to have in the case of James Covel. While Covel may not have categorically rejected immersion as an acceptable form of baptism, he likely would have been resistant to the idea that it was the *only* acceptable and authorized form and that he was in need of receiving it at the hands of Mormon elders.

---

72. Tucker, *American Methodist Worship*, 101.

73. "A Short Method with the Anti-Paedo Baptists," 291.

74. D. Michael Quinn, trans. and ed., "The First Months of Mormonism: A Contemporary View by Rev. Diedrich Willers," *New York History* 54 (July 1973): 331.

75. "Revelation, 16 April 1830," in Jensen, Woodford, and Harper, *Manuscript Revelation Books*, 35.

"Thou art not called to go into the eastern countries, but thou art called to go to the Ohio": Itinerant Missionaries and Debates over Church Government

While Methodists and Mormons may have diverged sharply on the question of baptism, they did share a similar outlook and approach to missionary work and preaching. Both groups relied on a band of generally untrained itinerant preachers traveling the countryside, soliciting appointments, and preaching to anyone willing to listen. As Nathan Hatch summarized, both groups possessed "a relentless drive to spread their message as widely as possible" and did so "by a strategy of transforming earnest converts into preachers with unprecedented speed and urging them to sustain a relentless pace of engagements in order to confront people with preaching everywhere, at any hour of the day or night."[76]

Thus, when the veteran itinerant preacher James Covel was called by the Lord "to labor in my vineyard, and to build up my church, and to bring forth Zion," he clearly understood the difficulties such a call to the ministry might entail, certainly in a way that few Baptists would, whose preachers were typically more localized and whose assignments were less physically demanding.[77] As Richard Bushman noted, for many early Mormon converts called on missions, "the Methodist precedent probably helped [them] understand what was expected."[78] Yet knowing what was expected might ultimately have swayed Covel from accepting the call. In January 1831, James Covel was sixty years old and had been a Methodist minister of some sort for forty years. It seems entirely reasonable that he did not have the energy or desire to take up a new assignment and relive the hardships of an itinerant lifestyle.

While he had initially located in 1797, his subsequent decision to unite with the Methodist Society and then the Methodist Episcopal Church required him to again take up the itinerancy. But the circuits he rode were all located in the same general area. In Joseph Smith's revelation, though,

---

76. Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 140. See also Jones, "We Latter-day Saints Are Methodists," 76–83.

77. See John H. Wigger, *Taking Heaven by Storm: Methodism and the Rise of Popular Christianity in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 60.

78. Richard Lyman Bushman with Jed Woodworth, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 2005), 153. See also Marie Mackey, "Priesthood and Ecclesiastical Structure in Early Nineteenth-Century Methodism and Mormonism," in *Archive of Restoration Culture: Summer Fellows' Papers, 1997–1999* (Provo, Utah: Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History, 2000), 49, which makes the same point.

Covel was explicitly notified that he was "not called to go unto the Eastern Countries" (where he already lived and labored), but instead was "called to go to the Ohio."[79] Not only did Covel likely not have much desire to trek more than two hundred miles to northern Ohio, where the Latter-day Saints had begun to gather, but he also appears to have not intended to stay long in upstate New York. As noted above, after arriving in the area in late 1830, he intended only "to labour faithfully for four months" before "return[ing] to the city of New York."[80]

In addition to the specific location to which he was called, Covel was probably wary of the authority vested in Joseph Smith to assign recently converted preachers anywhere he felt inspired. Ecclesiastical authority consolidated in the hands of either one person or a select few was the precise reason Covel and other Methodists initially left the Methodist Episcopal Church. In opposing what they perceived as the autocratic tendency of Methodist bishops and presiding elders, these reformers argued for the importance of listening to the laity and promoted a more democratic system of church government. In particularly charged language, the authors of the Methodist Society of New York's Articles of Faith specifically lamented the tendency of presiding elders in the Methodist Episcopal Church "to hold the rod over the heads of his brethren; to keep them in slavish bondage, to dictate oftentimes to men their superiors in age, talents, and judgment, as ministers of Christ." They further maintained that "no minister is stationed or compelled to travel where he thinks he is not called to preach, or where he has no reason to believe his labours would be useful."[81] When Covel and others felt that William Stilwell had overreached his own authority, they immediately rejected his leadership and separated from Stilwell's congregation. And while the Methodist Protestant Church was more moderate in its stance on these issues—investing the president of each annual conference with the authority to assign ministers to their stations, for example—it also maintained the emphasis on the right of members and ministers to vote on such matters and limited the tenure of conference presidents to no more than "three years in succession." Their constitution argued that "the members of a community, who place themselves under the exclusive control of a few irresponsible persons, as their sole masters, in matters of government, thus tamely depriving themselves of the right of representation . . . betray a criminal negligence of their best interests."

---

79. "Revelation, 5 January 1831," in Jensen, Woodford, and Harper, *Manuscript Revelation Books*, 89.

80. *Mutual Rights and Methodist Protestant,* January 13, 1832, 9.

81. Stilwell, *Historical Sketches*, 42, 53.

While Mormonism opened its priesthood to all males in good standing and promised each of its adherents the right to spiritual gifts and personal revelation, it also located authority in the hands of its "First Elder" and prophet, Joseph Smith—authority that was only gradually spread out among a system of conferences and councils in the coming years.[82] It would likely have been difficult, then, for Covel to accept the authority that came along with the twenty-six-year-old's prophetic claims—especially the right to speak for God and the ability to assign preachers wherever he felt inspired.

"[He] returned to his former people and principles": James Covel, 1831–1850

On January 6, 1831, Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon received another revelation, this one explaining "why James obeyed not the Command which he Received." "Behold, verily I say unto you, that his heart was right before me . . . & he Received the word with Gladness, but Straitway Satan tempted him; & the fear of persecutions & cares of the world, caused him to reject the word." The revelation ominously concluded, "& it Remaineth with me to do with him as seemeth me good."[83] It is unclear what any of that meant specifically, aside from the reasonable assumption that Covel decided against Mormonism because of the stigma attached to joining the young Mormon movement, which had already gained a reputation among Christian ministers in the region as a "religious monstrosity" that only attracted "gullible" and "unstable, spineless men."[84] But in addition to whatever fears may have influenced Covel's decision, it appears that he also found key aspects of the Mormon message foreign to his own desires, carefully conditioned over his forty years in the Methodist ministry.

While Covel determined to "return to his former people and principles," it appears that the Methodist Protestant Church was less anxious to accept him back. At the next meeting of the Genesee Conference, held on February 5, 1831, in Ogden, Munroe County, New York, a new president was elected, along with a new secretary—Covel's son Zenas. Several ministers received new appointments, but James Covel was not among them. The minutes of the conference published in the *Mutual Rights and Methodist*

82. See "Ecclesiastical Organization Charts," in Dean C. Jessee, Mark Ashurst-McGee, and Richard L. Jensen, eds., *Journals, Volume 1: 1832–1839,* vol. 1 of the Journals series of *The Joseph Smith Papers,* ed. Dean C. Jessee, Ronald K. Esplin, and Richard Lyman Bushman (Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Press, 2008), 452–60.

83. "Revelation, 6 January 1831," in Jensen, Woodford, and Harper, *Manuscript Revelation Books*, 91.

84. Willers, quoted in Quinn, "First Months of Mormonism," 331, 333.

Protestant mention Covel only once: immediately following the "list of the stationed and unstationed preachers within the bounds of this Conference," and without further explanation, it reads, "*Removed*: Dr. James Covel, Elder." The manuscript minutes offer little more, simply noting, "J. Covil removed from Conference."[85]

It is not entirely clear what exactly "removed" meant. Some ministers were listed as "removed" when they transferred to another conference; for others it meant that they had been expelled from the church entirely. In the case of Covel, it appears to have equated to a temporary suspension from the ministry. From February to July, several letters were written and published in the *Mutual Rights and Methodist Protestant* from preachers in upstate New York. None of them mentioned James Covel. Then, in a letter dated July 25, 1831, Orren Miller, president of the Genesee Conference, sent in a "tour of a district in New York State." Among other things, it noted that "the venerable Dr. J. Covell had been preaching to a large congregation, organized under his labours, for a few months past, and the minds of the people were evidently prepared by his preaching, for the work of reformation. . . . We expect our Brother Covell will soon gather an abundant harvest in this neighborhood." It was followed by another shorter letter, this one written by Zenas Covel. "I have just returned from a visit to my father, and do rejoice to say the Lord is graciously visiting the people of his charge."[86] James Covel's removal from ministry appears to have only lasted a couple of months, and he again took up preaching as a Methodist Protestant.

In fact, Covel seems to have increased his preaching activity. In August, Orren Miller noted that "the Rev. Dr. Covel attended" another of his meetings "and favoured us with a number of sermons, and at the close of our Sabbath exercises, he gave a history of the rise, progress, and present state of reform, and contrasted our system of government with that of the M.E. Church." Another minister similarly recorded that at his own service "we were favored with a visit from Dr. James Covel, who preached with much zeal, to the great satisfaction of all that heard."[87] Covel himself described his renewed commitment in a letter dated December 26, 1831:

---

85. "Genessee Conference," *Mutual Rights and Methodist Protestant,* February 25, 1831, 61; for a typescript of 1831 minutes, see Smith, *Methodist Protestant Church in Central New York State*, 11.

86. "Tour of a District in New York State," and "Letter from Zenas Covel," *Mutual Rights and Methodist Protestant,* July 29, 1831, 61.

87. Both letters published in *Mutual Rights and Methodist Protestant,* September 30, 1831, 308.

> I therefore determined to take the Bible, and select such parts as were best adapted to bring the great truths therein immediately before the people, that sinners might become acquainted with their true character in view of a holy God and a day of judgment. Disregarding method, I read, expounded, preached, applied, and enforced gospel truth. The effect was apparent. The congregations were large, attentive, and serious.—Some, awakened to a sense of their danger, began to weep and cry for mercy. Delivering grace was bestowed, and scores have been born into the kingdom in this region. . . . The blessed work still goes on. Convictions, conversions, and accessions are numerous and frequent.[88]

After yet another series of successful preaching appointments "under the pastoral charge of Dr. James Covel," Orren Miller concluded, with an ironic twist he probably did not recognize, "I think I never knew Dr. Covel so much engaged in the work as at this meeting: *It seemed as though he had renewed his age, and was anointed anew with a divine unction from on high*."[89] Instead of going on to do great things as a Mormon missionary, as promised in the revelation received on his behalf through Joseph Smith, Covel became motivated to take up the cause of Methodism with more devotion and energy than ever before.

By 1832, Covel's removal from the Methodist ministry had come full circle: he was again elected president of the Genesee Conference in February of that year. Yet his interaction with Mormonism was not entirely complete. John P. Greene, a Methodist reformer who had moved between smaller Methodist sects, joined the Methodist Protestant Church in 1831 and in 1832 was assigned to the Hannibal Circuit in the Genesee Conference, which covered the region bordering Lake Ontario from Hannibal north to the Canadian border. For the year and a half prior to this, though, Greene had been investigating Mormonism. After receiving a Book of Mormon from Samuel H. Smith in July 1830, Greene and his wife Rhoda—together with her brothers Phinehas, John, Joseph, Lorenzo, and Brigham Young—read and studied the book.[90] Phinehas, Joseph, and John Young,

---

88. *Mutual Rights and Methodist Protestant,* January 13, 1832, 9.

89. "Tour of a District," *Mutual Rights and Methodist Protestant,* December 16, 1831, 309; italics added.

90. See Evan Molbourne Green, "Biographical Sketch of John P. Greene, 1857," Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, which suggests Greene was a preacher in the Methodist Reformed Church until 1828, when he "united and formed the Methodist Protestant Church and continued a traveling preacher in that connection" before finally converting to Mormonism. Methodist records, however, place him as a preacher in the Congregational Methodist Church since 1826, where he was ordained an elder in August 1830 and finally joined the Methodist Protestant Church in 1831 or 1832. See Smith,

like their brother-in-law John Greene, were all Methodist reformers who, in the words of Phinehas, "continued to preach, trying to tie Mormonism to Methodistism, for more than a year," before finally concluding that they "must leave one and cleave to the other."[91] Greene apparently reached a similar conclusion, and, in spite of his recent decision to unite with the Methodist Protestant Church and accept an assignment to preach in February, by April he became convinced of the Book of Mormon's truth and was baptized.[92] At a special session of the Genesee Conference in October, Greene's defection to Mormonism was characterized thusly: "John P. Green left the church illegally." The published minutes of the conference similarly noted that "John P. Green having left the connexion in an irregular manner, therefore resolved, that we withdraw the hand of fellowship from him."[93] As president of the Genesee Conference leading up to that meeting, James Covel certainly played some part in that decision, though the details of his feelings toward Greene and his decision are unfortunately not discernable from the scant historical record.

Covel stepped down as president at the conference but remained in the Genesee Conference for another four years, traveling various circuits until finally returning to New York City in 1836. The plausible reasons for his not uniting with Mormonism continued to crop up in his preaching activities. While he and his fellow Methodists occasionally worked across denominational lines, joining with Presbyterians and Baptists in promoting revival, they also remained firmly committed to Methodist doctrine. Orren Miller described one such instance: "The Baptists have just closed a four days meeting in this place: brother Covel, myself, and a Presbyterian minister, attended and assisted in the labours of the meeting." He then made sure to add, "This is truly a day of wonders; and it is really astonishing to see the Presbyterians and Baptists falling into the wake of Methodism, both as

---

Methodist Protestant Church in Central New York State, 11, which incorrectly calls him "John T. Green"; and "Gennessee Conference," *Mutual Rights and Methodist Protestant,* February 24, 1832, 60.

91. Phinehas Young, "Life of Phinehas Howe Young—Written by Himself," Perry Special Collections. See also Larry C. Porter, "The Brigham Young Family: Transition between Reformed Methodism and Mormonism," in *A Witness for the Restoration: Essays in Honor of Robert J. Matthews,* ed. Kent P. Jackson and Andrew C. Skinner (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 2007), 249–80.

92. Green, "Biographical Sketch of John P. Greene, 1857."

93. Smith, *Methodist Protestant Church in Central New York State*, 13; and "Minutes of the Genesee Annual Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church," *Mutual Rights and Methodist Protestant,* December 21, 1832, 401.

to doctrine and as to the measures used to promote these revivals."[94] Nor was Covel's call to Ohio as a Mormon missionary the last assignment he refused. He was elected a delegate to the general conference of 1834, held in Georgetown, Washington, D.C., but did not attend.[95] The following year was Covel's last in the Genesee Conference, and by 1836 he was back in New York City, where he continued preaching and practicing medicine until his death in February 1850.[96]

Conclusion

At the time of his death, Covel was seventy-nine years old and had spent fifty-nine of those years as a Methodist preacher. In light of such a long and, in many respects, illustrious career, it is striking that he is not better known or remembered among Methodists today.[97] This may be in part because he left behind no known collections of papers and appears to have never written a memoir, as so many other Methodist preachers did. But those who knew him remembered him kindly, as "an efficient preacher" and "a notable man" who was "not afraid of hunger, poverty, nor the devil."[98] After his death, his son Samuel continued to peddle his father's medical pills in Poughkeepsie; among those in the Genesee Conference, he was affectionately called "Father Covel" by the younger preachers.[99] One of the only twentieth-century historians to comment on Covel described him as "the most prominent member of the [Genesee] Conference," who, for his earliest itinerant efforts, was "appreciated and loved by those noble men who shook New England with their eloquence and power," and as a "champion

94. *Mutual Rights and Methodist Protestant,* December 16, 1831, 399.

95. See Smith, *Methodist Protestant Church in Central New York State*, 13; and Drinkhouse, *History of Methodist Reform*, 2:295.

96. See *Mutual Rights and Methodist Protestant,* May 4, 1836, 39. For references to Covel's medical practice, see *New York Herald,* June 16, 1845, col. B. He was also listed in the *New York Mercantile Union Business Directory* (New York: S. French, L. C., and H. L. Pratt, 1850), 125.

97. Covel passed away on February 2, 1850. A funeral was held the following day at the Attorney Street Methodist Protestant Church, where his son Zenas was minister. See *New York Evening Post,* February 2, 1850, 3. Edward Drinkhouse incorrectly identified the date of death as June 8 of that year. See Drinkhouse, *History of Methodist Reform*, 2:373.

98. *Northern (Auburn, N.Y.) Christian Advocate,* October 22, 1845; *Northern Christian Advocate*, November 12, 1856, 182.

99. *Poughkeepsie Journal,* January 8, 1853, 4; *Poughkeepsie Journal,* June 11, 1853, 4; and *Mutual Rights and Methodist Protestant,* February 7, 1834, 41. Covel's pills were also sold in the New York City area as well. See *Rockland County Journal,* October 22, 1853.

of 'Mutual Rights'" from his time in the Methodist Episcopal Church, Methodist Society of New York, and Methodist Protestant Church.[100]

James Covel's lengthy career as a Methodist minister, during which he developed a reputation as an able preacher and established himself as a leader of Methodist reform, makes him an important and fascinating figure. His career as a self-taught physician, his sons' preaching careers in divergent strains of Methodism, and his brief investigation of Mormonism suggest that his life and his family intersected with a number of crosscurrents in the early Republic and antebellum America, from the democratization of American Christianity to the development of the medical profession. For our purposes, reading the revelations directed to James Covel in January 1831 within the broader context of his Methodist preaching career highlights the yields to be gained from closer historical readings of Joseph Smith's early revelations. Such researched reading reveals the specific ways that Mormonism spoke to the religious world it entered in the 1830s. In the single example of James Covel, understanding that he was a Methodist and not a Baptist not only changes our understanding of the revelations directed to him but also underscores the place of Mormonism within larger debates over baptism, missionary work, and church government in nineteenth-century America.

Christopher C. Jones (chrisjones13@gmail.com) is a PhD candidate studying early American history at the College of William and Mary. He received a BA (2007) and an MA (2009), both in history, from Brigham Young University and currently serves on the board of the Mormon History Association.

I would like to thank Robert Woodford for sharing his own notes on James Covel's preaching career and Christopher Anderson and Corey Fick at the United Methodist Archives and History Center in Madison, New Jersey, for going above and beyond in tracking down sources. Christopher Anderson, Matthew Bowman, Kyle Bulthuis, Rachel Cope, Steven Harper, Robin Jensen, Benjamin Park, and the anonymous reviewers at BYU Studies each took the time to read an earlier draft of this paper, and their feedback was indispensable.

---

100. Smith, *Methodist Protestant Church in Central New York State*, 24–25. Smith suggested that Covel's eyes were first opened "to the enormous power of Bishops and the ecclesiastical despotism of the Methodist Episcopal Church" following a disagreement with Francis Asbury over Covel's decision in 1797 to locate; Covel apparently "asked the Bishop to allow him six months to attend to his financial affairs," but "the Bishop was inexorable and with-held his consent." This seems plausible—Asbury discouraged ministers from locating and continually advocated itinerancy as crucial to Methodism's success—but I have found no other source confirming this story.

Anticipating the Year 2000

Howard Nielson, BYU, and Statistics

Natalie J. Blades and G. Bruce Schaalje

For BYU, 1960 was a watershed year: *BYU Studies* began its first full year of publication.[1] KBYU–FM aired its first broadcast. The Ballroom Dance Company was formed. Three BYU students formed the Lettermen and recorded their first song.[2] The honors program was established. The MBA program was approved. Rex Lee, future BYU president, was student body president. Enrollment topped ten thousand for the second year in a row (up from forty-five hundred in 1950). In the midst of construction in Provo that would more than double the value of its physical facilities, BYU also purchased 135 acres in Anaheim, California;[3] 313 acres in Portland, Oregon; and 249 acres in Phoenix, Arizona,[4] as sites for satellite campuses in an ambitious expansion program.[5] And a statistics department was organized at BYU.

Of course, the campuses in Anaheim, Portland, and Phoenix were never built, and the formation of a statistics department with just one professor and five students seems hardly worth mentioning, given concurrent major developments.[6] But these events are connected in a fascinating way. The Statistics Department slipped into existence through the chance opening of a narrow window of opportunity directly tied to the confidence of the 1950s, a rapidly growing church, escalating enrollment at BYU, and BYU's land purchases. The interconnections of these factors reveal much about a remarkable historical period for both the Church and BYU.

Demand for Wood and a Statistics Department

Keenly aware of the rapidly increasing enrollment at BYU, and with even greater increases looming as baby boomers reached university age in the 1960s and 1970s, BYU President Ernest L. Wilkinson formed the Bureau

Natalie J. Blades and G. Bruce Schaalje

Natalie J. Blades

G. Bruce Schaalje

I first heard the compelling story of the formation of the Statistics Department at a faculty social sixteen years ago. As the speaker at the social, Howard Nielson reported on his recent mission to Hungary and also recounted his role in the founding of the department. I thought at the time that this story should be told more broadly but did nothing about it. In the run-up to the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Statistics Department in 2010, I recounted the story to Natalie Blades, who was working on ways to celebrate the anniversary. She agreed that the story should be told and suggested that it could be spiced up by tracking down the original Church membership projection of 1957. She tenaciously dug into the archives in the library and found the report. Her first reaction was that the projection wasn't very accurate, but on closer inspection and comparison of the regional projections to actual Church membership in 2000, an interesting story emerged. A Google search of events in 1960 that might be used as background for the article alerted us to the BYU land purchases for satellite campuses in 1960. A later interview with Howard Nielson confirmed the connection of the membership projection to the BYU expansion plans. We were able to interview all previous chairs of the Statistics Department as part of the research for this article. Shortly after our interview with Mel Carter, he passed away. We felt fortunate to have been able to record his memories about the founding and early development of the Statistics Department before his passing.

—G. Bruce Schaalje

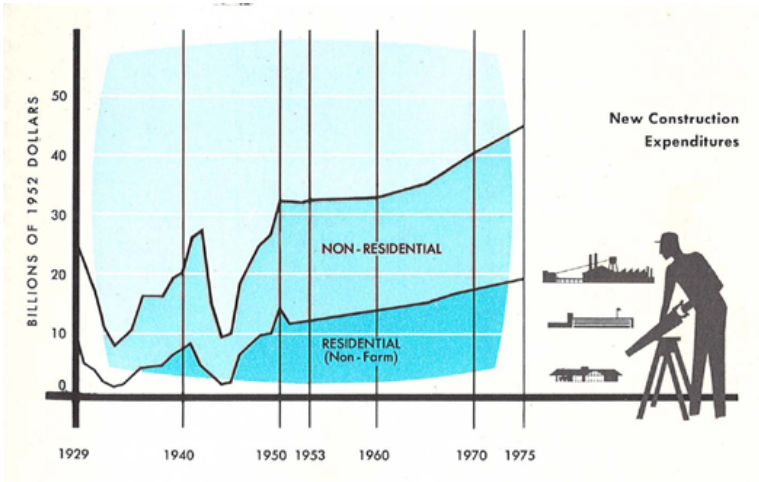


Figure 1. Projected construction expenditures from the 1954 report *America's Demand for Wood 1929–1975* by the Stanford Research Institute. Pivotal in midcentury economic forecasting, the model accounted for increases in demand, competition, changes in technology, and shifts in home design. The report garnered national press and the attention of Ernest L. Wilkinson, who wanted to forecast Church membership growth for long-term education planning.

of Church Studies at BYU in the mid-1950s to predict overall Church membership and, more specifically, university-aged Church membership through the year 2000.[7] To spearhead the study, he hired an academic from the Stanford Research Institute, Howard Nielson,[8] whose work had caught his attention: Nielson had created for the Weyerhaeuser Timber Company a sophisticated projection entitled *America's Demand for Wood* (see fig. 1).[9] At the time he contacted Nielson, Wilkinson did not know Nielson was a member of the Church, born in Richfield, Utah, and educated at both BYU and the University of Utah.[10]

Nielson completed the Church growth study (discussed in the next section) in 1957, and the results provided Wilkinson with the forecasts he needed to facilitate long-term planning for the Church Educational System.[11] When he discovered Nielson was LDS, Wilkinson urged him to stay at BYU teaching statistics as part of the Economics Department. Nielson decided to stay for a year, ultimately teaching statistics classes in four different departments: economics, agricultural economics, accounting, and mathematics.[12] Among other difficulties associated with working for several departments, in the winter term of 1958 his name was spelled four different ways in the class schedule.

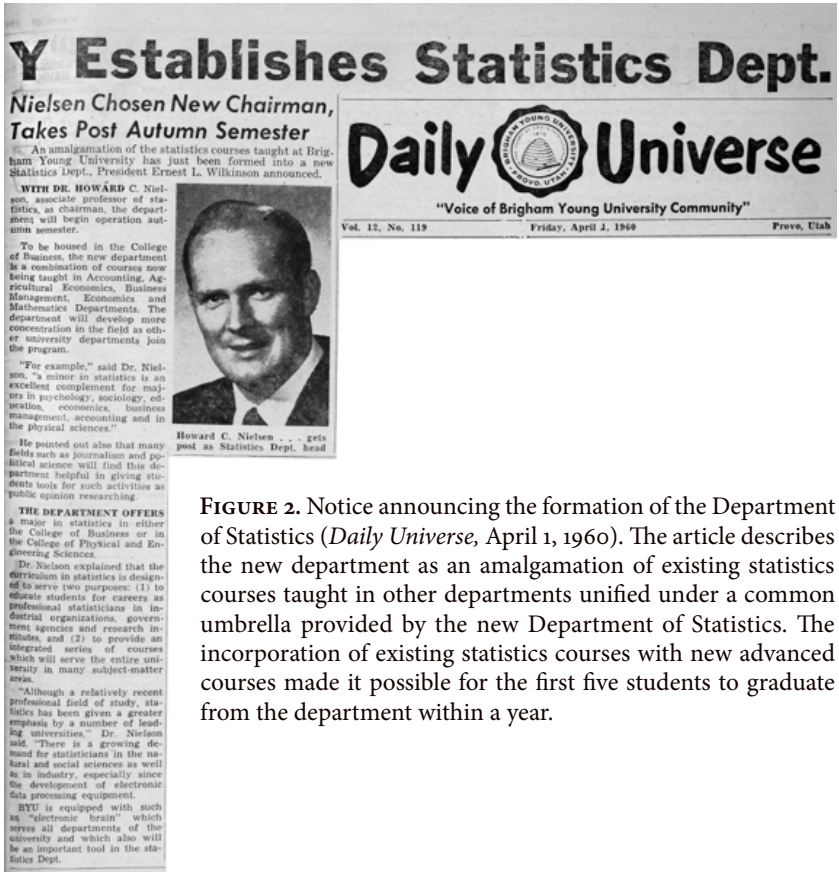
After Nielson's first year at BYU, he was offered a job by IBM at three times his BYU salary, based on the continued esteem of the *America's Demand for Wood* study.[13] He talked to Dean Weldon Taylor about the decision he was facing.[14] In the course of the conversation, Nielson mentioned that teaching statistics at BYU would be a lot easier if one department, a statistics department, did all the teaching. Taylor, apparently fearing that Nielson would take the IBM job, said he would form the department. Nielson agreed to stay; he wanted to raise his growing family in the friendly atmosphere of Provo and thought he could make up much of the difference in salary by consulting with Hill Air Force Base and Hercules Powder Company.[15] Nielson later admitted that his suggestion for a statistics department was a long shot; he did not anticipate Taylor's expeditious support and would likely have stayed even without a statistics department to sweeten the deal.[16] Thus an unintended consequence of the 1957 membership projection for the rapidly growing Church was the formation of the Statistics Department at BYU (see fig. 2).

The almost nonchalant decision to form a statistics department in order to retain a promising faculty member says something about the organizational climate of BYU at the time. It also was a larger academic step than the administration may have realized. Statistics was a latecomer as a distinct academic discipline. The first statistics departments in the United States were formed as recently as 1934 at Iowa State University, 1935 at George Washington University, and 1941 at North Carolina State College.[17] Later, in the 1940s and 1950s, amid a perfect storm of postwar science, computing, and population growth, departments sprang up at about a dozen research universities, including Stanford, Cornell, Berkeley, and Harvard. However, such eminent universities as Wisconsin, Texas A&M, and Yale added statistics departments in the 1960s, *after* the formation of BYU's department.

Even today, a few major universities do not have distinct departments of statistics; neither the University of Utah nor Utah State University currently has a statistics department.[18] So having a statistics department at BYU in 1960 was, if not quite avant-garde, decidedly progressive and unique for a school not in the same league as major research universities. The first PhD program at BYU had been started only three years earlier; it was not even clear at the time that there would be trained LDS statisticians available to staff the new department.

The 1957 Church Membership Projection

As indicated, establishing a statistics department at BYU was a direct, if perhaps fortuitous, result of the Church membership projection study that President Wilkinson hired Howard Nielson to spearhead. Nielson's



Y Establishes Statistics Dept.

Nielsen Chosen New Chairman, Takes Post Autumn Semester

An amalgamation of the statistics courses taught at Brigham Young University has just been formed into a new Statistics Dept., President Ernest L. Wilkinson announced.

WITH DR. HOWARD C. Nielson, associate professor of statistics, as chairman, the department will begin operation autumn semester.

To be housed in the College of Business, the new department is a combination of courses now being taught in Accounting, Agricultural Economics, Business Management, Economics and Mathematics Departments. The department will develop more concentration in the field as other university departments join the program.

"For example," said Dr. Nielson, "a minor in statistics is an excellent complement for majors in psychology, sociology, education, economics, business management, accounting and in the physical sciences."

He pointed out also that many fields such as journalism and political science will find this department helpful in giving students tools for such activities as public opinion researching.

THE DEPARTMENT OFFERS a major in statistics in either the College of Business or in the College of Physical and Engineering Sciences.

Dr. Nielson explained that the curriculum in statistics is designed to serve two purposes: (1) to educate students for careers as professional statisticians in industrial organizations, government agencies and research institutes, and (2) to provide an integrated series of courses which will serve the entire university in many subject-matter areas.

"Although a relatively recent professional field of study, statistics has been given a greater emphasis by a number of leading universities," Dr. Nielson said. "There is a growing demand for statisticians in the natural and social sciences as well as in industry, especially since the development of electronic data processing equipment.

BYU is equipped with such an "electronic brain" which serves all departments of the university and which also will be an important tool in the statistics Dept.

Howard C. Nielsen . . . gets post as Statistics Dept. head

Daily Universe

"Voice of Brigham Young University Community"

Vol. 12, No. 119 Friday, April 1, 1960 Provo, Utah

Figure 2. Notice announcing the formation of the Department of Statistics (*Daily Universe,* April 1, 1960). The article describes the new department as an amalgamation of existing statistics courses taught in other departments unified under a common umbrella provided by the new Department of Statistics. The incorporation of existing statistics courses with new advanced courses made it possible for the first five students to graduate from the department within a year.

1954 report *America's Demand for Wood* was a careful projection of future demand for wood based on assumptions about increasing demand, competition, technological changes, and shifts in home design.[19] The forecast received wide acclaim, and various sectors of the economy, including education, grasped the utility of such forecasts amid the rapid growth of the time. Wilkinson desired a similar projection for Church membership from 1957 to 2000.

The 1957 Church membership study identified six regions expected to have more than 5,000 LDS members of college age by 1975 and at least 10,000 by 2000. It identified twenty additional regions that were expected to have at least 2,000 members of college age by 1975. Based on these projections, Wilkinson proposed capping enrollment at BYU in Provo at 12,000–15,000 and building up to ten additional colleges in the Church system. The executive board supported Wilkinson's vision of BYU campuses

Howard C. Nielson

Born in Richfield, Utah, in 1924, Howard Nielson obtained a bachelor's degree in mathematics from the University of Utah, a master's degree from the University of Oregon in mathematics with a concentration in theoretical statistics, an MBA from Stanford, and a PhD in business with a minor in statistics from Stanford. After founding the Department of Statistics at BYU in 1960, Nielson became known among students for his quantitative abilities. John Lawson, a current member of the Statistics Department, recalled that Nielson could mentally do complicated arithmetic operations faster than students could do them with paper and pencil or the crude calculators of the time.

Nielson was able early on to establish a broad curriculum for the BYU department by, for example, staying a page or two ahead of the students in an operations research class and spending a summer term at the University of Wyoming learning design of experiments so that he could teach it the next fall. After leading the department for three years, Nielson was ready for new challenges. He took a sabbatical and turned the reigns of the department over to Mel Carter.

Although Nielson remained on the statistics faculty for nineteen more years, he was never again the dominant figure in the department. He returned from sabbatical to teach regular classes for two more years. In 1967, he won a seat in the Utah State Legislature, so he scheduled all of his classes for 6:00 and 7:00 a.m. His quantitative abilities landed him on the state budget committee as a freshman legislator. In 1970, he took a two-year leave from BYU to work for the Ford Foundation on Economic Development in Jordan. After the stint in Jordan, he returned to BYU and the state legislature, where he rose to the position of Speaker of the House.

In 1974, Nielson announced that he was running for the vacant United States Senate seat for Utah and again took leave from BYU. His wife's health forced him to withdraw from the race, but by then the Department of Statistics had hired a replacement for him. He worked full time for Hercules Powder for a year and then, in a somewhat ironic shuffle, returned to BYU for a two-year position in the Economics Department as a temporary replacement for Merrill Bateman. He then spent four years as Utah's Associate Commissioner of Higher Education, after which he successfully ran for a seat in the

United States Congress in 1982. He served four terms as Congressman for Utah's third district. At Nielson's retirement party from the Statistics Department in 1982, Al Rencher made an only slightly exaggerated statement that Nielson had been a member of the department for twenty-two years, but had been on leave for twenty-four of them.

Nielson has 14 children from two marriages, 74 grandchildren, and 106 great grandchildren, at last count; a recent two-month window included two weddings, four births, and three baptisms. Since he retired, Nielson and his wife have served missions in Hungary and Australia.

serving LDS youth in areas of membership concentration throughout the western United States.

In the first step to implement the concept, plans were announced to move Ricks College from Rexburg to Idaho Falls.[20] By 1960, President David O. McKay had changed Wilkinson's title in the Church Unified School System from Administrator[21] to Chancellor—reflecting Wilkinson's position as head of a university system, not just a single university—and eight million dollars had been spent to purchase 1,650 acres for Church colleges in Anaheim, San Fernando, Hayward (San Francisco area), Phoenix, Portland, Idaho Falls, and Salt Lake City. Almost as quickly as it began, however, the expansion concept stalled. A concerted campaign in Rexburg led to a reversal of the decision to move Ricks College,[22] and financial hesitation on the part of the First Presidency at the expenses of constructing the other new campuses (fortunate, as it turned out) led to the abandonment of the whole expansion project.[23]

The membership projection, however, is interesting in its own right. The report was daring. Even now, few statisticians would feel comfortable predicting values forty-three years in the future. Those who would dare to make such a prediction might hope that they would not be around when someone inevitably compares their predictions to actual realizations as we do here.[24] Some long-range predictions were amazingly accurate, while some were off by orders of magnitude. The accurate predictions attest to the validity and robustness of the modeling methods and assumptions implemented via hand computations. The wildly inaccurate predictions give a glimpse into unexpected changes in migration patterns within the United States and, much more importantly, unexpected Church expansion outside of the United States and Canada.[25]

The membership projection was not simply an extrapolation of the overall trend. It took into account the age structure of the Church in 1957, age-specific birth and death rates, conversion rates, geographical differences, and immigration patterns (see fig. 3). It made conservative assumptions about how these demographic characteristics would change in the future. The report divided the Church into forty-five regions, most in the western United States and Canada, producing a separate projection for each region.

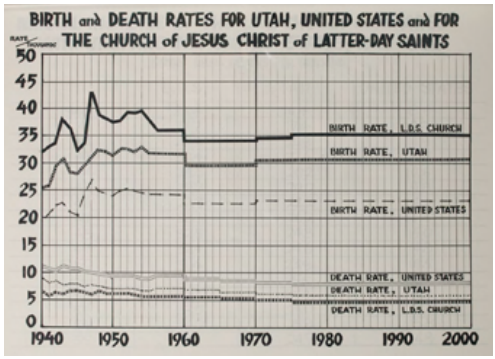
Interesting facts brought out in the study include the following: all but two of the forty-five regions had contributed to the growth of the Church in the previous fifteen years; Church membership in twenty-eight of the regions had more than doubled; overall Church membership grew by a healthy 27.4 percent between 1950 and 1957; and, amazingly, the San Francisco, Phoenix, and Los Angeles regions each had a membership growth rate of around 80 percent in that seven-year period.

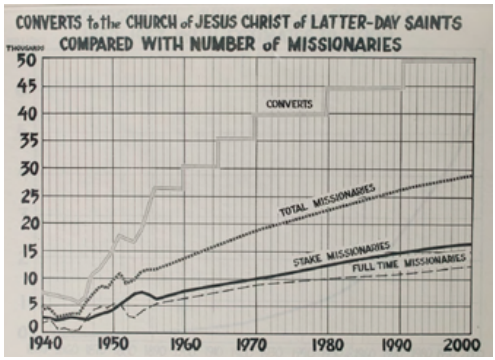
Not only was membership growing, but it was growing at a faster rate than the rapidly growing general population. Only southern Utah and Las Vegas had a smaller percentage of Latter-day Saints in 1957 than in 1910. Of interest to statisticians is a paradoxical finding that Arizona was the only western state in which LDS membership did not grow as a percentage of total population in the state—despite the fact that the LDS percentage increased in *every* area within the state.[26]

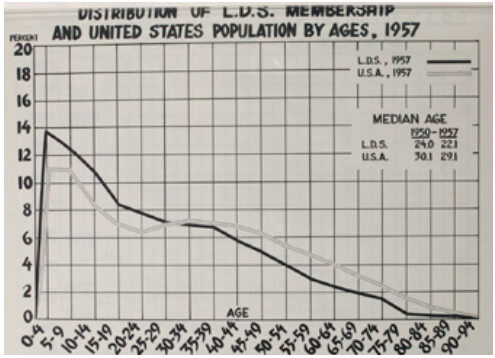
Overall, the membership prediction for 2000 was off by almost 80 percent; it predicted total Church membership in 2000 would be 6.7 million, while in actuality it reached 11.1 million (see fig. 4). At the time, even a projection of 6.7 million seemed unrealistically optimistic. Nielson compared this projection to an earlier forecast of 3.6 million[27] for the year 2000 and felt compelled to comment that even though his projection seemed unrealistic, it was justified by assumptions that were, if anything, conservative.

While the accuracy of the overall projection is not impressive, many of the regional projections for the United States and Canada were remarkably accurate (see fig. 5). There were two large but offsetting exceptions to accuracy for the U.S. and Canadian projections: membership in California was overestimated by around one million members, and membership in the nonwestern states and provinces was underestimated by almost one million members. Thus, the Church grew in the United States as a whole as predicted, but migration (Church members and otherwise) to the southern states was much greater than expected, while migration to California was much lower than expected.

Census Bureau statistics indicate that between 1940 and 1950, population growth rates for California, Utah, and the southern states were 53 percent, 25 percent, and 13 percent, respectively.[28] Between 1990 and







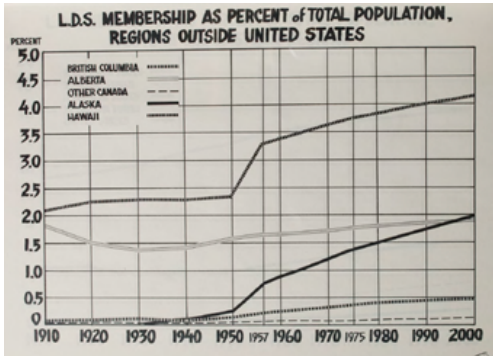
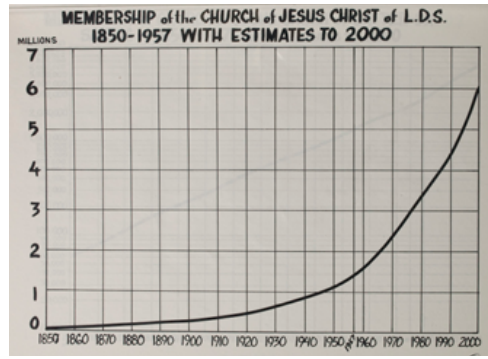
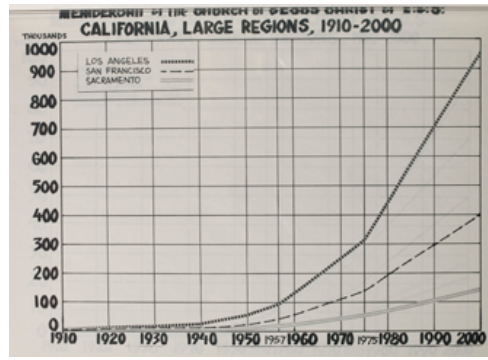
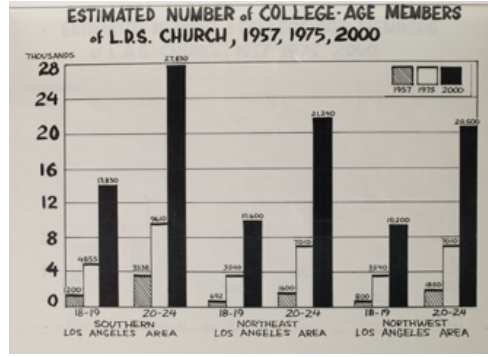


Figure 3. Samples of the hand-rendered graphs of birth, death, and conversion rates as well as age-structure and membership percentages used in the 1957 Church membership projection. In calculating member-specific rates, the study found higher birth rates and lower death rates among members of the Church compared to the general U.S. population. Also, the results showed relatively more women of childbearing age among members of the Church than in the general population of women.







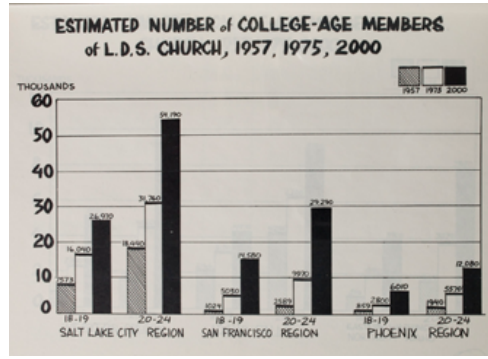


Figure 4. Church membership projections through 2000 from the 1957 report. Based on Church growth through 1957, Nielson believed Los Angeles would overtake Salt Lake City by 1985 as the largest membership region in the Church. The increasing number of college-age members in the Los Angeles area expected between 1957 and 2000 led to a recommendation for three Church-sponsored junior colleges in the Los Angeles area alone.

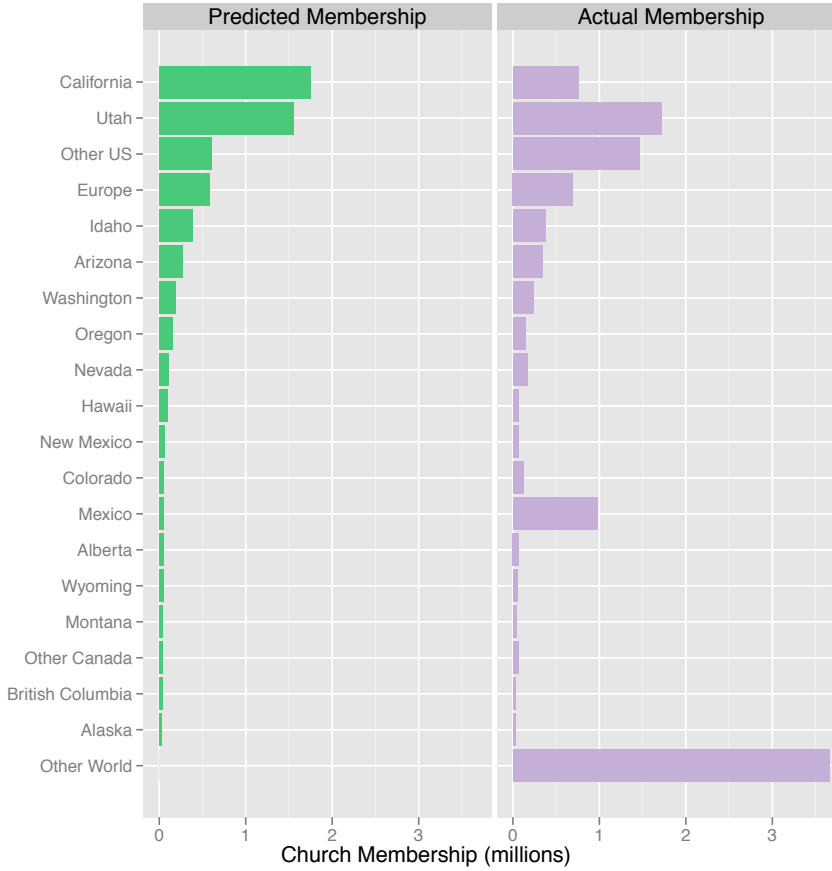


Figure 5. Regional Church membership projections from the 1957 report (left panel) compared to actual regional membership for 2000 (right panel). The regions are sorted by *predicted* membership. Discrepancies between the predicted and actual membership highlight the unanticipated growth in the worldwide Church. "Other World" comprises Asia, Africa, Spain, Eastern Europe, and Latin America. "Other Canada" includes all Canadian provinces except Alberta and British Columbia. "Europe" consists of Europe, Australia, New Zealand, and Polynesia. "Other US" includes all nonwestern states.

2000, the comparable figures were 15 percent, 30 percent, and 18 percent. Nielson's model assumed that extensive migration to California would persist. Based on that assumption, the 1957 report projected that by 1985 Los Angeles would surpass Salt Lake City as the largest membership region in the Church; San Francisco would be third largest, followed by the southern states, Ogden, and Provo.

The most glaringly inaccurate projections in the 1957 report involved Mexico, Latin America, Asia, Africa, and eastern Europe. The model obviously could not have anticipated the 1978 declaration extending the priesthood to all worthy male members[29] or the demise of the Soviet Empire. But even adjusting for those events, Church growth in most of these regions could not have been predicted from past trends in 1957. The projection is therefore a staggering commentary on the miraculous and statistically unexpected growth of the Church in these areas.

The 1957 model assumed the number of new converts would increase by 1,000 per year until 1975, with half that annual increase after 1975. In actuality, the missionary force grew at a much faster rate than predicted, as did the number of converts baptized (see fig. 6).[30]

The End of the Junior College Proposal

In March 1963, the executive committee of the Church Unified School System voted to abandon the expanded college proposal.[31] Wilkinson later revised his proposal, reducing the number of junior colleges from ten to four: a school in Mexico City to train CES teachers for Mexico, Ricks College, a junior college in Anaheim, and a junior college in Phoenix with special emphasis on Native American students. He suggested that these schools would more than pay for themselves because of the increased tithing the Church would ultimately receive from students acquiring complete religious education at junior colleges. Even so, the proposal was shelved and many of the properties were sold at several times the acquisition price.[32]

Wilkinson said he spent more time on the junior college proposal than on anything else in his first twelve years at BYU. His eleven-month absence from BYU after resigning in 1964 to run for U.S. Senate proscribed any return to the junior college proposal. While his vision of a constellation of BYU campuses was never realized, Wilkinson's tenure at BYU saw an increase in enrollment from 4,004 students in February 1951 to 25,116 students in September 1971, one month after his retirement; this 527 percent growth dwarfed the national average among universities of 75 percent in the same period.[33]

The hesitation of the First Presidency to build the satellite campuses indicates that they were not comfortable with Nielson's careful statistical

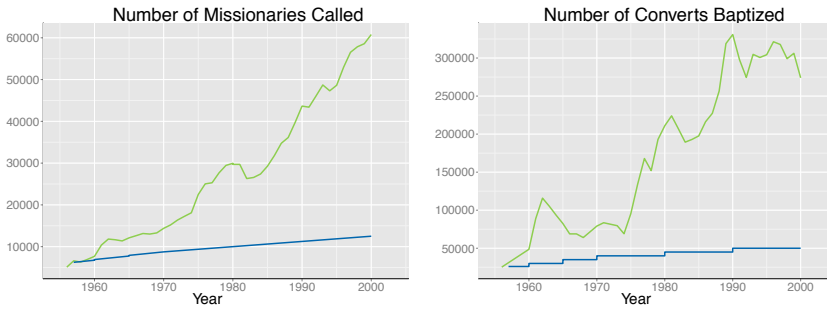


Figure 6. Assumed and actual missionary force and numbers of converts from 1957 to 2000. The 1957 assumptions are represented by the darker line; the actual number of missionaries and convert baptisms are depicted by the lighter line. The 1957 assumptions for growth of the missionary force and number of converts did not anticipate President Kimball's compelling call for more missionaries in the 1970s or the remarkable growth that occurred outside the United States and Canada.

projection. Their lack of confidence in the projection was well justified. The Church did not grow as dramatically as expected in California, and it grew much more dramatically than expected outside of the United States and Canada. Had the campuses been built as suggested by the 1957 projection, they would not have been located where they would have best served the youth of the Church. Also, needed resources for churches and temples outside of the United States and Canada would have been reduced. In retrospect, a central large BYU fits the needs of the international Church better than satellite campuses based on a very careful 1957 projection. One unintended benefit of President Wilkinson's attempt to project Church growth, however, is that BYU now has a thriving Department of Statistics, the only one in the state of Utah.

Fifty Years of the BYU Department of Statistics

In addition to its remarkable origin connected with Howard Nielson's statistical projections, many things about the new Statistics Department at BYU in 1960 were unique. The department initially offered only a bachelor's degree even though most existing departments exclusively offered graduate degrees. As late as 1986, the president of the American Statistical Association (ASA), possibly as a result of a recent visit to BYU, was urging statistics departments to develop bachelor's programs.

The founder of the department, Howard Nielson, had a PhD in business with a minor in statistics. The next two faculty members hired into the department also had minors in statistics, both from North Carolina State

College.[34] Mel Carter, who had been working as a statistical consultant at Purdue and North Carolina State College, had a PhD in animal nutrition, and Gill Hilton had a PhD in soil science.

Carter brought with him rough-hewn qualities that defined the Statistics Department in its early years. Carter had intended to work at his family dairy farm for life, but after a disagreement with his older brother about who was doing more work, he left for graduate study. His laboratory experiences taught him that influences as subtle as alfalfa dust could completely disrupt a nutrition experiment, but statistical design and analysis tools were available to adjust for these subtle effects. So he learned as much about statistics as possible from pioneers in the field, including Gertrude Cox. Carter jumped at the invitation to join the BYU department even though he suspected that Nielson "probably didn't know that he wasn't a statistician." Carter's unique combination of humility, rough edges, and respect for statistical models drew students to him and the major.

Gill Hilton brought with him a similar respect for the power of statistics in applied science combined with a strong administrative ability. Hilton later served as department chairman for twelve years, which proved critical to the growth of the department. After his service, he continued his administrative career as a mission president in Virginia.

By 1963, Nielson had built the department up to five faculty members by hiring Earl Faulkner, a biostatistics PhD from the University of Minnesota, and Dale Richards, an operations research PhD from the Department of Industrial Engineering at Iowa State.[35] A graduate program for the department was approved and the curriculum was stable when Carter became department chair. Under Carter's leadership (1963–66), the new graduate program was developed and a tradition begun of consulting with faculty in other departments. Also, a charter was granted for the Utah Chapter of the ASA. Under Dale Richards's chairmanship (1966–69), the faculty expanded from five to eight members. Gill Hilton, chair from 1969 to 1980, facilitated greater faculty research productivity and capitalized on this productivity by assisting the faculty in vending the state-of-the-art statistical software they developed.[36]

Al Rencher's chairmanship (1980–84) helped the department acquire more physical space, additional faculty positions, and recognition for the consulting center. Under Lee Hendrix (1985–94) the undergraduate program expanded to join the largest in the nation and added actuarial science and quality science emphases. While Gale Rex Bryce was chair (1994–2000), enrollment in the introductory statistics class more than doubled to over four thousand per year; development of the introductory class along with additional positions to handle the increase became priorities.

Under Howard Christensen, chair from 2000 to 2006, the use of multimedia and online technology was pioneered. The current chair (as of January 2012), Del Scott, has developed computing facilities and physical space, and both graduate and undergraduate curricula have undergone radical improvements.

All of the faculty now have PhDs in statistics or biostatistics, but in addition to developing statistical methodology, the faculty carry out research on a wide variety of applied problems, including air pollution monitoring, television ratings, improvement of sports teams, rating of sports teams, DNA analysis, health-care systems, evolutionary ecology, chemical thermodynamics, educational methods, industrial improvement, wildlife management, authorship styles in literature, paleontology, election prediction, and weapons systems reliability—just to name a few. The diversity has enriched each member of the department and led to beneficial cross-fertilization and collaboration.

A unique characteristic of the Statistics Department (at least among the physical and mathematical sciences) has been the relatively extensive involvement of women in the department almost from the start. Although the first graduating class consisted of five male students, most subsequent classes have included several female students. Among the first master's students were several women.[37] Even when there were no female faculty members in the department, a female graduate student was teaching introductory statistics in the department.[38] As of 2012, the department has seventeen full-time faculty, four of whom are female (24 percent).

Fifty years after the Statistics Department slipped into existence, the department is strong and well poised for the future. The Jobs Rated Almanac has consistently rated both statistician and actuary among the top five careers for about twenty years.[39] A 2009 editorial in the *New York Times* even reported the claim by the chief economist at Google that, given the staggering amount of data currently collected by business, government, and academia, "the sexy job in the next 10 years will be statisticians."[40] Fortunately, BYU is positioned advantageously to prepare LDS statisticians for these important future careers—all because of a whimsical comment by Howard Nielson more than fifty years ago and the dedication of those who followed him.

Natalie J. Blades is Assistant Professor of Statistics at BYU. She received her bachelor's degree in mathematics from Wellesley College, her master's in mathematical sciences from the Johns Hopkins School of Engineering, and her PhD in biostatistics from the Johns Hopkins School of Hygiene and Public Health. She conducted

postdoctoral research at the Jackson Laboratory in Bar Harbor, Maine. She has been at BYU since 2005.

G. Bruce Schaalje is Professor of Statistics at BYU. He received his bachelor's degree in mathematics at BYU, a master's in zoology at BYU, a master's in biostatistics at the University of Washington, and his PhD in statistics and biomathematics at North Carolina State University. He worked as a research scientist for Agriculture Canada in Alberta for twelve years. Since 1992, he has been at BYU and has served as both undergraduate and graduate coordinator in the Statistics Department. He has coauthored over 140 articles in a wide variety of scholarly journals and coauthored a graduate textbook on statistical modeling.

1. John W. Welch, "Off on the Right Foot," *BYU Studies* 38, no. 1 (1999): 18–19. ^

2. The next year, Tony Butala, Jim Pike, and Bob Engemann recorded two singles, "The Way You Look Tonight" and "When I Fall in Love," which shot to number 13 and 7, respectively, on the Billboard chart. *Billboard Music Week*, October 23, 1961, and January 27, 1962. ^

3. "County Hails BYU Campus: Four-Year College to Go on 135 Acres in Anaheim," *Los Angeles Times,* August 7, 1960. ^

4. "Mormon Church Buys Phoenix Campus Site," *Los Angeles Times,* July 24, 1960. ^

5. Ernest L. Wilkinson, ed., *Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred Years,* 4 vols. (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1975–76), 3:149, 153, 607–8. ^

6. At the opening of the 1960–61 academic year, Howard Nielson was installed as chair of the Statistics Department. Three other faculty members from the College of Business also taught courses for the department in the fall term: B. Delworth Gardner, assistant professor of economics; M. Lyman Wilson, assistant professor of industrial management; and Brent L. Eager, instructor in economics. During the winter term, Bliss Crandall, dean of admissions and former professor of applied statistics at Utah State Agricultural College and Ed Dean from mathematics also taught statistics courses. *Daily Universe*, June 17, 1955. One of the classes had twelve students; five students graduated in statistics in 1961: Dave Batchelor, Ronald Duncan, Ed Huband, Wayne Larsen, and Karl Smith. ^

7. Brigham Young University, Bureau of Church Studies, https://lib.byu.edu/byuorg/index.php/Brigham_Young_University_Bureau_of_Church_Studies#Description. ^

8. Nielson is better known as a politician. He was a member of the Utah House of Representatives (1967–74), Speaker of the Utah House of Representatives (1973–74), and four-term Congressman for Utah's third district (1983–91). He also served as Associate Commissioner of Higher Education for the state of Utah (1976–78). ^

9. Stanford Research Institute, *America's Demand for Wood 1929–1975* (Tacoma, Wa.: Weyerhaeuser Timber Company, 1954). The report was commented on both by *Business Week* ("Outlook for Wood Products: Fight against a Trend," October 2, 1954, 84–88) and *U.S. News and World Report* ("The Next 20 Years—a Business Forecast," October 8, 1954, 91–94). Presumably, Wilkinson had read about the projection in one of these news magazines. ^

10. Howard Nielson, interview with the authors, April 15, 2010. ^

11. The study was updated in 1967 and also 1977. The Church used Nielson to carry out several other projections. In the general priesthood meeting of the October 1967 semiannual general conference, Elder Harold B. Lee mentioned Howard

Nielson by name. He referred to Nielson's projections indicating that the anticipated one million members in Utah by 1985 would make up only 21 percent of Church membership. In response to these projections, sixty-nine Regional Representatives were called. ^

12. Across the four departments, Nielson taught ten courses in the 1957–58 academic year. ^

13. Nielson, interview. ^

14. Weldon Taylor was dean of the College of Business. The Statistics Department was located in the College of Business until 1966, when it was transferred to the College of Engineering and Physical Sciences; however, the department awarded majors in both colleges until 1980. ^

15. Hercules Powder, which changed its name in 1968 to Hercules Inc., worked on the Minuteman Missile project. Several statistics students worked for the company. Hercules hired Boyd Harshbarger as its primary statistical consultant. Harshbarger was the founder and chairman of the Department of Statistics at Virginia Polytechnic Institute. As a result of this connection, BYU graduates Wayne Larsen, Al Rencher, and Gary Beus obtained their PhDs at VPI. ^

16. Nielson, interview. ^

17. While the American Statistical Association (ASA) was founded in 1839, academic departments of statistics did not emerge until much later. It is unclear which department was the first department of statistics—each time a department claims to have been first, another school pops up with an earlier claim—but departments of statistics were remarkably rare in this era. Departments of biostatistics had been attached to public health schools for much longer—the ASA documents that the Johns Hopkins Department of Biostatistics, founded in 1918, was the first academic department with statistics in the departmental title. R. L. Mason, J. D. McKenzie Jr., and S. J. Ruberg, "A Brief History of the American Statistical Association 1839–1989," *American Statistician* 44 (1990): 68–73. In 1927, Iowa State established a statistical laboratory; however, their department was not created until 1933. "First Statistical Laboratory," www.fpm.iastate.edu/maps/memorials/marker.asp?id=23-01. ^

18. Several statisticians are faculty members of various departments at the University of Utah. For about the last ten years, Utah has offered an interdepartmental professional MStat degree. Utah State University actually had a Department of Statistics by 1967. Around 1985, the Statistics Department was amalgamated with the Mathematics Department to form the current Department of Mathematics and Statistics. Ten of twenty-eight faculty members are statisticians. ^

19. Despite the coming of age of a small Depression-era birth cohort, cultural trends luring singles from the family home while encouraging retirees to remain in the empty nest made 1953 the ninth consecutive year of record-setting spending on new construction. In anticipation of continuing growth driven by the postwar baby boom, the Weyerhaeuser Timber Company commissioned the Stanford Research Institute to predict future demand in the forest products industry. The research team identified production segments in the U.S. economy with a demand for wood: lumber for construction; pulp for paper, cardboard, rayon, and acetate; and plywood for construction and shipping. Additionally, the study accounted for technological changes like the electrification of farms and the popularity of oil and gas heat, which decrease demand for wood fuel, and shifts in taste from wood-hungry Victorian homes with wooden porches, ornate trim, and steep pitched roofs to

more conservative (and less resource-demanding) ranch houses. Stanford Research Institute, *America's Demand for Wood.* ^

20. Actually re-announced. A similar decision had been announced in 1954 but was shelved due to local resistance. See David L. Crowder, *The Spirit of Ricks: A History of Ricks College, 1888–1997* (Rexburg, Idaho: Ricks College, 1997), chapter 11, available online at http://www.byui.edu/pr/thespiritofricks/ch11.htm. ^

21. "In July 1953, the Church announced that Wilkinson would thereafter act as both the 'Administrator' (later Chancellor) of the Church Unified School System and also as president of BYU." Gregory A. Prince and Wm. Robert Wright, *David O. McKay and the Rise of Modern Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2005), 165. ^

22. The decision involved lobbying by Ernest L. Wilkinson for a move to Idaho Falls, a meeting of the First Presidency with thirteen stake presidents of eastern Idaho (fifteen were invited), a telegraph and letter-writing campaign fueled by a local radio station, a fund-raising campaign by the local Chamber of Commerce, and a visit to Rexburg by President David O. McKay. See Crowder, *Spirit of Ricks,* chapter 11. ^

23. After purchasing land in five states, construction was sidelined after concerns that construction and maintenance could not be undertaken without incurring debt. In 1960, the board decided institutes of religion could provide religious instruction for LDS students. The board acknowledged this religious training might not be as thorough but would be accomplished at a much lower price. Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 3:153. ^

24. As of this writing (January 2012), Nielson is eighty-seven years old, in good health, and comfortable with these comparisons. ^

25. "Statistical Information on L.D.S. Church and L.D.S. Church University Needs," presented at the Development Program for the National Advisory Committee of Brigham Young University, April 1958, copy in L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. ^

26. The areas of fastest overall growth in Arizona (Phoenix and Tucson) had the smallest percentage LDS population; thus, the overall LDS percentage in the state decreased even though it increased in every region in the state. This is an example of Simpson's Paradox. ^

27. H. Nielson, Bureau of Church Studies, Perry Special Collections. The previous prediction was made by Howard Barker. ^

28. F. Hobbs and N. Stoops, *Demographic Trends in the 20th Century: Census 2000 Special Reports*, U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000 Special Reports, Series CENSR-4 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2002), table A–1. ^

29. Official Declaration given on September 30, 1978, at the 148th semiannual general conference. ^

30. Number of converts and missionaries serving extracted from conference reports and supplemented by information from the Missionary Department. "Statistical Report," *Conference Report*, April 1957–April 2000. ^

31. The institute program has grown to accommodate the need for religious instruction of college-age members. In 1959, there were sixty institutes with sites purchased for nineteen more. The Church committed to building an institute with a full-time instructor for any school with at least one hundred LDS students. Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 3:164. As of 2012, about 350,000 students are involved

in institute programs worldwide. See "Frequently Asked Questions—Institute," institute.lds.org/faq. ^

32. Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 3:170–74. ^

33. Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 3:755. ^

34. The fact that both men had only minors is not as shocking as it seems. Statistics departments were new; most pioneers of this new discipline had degrees in other areas. As an extreme example, Jerry Cornfield, a pioneer of biostatistics in the U.S., had a BA in history. ^

35. "News and Notices," *Annals of Mathematical Statistics* 36, no. 2 (1965): 740. Faulkner's dissertation, "A Stochastic Model for Immunological Experimentation on Spontaneous Mammary Tumors in Inbred Mice," was the first written in statistics among the faculty at BYU. Dale Owen Richards's doctoral dissertation, "Incompletely Specified Models in Life Testing," in 1963, was the fifth submitted to the Department of Industrial Engineering at Iowa State University. ^

36. Based on the abbreviated Doolittle method and the cell means model, Del Scott and Gale Bryce developed a program for general linear models called RUMMAGE. It was unique in that it allowed the user to specify the design matrix. In its day, it was a serious competitor with SAS's flagship program GLM. SAS is just now incorporating the design matrix capability. Royalties from the sale of RUMMAGE have provided the department with an endowed chair, a multiyear faculty fellowship, and several student fellowships. The fund has provided bridge money for new faculty hires and other academic flexibility. For a comparison to three major software products, see D. W. Garton and K. L. Koonce, "Two-Way Analysis of Variance in Computer Statistical Packages: A Comparison of SPSS, BMDP, and RUMMAGE to SAS GLM," *Proceedings of the SAS Users Group International Conference* 6 (1981): 185–90. ^

37. Grace Yeh (1969) and Nancy Covino Ellison (1971) were the first two women to graduate with an MS in statistics from BYU. ^

38. Patti Burton (who is still teaching in the department and is now married to faculty member Bruce Collings) remembered when she was finally allowed to wear a pant suit; she said the department chairman told her she looked like she was wearing pajamas. ^

39. L. Krantz, *Jobs Rated Almanac: The Best and Worst Jobs* (New York: Barricade Books, 2002). ^

40. Steve Lohr, "For Today's Graduate, Just One Word: Statistics," *New York Times*, August 5, 2009. ^

Eve, the apple was a pomegranate—

Exhausting, the tear and pull
of scabrous flesh, exposing pale
pulp, the seeds sleek pulse.

Her fingers bleed red and

Adam takes the peel, pulls away

the arils. Two in his hand, two on her tongue.

You want them to see you, to offer you
your share. You expect Eve to thank you,
Adam to take your hand, take away the pen,
write the last words:

How many times will you write
redemption without being

redeemed?

—E. S. Jenkins

Reprinted by permission from Tyler Chadwick, ed., *Fire in the Pasture: Twenty-First Century Mormon Poets* (El Cerrito, Calif.: Peculiar Pages, 2011), 230.

A New Pneumatology

Comparing Joseph Smith's Doctrine of the Spirit with His Contemporaries and the Bible

Lynne Hilton Wilson

On November 29, 1839, unbidden and unannounced, Joseph Smith Jr. walked into the White House on Pennsylvania Avenue to request an audience with President Martin Van Buren.[1] Joseph had journeyed nearly a thousand miles to seek federal redress after failing in local and state courts to regain Mormon property in Missouri.[2] Within minutes President Smith was escorted into President Van Buren's office and within minutes was escorted out. Their brief conversation has become famous in Mormondom.

1. Dean C. Jessee, *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1984), 453. While in Washington, DC, Joseph Smith also dined with Judge Stephen A. Douglas and Henry Clay, according to 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), 5:393 (hereafter cited as *History of the Church*).

2. In the 1830s, Mormons fled from their enemies in New York, Ohio, and Missouri. On October 27, 1838, Governor Lilburn W. Boggs of Missouri issued an extermination order. The timing correlated directly to the federal government policy allowing immigrants to secure first property land status and ownership of their improved frontier lands. During the winter of 1838–39, Missouri troops and mobs drove Mormons off their properties, "more than 10,000 acres in Caldwell County alone." Arnold K. Garr and Clark V. Johnson, eds., *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History: Missouri* (Provo, Utah: Department of Church History and Doctrine, Brigham Young University, 1994), 203–4; see Jeffrey N. Walker, "Mormon Land Rights in Caldwell and Daviess Counties and the Mormon Conflict of 1838: New Findings and New Understandings," *BYU Studies* 47, no. 1 (2008): 4–55. Without success in the state courts, Joseph Smith sought federal assistance to regain the lost properties and monies. He and Elias Higbee traveled to Washington, DC, to personally deliver the LDS petitions of redress. Sydney Rigdon began the trip, but became ill and had to stop. Porter Rockwell and Robert Foster stayed with Rigdon in Columbus, Ohio. Jessee, *Personal Writings,* 448, 453.

Lynne Hilton Wilson

For as long as I can remember, I have felt passionate about religion and have long desired to make a formal study of the subject. However, I put my graduate training on hold for twenty years to raise my seven children. When my youngest started school, I went back as well. As I focused my doctoral studies on American Religious History, I became fascinated with the workings of the Spirit during the Second Great Awakening. As I was working to fine-tune my research in pneumatology (the study of the Spirit), my Catholic adviser encouraged me to contrast Joseph Smith's unique understanding of the Holy Ghost with his contemporaries.

I followed his advice, and in 2010, I defended my dissertation to a diverse Christian board. Following my introduction, a volley of questions ensued. A Greek Orthodox board member cut straight to the core: "I find your thesis totally false. Joseph Smith's doctrine was not as unique as you think. He sounds just like Enoch, or even Abraham or Ezekiel. He fits into the same mold as the Hebrew prophets and early Christian apostles." While my thesis was not to contrast Joseph with ancient prophets, this board member's words still delighted me. An Anglican biblical scholar on the board then summarized, "Joseph Smith was a religious genius." Then a Jesuit priest from the American history department asked, "Would you agree that Mormonism is to Christianity as Christianity was to Judaism?" Stunned by what I heard, I reiterated: "Do you mean, as Christ fulfilled the Law of Moses, Joseph Smith's restoration brought a fullness to Christianity? Yes I do!"

This article is based on research from my dissertation, "Joseph Smith's Doctrine of the Holy Spirit Contrasted with Cartwright, Campbell, Hodge, and Finney" (PhD diss., Marquette University, 2010).

It was a defining moment in Smith's life and one that underscores the importance of pneumatology (the study of the Holy Spirit).[3] A week later, Joseph reported to his brother Hyrum that after their interview, President Van Buren asked him how his church differed from other religions of the day. He simply replied: "We differed in mode of baptism and the gift of the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands." He explained to Van Buren that "all other considerations were contained in the gift of the Holy Ghost."[4] Joseph's response to Van Buren calls for a serious analysis of Joseph Smith's understanding of the Spirit compared to other nineteenth-century religions and their biblical interpretations.

While Joseph Smith's thoughts on the Holy Ghost appear to fall within the mainstream of the enthusiastic outbursts of the Second Great Awakening (circa 1800–1840), a closer look shows that his restored doctrines made an abrupt and radical departure from the pneumatology of his day. Many historians[5] interpret Joseph's claim to revelation as a creative response to the cultural and religious stimulus of the "Burned-over District" in upstate New York (see table 1).[6] But were Joseph's ideas on the Holy Ghost entirely

---

3. Pneumatology is the study of the Holy Spirit and comes from the Greek *pneuma:* air, breath, wind, or spirit.

4. *History of the Church,* 4:42. According to the editors of the *History of the Church,* Smith wrote to his brother Hyrum from Washington, DC, on December 5, 1839. Jessee does not include this letter in his collection.

5. Susan Juster, *Doomsayers: Anglo-American Prophecy in the Age of Revolution* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 260–70; Sydney Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People,* 2d ed. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2004); E. Brooks Holifield, *Theology in America: Christian Thought from the Age of the Puritans to the Civil War* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2003); Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet* (New York: Knopf, 1971); Richard Hughes, "Two Restoration Traditions: Mormons and Churches of Christ in the Nineteenth Century," in *The Stone-Campbell Movement: An International Religious Tradition,* ed. Michael W. Casey and Douglas A. Foster (Knoxville, Tenn.: University Press, 2002), 348–63; Nathan Hatch, "The Christian Movement and the Demand for a Theology of the People" in Casey and Foster, *Stone-Campbell Movement,* 138; Henry F. May, *The Enlightenment in America* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1976); Claude Welch, *Protestant Thought in the Nineteenth Century: 1799–1870* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1972); and Whitney Cross, *The Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800–1850* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University, 1950), 57.

6. Upstate New York received its nickname "the Burned-over District" from the outpouring of itinerant preachers and religious revivals that burned through the developing towns in the early nineteenth century. For example, in 1824 nearly one-fourth of the nation's Presbyterian ministers served in the Burned-over District. More than anywhere else in the new nation, the newly opened settlements in upstate New

Table 1. Number of Religious Revivals in New England and New York between 1815 and 1818

RI	CT	PA	NJ	Eastern NY	VT	MA	Burned-over District or western NY
6	15	21	21	21	45	64	80

Source: Whitney Cross, *The Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800–1850* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University, 1950), 11–12.

a product of his environment? Was his doctrine developed in reaction to his culture? Was his biblical interpretation of the Spirit consistent with that of the clerics of his day? Focused research suggests not. Up to this point, academic literature has not compared Joseph Smith's pneumatology with that of his contemporaries.[7]

Nineteenth-century American ministers and theologians most frequently discussed the working of the Spirit in regard to the Trinity, revelation, and the depravity of man. Each subject deals with branches of pneumatology: the first two with the Spirit's work of inspiration and regeneration, and the latter with the Spirit's identity in the Godhead. Joseph added significantly to the discussion on these three and other subjects, but unfortunately, many miss the nuanced but crucial differences in Joseph's views on the Holy Spirit and how these views can transform theology. I hope to partially fill this gap by a systematic, documented analysis of the dominant ideas on the Holy Spirit in antebellum America, against which to contrast Joseph's teachings. First, I will juxtapose Joseph's writings with statements from several representative sermons and writings from his contemporaries on the Holy Spirit's role in the Trinity, a closed canon, gifts of the Spirit, and divine election. Then I will compare Joseph Smith's teachings about the Holy Ghost with those found in the Bible, using analysis of numbers, names, and details.

York kindled a fire of the Spirit to new levels of enthusiasm. Whitney Cross demonstrated this extreme religious fervor by comparing 1815 to 1818 revivals held in six states with those in the Burned-over District. The numbers in table 1 are even more remarkable when looking at the sparse population in the developing area. Cross, *Burned-Over District,* 11–12.

7. This research is the focus of my dissertation: Lynne Hilton Wilson, "Joseph Smith's Doctrine of the Holy Spirit Contrasted with Cartwright, Campbell, Hodge, and Finney" (PhD diss., Marquette University, 2010).

Joseph Smith's Pneumatology Contrasted to Nineteenth-Century Preachers

Trinity versus the Godhead

The majority of American Christians in 1800 believed in the Trinity.[8] They passionately defended their ideology of the Trinity from attacks by Deists and Unitarians. One of the most articulate guardians of the Trinity from 1822 to 1878 was the Reformed Christian Charles Hodge (1797–1878).[9] He explained that the Spirit "is the same in substance and equal in power and glory . . . to the Father and Son."[10] For fifty-six years he elaborated on his belief in the Trinity

8. The Reformed tradition (Calvinist, Presbyterian, Congregationalist, Dutch Reformed, and so forth) was the largest American religious tradition in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries. But by 1860 the most prominent churches in America were (1) Methodist, (2) Baptist, (3) Roman Catholic, and (4) Presbyterian. Mark Noll published the following list of early American churches to demonstrate the religious growth in early America. *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2001), 166.

Church Growth in Early USA

	Number of Churches			*Multiple of Growth*
Denomination	*1770*	*1790*	*1860*	*1770 to 1860*
Methodist	20	712	19,883	994.1
Baptist	150	858	12,150	81.0
Presbyterian	500	725	6,406	12.8
Roman Catholic	50	65	2,550	51.0
Congregational	625	750	2,234	3.6
Anglican/Episcopal	356	170	2,145	6.0
Lutheran	125	249	2,128	17.0
Christian/Disciples	0	0	2,128	—
Quakers	228	375	676	3.2
Dutch Reformed	100	115	440	4.7
Total other churches	2,481	4,696	~52,500	21.2
Population / 1,000	2,148	3,929	31,513	14.7

9. Charles Hodge, *Systematic Theology,* 3 vols. (New York City, N.Y.: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1871), 1:528.

10. Hodge, *Systematic Theology,* 1:528–29. Hodge based his definition on the Protestant creed *The Westminster Confession* 2.3: "In the unity of the Godhead there be three Persons of one substance, power, and eternity: God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost. The Father is of none, neither begotten nor proceeding; the Son is eternally begotten of the Father, the Holy Ghost eternally proceeding from the Father and the Son." Again in 9.1: "The Holy Spirit, the third Person in the Trinity, proceeding from the Father and the Son, of the same substance and equal in power and glory, is, together with the Father and the Son."

from "the citadel of Reformed theology," the Princeton Seminary.[11] He clung to the creedal vocabulary: "When we consider the incomprehensible nature of the Godhead, the mysterious character of the doctrine of the Trinity, the exceeding complexity and difficulty of the problem, . . . [we must refer to] the Church creeds on the subject."[12] Whether or not a person read the creeds, by the early nineteenth century a creedal perspective was so ingrained into assumptions about Christianity that believers found a clear confirmation for the Trinity within the Bible.

Biblical purists like Alexander Campbell denounced the word "Trinity" as "unauthorized and Babylonish phraseology" because the word did not originate in the Bible.[13] Yet his dislike was largely semantic, as we find Trinitarian doctrine in his second Article of Faith: "I believe in one God as manifested in the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, who are therefore one in power, nature and volition."[14] Other theologians on the fringe of Christianity, like the Unitarian William Channing (1780–1842), went so far as to attack Trinitarian ideology and the divinity of Jesus,[15] and Mother Ann Lee (1736–1784) questioned the gender of God. However, no one went so far

---

11. Glenn A. Hewitt, *Regeneration and Morality*: *A Study of Charles Finney, Charles Hodge, John W. Nevin, and Horace Bushnell* (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Carlson, 1991), 53. Hodge devoted the entire sixth chapter of his *Systematic Theology* to the Trinity. Holifield emphasized the profound influence Hodge played in nineteenth-century theology by reporting an 1879 survey of American colleges and universities that showed "students often learned more the theology of . . . Charles Hodge than about Plato and Kant. The older theologies proved even more tenacious in churches and seminaries. . . . Old School Presbyterian theology, only slightly revised, retained a hold at Princeton Seminary until the early 1920s and . . . a traditional Calvinist theology continued to prevail even after that in many other Reformed seminaries, colleges, and churches, especially in the South and Midwest." Holifield, *Theology in America*, 508.

12. Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 1:478; see also 1:38, 40, 67–68, 457, 477, 524–28, 533; 2:244, and so forth.

13. Alexander Campbell, *The Christian Baptist: Seven Volumes in One*, 2d ed. (Cincinnati: D. S. Burnet, 1835), 159; see also 50, 82, 505.

14. Robert Richardson, Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*: A View of Origin, Progress, and Principles of the Religious Reformation Which He Advocated,* 2 vols. (Philadelphia, Pa.: J. B. Lippincott, 1870), 2:616.

15. Channing spoke out against most Puritan doctrines from his powerful position as a key player in establishing the Harvard Divinity School in 1816. He and many Boston Unitarians rejected the Trinity and the Godhead. For them, Jesus was not both man and God, nor did Jesus perform a vicarious atonement. A century earlier, Emmanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772), a visionary of the Enlightenment, also rejected the Trinity. Terryl L. Givens, *By the Hand of Mormon: The American Scripture That Launched a New World Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 73–77.

into new territory to describe the Godhead as Joseph Smith did by the time he was in Nauvoo.[16]

The Prophet Joseph Smith strongly rejected the traditional philosophy of a Trinity: nowhere in his sermons, personal writings, or history did he mention the word or support its ideology.[17] He never debated the traditional questions of *filioque*; he probably did not know of the debate over the mysterious character and source of the Trinity.[18] His break from Trinitarian doctrine, if he ever held such a belief, began in his teens when his First Vision changed his view of the Godhead.[19] He joined many other Christians in

---

16. Compare Joseph's teachings with William Channing, *Memoir of William Ellery Channing, with Extracts from His Correspondence,* 3 vols. (Cambridge, Ma.: Crosby and Nichols, 1851), 1:386. "We preach precisely as if no such doctrine as the Trinity had ever been known. . . . I might adopt much of the Trinitarian language . . . [but] the usurpation which demands such concessions is wrong" (2:379–80).

17. Oliver Cowdery included a muddled reference to the Trinity in the Lectures on Faith 5.2. James Allen and Glen Leonard explained that in 1921, "to further lessen confusion over the nature of the Godhead, the 'Lectures on Faith' were eliminated from the Doctrine and Covenants." James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints,* 2d ed., rev. and enl. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 489. Oliver also alluded to the Trinity in the *Messenger and Advocate* 2 (December 1835): 236: "The representation of the Godhead—three, yet in one, is curiously drawn to give simply, though impressively, the writer's views of that exalted personage." If Oliver assumed traditional Trinitarian philosophy, it adds evidence to Richard Bushman's theory that Joseph did not speak to people about his first vision until years after the fact. Although other early Church leaders mentioned the Trinity, Joseph did not. By the time Joseph was in Nauvoo, he articulated: "Concerning the Godhead it was not as many imagined—three Heads & but one body, he said the three were separate bodys—God the first & Jesus the Mediator the 2d & the Holy Ghost & these three agree in one & this is the manner we Should approach God in order to get his blessings." Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook, eds. and comps., *The Words of Joseph Smith: The Contemporary Accounts of the Nauvoo Discourses of the Prophet Smith* (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1990), 63.

18. *Filioque* describes the Spirit's procession from both God the Father and God the Son. Following the formation of the Nicene Creed, many Latin fathers and some of the Greek fathers wanted to add a phrase describing the Spirit proceeding from the Father and Son. In AD 589, the Synod of Toledo added the word *filioque* as clarification. This addition was hotly debated and contributed to the separation of the Western and Eastern churches.

19. Some would argue that Smith's First Vision evolved over time, including his view of the Godhead. Yet all six full accounts directly formulated by Smith, and four of the five secondhand accounts written during his lifetime, mention that a light evolved into a vision of the Lord. In ten of the eleven accounts, two heavenly personages are described—God the Father and his Son. James B. Allen and John W. Welch, "The Appearance of the Father and the Son to Joseph Smith in 1820," in *Opening the Heavens: Accounts of Divine Manifestations, 1820–1844,* ed. John W. Welch

believing that Jesus was the literal offspring of God the Father; but he alone taught that both the Father and Son were now resurrected, glorified, separate, and purified "Men of Holiness" with bodies of flesh and bones who were unified in purpose to exalt humanity (D&C 50:27; 130:22; 131:8; Moses 1:39; 6:57; 7:35).[20] He then diverged even more dramatically from the mainstream by teaching that the Spirit will someday take on a body as Jesus did.[21] According to the notes taken by his scribe, Joseph preached: "The holy ghost is yet a Spiritual body and waiting to take to himself a body, as the Savior did or as god did or the gods before them took bodies."[22] Joseph's followers,

---

and Erick B. Carlson (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2005), 63, 74 n. 27, provide a thorough analysis of the differences between accounts of this vision written in the first and second person. They examine the seeming absence of two personages in the 1832 retelling in Smith's own hand. Welch does not see a contradiction between this and the other recordings, because the inclusion of "the spirit of god" appears to reference God's presence. Smith's first draft of the 1832 account especially suggests that there were two beings present.

20. Ehat and Cook, *Words*, 379–80. "Men say there is one God—the Far. Son & the H.G. are only 1 God—it is a strange God any how 3 in 1. & 1 in 3. it is a curious thing any how—Far. I pray not for the world but I pray for those that thou givest me &c &c all are to be crammed into 1 God—it wod. make the biggest God in all the world—he is a wonderful big God—he would be a Giant I want to read the text to you myself—I am agreed with the Far. & the Far. is a greed with me & we are agreed as one—the Greek shews that is shod. be agreed."

21. Moses 6:57: "Man of Holiness is his name, and the name of his Only Begotten is the Son of Man, even Jesus Christ." For a more detailed discussion, see Ehat and Cook, *Words*, 343–46. On the topic of spirits at large, Smith also deviated from long-established tradition by defining "spirit as matter," and announcing an eternal history for spirits in an eternally expanding cosmos. He preached on the first point in response to a Methodist minister's sermon, which he felt required a few doctrinal corrections: "There is no such thing as immaterial matter. All spirit is matter but is more fine or pure and can only be discerned by purer eyes. We cant [*sic*] see it but when our bodies are purified we shall see that it is all matter." Ehat and Cook, *Words,* 203. The Methodist minister, Samuel A. Prior, wrote his perspective after meeting Joseph Smith: "In the evening I was invited to preach, and did so.—The congregation was large and respectable—they paid the utmost attention. This surprised me a little, as I did not expect to find any such thing as a religious toleration among them.—After I had closed, Elder Smith, who had attended, arose and begged leave to differ from me in some few points of doctrine, and this he did mildly, politely, and affectingly; like one who was more desirous to disseminate truth and expose error, than to love the malicious triumph of debate over me. I was truly edified with his remarks, and felt less prejudiced against the Mormons than ever. He invited me to call upon him, and I promised to do so." Ehat and Cook, *Words*, 203–4.

22. Ehat and Cook, *Words*, 382. Smith's scribe, George Laub, included the following in his notes of the sermon: "But Every one being a diffrent or Seperate persons & So is god . . . & Jesus Christ & the holy ghost. Seperate persons. but the[y]

who shared his theology of eternal spirits, accepted this idea as a logical outgrowth of Joseph's doctrine of eternal progression (D&C 88:15–16; 93:21–26).

Closed versus Open Canon

American Protestants held the Bible to be the most sacred document in the world and the centerpiece of their faith. Most viewed it as directly inspired from the Holy Spirit, the source of their authority and endowment of power. Many Christians at that time felt the words of the Bible were entirely God-given and "the only infallible rule of faith and practice."[23] Most Protestant preachers, like Charles Finney, turned to the Bible to separate truth from error.[24] Biblical words became the resource for their preaching and the guide to their living. The Bible offered them a link to the covenant. It also provided the potential unity among the sects of Christianity. Campbell spoke for many when he guarded a closed canon: "The Bible alone speaks the words of inspiration. No other book, however high it has been lauded as a mighty work of genius, bears upon its pages the impression of the Mighty One. . . . No other book, ancient or modern, whatever its pretensions may be, hold such sway over the minds of men as the Inspired Volume."[25] In short, the Bible stood alone as the word of God.

Of all the points of contention that accompanied Joseph's revelations in the 1830s, American Christians were most disturbed by his claim to open the scriptural canon.[26] He insisted his revelations came independently from divine sources and should become new scripture, contradicting church

---

all agree in one or the Self Same thing." The sermon is dated as being eleven days before Smith's martyrdom.

23. Hodge, *Systematic Theology,* 3:334. Hodge also elaborated on the immutability of the canon: "The Bible contains all the extant revelations of God, which He designed to be the rule of faith and practice for his Church; so that nothing can rightfully be imposed on the consciences of men as truth or duty which is not taught directly or by necessary implication in the Holy Scriptures" (1:182).

24. Charles Finney, *Systematic Theology* (reprint, Minneapolis: Bethany House, 1994), 170, 350, 479.

25. Alexander Campbell, "Sacred Literature," *Millennial Harbinger* 2 (August 1852): 424; see also Alexander Campbell, "Mr. Campbell to Mr. Skinner," *Millennial Harbinger* 1 (April 1837): 179. "No other witness than the Apostles and Prophets, or the Spirit of God speaking in them, can be admitted of any authority."

26. In my dissertation, I limited this social reaction to 1839, because different reactions came to the fore from 1840 onward. We see the importance of the Bible in early Americana by the development of organizations to promote it. In 1816 the American Bible Society rose to meet the needs of distributing Bibles across the expanding nation. In 1824 the American Sunday School Union organized with the goal of keeping frontier Americans literate and studying the Bible. In 1825 "The American

ministers of his day.[27] Religious Americans saw his threat of new scripture as endangering the Bible's sanctity, authority, and inerrancy.[28] On March 26, 1830—within a week of the Book of Mormon's publication—the *Rochester Daily Advertiser* headline read "BLASPHEMY" and then described: "*The Book of Mormon* has been placed in our hands. A viler imposition was never practiced. It is an evidence of fraud, blasphemy, and credulity shocking both to Christians and moralists."[29] Then and now, Joseph Smith and his

---

Tract Society" promoted "sound religion." Edwin Gaustad and Leigh Schmidt, *The Religious History of America,* 2d ed. (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 2004), 142.

27. For example, from Princeton University, Charles Hodge clung to the wording of the *Westminster Confession* by explaining: "The Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are the Word of God, written under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and are therefore infallible, and of divine authority in all things pertaining to faith and practice, and consequently free from all error whether of doctrine, fact, or precept. They were the organs of God, because they were the organs of the Spirit. The Spirit, therefore, must be God." Hodge, *Systematic Theology,* 1:152. In the same vein, he believed the Bible contained all of God's truths for humanity: "All things necessary for [God's] own glory, man's salvation, faith, and life is . . . expressly set down in Scripture. . . . Nothing at any time is to be added whether by new revelations of the Spirit or traditions of men."

28. Most Protestant ministers in early America claimed their authority to preach and baptize from either their education, the Bible, or directly from the Spirit of God. Lyman Beecher from Yale opposed the Pope's claim of authority, as well as simultaneously opposing the authority of itinerate preachers. Lyman Beecher, *Autobiography, Correspondence, etc., of Lyman Beecher,* 2 vols. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1864–65), 2:349, 416, 585. Like Beecher, most educated Reformed preachers claimed their authority came from their studies and ordination. Methodist itinerate preachers received authority from their superiors after a period of time testifying to their conversion experience as an "exhorter." Peter Cartwright, *Autobiography of Peter Cartwright* (1856; reprint, Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon Press, 1984), 51. Other itinerate preachers, like Lorenzo Dow, felt their authority came as the Spirit guided them. Charles Sellers, *Lorenzo Dow, the Bearer of the Word* (New York: J. J. Little and Ives, 1928), 114, 139–40; also see Leigh Eric Schmidt, *Hearing Things* (Cambridge: Harvard Press, 2000). When priesthood authority was discussed initially in the Old Testament, it was a birthright of the chosen, given to the firstborn or chosen son from Abraham to Isaac, Isaac to Jacob, and so forth. Following Moses and Aaron, the priestly line of authority came through the tribe of Levi. The New Testament Apostles received their authority from Jesus, not through blood lineage. Hatch described the lack of interest in religious authority in the United States. The national emphasis on political liberty created a resistance to authority and orthodoxy. During the Second Great Awakening, the trend was to diminish the role of ecclesiastical hierarchy, which lessened the role of priestly authority. Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University, 1989), 17–46.

29. Richard L. Bushman, with Jed Woodworth, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling* (New York: Random House, 2005), 270. Within weeks, these newspaper articles were spread throughout New England. Within a year, the *New York Morning*

new scripture have been seen as merely one more fraud in a long string of fanaticism from the Burned-over District. However, Joseph simply did not follow suit—of the many Christians who started their own denominations in the nineteenth century, no one claimed their revelation to be new scripture more accurate than the Bible.[30]

Gifts of the Spirit versus Fruits of the Spirit

The Second Great Awakening was riddled with controversy over spiritual gifts. Some congregations denounced all extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, while others experimented with superlative spiritual manifestations at a new level—from healing and prophesying to screaming and barking.[31] We find many examples of bizarre behaviors attributed to the Spirit from the period of the early 1800s. Renowned Methodist minister Peter Cartwright wrote:

> A new exercise broke out among us, called the *jerks*, which was overwhelming in its effects upon the bodies and minds of the people. No matter whether they were saints or sinners, they would be taken under a warm song or sermon, and seized with a convulsive jerking all over, which they could not by any possibility avoid, and the more they resisted the more they jerked. If they would not strive against it and pray in good earnest, the jerking would usually abate. I have seen more than five hundred persons jerking at one time in my large congregations. . . . I always looked upon the jerks as a judgment sent from God, first, to bring sinners to repentance; and, secondly, to show professors that God could work with or without means . . . to the glory of his grace and the salvation of the world.[32]

Courier and *Enquirer* editor James Gordon Bennett wrote: "You have heard of Mormonism—who has not? Paragraph has followed paragraph in the newspapers, recounting the movements, detailing their opinions and surprising distant readers with the traits of a singularly new religious sect which had its origin in this state. Mormonism is the latest device of roguery, ingenuity, ignorance and religious excitement combined, and acting on materials prepared by those who ought to know better. It is one of the mental exhalations of Western New York." Leonard J. Arrington, "James Gordon Bennett's 1831 Report on 'The Mormonites,'" *BYU Studies* 10, no. 3 (1970): 357.

30. Article of Faith 8 is a good example that suggests a supremacy of the Book of Mormon over the Bible.

31. Schmidt, *Hearing Things*, 41–49. Schmidt described the offensive noise from revivals, "'the groaning, crying out, falling down and screaming'; the 'terrible speaking' of itinerants; the clapping, stomping, singing, roaring, and 'hearty loud Laughter.' It was the shouting that turned into screams and screeches that especially disgusted" (66).

32. Cartwright, *Autobiography*, 21. In the early 1800s, Barton Stone also illustrated the "jerks" as a religious exercise: "The jerks can not be so easily described. Sometimes the subject of the jerks would be affected in some one member of the

In addition to those physical manifestations of the Spirit, the Second Great Awakening also boasted of rich visionary manifestations. Some share similarities with Joseph Smith's visions, like Charles Finney (1792–1875)[33] and Orestes Brownson (1803–1876),[34] while others, like those fabricated by Lorenzo Dow (1777–1834), were clearly fraudulent. One sham included "Crazy Dow" hiring a trumpet player to hide in the branches of a tree and blow his horn on cue during a Vermont camp meeting to simulate an angelic call. The event appeared as a miracle to the congregation: "Amid howls of fear and screams for mercy the congregation went down."[35] Similar dubious claims of communication from the Spirit fill nineteenth-century religious histories.[36] Historian Susan Juster documents over three hundred published sources of unorthodox prophets who circulated their visions in early America.[37] Leigh Schmidt observed

---

body, and sometimes in the whole system. When the head alone was affected, it would be jerked backward and forward, or from side to side. . . . When the whole system was affected, I have seen the person stand in one place and jerk backward and forward in quick succession. . . . I have inquired of those thus affected. They could not account for it; but some have told me that those were among the happiest seasons of their lives." He further described the other exercises—dancing, barking, laughing, and singing—that were part of the religious fervor of revivals. Roger Finke and Rodney Stark, *The Churching of America, 1776–1990: Winners or Losers in Our Religious Economy* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1992), 95. See also Ann Taves, *Fits, Trances, and Visions* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1999).

33. Charles Grandison Finney, *Charles Finney, An Autobiography* (1876; reprint, Albany, Oreg.: Books for the Ages, 1997), 32. "There was no fire, and no light, in the room; nevertheless it appeared to me as if it were perfectly light. As I went in and shut the door after me, it seemed as if I met the Lord Jesus Christ face to face. It did not occur to me then, nor did it for some time afterward, that it was wholly a mental state. On the contrary it seemed to me that I saw him as I would see any other man."

34. Patrick Carey, ed., *Early Works of Orestes A. Brownson: Free Thought and Unitarian Years 1830–35* (Milwaukee, Wisc.: Marquette University Press, 2001), 70–71. The Catholic convert Orestes Brownson documented a night of anguish at age fifteen: "A soft, an inexpressibly sweet sensation pervaded my whole frame. There was a light around to which the day would have seemed as night; yet it was midnight. . . . All my guilt, all my grief, all my anguish, were gone and I felt as if ushered into a new world, where all was bright and lovely. . . . 'I have tasted heaven today, what more can I contain?' Thus was I born again."

35. Sellers, *Lorenzo Dow*, 147.

36. Peter Cartwright exposed a preacher named A. Sargent who used gun powder to feign a heavenly light: "He said God had come down to him in a flash of light, and he fell under the power of God and thus received his vision." Cartwright, *Autobiography,* 76. Cartwright smelled sulfur, found the powder, and exposed the sham.

37. Juster, *Doomsayers,* 209–10. Terryl Givens reports that Richard Bushman found thirty-two published pamphlets that described visionary experiences between 1783 and 1815. Givens, *By the Hand of Mormon*, 72.

that "the gift of speaking in tongues" was another common manifestation that "received a burst of attention from the 1830s into the 1850s."[38] However, wary ministers labeled the charismatic or extraordinary gifts of the Spirit as unorthodox or satanic experimentation.[39]

To safeguard against the bizarre *gifts* of the Spirit, conservative Christians from that era encouraged the more temperate *fruits* of the Spirit.[40] Even Charles Finney, the most influential revivalist in the nineteenth century, would not claim the charismatic gifts of the Spirit and questioned the literal nature of his own vision of Christ. Rather, he sought serene spiritual manifestations to bless his ministry: "The Lord overshadowed us continually with the cloud of his mercy. Gales of divine influence swept over us from year to year, producing abundantly the fruits of the Spirit—'love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance.'"[41] The Methodists, famed as the fastest growing denomination in the eighteenth century,[42] "stopped short in not claiming the gift of tongues, of prophecy, and of miracles."[43] Preachers from the Reformed traditions taught that expressing the "fruit of the Spirit" demonstrated who

---

38. Schmidt, *Hearing Things*, 231. One denomination, the Shakers, claimed to speak with the gift of tongues under the direction of the supposed female embodiment of Christ at his Second Coming, Mother Ann Lee (1736–84). Two early British Methodist leaders, Thomas Walsh (1730–59) and Adam Clarke (1762–1832), "made a place for charismatic endowments after conversion" and spoke in tongues. Donald G. Bloesch, *The Holy Spirit* (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 2006), 128. Yet Wesley worked to stop the expression of the gift of tongues in Methodism.

39. Taves, *Fits,* 349. "For more than a century and a half, Protestants viewed 'enthusiasm' as the epitome of false religious experience."

40. Conservative Christians like Campbell authorized only wisdom, teaching, and peaceful sensations of the Spirit in the modern world. Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell,* 2:224.

41. Finney, *Autobiography,* 360. Mark Noll sees Pentecostalism of the twentieth century emerging from the holiness movement of Finney and other nineteenth-century preachers who emphasized the fruits of the Spirit. Mark A. Noll, *The Scandal of the Evangelical Mind* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1994), 116. Joseph Smith's teachings on perfection hint at similar ideas.

42. Finke and Stark show that Methodism grew to the largest denomination in America and reached 34 percent of religious adherents by 1850. *Churching America,* 55. Methodist membership rose from 4,921 members in 1776 to 130,570 in 1806. See Mark Noll's table in footnote 8.

43. Cartwright, *Autobiography,* 226; also 260–61. See examples of Cartwright's use of: faith, 9–10, 18–19, 32, 187, 230, 264–65, 300–301, 311–12; hope, 12, 233, 249, 257, 284, 291; and charity, 271. Also see Jon Ruthven, *On the Cessation of the Charismata: The Protestant Polemic on Postbiblical Miracles* (Sheffield, Eng.: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993).

was God's elect,[44] but those who displayed the charismatic gifts of the Spirit were of the devil.[45] The Baptists took exception to this Reformed doctrine later in the nineteenth century. By 1876, the *North American Review* attributed their growth to "a distinctive characteristic of the Baptists," which was "the energy with which they extolled the gifts of the Spirit."[46] However, the Methodist spokesman, Cartwright, observed that Mormons were known as the miracle workers and associated the gifts of the Spirit with them—not the Baptists.[47]

In an attempt to restrain fabricated religious experiences, other American preachers educated in Enlightenment ideals emphasized the need for reason. They limited the use of the charismatic or extraordinary gifts (miracles, healing, tongues, and visions) to the biblical apostles.[48] At the time of the First Great Awakening, the father of American theology, Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758), spoke against supernatural and miraculous claims.[49] A century later, the same school of thought cautioned: "Modern prelates do not claim to possess any one of these [charismatic] gifts. Nor do they pretend to the credentials which authenticated the mission of the Apostles of Christ."[50] Alexander Campbell confined charismatic gifts of the Spirit and

---

44. Charles Hodge, *The Way of Life* (Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union, 1869), 200, 268. Hodge described the Spirit's communication as "those lovely fruits of holiness which never fail to mark his presence. . . . Love, gentleness, goodness, and all other graces, are the fruits of the Spirit" (326). Galatians 5:22 expresses the fruit of the Spirit as "love, joy, peace, longsuffering, gentleness, goodness, faith." Hodge's *Systematic Theology* dedicates a chapter entitled "The Covenant of Grace," wherein he stated: "Hence, all the fruits of the Spirit in believers are called graces, or unmerited gifts of God" (2:357).

45. Donald G. Bloesch, *The Holy Spirit* (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 2006), 127–28.

46. Ferdinand Piper and Henry Mitchell MacCraken, *Lives of the Leaders of the Church Universal to the Present Time* (Edinburgh: T and T Clark, 1880), 609. Between 1741 and 1790, Baptist membership grew from three thousand to sixty-five thousand. "With the crumbling of established [religious] authorities," argues Schmidt, "God had more prophets, tongues, and oracles than before; thus, the modern predicament actually became as much one of God's loquacity as God's hush." Schmidt, *Hearing Things*, 11. Moravians, Mormons, Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists, and evangelical Congregationalists all "heard with an acuteness that was often overwhelming" (40).

47. Cartwright, *Autobiography*, 177, 232.

48. Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 1:154, 300, 399.

49. Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith,* 185, also see 190, 225–32. Jonathan Edwards's influence saturated the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as his writings circulated.

50. Hodge, *Systematic Theology,* 1:140. Hodge further taught: "It is true that during the apostolic age there were occasional communications made to a class of

revelations to the biblical era: "The Holy Spirit was communicated by the Apostles' hands; consequently, when the Apostles all died, these gifts were no longer conferred."[51]

Most Christians agreed that the gifts of the Spirit evidenced to the New Testament Apostles' sacred mission; the problem came when Joseph Smith asked them to use the same benchmark to measure his mission and authority:[52] "We believe in the gift of the Holy Ghost being enjoyed now, as much as it was in the apostles' days."[53] He did not share the same restraints on the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit.[54] In 1831, shortly after moving to Kirtland, he received a revelation on the subject (D&C 46). From that time forward, the gifts of the Spirit became a favored topic. He bridged the two

---

persons called prophets. But this 'gift of prophecy,' that is the gift of speaking under inspiration of the Spirit, was analogous with the gift of miracles. The one has as obviously ceased as the other" (1:138; see also 1:140, 162, 418). Hodge also limited the gift of healing to the New Testament in 1:503, 507, 617, 618, 625.

51. Campbell, *Christian Baptist*, 104. Campbell also asserted that since the apostolic age, "there has been no *substantive,* abstract and literal communication of the Holy Spirit to any man. . . . There has arisen no prophet, no originator of new ideas, no worker of miracles, no controller of nature's laws, no person having any manifestation of the Spirit, or showing any divine power among men." Alexander Campbell, *Delusions: An Analysis of the Book of Mormon with an Examination of Its Internal and External Evidences, and a Refutation of Its Pretences to Divine Authority* (1832; reprint, Salt Lake City: Morgan-Bruce Book, 1925), 6. A few years later he again wrote: "Since the Millennium and the evils of sectarianism have been the subjects of much speaking and writing, impostors have been numerous. . . . The shakers, . . . the Barkers, Jumpers, and Mutterers of the present age." Alexander Campbell, "The Gift of the Spirit—no. 5," *Millennial Harbinger* 5 (1834): 378.

52. Doctrine and Covenants 46:29 identified the head of the Church as one who possessed *all* the gifts of the Spirit. It was not until the following year, 1832, that Smith completed the scriptural list by interpreting and speaking in tongues. Heber C. Kimball, an eyewitness of the event, recorded: "Brothers Brigham and Joseph Young and myself went to Kirtland, Ohio. We saw Brother Joseph Smith and had a glorious time, during which Brother Brigham spoke in tongues, this being the first time Joseph had heard the gift. The Prophet rose up and testified that it was from God. The gift then fell upon him, and he spoke in tongues himself." Larry E. Dahl and Donald Q. Cannon, "Tongues, Gift of," in *Encyclopedia of Joseph Smith's Teachings* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1997), 669–70.

53. Joseph Smith, "Gift of the Holy Ghost," *Times and Seasons* 3 (June 15, 1842): 823.

54. *History of the Church,* 5:218, describes Mr. Sollars's confrontation with Smith in 1842 about practicing the gifts of the Spirit: "May I not repent and be baptized, and not pay any attention to dreams, visions, and other gifts of the Spirit?" Smith tried to explain: "Suppose I am traveling and am hungry and meet with a man and tell him I am hungry, and he tells me to go yonder. . . . I go and knock, and ask for food, and sit down to the table, but do not eat, shall I satisfy my hunger? No. I must eat. The gifts are the food; and the graces of the Spirit are the gifts of the Spirit."

extremes, accepting the existence of miracles of biblical proportions in the modern day, yet instructing on their proper use and limitations.[55]

For example, on March 27, 1836, at the dedication of the Kirtland Temple, he "gave [the Saints] instructions in relation to the spirit of prophecy, and called upon the congregation to speak, and not to fear to prophesy. . . . Do not quench the Spirit, for the first one that opens his mouth shall receive the Spirit of prophecy."[56] On other occasions, he preached caution and warned of satanic deception: "Every Spirit or vision or Singing is not of God. The Devil is an orator, &c: he is powerful. . . . The gift of discerning spirits will be given to the presiding Elder, pray for him. that he may have this gift[.] Speak not in the Gift of tongues without understanding it, or without interpretation, The

---

55. Joseph Smith, "Try the Spirits," *Times and Seasons* 3 (April 1, 1832): 744. "Methodists, Presbyterians, and others frequently possess a spirit that will cause them to lay down, and during its operation animation is frequently entirely suspended; they consider it to be the power of God, and a glorious manifestation from God,—a manifestation of what?—is there any intelligence communicated? are the curtains from heaven withdrawn, or the purposes of God developed? Have they seen and conversed with an angel; or have the glories of futurity burst upon their view? No! but . . . a shout of glory, or hallelujah, or some incoherent expression; but they have had 'the power.' The Shaker will whirl around on his heel impelled by a supernatural agency, or spirit, and think that he is governed by the spirit of God: and the Jumper will jump, and enter into all kinds of extravagancies, a Primitive Methodist will shout under the influence of that spirit, until he will rend the heavens with his cries; while the Quakers, (or Friends) moved as they think by the spirit of God, will sit still and say nothing. Is God the author of all this? If not of all of it, which does he recognize? Surely a heterogeneous mass of confusion never can enter into the kingdom of Heaven. . . . Who can drag into daylight and develope the hidden mysteries of the false spirits that so frequently are made manifest among the Latter-day Saints? We answer that no man can do this without the Priesthood, and having a knowledge of the laws by which spirits are governed."

56. *History of the Church,* 2:428. George A. Smith described the outpouring of spiritual gifts in the Kirtland Temple: "On the first day of the dedication, President Frederick G. Williams, one of the Council of the Prophet, and who occupied the upper pulpit, bore testimony that the Savior, dressed in his vesture without seam, came into the stand and accepted of the dedication of the house, that he saw him, and gave a description of his clothing and all things pertaining to it. That evening there was a collection of Elders, Priests, Teachers and Deacons, etc., amounting to four hundred and sixteen, gathered in the house; there were great manifestations of power, such as speaking in tongues, seeing visions, administration of angels. Many individuals bore testimony that they saw angels, and David Whitmer bore testimony that he saw three angels passing up the south aisle, and there came a shock on the house like the sound of a mighty rushing wind, and almost every man in the house arose, and hundreds of them were speaking in tongues, prophecying [*sic*] or declaring visions, almost with one voice." George A. Smith, in *Journal of Discourses,* 26 vols. (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1855–86, 1851–86), 11:10.

Devil can speak in Tongues."[57] His cousin and close companion, George A. Smith, remembered: "There was no point upon which the Prophet Joseph dwelt more than the discerning of Spirits."[58] Joseph straddled two camps by enthusiastically embracing the gifts of the Spirit but denouncing dramatic displays at revivals as false spirits. At the same time, he diverged from all camps by claiming apostolic authority in connection with these gifts.

Many joined in the fray by assailing the "diabolical Mormons," who claimed to practice the gifts of the Spirit.[59] Peter Cartwright (1785–1872) recollected a conversation held in Springfield, Illinois, where Joseph invited him to experience the gifts of the Spirit: "If you will go with me to Nauvoo, I will show you many living witnesses that will testify that they were, by the saints, cured of blindness, lameness, deafness, dumbness, and all the diseases that human flesh is heir to; and I will show you . . . that we have the gift of tongues, . . . and that the saints can drink any deadly poison and it will not hurt them."[60] Unfortunately, all we know about this conversation is from Cartwright's perspective; Joseph did not document the meeting in any of his journals. Cartwright ended by denouncing him: "'Yes,' said I, 'Uncle Joe; but my Bible tells me, 'the bloody and deceitful man shall not live out half his days;' and I expect the Lord will send the devil after you some of these days, and take you out of the way.'"[61] As with others, Cartwright felt justified in

---

57. Ehat and Cook, *Words,* 12. Smith, "Gift of the Holy Ghost," 824, reads: "The greatest, the best, and the most useful gifts would [not] be known . . . by an observer. It is true that a man might prophesy, which is a great gift . . . [but] the manifestations of the gift of the Holy Ghost; the ministering of angels; or the development of the power, majesty or glory of God were very seldom manifested publicly, and that generally to the people of God; as to the Israelites; but most generally when angels have come, or God has revealed Himself, it has been to individuals in private—in their chamber—in the wilderness or fields; and that generally without noise or tumult."

58. Ehat and Cook, *Words,* 21. Doctrine and Covenants 46:9, 32–33 teaches four prerequisites for exercising the gifts of the Spirit in the name of Christ: unselfishness, gratitude, virtue, and holiness.

59. Cartwright, *Autobiography,* 22, 38, 225–26, 260. Also Alexander Campbell, "Mormonism Unveiled," *Millennial Harbinger* 6 (January 1835): 44, wrote that Mormonism was "a mental distemper, more incurable than the leprosy. And, that the more glaring and shameless the absurdity, the more determined and irreclaimable its dupes." Also see Jessee, *Writings*, 334.

60. Cartwright, *Autobiography,* 226.

61. Cartwright, *Autobiography,* 227. Joseph Smith did not record any conversations with Cartwright in his journal (but he recorded three or four visits to Springville between 1839 and 1844, which makes the meeting plausible). Cartwright's derogatory use of "uncle" was similar to the way that Abraham Lincoln used it against Cartwright in 1834. Robert Bray, *Peter Cartwright: Legendary Frontier Preacher* (Urbana, Ill.: University Press, 2005), 148.

exposing a false prophet. Whether this meeting occurred (his account bears some marks of accuracy as well as some of caricature), we know that Joseph encouraged the Saints to seek the gifts of the Spirit from the very first day the Church was organized.[62]

A close look at Joseph's ideas on the gifts of the Spirit shows an expansive view by asserting apostolic priesthood authority, discerning between true and false gifts, and a commission to exercise *all* the gifts of the Spirit (see table 2).[63] Joseph asked his fellow Americans to judge him from the New Testament model; most of them invoked a traditional interpretation of that same New Testament and judged him to be far outside the norm.

Election versus Sealing by the Holy Spirit of Promise

The *Westminster Confession* established the Reformed Protestant definition of the Spirit's "election" as predestination: "All those whom God hath predestinated unto life, and those only, He is pleased, in his appointed and accepted time, effectually to call, by his Word and Spirit, out of that state of sin and death . . . this effectual call is of God's free and special grace alone, not from anything at all foreseen in man, who is altogether passive therein, until being quickened and renewed by the Holy Spirit."[64] Reformed Christians felt the doctrine of election supported God's omnipotence by asserting that mortals "are absolutely dependent on a divine Person, who gives or withholds his influence as He will."[65] Rooted in the doctrine of the depravity of man as taught from the time of Augustine, and reemphasized by Calvin, election entailed that God—independent of human behavior—saves only certain mortals.[66]

---

62. Jessee, *Writings,* 216. In a letter dated March 1, 1842, Smith wrote John Wentworth: "On the 6th of April, 1830, the 'Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints,' was first organized. . . . Some few were called and ordained by the spirit of revelation, and prophesy [*sic*], and began to preach as the spirit gave them utterance, and though weak, yet were they strengthened by the power of God, and many were brought to repentance, were immersed in the water, and were filled with the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands. They saw visions and prophesied, devils were cast out and the sick healed by the laying on of hands."

63. From the first Church conference, June 9, 1830, until his death, June 27, 1844, Smith reported gifts of the Spirit. *History of the Church,* 1:84–86, 272, 323; 2:328, 428; 3:113; 4:361, 572, 580–81; 5:308–9; 6:187.

64. Hodge, *Systematic Theology,* 3:104.

65. Hodge, *Systematic Theology,* 3:475; see also 2:362.

66. The *Westminster Confession* 12.1, 3. "As God hath appointed the elect unto glory, so hath he, by the eternal and most free purpose of his will, fore-ordained all the means thereunto" (3.6). Calvin's theology stemmed at least in part from trying to make sense of Pauline doctrine.

Table 2. Comparing Four Passages on Gifts of the Spirit

1 Corinthian12:1–11	Moroni 10:7–18	D&C 46:8–31	7th Article of Faith
Testify of Jesus		Know Jesus is the Son	Revelation
		Believe others' testimony	
Administrations		Administrations	
Operations		Operations	
Wisdom	Teach wisdom	Wisdom	
Knowledge	Teach knowledge	Knowledge	
Faith	Faith	Faith to be healed	
Healing	Healing	Faith to heal	Healings
Miracles	Miracles	Miracles	
Prophecy	Prophecy	Prophecy	Prophecy
Tongues	Tongues	Tongues	Tongues
Interpretation of Tongues	Interpretation of Tongues	Interpretation of Tongues	Interpretation of Tongues
Hope	Hope		
Charity	Charity		
Discerning of spirits		Discerning of spirits	
	Behold angels and ministering spirits		Visions
		All the gifts	

America's growing democratic values of self-initiation and egalitarianism, however, challenged this old-school theology to the degree that by the mid-eighteenth century, election was losing favor in the new country. Charles Finney denounced the doctrine of predisposed election as hindering Christians from actively searching for and receiving God's blessings: "It is altogether voluntary, and therefore . . . the Spirit's influences are those of teaching, persuading, convicting, and, of course, a moral influence . . . as opposed to physical."[67]

67. Finney, *Autobiography*, 152.

Arminian theology also rejected the doctrine of election,[68] and Methodists voted to allow all sinners the right to Jesus's saving grace. Restorationists, like the Disciples of Christ, joined the Arminian camp, although they disagreed with the Methodists' timing of the Spirit's grace.[69] Thus, the theological pendulum swung from one extreme to the other on the spectrum of the Spirit's regeneration,[70] from an unconditional grace to a nonbinding, influential grace.

Joseph Smith's doctrine concerning election rested in the middle of this theological schism. Unlike those Calvinists who believed in an unconditional election, there was nothing very unconditional about Joseph's perspective. Likewise, Joseph differed with Wesley and the Methodists, believing that one's election depended upon entering into ordinances that are sealed by the Holy Spirit, as well as one's choices.[71] "The doctrin [of election] that the Prysbeterians & Methodist have quarreled so much about once in grace always in grace, or falling away from grace I will say a word about, they are

---

68. For a discussion of Arminianism as a reaction as a reaction against Calvinism, see Robert L. Millet, "Joseph Smith Encounters Calvinism," *BYU Studies* 50, no. 4 (2001): 6–8, 30. Jacob Arminius (1560–1609) denounced unconditional predestination and a limited Atonement. Methodism is based on Arminianism.

69. Alexander Campbell, *Views of Mr. Alexander Campbell Concerning the Doctrines of Election and Reprobation, as Embodied in the Circular Letter Addressed to the Churches in Connection with the Redstone Baptist Association in 1817* (Fulton, Mo.: T. L. Stephens, 1856), 19.

70. In Hodge's *Commentary on Ephesians* he explained the elect "have obtained a portion in this inheritance, and, after having believed, have been sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise" (68). Similarly, I found two other nineteenth-century publications that addressed the phrase. First, Reverend Eliot, the pastor of the Church of the Messiah at St. Louis, wrote: "The Holy Spirit, or Spirit of God, was 'poured out' or 'shed forth' both on Jews and Gentiles. Believers were 'sealed' with the Holy Spirit of promise. Jesus 'breathed on them,' and said, 'Receive ye the Holy Spirit.'" William G. Eliot, *Discourses on the Doctrine of Christianity* (Cambridge, Mass.: American Unitarian Association, 1855), 33. Also, Reverend Guthrie explained that one "must first believe and . . . then look for the seal and witness of the Spirit: 'In whom, after ye believed, ye were sealed with that holy Spirit of promise,' &c. As long as people hold fast these principles, and the like, they can hardly come to the knowledge of their gracious state, which God hath warranted people to prove and clear up to themselves, otherways than by these foresaid things." William Guthrie, *The Christian's Great Interest* (Glasgow, Scotland: Collins, 1828), 75.

71. Joseph Smith taught that through the grace of God, humans could receive their election through obediently submitting to God's commands and revelation throughout their trials (see 2 Ne. 2:27). Receiving a permanent sealing or "calling and election" (2 Pet. 1:10) became another restored ordinance administered to the living or vicariously to the dead—this one only administered under the direction of the Prophet.

both wrong, truth takes a road between them both. . . . The doctrin of the scriptures & the spirit of Elijah would show them both fals" [*sic*].[72]

Joseph became intrigued with the concept of the Holy Spirit of Promise sometime after receiving a revelation that described the righteous, "who overcome by faith, and are sealed by the Holy Spirit of promise, which the Father sheds forth upon all those who are just and true" (D&C 76:53). Within the next decade, he received six other revelations that dealt with this unique doctrine, and he elaborated on it in at least six sermons.[73] The Doctrine and Covenants describes the Holy Spirit of Promise as performing two levels of sealings—one temporary, the other permanent.[74] *Temporarily,* it ratifies authorized ordinances performed on purified disciples, but the sealing can be removed if the recipients break their covenants. Latter-day Saints understand that the temporary seal of baptism or any other ordinance is binding on earth and in heaven only if they maintain a pure and repentant heart. *Permanently,* after one overcomes all the trials in life needed to prove willful obedience to God, the Holy Spirit of Promise ensures exaltation in the highest heaven.[75] Joseph endorsed Philippians 2:12, that only when you worked "out your own salvation with fear and trembling" could the Holy Spirit seal God's elect.[76] Further, when Joseph spoke of "the Holy Spirit of Promise," he often referred to a special Melchizedek Priesthood blessing that eternally sealed ordinances and covenants. In this sense, the Holy Spirit of Promise authoritatively guaranteed, or made sure, one's calling and

---

72. Ehat and Cook, *Words,* 334.

73. Smith recorded the phrase "Holy Spirit of Promise" in Doctrine and Covenants 76:53; 88:3; 124:124; 132:7, 18, 19, 26; and JST 1 John 3:9. Doctrine and Covenants 132 includes a sealing of proper ordinances. Ehat and Cook explain: "In a certain limited sense, a sense Joseph Smith used many times, the phrase 'Holy Spirit of Promise' has reference to the concept of 'making your calling and election sure' or 'being sealed up unto eternal life' (D&C 88:3–5). Thus, when the *Holy Spirit* (who was the one appointed by the Father to give final sanctioning authority for all priesthood blessings) receives authorization from Jesus Christ to unmistakably 'seal' the *promise* of eternal life on a worthy individual, he is placing the seals on the highest gospel ordinances in his office as Holy Spirit of Promise (D&C 132:7). The Prophet expressed this concept in his poetic rendition of D&C 76 (v. 53)." Ehat and Cook, *Words,* 26; see also Roy W. Doxey, "Calling and Election," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism,* ed. Daniel H. Ludlow, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 1:248; and Lawrence R. Flake, "Holy Spirit of Promise," in Ludlow, *Encyclopedia of Mormonism,* 2:651–52.

74. Doctrine and Covenants 76:53; 88:3; 124:124; 132:7, 18, 26.

75. Jessee, *Writings,* 15. "Obtain that Holy Spirit of promise—Then you can be sealed to Eternal Life."

76. Brigham Young and Willard Richards, "Election and Reprobation," *Times and Seasons* 2 (September 15, 1841): 539–42. Also see *Times and Seasons* 4 (November 15, 1842): 6.

election.[77] Even then, the binding power of the Spirit could be resisted by those who knowingly and openly rebelled against God:

> According to the scriptures if a man has receive[d] the good word of God & tasted of the powers of the world to come if they shall fall away it is impossible to renew them again, seeing they have Crucified the son of God afresh & put him to an open - shame, so their [*sic*] is a possibility of falling away you could not be renewed again, & the power of Elijah Cannot seal against this sin, for this is a reserve made in the seals & power of the priesthood.[78]

Although Ephesians 1:13 cites the Holy Spirit of Promise, no one in antebellum America used the biblical phrase in quite the same way Joseph did.[79] He expanded the doctrines of the Spirit and explored uncharted territory. Historians have often regarded Joseph as merely a product of his environment. After all, Joseph directly commented on Calvinist and Arminian theologies and used terminology from the King James Version, the same biblical vocabulary used by his peers. This man-of-his-times conclusion is problematic when delving deeper into the innovative ways Joseph defined biblical words and phrases—especially in pneumatological matters. Rather than categorizing Joseph Smith with his contemporaries of the nineteenth century, one best understands the prophet's pneumatology when it is compared to the Bible.

Joseph Smith's Teachings and Sacred Writings Compared with the Bible

Notwithstanding his unconventional ideas about the Spirit, Joseph Smith asserted that he taught in strict accord with the teachings of the Bible.[80] In January 1836, when a visitor asked him how his teachings differed from other Christian denominations, Joseph answered: "We believe the Bible, and they

77. Ehat and Cook, *Words,* 5. "When the Lord has thoroughly proved him & finds that the man is determined to serve him at all hazard. then the man will find his calling & Election made sure then it will be his privilege to receive the other Comforter which the Lord hath promised the saints."

78. Ehat and Cook, *Words,* 334.

79. In Hodge's *Commentary on Ephesians,* he explained the elect "have obtained a portion in this inheritance, and, after having believed, have been sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise" (68). I found only one other American publication from that era which addressed the phrase from Ephesians 1 and 5. Reverend Eliot wrote: "The Holy Spirit or Spirit of God was 'poured out' or 'shed forth' both on Jews and Gentiles. Believers were 'sealed' with the Holy Spirit of promise. Jesus 'breathed on them' and said, 'Receive ye the Holy Spirit.'" Eliot, *Discourses on the Doctrine of Christianity,* 33.

80. *History of the Church,* 2:52. Joseph Smith expressed a "great love for the Bible."

do not."[81] He complained that other ministers construed the Bible through philosophical and traditional interpretations, not as the apostolic church intended.[82] Yet Joseph never asserted that his doctrines or scripture were *products* of the Bible. Harmony and source are different things. Joseph maintained that the Spirit of the Lord taught him through his translations, personal revelations, and Bible study. This latter practice kept Joseph's pneumatology in accord with biblical vocabulary while building on what the Bible offers through multiplying pneumatological concepts, terms, and details, as well as multiplying the sheer number of such occurrences in scripture.

Difference in Numbers

One way to examine the differences between the sacred writings that came through Joseph and the Bible is by simple word-counting. Even though the Book of Mormon and the Doctrine and Covenants together are under half the size of the Bible (374,233 words compared to 790,868 KJV words), Joseph's two texts have 217 more references to the Spirit. The total word ratio of pneumatological words is especially apparent in the Doctrine and Covenants, where it mentions the Spirit 63 percent or 1.6 times more often than in the New Testament, and seventeen times more often than in the Old Testament. The data in table 3 substantiates this prominence.[83]

---

81. Jessee, *Writings,* 144–45. Joseph repeated a similar statement in 1840. "We teach nothing but what the Bible teaches. We believe nothing, but what is to be found in this book." *History of the Church*, 4:78. He felt fervently enough on this subject to publish an even stronger statement in the *Elders' Journal* two years later. He organized the article as a dialogue of questions followed by his answers: "First—'Do you believe the Bible?' If we do, we are the only people under heaven that does, for there are none of the religious sects of the day that do. Second—'Wherein do you differ from other sects?' In that we believe the Bible, and all other sects profess to believe their interpretations of the Bible, and their creeds." *History of the Church,* 3:28.

82. To clarify this difference of interpretation, Joseph Smith added a provisional clause during a Sunday sermon on October 15, 1843. "I believe the Bible as it read when it came from the pen of the original writers. Ignorant translators, careless transcribers, or designing and corrupt priests have committed many errors." *History of the Church,* 6:57.

83. Table 3 compares the four English words most often used to describe the Holy Spirit in Mormonism's sacred texts and the Bible, but only when the Hebrew *ruach* and Greek *pneuma* refers to God's Spirit. Since in English, Hebrew, and Greek, *spirit*/*ruach*/*pneuma* all have multiple meanings, each citation was evaluated. In the Old and New Testaments and in the Book of Mormon, when a spirit guide carries a prophet into a vision, or a prophet is "in the spirit," these were not attributed to the Holy Spirit. Yet I attributed it to the Holy Spirit when prompting someone, such as when Alma "was led by the Spirit to the land of Nephi" (Alma 22:1; see also Hel. 10:16).

Table 3.
Word Ratio of Spirit, Holy Ghost, Comforter, and Baptism of Fire

	Spirit	Holy Ghost	Comforter	Baptism of Fire	Total	Number of references per 1,000 words
D&C 1–133 107,289 words	148	48	24	4	224	2.088
Book of Mormon 266,944 words	202	91	1	6	300	1.124
Book of Mormon, D&C 374,233 total words	350	139	25	10	524	1.400
KJV New Testament 180,565 words	143	86	4	0	233	1.290
KJV Old Testament 610,303 words	73	0	1	0	74	0.121
KJV Bible 790,868 total words	216	86	5	0	307	0.388

Mormonism's sacred texts cite the Spirit 3.5 times more often per one thousand words than the Bible. In the Old Testament, only half of the books include a reference to *ruach* as the Spirit of God (with Isaiah as the most prolific); in the New Testament, twenty-four of the twenty-nine books include either *pneuma, parakleto,* or *theopneustos*. Every book in the Book of Mormon and 77 of the 134 sections of the Doctrine and Covenants attributed as revelations to Joseph have references to the Spirit.

Difference in Names

In addition, the sacred writings to Joseph use a wider variety of descriptive names for the Spirit. In contrast to the Bible's prevailing shorter references like Holy Ghost or Holy Spirit, the Book of Mormon and Doctrine and Covenants use longer titles that often convey additional doctrinal

The "spirit of prophecy" was accredited to God's Spirit, while someone who had the "spirit of meekness" or a "contrite spirit" was not. I did not include the references in Daniel when he was told he had the "spirit of the holy gods" because of the pagan connotations of the context. I tried to be consistent, as in when "good spirit" was included from Nehemiah 9:20, it was also included from Alma 3:26. When truth and Spirit were linked, they were included, but not "true spirit of freedom" (Alma 60:25). A complete listing of usage is available from the author.

meaning. They demonstrate this most dramatically in three-to-five-word titles describing the Spirit (see table 4).

The Book of Mormon uses these longer titles to identify the Spirit three times more often than the New or Old Testaments. The most common title, "Spirit of the Lord," is found twenty-six times in the KJV Old Testament, five times in the KJV New Testament, and forty times in the Book of Mormon. When length of books and word ratio is taken into account, these numbers are even more significant—the Book of Mormon uses "Spirit of the Lord" 4.5 times more per one hundred words than the New Testament and 3.75 times more than the Old Testament. If this were a unique finding it would be less significant, but most comparisons in Table 4 show a similar prominence in the Book of Mormon. Most of the phrases that define the Spirit in Joseph's texts use biblical vocabulary, but a few titles are unique. These variations pointedly divulge the theological inclinations within texts of the Restoration.

Spirit of revelation. As a case in point, the nonbiblical phrase "the Spirit of revelation" refers to one of Joseph's most beloved topics. The phrase is found nine times in the Book of Mormon and twice in the Doctrine and Covenants.[84] The same phrase appears ten times in Joseph's sermons and personal writings together with four more occurrences of the "spirit of prophecy and revelation."[85] Of all the workings of the Spirit, it seems revelation of divine messages was paramount for Joseph in his role as a prophet.

---

84. Alma 4:20; 5:46; 8:24; 9:21; 17:3; 23:6; 45:10; Helaman 4:23; 3 Nephi 3:19; Doctrine and Covenants 8:3; 11:25. Another observation is Alma's dominant use of "the Spirit of revelation," seven of the nine citations. The Book of Mormon claims multiple authors, and this singular word preference is an example of distinctive authorship. For statistical separation of authors in the Book of Mormon, see John L. Hilton, "On Verifying Wordprint Studies: Book of Mormon Authorship," *BYU Studies* 30, no. 3 (1990): 89–108; also Noel B. Reynolds, ed., *Book of Mormon Authorship Revisited: The Evidence for Ancient Origins* (Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1997).

85. Ehat and Cook, *Words,* 5–6, 82, 211–12; Jessee, *Writings,* 216, 665; *History of the Church,* 4:313, 318; 5:426; *Elders' Journal of the Church of Latter Day Saints* 1 (August 1838): 1:4.50. One of the best examples is from one of Joseph's sermons: "THE SPIRIT OF REVELATION is in connection with these blessings. A person may profit by noticing the first intimation of the spirit of revelation; for instance, when you feel pure intelligence flowing into you, it may give you sudden strokes of ideas, so that by noticing it, you may find it fulfilled the same day or soon; (i.e.) those things that were presented unto your minds by the Spirit of God, will come to pass; and thus by learning the Spirit of God and understanding it, you may grow into the principle of revelation, until you become perfect in Christ Jesus." *History of the Church,* 3:381; original spelling may be found in Ehat and Cook, *Words,* 5–6. The

Table 4. Three-to-Five-Word Phrases Related to the Holy Spirit

Titles or Descriptions	Old Testament	New Testament	Book of Mormon	Doctrine & Covenants
Baptism of (by) fire			2	4
Baptize(d) with fire			4	
Filled with the Spirit	1	1	7	1
Filled him with the Spirit	2			
Gift of the Holy Ghost		2	3	6
His Holy Spirit	2	1	5	1
Holy Spirit of God		1	2	
Holy Spirit of Promise		1		7
Power of the Holy Ghost		1	25	5
Spirit and in Truth		2	2	
Spirit and my Word				1
Spirit and Power			2	1
Spirit and Power of God			1	
Spirit of Christ		2	2	1
Spirit of Glory		1		
Spirit of God	14	12	20	3
Spirit of our God		1		2
Spirit of the living God		1		
Spirit of Grace	1	1		
Spirit of His mouth		1		
Spirit of His Son		1		
Spirit of Holiness		1		
Spirit of Jesus Christ		1		1
Spirit of the Lord	26	5	40	1
Spirit of the Lord Omnipotent			1	
Spirit of Prophecy		1	18	2
Spirit of Prophecy and Revelation			1	
Spirit of Revelation			9	2
Spirit of your Father		1		
Spirit of Truth		4		12
Spirit of the Truth			1	
Sword of the Spirit		1		
Voice of the Spirit			2	5
Total	**46**	**43**	**147**	**53**

Voice of the Spirit. Another characteristic phrase that is unique to Joseph's translations and revelations is "the voice of the Spirit." Seven times in the Church's sacred writings and nine times in the official *History of the Church,* divine inspiration is described as "the voice of the Spirit."[86] This phrase applies generally: "Every one that hearkeneth to the voice of the Spirit cometh unto God" (D&C 84:47); and applies specifically to Jospeh: "It shall be manifest unto my servant, by the voice of the Spirit, those that are chosen; and they shall be sanctified" (D&C 105:36). It may describe an audible voice at times, but it also identifies an inner communication: "Make proposals for peace unto those who have smitten you, according to the voice of the Spirit which is in you, and all things shall work together for your good" (D&C 105:40).[87] Whereas other religions of his day often considered spiritual experiences as a mystical connection to the numinous workings of God, Joseph saw encounters with the Spirit more as a clear dialogic revelation, where specific answers were given in response to specific questions.

Spirit and power. Mormonism's sacred writings emphatically associate the Spirit with power. They use the phrase "power of the Holy Ghost"

---

phrase "spirit of prophecy and revelation" is also found in *History of the Church,* 1:64; 2:382, 489; 3:379; and Alma 43:2.

86. 1 Nephi 4:18; 22:2; Doctrine and Covenants 84:46, 47; 104:36; 105:36, 40. *History of the Church*, 1:483; 2:112, 196, 281, 363, 429. After his death, Joseph's scribes and editors continued to reference him in 6:53 and 61.

87. Joseph first recorded an auditory revelatory process in Doctrine and Covenants 14:8: "You shall receive the Holy Ghost, which giveth utterance that you may stand as a witness of the things of which you shall both hear and see." In June 1829, a revelation to Smith's peers reads: "I speak unto you, even as unto Paul mine Apostle." Doctrine and Covenants 43:23 states: "The Lord shall utter his voice out of heaven." In Doctrine and Covenants 128:20, 23, Smith recorded hearing voices on multiple occasions: "What do we hear? . . . A voice of the Lord in the wilderness of Fayette, Seneca county, declaring the three witnesses to bear record of the book! The voice of Michael, . . . the voice of Peter, James and John in the wilderness. . . . How glorious is the voice we hear from heaven, proclaiming in our ears, glory, and salvation." An attorney that defended Smith in New York, Mr. Reid, remembered that Smith "said that he distinctly heard the voice of Him that spake." *History of the Church,* 1:96 n. 2. Ehat and Cook found that "in 1835 Joseph Smith wrote to his uncle Silas to convince him that revelation was still necessary, reasoning that the modern Saints had to hear an audible voice from the Lord by revelation." Ehat and Cook, *Words*, 17 n. 6. On March 22, 1839, Smith dictated a letter that included his testimony concerning the nature of receiving revelation: "I certify to you, brethren, that the gospel which was preached of me is not after man; for I neither received it of man, neither was I taught it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ." Jessee*, Writings,* 423.

thirty times, compared to a single appearance in the Bible.[88] Correspondingly, 1 Nephi includes the unique expression "Spirit and power of God" to describe the strong interaction between God's Spirit and his prophets: "That we may preserve unto them the words which have been spoken by the mouth of all the holy prophets, which have been delivered unto them by the Spirit and power of God, since the world began, even down unto this present time" (1 Ne. 3:20).

Even though "Spirit and power of God" is not a biblical expression, the Bible associates the "Spirit" or "Holy Ghost" with "power" ten times. Looking for the same pattern in the Book of Mormon, a book one-third the length of the Bible, we find fifty-seven connections.[89] The Doctrine and Covenants continues with thirty-five uses (or twenty-six times the concentration in the Bible). To Joseph, the Holy Spirit represented power as the source of all "the words which have been spoken by the mouth of all the holy prophets, which have been delivered unto them by the Spirit and power of God, since the world began, even down unto this present time" (1 Ne. 3:20). Such numerical prominence is evidence of its theological importance to Joseph.

Spirit of prophecy. The majority of the titles for the Spirit, however, are biblical, such as "spirit of prophecy." The Bible mentions this phrase once in Revelation 19:10, in contrast to eighteen occurrences in the Book of Mormon, two in the Doctrine and Covenants, and twenty-three in the *History of the Church*.[90] Four of the latter occurred on January 1, 1843, when the Illinois State Legislature asked Joseph to define a prophet: "If any person should ask me if I were a prophet, I should not deny it, as that would give me the lie; for, according to John, the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy; therefore if I profess to be a witness or teacher, and have not the spirit of prophecy, which is the testimony of Jesus, I must be a false witness; but if I be a true teacher and witness, I must possess the spirit of prophecy,

88. 1 Nephi 10:17, 19; 13:37; 2 Nephi 26:13; 28:31; 32:3; 33:1; Jacob 7:12, 13, 17; Alma 7:10; 3 Nephi 21:2; 29:6; Moroni 3:4, 6, 7, 9; 7:36, 44; 8:7; 10:4, 5, 7; Doctrine and Covenants 18:32; 20:35, 60; 34:10; 124:4; Romans 15:13.

89. The number does not include those references to Satan's spirit or power, nor to Elijah's or Paul's power, nor to the "power of his deliverance." It does include the Great Spirit's association with power.

90. 2 Nephi 25:4; Jacob 4:6; Alma 3:27; 4:13; 5:47; 6:8; 9:21; 10:12; 12:7; 13:26; 16:5; 17:3; 25:16; 37:15; 43:2; Helaman 4:12, 23; Doctrine and Covenants 11:25; 131:5; Joseph Smith–History 1:73. *History of the Church,* 1:42, 46, 64, 71; 2:382, 428, 489; 3:28, 379, 389; and after Joseph's death the editors compiled his notes into 5:140, 215, 231, 392, 400, 427, 516; 6:77, 194. The *History of the Church* also includes eleven other references to the "spirit of prophecy" by Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Sidney Rigdon, and an editorial from the *Boston Bee.*

and that constitutes a prophet; and any man who . . . denies the spirit of prophecy, is a liar."[91] Joseph claimed the spirit of prophecy for himself and for anyone else who testified of Christ with the Spirit.

Filled with the Spirit. The Book of Mormon also favors the phrase "filled with the Spirit" with seven references, while the other books cite it only once each. In the Old Testament and the Doctrine and Covenants, it describes those chosen by God (Ex. 28:3; D&C 27:7), and in Ephesians it is juxtaposed with being drunk (Eph. 5:18). The Book of Mormon describes "filled with the Spirit," when a recipient "began to prophesy" (1 Ne. 5:17; 2 Ne. 25:4) or "came forth . . . rejoicing" (Mosiah 18:14). Ammon, who was "filled with the Spirit of God, . . . perceived the thoughts of the king" (Alma 18:16). Elsewhere, the Spirit works so powerfully on those called to repent that they experience physical symptoms: "My father did speak . . . with power, being filled with the Spirit, until their frames did shake before him" (1 Ne. 2:14). An entire group received a simultaneous outpouring of the Spirit, described in 3 Nephi 20:9: "Behold, they were filled with the Spirit; and they did cry out with one voice, and gave glory to Jesus."

This biblical phrase is reiterated four times in Joseph's handwritten personal journal and five more times in his *History of the Church*.[92] The first entry from 1836 offers a feel for the connection between gifts of the Spirit and being "filled with the Spirit": "President Zebedee Coltrin, one of the Seven, saw a vision of the Lord's host. And others were filled with the Spirit, and spake with tongues and prophesied. This was a time of rejoicing long to be remembered. Praise the Lord."[93]

Spirit and Baptism. The Bible associates the Spirit with the baptism of fire only twice. Both are used by John the Baptist foretelling the Lord's mission to "baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire" (Luke 3:16; Matt. 3:11). If we look for similar links between baptism and fire in Joseph's two main books of revelation, we find a total of sixteen references.[94] If we look for *any* connection of the Spirit to baptism, we find thirteen verses in the New Testament, twenty-five in the Book of Mormon, and fifteen in

91. *History of the Church*, 5:215–16.

92. Jessee, *Writings,* 6–7, 149, 152, 157; *History of the Church,* 1:391; 2:277, 384, 387, 392.

93. *History of the Church,* 2:392 (the text is unedited in Jesse, *Writings,* 157). Interestingly, Joseph included some of the manifestations of being "filled with the Spirit" that Paul included in his list of the gifts of the Spirit (1 Cor. 12:7–11). The second example comes after a similar meeting described in Jessee, *Writings,* 152.

94. 2 Nephi 31:13, 14, 17; 3 Nephi 9:20; 11:35; 12:1, 2; 19:13; Mormon 7:10; Ether 12:14; Doctrine and Covenants 19:31; 20:41; 33:11; 39:6. Helaman 5:45 discusses the baptism of fire thus: "The Holy Spirit of God did come down from heaven, and did enter into their hearts, and they were filled as if with fire."

Table 5. Baptism Coupled with the Holy Spirit

Book of Mormon	Doctrine and Covenants	New Testament
1 Ne. 11:27 Holy Ghost, baptized	D&C 19:31 Holy Ghost, baptism by fire	Matt. 3:11 Holy Ghost, Baptize with fire (2X)
2 Ne. 31:8 Holy Ghost, baptized	D&C 20:37 Spirit, baptize, baptism (2X)	Matt. 3:16 Spirit of God, baptized
2 Ne. 31:12 Holy Ghost, baptized	D&C 20:41 Holy Ghost, baptized, baptism of fire	Mark 1:8 Holy Ghost, baptize(d) (2X)
2 Ne. 31:13 Holy Ghost (2X), baptism (2X) of fire	D&C 20:73 Holy Ghost, baptism, baptize (2X)	Mark 1:10 Spirit, dove,
2 Ne. 31:14 Holy Ghost, baptism (2X) of fire	D&C 33:11 Holy Ghost, baptized (2X), baptism of fire	Luke 3:16 Holy Ghost, baptized with fire (2X)
2 Ne. 31:17 Holy Ghost, baptism	D&C 35:5 Holy Ghost, baptize	John 1:33 Holy Ghost, baptized, baptizeth, Spirit
Mosiah 18:10 Spirit, baptized	D&C 35:6 Holy Ghost, baptize	Acts 1:5 Holy Ghost, baptized (2X)
Mosiah 18:13 Spirit, baptize	D&C 39:6 Holy Ghost, baptism (2X) of fire, Comforter	Acts 2:38 Holy Ghost, baptized
Alma 7:14 Spirit, baptized	D&C 39:10 Spirit, baptized	Acts 8:16-17 Holy Ghost, baptized
Alma 8:10 Spirit, baptized	D&C 39:23 Holy Ghost, baptize	Acts 10:47 Holy Ghost, baptized
3 Ne. 9:20 Holy Ghost, baptized, baptize with fire	D&C 55:1 Spirit, baptized	Acts 11:16 Holy Ghost, baptized (2X)
3 Ne. 11:25 Holy Ghost, baptize	D&C 68:25 Holy Ghost, baptism	Acts 19:5-6 Holy Ghost, baptized
3 Ne. 11:27 Holy Ghost, baptize	D&C 84:27 Holy Ghost, baptism	1 Cor. 12:13 Spirit (2X), baptized
3 Ne. 12:1 Holy Ghost, baptize, baptize(d) (5X) with fire	D&C 84:64 Holy Ghost, baptized	
3 Ne. 12:2 Holy Ghost, baptized with fire	D&C 84:74 Holy Ghost, baptized	
3 Ne. 18:11 Spirit, baptized		
3 Ne. 19:13 Holy Ghost (2X), baptized with fire		
3 Ne. 26:17 Holy Ghost, baptize(d) (2X)		
3 Ne. 27:20 Holy Ghost, baptized		
3 Ne. 28:18 Holy Ghost, baptized		
3 Ne. 30:2 Holy Ghost, baptized		
4 Ne. 1:1 Holy Ghost, baptized		
Morm. 7:10 Holy Ghost, baptized with fire		
Ether 12:14 Holy Ghost, baptized with fire		
Moro. 6:4 Holy Ghost, baptism		

the Doctrine and Covenants (see table 5).[95] Overall, numerically speaking, Joseph's sacred writings not only have greater pneumatological emphasis than the Bible but also give emphasis to certain associations, such as the Spirit's role in religious ordinances.

Difference in Detail

More than numbers and names, the contents of Joseph's writings show greater doctrinal detail of the Spirit's work than the Bible discloses. Three examples are illustrative.[96]

Born Again. The first of Joseph's revelations to mention the Spirit is dated March 1829 and came just before he began the intense process of translating the Book of Mormon. The historical context presents Martin Harris asking Joseph to pray for him. Joseph's answer encouraged his friend to seek for the promises of God's Spirit. His instruction resembles the Gospel of John, where Jesus explained the workings of the Spirit to Nicodemus. The Bible states that one must be born again, but the Doctrine and Covenants goes on to explain the role of the Spirit in the process of rebirth:

> Behold, whosoever believeth on my words, them will I visit with the manifestation of my Spirit; and they shall be born of me, even of water and of the Spirit. (D&C 5:16)
>
> Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. . . . Ye must be born again, . . . so is every one that is born of the Spirit. (John 3:5–8)

Even though both verses focus on the same promise of the Spirit, only one discloses that *belief* is the operative principle involved. For his own purposes, Jesus gives an abstruse explanation that leaves Nicodemus confused, whereas Joseph's revelation helps the reader see the connection between applied faith in the words of God and a resultant manifestation of the Spirit.

---

95. If every pair or word combination of baptism and Spirit is counted, the rate increases in the Book of Mormon to 1.5 times, and in the Doctrine and Covenants to twice as frequent as the New Testament.

96. Additional examples of the role of the Spirit include but are not limited to: (1) producing fruits of the Spirit (love, revelation, inspiration, testimony, peace, and so forth) in Galatians 5:22; Ephesians 5:9; Mosiah 3:19; 4:3; Alma 5:46–47; 13:28; (2) producing miracles through the Spirit in Galatians 3:5; 2 Nephi 26:1; Alma 23:6; 3 Nephi 7:2; (3) acting as a teacher in John 14:26; Luke 12:12; Alma 18:34; (4) assisting in repentance in Matthew 3:11; Alma 5:50–54; Moroni 8:28; (5) witnessing of truth in Romans 9:1; Moroni 10:4–5; (6) acting as the Comforter in John 14–16; Moroni 8:26; (7) detecting false spirits; and (8) giving spiritual gifts.

Baptism of Fire and the Gift of the Holy Ghost. The baptism of fire is described in Matthew and Luke as a momentous gift that Jesus offers, but they do not explain *why* it is significant. When the Book of Mormon prophet Nephi discusses this topic in his final testimony, he answers that question: baptism by fire is a spiritual cleansing and allows worthy initiates to enjoy the presence of the Holy Spirit, including the manifestations of the gifts of the Spirit. Accordingly, the ordinance of baptism is a sign of obedience and one's desire to take on "the name of Christ"—meaning that one fully embraces the gospel, repents, and covenants with God to act as a disciple of Christ. Nephi also explains that the agent of cleansing one from sin through the baptism of fire is the Holy Ghost itself. The two baptisms work together: after "repentance and baptism by water . . . then cometh a remission of your sins by fire and by the Holy Ghost" (2 Ne. 31:17).

On April 6, 1830, at the organization of the Church of Christ, Joseph expanded his teachings on the gift of the Holy Ghost to include the condition that the gift can be administered only by a higher priesthood authority (see D&C 20:68). The key reagent for the baptism of fire is the apostolic authority, which he received through "the laying on of hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost" from the Apostles Peter, James, and John.[97] Joseph taught the imperative need for baptism both by water and fire in an extemporaneous sermon on July 9, 1843, in Nauvoo, Illinois:

> So far we are agreed with other Christian denominations [as] they all preach faith and repentance. The gospel requires baptism by immersion for the remission of sins, which is the meaning of the word in the original language—namely, to bury or immerse. We ask the sects, Do you believe this? They answer, No. I believe in being converted. I believe in this tenaciously. So did the apostle Peter and the disciples of Jesus. But I further believe in the gift of the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands. Evidence

97. *History of the Church,* 1:60. The Bible describes the need for the higher apostolic priesthood in Acts 1:8; 8:15–19; John 20:22. Joseph believed that the Melchizedek Priesthood authority was absolutely crucial because it brought the gift of the Holy Ghost. His account tells of the resurrected Peter, James, and John coming to give Joseph and Oliver Cowdery power to baptize with the Holy Ghost: "The voice of Peter, James, and John in the wilderness between Harmony, Susquehanna county, and Colesville, Broome county, on the Susquehanna river, declaring themselves as possessing the keys of the kingdom, and of the dispensation of the fulness of times" (D&C 128:20). Joseph also taught that it was the gift of the Holy Ghost that brought other gifts of the Spirit: "We believe that we have a right to revelations, visions, and dreams from God, our heavenly Father; and light and intelligence, through the gift of the Holy Ghost, in the name of Jesus Christ, on all subjects pertaining to our spiritual welfare." Jessee, *Writings,* 421; an excerpt from a letter written by Joseph Smith to Isaac Gallant in Liberty Jail, Clay County, Missouri, March 22, 1839.

> by Peter's preaching on the day of Pentecost, Acts 2:38. You might as well baptize a bag of sand as a man, if not done in view of the remission of sins and getting of the Holy Ghost. Baptism by water is but half a baptism, and is good for nothing without the other half—that is, the baptism of the Holy Ghost.[98]

Joseph defended the Bible on the subject of baptism and likewise used it as his support, such as with Peter's words on the day of Pentecost: "Be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost" (Acts 2:38). Yet in many ways, Joseph clarified and even transcended the Bible, giving a fuller vision of pneumatology's connection to baptism, authority, and sanctification.

Strait Gate. Joseph's texts and the Bible both use the phrase "the strait gate." This familiar imagery from the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 7:13–14; also in Luke 13:24, Ps. 24:7–10; 118:19–20; and Jer. 7:2) symbolizes the prescribed way to enter into the Lord's presence. Distinct from the accounts in the Bible, 2 Nephi 31–32 includes the inspiration of the Spirit as a necessary guide to bring one through the strait gate and onto the narrow path:

> The gate by which ye should enter is repentance and baptism by water; and then cometh a remission of your sins by fire and by the Holy Ghost. And then are ye in this strait and narrow path which leads to eternal life; yea, ye have entered in by the gate; ye have done according to the commandments of the Father and the Son; and ye have received the Holy Ghost, which witnesses of the Father and the Son, unto the fulfilling of the promise which he hath made, that if ye entered in by the way ye should receive. . . . Again I say unto you that if ye will enter in by the way, and receive the Holy Ghost, it will show unto you all things what ye should do. (2 Ne. 31:17–18; 32:5)

The passage from Nephi uses words similar to those found in the Gospels, but Nephi identifies the key position of the Holy Ghost as the member of the Godhead that cleanses, bears witness, and guides believers through "the gate" that leads to life.

Conclusion

Joseph Smith's pneumatology is the only one of its kind during the Second Great Awakening. He charted a new course in the study of the Spirit, including alternate views on the nature of the Trinity and divine election, as well as a different definition of scripture and the scriptural canon. He taught of the history and future of the Holy Spirit as a personage, along with a

98. *History of the Church,* 5:499. Scribes transcribed the sermon as Joseph delivered it. As a result, it suffers from deletions and incomplete sentences.

broader pneumatological consideration concerning the premortal spirit existence of all humankind. He spoke of the history of those spirits who rebelled from God and who seek to deceive through counterfeit gifts and signs, as well as specific ways to discern and detect such false spirits. He tied apostolic keys to the practice of all the gifts of the Spirit, insisted on a higher priesthood performing the ordinance of laying on of hands to confer the gift of the Holy Ghost, and taught of a multifunctional Holy Spirit of Promise that sealed the righteous to exaltation. These doctrines did not arise from Joseph's environment. Certainly his frontier mannerisms, work ethic, and religious curiosity developed from his society; but his unique perspective on the Holy Spirit indicates that his pneumatology was not a conglomeration from his upbringing or of contemporaries' thinking. Joseph never viewed himself as building another Protestant church. In his own words, he claimed, "I never built upon any other man's ground."[99] Joseph truly differed in his teachings on the gift of the Holy Ghost, just as he told President Martin Van Buren in 1839.

Lynne Hilton Wilson (Wilsfrance@sbcglobal.net) received her PhD in theology and American history at Marquette University and is an LDS Institute instructor at Stanford University.

---

99. *History of the Church,* 6:410.

The Medical Practice of Dr. Frederick G. Williams

Frederick G. Williams

Editor's note: The following comes from a forthcoming BYU Studies publication titled The Life of Dr. Frederick G. Williams: Counselor to the Prophet Joseph Smith, *written by his great-great-grandson. A thoroughly researched documentary history of Frederick G. Williams and his immediate family, this book provides an intimate look at many significant events in the Ohio, Missouri, Illinois, and pioneer Utah periods of Church history. The book and its accompanying documents also contain more detail about Dr. Williams's medical practice, including a list of 307 of his patients.*

In the early nineteenth century, the medical profession was still rather primitive, but as the following information about Frederick G. Williams's practice shows, he was one of thirty practitioners in Kirtland's Geauga County. He conscientiously followed the methods and medications set forth in the medical treatise of Dr. Samuel Thomson. A frontier family doctor, Williams regularly assisted with childbirths, set broken bones, and treated various wounds and diseases, as the following materials intriguingly bring to light.

Frederick Granger Williams (1787–1842) was an important figure during the early days of the restoration of the gospel and the organization of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. He served as a missionary on the original mission to the Lamanites (1830–1831), was a personal scribe to the Prophet Joseph Smith for four years (1832–1836), was Second Counselor in the First Presidency for five years (1833–1837), and for twelve years was the principal doctor for the Saints in Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois, until his death in 1842.

Dr. Williams, as Oliver Cowdery wrote in a letter to Dr. Sampson Avard, was a botanic physician and followed the theories of Samuel S.

Thomson.[1] This is confirmed by Williams himself in his medical advertisements: "Vegetable Medicine, F. G. Williams, (Botanic Physician) Dr. Williams respectfully informs his old patrons and the public generally, that he keeps constantly on hand Dr. Samuel Thompson's [*sic*] Vegetable Medicine."[2] Nothing, however, is known about his medical practice until the early 1830s in Kirtland, where he is referenced in letters, journals, and biographies written and preserved by members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Dr. Williams's first biographer, Nancy C. Williams, tells us that Frederick was persuaded to study medicine around the time of the death of his sister-in-law Lovina, which came soon after she had given birth. Frederick's younger brother, William Wheeler Jr., married Lovina Dibble in 1814. "March 23, 1816, a child was born to Lovina and William which died soon after birth and Lovina survived the baby by a mere four days."[3]

> Lovona's [*sic*] sad death in childbirth, stirred Frederick, who had long wanted to become a doctor, to begin his earnest research into the medical profession. No doubt the anxiety for Rebecca's safety, for she was then with child, spurred him on in his studies. They had selected a place for clearing to build a home a few miles south and east of Newburg, called Warrensville. This land was heavily timbered and he found in clearing it that his health was failing. Perhaps this had much to do with the necessity to give up farming as a profession and caused him to turn to the study of medicine.[4]

Nancy Williams indicates that Dr. Frederick G. Williams had been assisted in his medical research by Doctor Ezra Graves, after whom Frederick had named his second son.[5] There is a corroborating nineteenth-century reference to Dr. Ezra Graves, who lived at the time in the same Ohio area as the Williamses. Speaking of the township of Bedford, Cuyahoga County, Ohio, the writer states: "Dr. Ezra Graves, who used to practice medicine here, was in Canada during the war of 1812, when he was required to swear allegiance to the crown or leave the country. He chose the latter course, and told his wife that she could stay there or go to the United States with old Ezra, just as she pleased. Said she: 'I'll go with old Ezra,' and she came."[6] On April 30, 1810, Frederick had purchased 161 acres in Warrensville (next to Bedford) from his father for $402.[7]

Paying Taxes as a Physician

Because the first time doctors had to register with the state of Ohio was in the late 1880s (and Williams died in 1842), there are no early government documents attesting to Dr. Williams's medical practice. Nevertheless, there are two extant tax records for physicians and attorneys that list Dr. Williams among the tax-paying physicians. The first is found in the *Auditor's Tax Duplicate*, Geauga County, Ohio, for the year 1836. The page is unnumbered, but follows page 342. Williams is one of thirty doctors listed in the county, and their

incomes appear to be rounded approximations. Eight had declared incomes of $300 and paid $1.50 in taxes; ten (including Dr. Williams) had incomes of $200 and paid $1.00 in taxes; three had incomes of $150 and paid $0.75 in taxes; and nine had incomes of $100 and paid $0.50 in taxes. There was no distinction made between botanical and orthodox physicians.[8]

As stated, the earliest extant references to Frederick's medical practice come from biographies and histories written primarily by members of the Church living in Kirtland. The first comes in 1830, presumably some fifteen years into his medical career, and is found in Joseph Smith's history of the first mission to the Lamanites: "This much accomplished, the brethren bound for the borders of the Lamanites, bade an affectionate farewell to the Saints in Kirtland and vicinity; and, after adding one of their new converts to their number—Dr. Frederick G. Williams—they went on their way rejoicing."[9]

Medical Advertisement: Kirtland, Ohio, 1835

We are fortunate that Dr. Williams's 1837 medical ledger has survived, and also copies of newspaper advertisements, which identified him as a Thomsonian botanical physician and listed the common diseases of his day together with their vegetable (herbal) cures as Dr. Williams prescribed them. The medicines he sold are listed as powders, pills, elixirs, cordials, drops, and ointments. Near the beginning, the advertisement also reveals that at that particular time (the last months of 1835) the doctor did not travel to visit his patients, but rather invited them to come to his residence for medical attention, where he kept a supply of organic medicines and herbs. The advertisement reads:

VEGETABLE
Medicine,
F. G. Williams,
(BOTANIC PHYSICIAN.)
DR. WILLIAMS respectfully informs his old patrons and the public generally—that he keeps constantly on hand
DR. SAMUEL THOMPSON'S VEGETABLE
MEDICINE,

In all its variety, and will furnish to those who may favor him with their attention, at his residence, unless otherwise employed.

From a long experience of the use of Dr. Thompson's Medicine, and the unvaried success which has attended his practice, he feels that a lengthy commendation would be useless. He does not offer his services as a travelling physician, in consequence of other business, but will be ready to give advice, and furnish medicines to those who may favor him with a call, and attend on patients who may wait upon him at his residence.

The following is a list, in part of the different kinds of medicine kept for sale, with a short statement of their qualities and effects:

Vegetable Elixir. —Excellent for pain in the stomach and bowels, and Rheumatic complaints.

Pills. —For head-ache, billious complaints, costiveness, dyspepsia, and difficulties in the stomach and livers.

Vegetable Powders. —Useful for a cold and foul stomach, violont colds, cough, sore throat, and to relieve from threatened fevers.

Vegetable Bitters. —For jaundice, loss of appetite, sickness in the stomach, head-ache, &c.

Botanic Ointment. —A certain cure for humors, corns, stiff joints, shrunk cords, stiffness in the neck, rheumatic complaints, swelling in the throat, chilblains, chapped hands, weakness and pain in the back, sores, ringworms, cuts and burns.

Olive Ointment. —Very useful for salt rheum, as many can testify.

Health Restorative. —Excellent to remove obstructions in the kidneys, for strangury, diabetes, and various female complaints.

Cough Powders. —Good for [w]hooping cough, and ulcers in the throat.

Peach Cordial. —One of the most valuable restoratives in dysentary, after the cause is removed, to give tone to the bowels and affect a speedy cure: it is also a sovereign remedy for all bowel complaints that have become torpid in consequence of taking drastic purges, diarhea, or from any other cause.

A CERTAIN CURE FOR THE

ITCH,

however inveterate.

A few applications will entirely remove this troublesome disease, and by keeping it on hand, and occasionally applying a small quantity to the wrist, will prevent those who are exposed, from taking this disagreeable disorder. Travellers will find it their interest to furnish themselves with this valuable ointment. Price 25 cts.

—

COUGH DROPS AND PILLS.

Consumption is easily overcome in its infancy: it rapidly arrives, if neglected, at an unconquerable and terrific maturity. An obstinate, violent, and convulsive cough, is the invariable forerunner, when neglected, of the

PULMONARY CONSUMPTION,

which may be nipped in the bud by the timely administration of these medicines, which have been known to cure persons supposed to be far gone in consumption, and exhibiting all the appearance of approaching dissolution.

—

A SAFE AND SURE REMEDY FOR

THE PILES.

The proprietor begs leave to recommend, (which he does with the fullest confidedce,) one of the most valuable remedies known for this troublesome and painful complaint.

This remedy is perfectly innocent in its application, to all conditions, ages and sexes.—Full instructions will accompany each packet which consists of one box of ointment, and a phial of drops. Price 37½ for the whole, or 25 for the ointment alone.

—

VEGETABLE ANTI-BILIOUS
PILLS.

The convenience of a cheap remedy, in the form of Pills, suited to the commencement of most of the indispositions to which we are liable, needs no comment.

Many diseases, in the forming stage, are arrested, by the exhibition of proper cathartic medicine, and the consequent suffering and expenses are thereby avoided.

All that pills can effect, in preserving or restoring health—*and that is much*—may be expected, and will be derived from the timely use of these pills.

They are peculiarly excellent in every variety of head ache, proceeding from a foul, acid, and billious state of the stomach; and in all feverishness of the system, dependant on the same cause. In short, for every derangement of the stomach and bowels, requiring cathartic medicine, the Vegetable Anti-Bilious Pills admit no competitor.[10]

—

NERVE POWDER.

One of the most useful remedies for cramps of the stomach, and debility of the nerves; it is also good in hysterical, and hypochondriacal affections, and convulsions: it may be taken in all cases with perfect safety, without producing the least unpleasant sensation, or any deleterious effects upon the system.

—

FEVER & AGUE.

A specific and lasting cure of intermittent fevers, of Fever and Ague, But a short time has elapsed since this most remarkable medicine has been brought before the public, as a certain and most effectual cure for this truly dreadful disease, the Fever and Ague. It is hailed by those who have tried it, and is justly regarded as the "friend to the afflicted:" for what an amount of time, and money, and comfort does it save to such of the suffering? The unparallelled and universal success which has ever attended a punctual and regular use of the Tonic Mixture, in all cases of Fever and Ague, warrants the proprietor in engaging to refund the price to all those who have taken the medicine in strict accordance with the prescribed directions, without having been perfectly cured.

The following is one of the many who cheerfully testify to the wonderful benefits they have received from his most effectual remedy.

—

I hereby certify, that I have taken Dr. Williams' Vegetable Ague Drops, after having been afflicted more than 7 months, and after trying many of the popular medicines for the same, and found immediate relief, and an effectual cure. I am happy to add, that my system is not in the least impaired from any effects produced by said medicine.

FRANCIS BARLACOME.
Kirtland, September 25, 1835.[11]

Dr. Williams Grew His Own Medicinal Herbs

As was common with nineteenth-century households, there would be a garden near the home for kitchen vegetables and spice herbs. In the case of a botanical doctor like Frederick G. Williams, there would also be a herbarium where he would raise his own plants for medicinal purposes. In a work largely prepared by D. P. Hurlburt but published under Eber D. Howe's name, *Mormonism Unvailed* (Painesville: Telegraph Press, 1834), there is a passage, although critical in tone, confirming that Dr. Williams had not one, but two, herb gardens, one on each side of his Kirtland home. The reference comes with the mocking of the revelation received by Joseph Smith Jr. in Kirtland on February 27, 1833, commonly referred to as the "Word of Wisdom," which speaks of things that should not be ingested and those that should, including the "wholesome herbs God hath ordained for the constitution, nature, and use of man."[12]

> We are next told that every wholesome herb, God ordained for the use of man!! and we should infer that the writer or the recording angel had been inducted into the modern use of herbs, by the celebrated Doct. F. G. Williams, who is associated with the prophet and the nominal proprietor of a monthly paper, which is issued from the Mormon kennel, in Kirtland. F. G. Williams is a revised quack, well known in this vicinity, by his herbarium on either side of his ho[u]se; but whether he claims protection by right of letters patent from the General Government or by communion with spirits from other worlds, we are not authorized to determine, but should conclude he would be adequate to dictate the above mockery at revelation and rigmarole, in relation to food for cattle, &c.[13]

Medical Advertisement: Quincy, Illinois, 1839

An announcement of Dr. Williams's medical practice four years later in Illinois discloses that he diagnosed the patient's condition by an examination of his or her urine. The notice also makes reference to the American Indians' knowledge of useful medicinal roots, which botanical doctors often noted. The advertisement first appeared in the *Quincy (Illinois) Whig* on Saturday, August 24, 1839. At the end of the notice was the date when it was first published and an indication that it was to run for six months: "aug 24—6m."

F. G. WILLIAMS—*Indian and German*
ROOT DOCTOR.

WHO distinguishes disease by an examination of the urine. Office on Hampshire street, opposite the American Tavern.

Dr. W. would notify the citizens of this county, and the public at large, that he has located himself in the town of Quincy, Ill., and is now prepared to attend to all who may favor him with their patronage, by practising on

the Indian and German System of distinguishing disease by an examination of the urine, and that he will always apply vegetable medicine which are perfectly free from all those deleterious effects which are always the result from the use of mineral medicines. Dr. W's medicines are procured from the field and the forest, carefully selected and prepared in such a manner that he can recommend them to the afflicted to operate in harmony with all the laws of animal life, removing disease by restoring all the execrations and secretions of the system, dislodging all the worn out matter which by its being retained in the system, produces disease and death his medicines are peculiarly calculated for the cure of liver complaints, dyspepsia, fever, fever and ague, affection of the lungs and kidneys, weakness of the stomach, loss of appetite, indigestion, costiveness, nervous affections, coughs and colds, rheumatism, impurities of the blood, fever sores, ulcers, white swellings, cancers, general female debility, and the whole train of diseases that effect the human frame. He will warrant a perfect cure in all cases of cancers, white swelling, fever sores, ulcers and scroffula, in all their various forms, together with every old sore of any kind whatever. His charges will always be moderate, and the terms for medicine cash or good notes, with approved security.

N.B. In all inward complaints patients are requested to bring or send some of their urine in a clear vial, taken immediately after rising in the morning.

Dr. W. has settled his present location on the Mississippi, that people living at a distance may be benefited by his remedies, which may be sent any distance on the river by water conveyance. All those living at any considerable distance from Quincy, who wish to try the virtue of Dr. William's vegetable remedies can send any number of cases by one person, and save a vast expense and time. aug 24—6m[14]

Known Medical Procedures Performed by Dr. F. G. Williams

Doctor Williams's medical ledger lists names of patients (often with the date of the service), the fees charged, and if the fees were collected; he (or his wife, Rebecca, who may have kept the books at times) also adds a brief comment, especially if the form of payment was in goods or services.[15] There is virtually no mention, however, of which diseases were treated, which medications were prescribed, or which medical procedures were performed. For that information, we must rely on his medical advertisements, on Thomson's *Materia Medica*, and on the written accounts of others.

1. Assisting with Childbirth. Dr. Williams assisted Mary Bailey Smith, Samuel Smith's wife, in the delivery of her first child on October 27, 1835:

Tuesday [October] 27 [1837].—In the morning I was called to visit at Brother Samuel Smith's His wife was confined and in a dangerous condition. Brother Carlos went to Chardon after Dr. Williams. I went out into the field and bowed before the Lord and called upon Him in mighty prayer in

> her behalf. And the word of the Lord came unto me, saying, "My servant Frederick shall come, and shall have wisdom given him to deal prudently, and my handmaid shall be delivered of a living child and be spared." The doctor came in about one hour afterwards, and in the course of two hours she was delivered, and thus what God had manifested to me was fulfilled every whit.[16]

Although there is no section specifically labeled childbirth in Thomson's *Materia Medica*, there is ample information given to aid the physician. Under "Red Raspberry" we read:

> Rasberry leaves may be used freely as a substitute for imported tea, (thea Chinensis) with no apprehensions of danger. It is the best thing for a woman in travail of any article I know of. In such cases it should be given in strong tea, with a little of No. 2, sweetened. It will bring on the labor pains regularly, and reduced the irregular pains to order and regularity, thus affording rest to the patient in the intervals. If the pains are untimely, it will quell them. If timely and lingering, give more of the tea, with a larger quantity of No. 2, and umbil, or nerve powder. This will assist the natural functions of the body, and thus hasten the labor. And if this is given, in the intervals the patient will be quiet, and rest in the same proportion as the labor pains were severe. Thus the woman's strength and courage are kept up, and she is ready to meet the next attack, thus continuing till the child is born. (605)

The section continues with a discussion on what to do in case of complications.

In the lengthy section titled "Human Systems" (211–484), which includes the muscles, bones, veins, organs, and so forth, there is a very detailed description of female anatomy (including illustrations), explaining each part and, whenever pertinent, noting the differences that exist when in a state of pregnancy, together with graphic descriptions of the reproductive organs (317–23). There is also a detailed section on the "Human Foetus" (323–29).

In the section entitled "Diseases and Herbal Treatments" (691–824), the volume includes a treatment called "Women's Friend":

> Take of poplar bark five pounds; unicorn, cinnamon, golden seal, and cloves, each half a pound; four ounces of cayenne and eight pounds of sugar. Let them all be made fine and well mixed. This is an excellent article in female weaknesses, to prevent abortion and to be used at the cessation of the menses.
>
> A teaspoonful may be taken in a gill of hot water. (707)

There is also a section entitled "Remedies Worthy the Attention of Females" (737–39), which includes "Mother's Relief," a treatment that "will strengthen and invigorate the constitution before childbirth so that the mother will pass the time of labor with little danger, and will be less liable to

take cold after confinement" (737). Also listed is a treatment for "Falling of the Womb, or Prolapsus Uteri" (738); a treatment "To Prevent Sore Nipples or Breasts" (739); and another to treat hysteria: "Hysterics usually occur in women over fifteen years of age. . . . Sometimes the patient laughs and cries in the same breath; beats her breasts and shrieks, although not entirely deprived of consciousness" (810–11).

2. Setting Broken Bones. Dr. Williams set the broken arm of the ten-year-old step-son of Ebenezer Page in June 1838 in Far West, Missouri.

> The following June he [Ebenezer Page] married Hannah Peck, a poor widow, who lost all she had in Jackson Co., Missouri, at the time the church was driven from Independance. She had four boys, the eldest was about ten years old. A short time after their marriage, while at meeting, the oldest boy fell and broke his arm. Brother Page then called on F. G. Williams to go with him home to dress the boy's arm. After it was done the stepfather told him he could not remunerate him, but was obliged to call him in. The doctor replied that he was aware of the fact, and should make no charge, but would have charged two dollars had he been in good circumstances.[17]

In Thomson's *Materia Medica,* the author devotes a section to the human skeleton and lists the body's many bones (230–31); he focuses specifically on setting a bone in the foot (744), but not in an arm.

3. Stitching Wounds. Doctor Williams's medical practice included sewing up wounds, as we learn from Hyrum Smith's accident with an ax. Joseph recorded:

> [Wednesday, February 10, 1836.] At four o'clock, called at the school room in the Temple to make some arrangements concerning the classes. On my return I was informed that Brother Hyrum Smith had cut himself. I immediately repaired to his house, and found him badly wounded in his left arm, he had fallen on his ax, which caused a wound about four or five inches in length. Doctor Williams sewed it up and dressed it, and I feel to thank God that it is no worse, and I ask my Heavenly Father in the name of Jesus Christ to heal my brother Hyrum, and bless my father's family, one and all, with peace and plenty, and eternal life.[18]

In Thomson's *Materia Medica*, the author has this to say about sewing up wounds:

> Take according to the size of the wound, one, two, or three threads of sewing silk, (the white is best) about six inches in length, well waxed; place the thread through the eye of a darning needle, if there be no surgeon's needle at hand; pass the needle through from within the lips of the wound under the skin, and have it pass up through the skin about half an inch back of the edge of the orifice, being particular to include the full thickness of the skin, which is from an eighth to a quarter of an inch, in the different parts. Draw through the ligature, until the middle of the thread rests in the middle

> of the wound; then detach the needle, and thread it with the other end of the silk; then commence in the wound below the skin and bring it out in the same manner on the opposite side. The stitch being complete, the tying of the ends of the ligature in a single or sliding knot completes the work. The second or third stitch may be taken in like manner, if necessary. (778–79)

There is a caution about how tight the stitches should be and what to do should the wound become inflamed: "[The stitches] should never be tighter than barely sufficient to cause the edges of the wound to touch each other gently. The strips of sticking plaster and the bandage should take off from the rest of the wound all pressure or excessive confinement of the sore. If the parts become swelled or inflamed, the stitches should be cut immediately; or as the parts adhere together so as not to need them, the thread may be cut and drawn out" (779).

4. Treating Burns. Another procedure performed by Doctor Williams, according to his first biographer, was the dressing of burns and peeled skin caused by hot tar, as in the case of Joseph Smith in Hiram, Ohio, in 1832. We read in Nancy C. Williams's biography that Frederick and his wife, Rebecca, attended to Smith's wounds all night: "One vivid tragic memory Rebecca left to her descendants was when on the 24th of March, 1832, the mob tarred and feathered him [Joseph Smith]. She related how she and the Doctor worked all night over his bleeding body and how in places, in removing tar, the skin peeled off with it. The babies and Emma were also cared for by them."[19]

In Thomson's *Materia Medica*, the author provides the following guidance for burns: "BURN OINTMENT. Take of beeswax and Burgundy pitch and melt them together; then mix sweet oil until the compound has the consistency of ointment. APPLICATION. This salve will ease the pain of a burn almost immediately on its application, for which purpose it is very valuable. It is also good for fresh cuts, or wounds and bruises of the flesh" (732).

5. Treating Cholera. Probably the most feared disease Doctor Williams treated was cholera, as in the outbreak that occurred in Missouri during Zion's Camp in 1834. The writer quoted below is James Henry Rollins, a resident of Missouri and a member of the Church. Among those who perished in that outbreak was Algernon Sidney Gilbert, who had established a store in Missouri, as he had with his partner, Newel K. Whitney, in Kirtland. Williams later handled the estate of Sidney Gilbert and treated the widow Gilbert as his patient.

> I will now pass over the interval from May 1832 to June 1st 1834, at which time the first heralds of the Camp of Israel, namely, the two men, Amasa Lyman and Almon W. Babbitt, came to the hill farm, which was occupied by Sidney Gilbert. They told of the near approach of the Camp, also, of the

> escape from the mob at Fishing River. A day or two after this the camp arrived. Joseph the Prophet and William his brother, with Dr. F. G. Williams and several others, stayed at our place, and, the majority of the camp going down Bush Creek some three-fourths of a mile from us to the farm of John Burk, where many were stricken with Cholera and died. There were five died at our house, namely: William Weeden, a brother Judd, Jessie Smith a cousin of Joseph, Sidney Gilbert and Phoebe Murdock. During this time of sickness I was sent by the Prophet and Dr. Williams to Liberty for medicine and by Joseph the Prophet to brother Partridge's, Morley's, and other places with dispatches or word to other brethren who lived at a distance from the camp of Israel. Having a pony to various places where I was sent during the time of this terrible scourge.

Rollins speaks of how quickly the disease overtook people, seemingly healthy one moment and dead the next:

> George A. Smith and Jessie Smith both being my age were out in the road with myself trying to get a ball from a pistol which had got wet at Fishing River. We were all three very merry and were laughing a great deal, when Jessie said: "We ought not be here making so much noise while there are so many of our brethren sick and dying, we don't know how soon some of us may be taken." We then opened the gate and went into the east door of the house. In a short time after entering the house this noble boy was stricken with Cholera. Joseph and his brethren worked over him, but, fever took hold of him, and with all their attention it seemed to avail nothing, and he died, laying on the floor of our largest room. We wrapped him up in his bed clothes and carried him through a terrible thunder storm and laid him in a grave that had been dug, covering him with his mother earth. The same as the other two who had died previous, without any coffins. Joseph took the death of the noble boy very hard, as he undoubtedly had been entrusted with his care by the boy's parents. At this time Joseph was reprimanded of the Lord for trying to stay His hand and I think the Lord told him at this time that he would smite him if he tried more to stay his decreed afflictions as promised, before they arrived. About this time the camp was disbanded and I bade goodbye to Joseph and his brethren as they took their departure for Kirtland and its vicinity.[20]

Joseph Smith Jr. adds:

> The cholera continued its ravages for about four days, when a remedy for the purging, vomiting, and cramping, was discovered; viz., dipping the persons afflicted in cold water, or pouring it upon them, and giving them whisky thickened with flour to the consistency of starch.[21] Whisky was the only kind of spirits that could be procured at this place. About sixty-eight of the Saints suffered from this disease, of which number fourteen died, viz.: John S. Carter, Eber Wilcox, Seth Hitchcock, Erastus Rudd, Algernon Sidney Gilbert, Alfred Fisk, Edward Ives, Noah Johnson, Jesse B. Lawson, Robert McCord, Elial Strong, Jesse J. Smith, Warren Ingalls and Betsy Parrish.[22]

Dr. Williams also treated cholera victims in Cleveland, with the blessing of the leaders of the Church: "*August 21 [1834].*—Doctor Frederick G. Williams returned from Cleveland and told us concerning the plague, and after much consultation, we agreed that Dr. Williams should go to Cleveland and commence administering to the sick, for the purpose of obtaining blessings for them, and for the glory of the Lord. Accordingly, we (Joseph, Frederick, and Oliver,) united in prayer before the Lord for this thing. Now, O Lord, grant us these blessings in the name of Jesus Christ. Amen."[23]

The author of Thomson's *Materia Medica* devotes considerable space to his "Philosophical Theory" of the causes of "The Asiatic Cholera" and the reason for its transmission to the settlements along the Mississippi, Ohio, and Missouri rivers in 1832 (752–59). In another section, he describes the symptoms of the disease:

> VOMITING AND PURGING—Cholera Morbus. The attack of this disease is generally sudden. In some cases it is brought on by pain, lassitude and acid erectations; at other times it commences by vomiting and purging, the purging not usually commencing first. The matter ejected, besides the undigested food, if any, is bile, varying in color from its natural yellow to a green, brown or black, and mixed with mucus. After continuing a considerable time, the discharges assumes, perhaps, the appearance of the washings of fresh meat. It is frequently attended with spasm in the abdomen and extremities, and the patient's strength is soon exhausted. In violent cases, collapse succeeds, and unless relief is obtained, death in a few hours puts an end to the sufferings of the patient. (803)

Thomson next offers his treatment for the disease. "TREATMENT. This disease may generally be relieved by a single dose of composition or hot drops. If this does not answer, bathe the feet in hot water and take an emetic, or a thorough course of medicine (Nos. 1 through 6), if required, which is generally effectual" (803). He then lists the treatment used by the regular practitioners, for the sake of comparison: "Regular Treatment.—Bleeding, blistering, calomel, opium, and carbonate of iron, ice water internally, and ice externally." The dreaded water-borne disease of cholera continued to plague people living on the Mississippi and trekking west along the rivers of the Great Plains.[24]

6. Treating Venereal Disease. Although the reference is veiled in a euphemistic phrase, Doctor Williams, it would seem, treated some patient (or patients) for venereal disease, which he listed as "Bachelor Delight" in his medical ledger, page 33. There are a total of twenty-five separate billings, totaling $41.87, which was paid off on August 1, 1839, with the notation "Sundries to balance."[25]

In Thomson's *Materia Medica*, the author shares the particulars of his first case of venereal disease, in which his patient was a woman:

> While practicing in Exeter, I had a patient (a woman from Portsmouth) who had the venereal, in consequence of a bad husband. She had been attended for nearly a year by the doctors in Portsmouth, who had filled her with mercury for the purpose of curing the disorder, until the remedy was worse than the disease. Her case was alarming and very difficult; she was brought on a bed, being unable to sit up, and seemed to be one mass of putrefaction. I proceeded with her in my usual way of treating old disease where the system has become generally disordered, by giving medicine to promote perspiration, steaming to throw out the mercury and to restore the digestive power, and in three weeks she returned home, entirely cured. (526)

He goes on to state: "This disease is very easily cured in its first stages, by a common course of medicine, being nothing more than a high stage of canker seated in the glands of the organs of generation; and if not cured, communicate with the glands of the throat and other parts. Under the fashionable treatment, there is more difficulty in removing the mercury from the body of one in this situation, than in curing a dozen who have not taken the poison" (526).

In the section entitled "Venereal Disease—Syphilis," Thomson explains the disease:

> Syphilitic poison being applied to a part which is soft or covered with a mucous membrane, or otherwise where a puncture of the skin exists, produces an ulceration or inflammation of the part to which it was communicated. This disease may remain local, or it may run into a constitutional affection. When local, it shows itself in form of inflamed ulcers, ash color, and with a disposition to spread rapidly over the adjacent parts.
>
> When constitutional, the fluids throughout the whole system are tainted, and other parts of the body besides the genital organs are liable to break out in obstinate ulcers, or a sort of scrofulous affection; and in this form of the disease, unless arrested by efficient medical treatment, it sooner or later proves fatal. (821)

Thomson then proceeds with the treatment and the procedure for administering the antidote: "Courses of medicine should be used two or three times in the course of a week, and the tincture of lobelia taken at intervals, to keep the stomach sickened. The evacuation of the bowels should be regular and daily. This course will generally relieve all distress. Then make a wash of the lobelia and yellow lily root. This tea may also be used as injections for the penis or per ani with good success."

In the section under "Ointments for Piles, Poultice and Wash for Venereal," Thomson supplied further details for dealing with syphilis, and how the treatment may be delivered:

> Simmer together two ounces of the toad lily root (*Hermercallis flava*) two ounces of green emetic (*lobelia inflata*), and a piece of white vitriol (*sulphate of zinc*), about the size of a walnut, finely pulverized, in half a pound of fresh butter; strain off, and you have an excellent remedy for syphilitic sores.
>
> A wash may be made of the same articles that will destroy the irritation at once. It may be injected in form of decoction into the penis in bad cases with great advantage. (733)

Other Medical Procedures and Medications

In addition to the above conditions and diseases known to have been treated by Dr. Williams, there is in his medical ledger, under Samuel McBride on page 83, a reference to vaccination and, on page 170, several entries for Hyrum Kimball in 1840 that hint of several more medical procedures and instruments—including syringes, teas, washes, and astringents—all of which are likewise found in Thomson's *Materia Medica*. For vaccines, Thomson writes under "Kine Pox—Variolae Vaccinae": "Vaccination ought not to be performed during the progress of the eruptions, or in a bad state of health" (784). Under "Enemas, or Injections," he writes:

> When the uterus or urinary passages are affected, injections may be given to these parts by means of the appropriate syringes. The quantity to be used as an injection of the bowels should be from a gill to a pint.
>
> Syringes of all sizes, and for all the different purposes, should be kept on hand for every practitioner. (698)

Prominent Patients of Dr. Williams

Among the 307 persons listed in the medical ledger under Dr. Williams's care, the youngest identifiable patient is Henry Wood, a twelve-year-old boy, and the oldest is John Young, a seventy-four-year-old man. Most of the leadership and prominent members of the Church were under his care, among them the special witnesses of the Book of Mormon, including two of the Three Witnesses (Oliver Cowdery and David Whitmer) and four of the Eight Witnesses (Jacob Whitmer, Joseph Smith Sr., Hyrum Smith, and Samuel H. Smith).

Dr. Williams also cared for the majority of the members in the original quorums of the General Authorities. These included two members of the First Presidency (Joseph Smith Jr. and Sidney Rigdon); eight members of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles (David W. Patten, Orson Hyde, Parley P. Pratt, Luke Johnson, William B. Smith, Orson Pratt, John F. Boynton, and Lyman E. Johnson); four members of the seven presidents of the First Council of the Seventy (Leonard C. Rich, Zebedee Coltrin, Lyman R. Sherman, and Sylvester Smith); and the first Presiding Bishop of the Church, Edward Partridge.

Other early General Authorities under Dr. Williams's care included John Smith, Assistant Counselor in the First Presidency; John Corill and Titus Billings, counselors in the Presiding Bishopric; and James Foster, Salmon Gee, Henry Harriman, and Albert P. Rockwood, presidents of the First Council of the Seventy. Also included are well-known people such as storekeeper and bishop Newel K. Whitney and hymn-writer and newspaperman W. W. Phelps, plus a variety of lesser-known tradesmen, bishops, and high councilors.

There were twenty-one named women under Dr. Williams's care in the ledger, of whom six are listed as widows, nine as married women (generally identified by the title *Mrs.*), and seven as single women (usually identified by their first names). It would appear, however, that not all of Dr. Williams's female patients are identified by name, and we assume his service to them appears under the husbands' names. For example, we know Dr. Williams treated Mary Bailey Smith in childbirth. Her name, however, does not appear in the ledger, but that of her husband, Samuel H. Smith, does.

Conclusion

Frederick G. Williams became a doctor during a period of transition; he practiced before modern science had given physicians a basis for proven treatments against disease. Nevertheless, he was said to be successful at treating cholera. This, perhaps, because the Thomsonian treatment, unlike the "heroic," included steps to rehydrate the patient with herbal teas. We now know that the primary cause of death from cholera is dehydration, even though the bacterium that causes the disease is transmitted from contaminated water.

Since the days of the first Greek practitioners of the healing arts, doctors could do little more than diagnose illness, stitch up wounds, and set broken bones. At the close of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, there was not only a proliferation of medical quackery in vogue but also, happily, a rapid and steady increase in scientific knowledge and the dissemination of sound medical treatments. However, when Dr. Williams began his practice, the orthodox doctors still relied primarily on toxic chemicals such as calomel and on bloodletting, two procedures that were more harmful than the illness itself and that often inflicted death. The milder herbal treatments of the Thomsonian physicians may not have always been any better grounded scientifically, but they at least posed no added health risks. Dr. Frederick G. Williams may not have devoted himself full time to a career in medicine until later in his life, perhaps as late as 1839 in Quincy, Illinois. In Kirtland he had had a sufficient patient base among the members of the Church to succeed at making a living solely

from medicine, but his many other Church-related responsibilities took precedence. Frederick most likely practiced medicine on a need-only basis, while he engaged in other pursuits to provide for his family, such as farming, clerking, and teaching.

Frederick G. Williams (frederick_williams@byu.edu), Gerrit de Jong Jr. Distinguished Professor of Luso-Afro-Brazilian Studies at Brigham Young University, is the author of eighteen volumes and more than fifty articles. After teaching for twenty-seven years at the University of California (UCLA and UCSB), he accepted an invitation to join the faculty in the Department of Spanish and Portuguese at BYU. He is a grandson twice removed of Frederick G. Williams and is currently serving as president, with his wife as matron, of the Recife Brazil Temple.

1. Oliver Cowdery to Dr. S. Avard (in the original, the name is spelled Avord), December 15, 1835, Oliver Cowdery Letterbook, Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif., microfilm of holograph, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. ^

2. *Kirtland (Ohio) Northern Times,* October 2, 1835, 3. Also found in the issues dated October 9, 1835, and December 2, 1835. ^

3. Nancy Clement Williams, *After 100 Years* (Independence, Mo.: Zion's Printing and Publishing, 1951), 48–49. ^

4. Williams, *After 100 Years*, 50. The only source Nancy C. Williams gives for Dr. Williams's medical training and practice is a description of the rural doctor's life from Elliot Howard Gilkey's *Doctors of Ohio.* She knew Dr. Williams's son, however, Dr. Ezra G. Williams (also a surgeon), who in 1889 became her father-in-law. He had been a frontier doctor in Quincy, Illinois; St. Louis, Missouri; and Salt Lake City, Utah. For a short time after her marriage to Frederick G. Williams (Ezra's eldest son), Nancy, a young sixteen-year-old bride, went to live with her in-laws in Ogden, Utah. Her husband had assisted his father medically and became a de facto rural doctor himself in the Mormon colonies in Mexico, where he went to live with his two wives in 1889. Although Frederick G. Williams (II) undoubtedly received some help from his father, he was most likely trained on the job. Nancy herself would have been a witness to his activities and perhaps assisted as a midwife and with other duties and practices. Her father-in-law died in 1905, her husband in 1918. ^

5. Williams, *After 100 Years*, 52. ^

6. Gertrude Van Rensselaer Wickham, ed., *Memorial to the Pioneer Women of the Western Reserve,* 5 vols. (Cleveland: J. B. Savage Print, 1896–97), 4:679. ^

7. The property was found in lot 41, range 11, of township 7. See Land Records, Cuyahoga County, Ohio, Deeds and Mortgages, vol. 1, 46–47. ^

8. *Auditor's Tax Duplicate*, Geauga County Courthouse, Chardon, Ohio. A similar tax record for 1837 also lists Dr. Williams among physicians and attorneys paying taxes in the county. ^

9. 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), 1:125 (hereafter cited as *History of the Church*). Williams is addressed as "Dr." or "Doctor" in *History of the Church* a total of eighteen times. He is referenced many more times with the title of president, brother, or simply by name. ^

10. I am indebted to Dean Morris, herbal specialist in Springville, Utah, for supplying the spectrum of herbal treatments for bowel activity from mildest to strongest: aperants or apurants, bulk fiber, laxatives, cathartics, and purgatives. See 10th *U.S. Pharmacopeia*, *King's American Dispensatory*, and John Gerard's *Herbal*. ^

11. The advertisement appeared in three of the extant four issues of the *Northern Times*: vol. 1, no. 27 (Friday, October 2, 1835); no. 28 (Friday, October 9, 1835); and no. 36 (Wednesday, December 2, 1835). Vol. 1, no. 42 (Wednesday, January 13, 1836), is missing pages 3 and 4 where the advertisement would normally appear. ^

12. Doctrine and Covenants 89:10. ^

13. Eber D. Howe, *Mormonism Unvailed: Or, a Faithful Account of That Singular Imposition and Delusion, from Its Rise to the Present Time* (Painesville, Ohio: By the author, 1834), 229–30. This quotation has an obvious typographical error in the original that I have corrected with a bracketed *u*. Undoubtedly, Howe meant "house" and not "horse." ^

14. The 401 words in 54 lines of the advertisement appeared in the Quincy *Whig* twenty-five times in succession from August 24, 1839, to February 8, 1840 (the newspaper incorrectly printed February 7 on its masthead), with no variations except its location on the page. ^

15. Frederick G. Williams, Medical ledger, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City. The most common forms of payment were promissory notes, sundries, and cash. Named payments in goods and services included copies of the Book of Mormon, wood, stones, leather, crockery, a sink, a sofa, three mats, a barrel of flour, a quart of linseed oil, a coffee pot, general labor, the mending of a gig, working on a wall, blacksmithing, and shoemaking. ^

16. *History of the Church*, 2:292. ^

17. Ebenezer Page, "For Zion's Reveille," *Zion's Reveille* 2, no. 13 (April 15, 1847): 55. ^

18. *History of the Church*, 2:393–94. ^

19. Williams, *After 100 Years*, 65. ^

20. "Reminiscences of James Henry Rollins," typescript, 4–6, Church History Library. ^

21. Could this have been Dr. Williams's own remedy for cholera? ^

22. *History of the Church*, 2:119–20. ^

23. *History of the Church*, 2:146. ^

24. See Patricia Rushton, "Cholera and Its Impact on Nineteenth-Century Mormon Migration," *BYU Studies* 44, no. 2 (2005): 123–44. ^

25. Judging by the euphemism Bachelor Delight, it is rather obvious that Dr. Williams was treating venereal disease, which he listed separately in its own account and not as part of the regular entries in the ledger under individual names (to maintain confidentiality?). Since there are no names listed, we can only wonder if these cases involved just Mormons or if they included non-Mormons as well. Judging by the large number of entries, twenty-five, it was either recurring in a few individuals or affected several people or some combination of both. Since the relatively high balance of $41.87 was paid off late in 1839, should we assume these entries are all related to cases in Missouri, a frontier state? I wonder if one of the reasons Dr. Williams was rarely maligned by the non-Mormons or apostates (as were Joseph and Sidney) was because those individuals knew the doctor had incriminating information on them. ^

Hugh Nibley and Michael D. Rhodes. *One Eternal Round.*

The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley, volume 19, Ancient History. Salt Lake City: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies and The Neal A. Maxwell Institute for Religious Scholarship, 2010.

Reviewed by Gary P. Gillum

On October 10, 2003, some eighteen months before Hugh Nibley passed away, I was accompanied by five of my students to Nibley's house so that we could assist two university archivists, Brad Westwood and John Murphy, in boxing up Nibley's considerable book collection for eventual placement in the Hugh Nibley Ancient Studies Room in the Harold B. Lee Library. While awaiting the arrival of the archivists, we surrounded Nibley's bed in the living room, joking and asking questions. One student asked about the completion of what everyone was calling Nibley's *magnum opus*. With a chuckle, Nibley responded, "Still round and round."

Hugh Nibley began serious research on *One Eternal Round* as early as 1988.[1] When Nibley's longtime colleague Michael D. Rhodes took over the project following Nibley's death in 2005, he was faced with thirty boxes of research notes and drafts, 450 computer files, and as many as twenty versions of one chapter.[2] Fortunately, Michael is familiar with most of Nibley's prodigious output, as well as the subjects listed in the preface, which are a reflection of Nibley's mind and interests and which are all within the scope of *One Eternal Round*:

> Mathematics, Alexander the Great, the Egyptian pharaohs Sheshonq and Sesostris, medieval Jewish Kabbala, medieval Jewish and Islamic traditions about Abraham, ancient Hermeticism, Greek myths and their relationship to Egyptian and Mesopotamian myths, early Jewish and Christian apocrypha, ancient Chinese jade disks, Indian mandalas, the Aztec calendar stone, shaman drums, ancient Egyptian mirrors, axial times, the great year-rites of ancient civilizations, Paleolithic cave drawings in France, the *Tabula Smaragdina*, Hopi Indian ceremonies, alchemy, and the relationship of myth, ritual, and history. (xiv)

Rhodes wrote transitions, additions, and clarifications to the book, but he successfully kept them to a minimum, wanting to keep "Hugh's inimitable style" (xv) of hyperbole, humor, and satire, as well as his penchant for broad

literary references. Also to his credit, Rhodes retained Nibley's allusions to his personal life that are sprinkled throughout the work.

The seeds for *One Eternal Round* were planted in the summer of 1962 when Egyptologist Klaus Baer wrote a critical letter to Hugh Nibley about the Pearl of Great Price and its Egyptian connections.[3] Leaders of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints asked Nibley to pursue potential problems concerning the Pearl of Great Price and the Joseph Smith Papyri. They encouraged Nibley to research these subjects above others, including the work he was doing on Brigham Young and a list of projects J. Reuben Clark had encouraged him to pursue.[4] Thereafter, except for some related and important forays into the Book of Mormon and temples, Nibley spent the majority of his research efforts on "the book that answers all the questions." *Abraham in Egypt* (two editions) and *The Message of the Joseph Smith Papyri: An Egyptian Endowment* (also in two editions) were a large share of those twenty-five years of research. By the late 1980s, Nibley felt that an important part of the Pearl of Great Price, Facsimile no. 2, had not received enough attention by secular Egyptologists or by members of the Church. The result is *One Eternal Round*, whose intended audience seems to be from all parts of these widely disparate groups of potential readers.

The Book

If fans are hoping for one of Nibley's more readable books, they will be disappointed. *One Eternal Round* is not a relatively easy read like *Temple and Cosmos* or *Approaching Zion.* Neither is the book a *magnum opus* in the sense of its size. Even though this latest publication is over seven hundred pages long, *Tinkling Cymbals* and *Abraham in Egypt* are even longer. However, if readers are expecting a *magnum opus* in the sense that it is the most complete representation of Nibley's mind during the 1980s and 1990s, they will be satisfied—if not mentally overwhelmed—by his dense scholarship and thoroughness. *The Message of the Joseph Smith Papyri* and *Abraham in Egypt* are virtual prerequisites for an elementary understanding of and appreciation for *One Eternal Round*. I am confident Nibley intended the book to be a comprehensive look at Facsimile no. 2, not an introductory "Hypocephalus 101" course.

However, for those of us whose unbounded curiosity outweighs our scholarly preparation, several study helps are included. Eighty-six black-and-white illustrations and eight color plates (meticulously provided by Michael P. Lyon) will reward hours of personal study, wonder, and speculation. Also, readers need not be multilingual, as English represents the chief language cited in this work. German sources are by far the second most cited, followed by smaller numbers of sources in dozens of obscure languages, like the Armenian version of "Pseudo-Callisthenes."[5]

While reading *One Eternal Round,* I also read a biography of Albert Einstein. I personally find Hugh Nibley to be much like Albert Einstein in perspective, genius, love of nature, and the interconnectedness of all things. In fact, Nibley mentions how "the most sublime aspect of Amun is the way he brings all things together in one, just as science today looks for the Grand Unifying Theory" (239). Nibley was a great unifier of ancient religious history in the same way that Einstein was a unifier of physics.[6]

While footnotes abound, *One Eternal Round* lacks an alphabetical bibliography. Not only could I have used one to satisfy my own curiosity as a bibliophile but also because of "Nibliographic" questions from others that continue to come my way. If the bibliography was excluded in the interest of saving space, it would be a gracious token for the publisher to supply one on its website. Of course, problems and oversights of one sort or another are inevitable in almost all books. Michael Rhodes, sensitive to how important this book was to Nibley, adds a caveat, paraphrasing Mormon: "And now, if there are faults they are the mistakes of *Mike*, wherefore condemn not the things of *Hugh Nibley*" (xvi). Knowing the history of this massive work and the research that went into it, I find it difficult to criticize *One Eternal Round*, any shortcomings notwithstanding.

Michael Rhodes indicates that the reader will be able to distinguish between his writing and Nibley's. The writing was seamless enough that I found very little evidence of that. However, one major addition by Rhodes should be mentioned. On page 117, Michael Lyon supplies a drawing of what some archaeologists believe is the world's oldest temple (Göbekli Tepe in Turkey, considered 11,600 years old) and the source of human civilization. The illustration is from an article published three years *after* Hugh Nibley's passing.[7] If Nibley had been alive, he surely would have referred to this article and added much commentary himself. This rare and welcome addition by Rhodes is but one example of how surprising discoveries continue to shed light on ancient history, and the history of the hypocephalus is another example of an artifact that continues to surprise.

The Hypocephalus

Facsimile no. 2 in the Pearl of Great Price is one of over a hundred specimens, found in nine museums worldwide, of an artifact known to Egyptologists as a *hypocephalus* (from the Greek, meaning "under the head").[8] The disk was usually between four and seven inches in diameter and made from various significant materials, from wood to bronze to leather and, on one occasion, bread dough (188). The owners of hypocephali were either priests and priestesses of Amun-Re[9] or those with whom they associated (239). Directions for creating a hypocephalus appear in chapter 162 of the

Book of the Dead in Egypt's Twenty-first Dynasty (1070–940 BC). In Facsimile no. 2, eight scenes are presented in panels, which make the Joseph Smith hypocephalus almost identical with hypocephali in museums in both Vienna and London (195).

Rhodes provides a brief description of the purpose behind the hypocephalus in his introduction: "Its fundamental purpose was similar to all Egyptian funerary documents—to ensure the resurrection and deification of the dead. It graphically portrays the whole creation of God in a circular or spherical form" (xix). Besides being a creation drama (137), the hypocephalus "represents the circle of the universe" (206).

The hypocephalus may be one of the most significant historical artifacts to be largely ignored by historians and even many Egyptologists.[10] For that reason, *One Eternal Round* breaks new ground in Egyptology as well as for LDS readers. Perhaps this lacuna has come about because of the hidden nature of the hypocephalus; the Egyptians considered it too sacred for common consumption, and it was to be understood only by the initiated few. Egyptologists today increasingly concede that Egyptian religious symbols involved an esoteric tradition, a supposition that Nibley operated under for decades—and Joseph Smith long before that. Nibley, who personally examined 103 of these hypocephali (233), observed that the disk is "first and last a didactic astronomical chart, which is how Joseph Smith treats it" (222).

The Chapters

Because there is far too much information to attempt a summary of each of the fifteen chapters, I will instead provide teasers and insights from some of the chapters. One wonders how Nibley was able to keep the multifarious details straight in his brain as he worked through each chapter, though many of his notecards were arranged as neatly as a library card catalog.[11]

Chapter 1, "The Critics," traces the contempt some early Egyptologists had for Egyptian thought. The most influential Egyptologists were disappointed to discover that "religion[12] was the whole world of the Egyptians" (13), and they attempted to dismiss its significance—along with Joseph Smith's interpretation of Egyptian religious artifacts. Recently, with the coming of New School Egyptologists, the religion of the Egyptians has taken its place as an important system of human thought, seen as a forerunner to the Greek tradition (16). These new developments in Egyptology should remind scholars of the resilience of Joseph Smith's work: "The ancient scriptures revealed through Joseph Smith . . . all begin in the Egyptian setting and share in many points of Egyptian theological speculation" (13). For example, in chapter 2, we learn that exaltation and infinite progression are two principles that Latter-day Saints share with Egyptian theology, as well as cosmism, the belief that the universe's

matter is uncreated (43–44). In the same vein, chapter 3 discusses dispensations and axial times—periods past or future in which the council of the gods come together—whether in times of creation or refreshing or upheaval—to save mankind and bring them to theosis, or godhood (78).

The middle chapters of the book distinguish between myth, ritual, and history, especially as they connect with Egyptian annual year-rites.[13] "The purpose of the year-rite was to bring all things together in one clear revelation setting forth man's condition" (113). Egyptian religion embraced the big picture: the meaning of life, the divine sphere, the godly cosmos of wholeness and unity. And this striving for broad meaning—to both Egyptians and to Joseph Smith—was not used ultimately to create myth but to recreate reality. To the Egyptians, observes Mircea Eliade, "reality is a function of the imitation of a celestial archetype" (106). And the Egyptians took this grand celestial archetype very seriously: evidence of the creation drama, which is related to the year-rite, has been found in every tomb, temple, or Coffin Text in Egypt (112). Nibley asserts that the coronation of Mosiah in the Book of Mormon is one of those year-rites, which harks directly to the "big picture" depicted in the hypocephalus (113).[14]

Chapters 7 and 8 explain how to read and interpret the hypocephalus. "The upper part of the hypocephalus brings together sun, moon, and stars in their various relationships" (285), as well as showing "a progression both in time and space" (289). The main purpose of the hypocephalus was to achieve an unbroken contact between spirit and body until the moment of resurrection (330). Understanding how both the Egyptians and the Prophet Joseph used representation will go a long way toward grasping Smith's interpretations, as well as settling the question of myth versus reality. The man on the throne in figure 7 does not depict God, but is a *representation*. Likewise, what is being handed over is not the Holy Ghost but "'the *sign* of the Holy Ghost'—a sign does not describe, it only points to something" (304). The Egyptians and likewise Joseph Smith used representation to explain a deeper reality. This device, of course, has a long history, whether it be the creation story in Genesis or the parables of Jesus.

Chapter 9 reviews ascension dramas, ancient apocryphal texts that describe the ascension into heaven and cosmic tour of a patriarch, prophet, apostle, or other religious figure, with his subsequent return to earth to reveal what he has seen. "The Book of Abraham is a classic example of just such a text" (346). As such, these ascension dramas have more than a superficial attachment to hypocephali, and Nibley appropriately compares them with the following ascension dramas: *The Testament of Abraham*, *Apocalypse of Abraham, The Testament of Isaac*, the books of Enoch, *The Ascension of Moses*, the Book of Ezekiel, *Second Baruch*, the Book of Ezra, the

Book of Revelation, *The Apocalypse of Paul*, *The Narrative of Zosimus*, *The Apocalypse of Elijah*, *The Ascension of Isaiah*, *The Tibetan Book of the Dead*, and *Joseph and Asenath*. While reviewing these cosmic texts, the author challenges his readers in a passage that can only be called vintage Nibley:

> One beauty of the hypocephalus is the broadening of our mean provincial existence. We ignore the fall of the sparrow, but strangely, God does not; we "suffer the hungry, and the needy, and the naked, and the sick and the afflicted to pass by [us], and notice them not" (Mormon 8:39). We are not even interested in our own world except where it concerns our immediate success and comfort; we refuse even to consider the doctrines the Prophet Joseph has given us about the lives of other creatures in their respective sphere and element. It is the singular value of the Pearl of Great Price that it recognizes the reality of races, peoples, civilizations, and great empires, which everyone knows have existed through the ages but to which modern Christianity grants no access to salvation—to the Christian world it is as if they had never existed, though they represent at least ninety percent of the world's population. (394)

Chapters 10 and 11 examine ancient Hermetic teachings and practices that were eventually rejected by Christianity but were resurrected by Joseph Smith. Nibley examines the Hermetic *Tabula Smaragdina* and "the similarities it shares with various objects described in Egyptian, Mesopotamian, Chinese, Jewish, Early Christian, gnostic, and Arabic sources. These include shining stones, jade disks, the tablets of destiny, the Urim and Thummim, and especially the hypocephalus" (462). Like the philosopher's stone, these jewels of discernment and tablets of destiny were instruments on which the ancients "said all their knowledge rested" (425). Nibley then provides five examples of Hermetic teachings that were rejected by conventional Christianity and Judaism but that are found in early Christianity. "The doctors of the fourth and fifth centuries . . . succeeded in condemning the doctrines of (1) literalism, (2) cosmism, (3) plurality of worlds, (4) premortal existence of man, and (5) the creation as organization of matter" (484). Nibley clearly points out the relationship between these teachings and Facsimile no. 2.

Towards the end of his life, Nibley bemoaned how he had not learned much about mathematics—but that he would make up for it in the next life. However, Michael Rhodes points out that Nibley's "discovery of the mathematical relationships depicted on Facsimile 2 such as the golden section or phi proportion, the 1-2-$\sqrt{5}$ triangle, the Pythagorean 3-4-5 triangle, the Fibonacci series, the phi spiral, the pentagram and the hexagram (star of David), and their relationship with the biological and mineral worlds are remarkable and insightful, providing whole new areas of research for future scholars" (xxi–xxii).[15] How fitting that the final chapter of Nibley's last book was a foray into realms previously unexplored. And how fitting to end on

that which endures beyond this crumbling sphere: "The day dawns when the nautilus is no more. The rainbow passes, the flower fades, the mountain crumbles, the star grows cold. But the beauty in mathematics—the divine proportion, the golden rectangle, *spira mirabilis*—endures forevermore." For Nibley, this sacred geometry places on the hypocephalus "the stamp of eternity" (631–32).

Conclusion

Throughout Nibley's long career, his critics have seen him as a patternist that has gone too far, conveniently seeing what fits and discarding what doesn't. With *One Eternal Round,* it becomes more difficult to maintain this disparaging assessment of Nibley's work. Nibley and Rhodes point out that they "are not picking convenient parallels at random," but that the subjects treated in *One Eternal Round* are central and were of "immense importance" (73) to the Egyptians. Joseph Smith's explanation of Facsimile 2 is at the core of what they sought after: an understanding of the nature of life, the afterlife, and the cosmos, all of which would lead them to resurrection and godhood. Nibley's book provides significant evidence of Joseph Smith's authenticity by presenting for the first time many facts, symbols, and artifacts that he could not have known about in his day.

Michael Rhodes is to be commended for faithfully observing Nibley's intentions in *One Eternal Round*. In the final words of his introduction, Rhodes writes the following: "*One Eternal Round*, Hugh Nibley's final publication, the culmination of a life dedicated to the gospel of Jesus Christ and to discovering truth wherever it could be found, is a monument to his scholarship, his remarkable ability to see relationships in diverse areas of study and to synthesize them into a comprehensible whole, and his humble willingness to consecrate his work to the glory of the Lord and the furtherance of his kingdom here on earth. I consider it one of the greatest blessings of my life to have known him and to have associated and worked with him" (xxii). I fully empathize with Rhodes and wholeheartedly give my "Amen."

Gary P. Gillum (who can be reached via email at byustudies@byu.edu) is Ancient Studies Librarian-Emeritus at Brigham Young University. He has compiled, indexed, archived, edited, and reviewed Hugh Nibley's writings for over thirty-five years.

1. From an entry in my journal on June 8, 1988: "When I called Nibley to try to reschedule a session to talk to him about *Abraham in Egypt*, he grumbled about salvaging some messed-up footnotes for his book on facsimile no. 2." ^

2. Hugh Nibley's secretary at the time, Pat Ward, deserves a great deal of praise for keeping the files manageable and findable. It was also helpful to me to have

Michael's draft in hand while I processed all of these notes and files for the University Archives at BYU, beginning in 2006. The thirty boxes Michael worked with (plus some additional materials found later) are now represented by 115 archival boxes (boxes 178–292), a very large percentage of the total 294 archival boxes of Nibley's total collection. ^

3. For the complete story, see Boyd Petersen, *Hugh Nibley: A Consecrated Life* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2002), 313–15. ^

4. In 1955, President Clark's to-do list for Nibley included a new translation of the Bible using ancient sources, a study of the true principles of many of the early Church fathers, and translating the Aztec Codices. Petersen, *Hugh Nibley,* 273. ^

5. When I processed the Nibley papers for University Archives, I set about secondarily to discover the exact number of languages Nibley had used in his research, note cards, and vocabulary flash cards. The resulting number was an astounding thirty-one. ^

6. Walter Isaacson, *Einstein: His Life and Universe* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2007). On the subject of interconnectedness, I doubt I'm the only one who sees hints of Einstein's theory in Doctrine and Covenants 88 and 93. ^

7. Andrew Curry, "The World's First Temple?" *Smithsonian* 39, no. 8 (2008): 54–60. See also Charles C. Mann, "The Birth of Religion: The World's First Temple," in *National Geographic* (June 2011): 34ff. Several websites discuss the Great Zimbabwe Ruins, also reputed to be very ancient. ^

8. Museums: "Cairo, British Museum, Paris, Turin, Berlin, Boston Fine Arts, University of Pennsylvania, Hermitage, Zagreb, and Vienna" (192, 195). Photocopies of most of these examples are found in the Hugh Nibley Papers, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. ^

9. Min-Amun-Re proclaimed that all the universe is full of life, sustained and rejuvenated in and by the One at the Center. See Abr. 3:12, 14, 18 and explanations to figures 5–8; and Moses 1:28. ^

10. Nibley discusses this problem in chapter 1, "The Critics." ^

11. Nibley kept 3x5 notecards throughout the house and in a steamer trunk. When I processed these cards for the Nibley Archives, I measured these stacks of cards to be thirty-six linear feet. ^

12. For more information, see Donald B. Redford, ed., *The Ancient Gods Speak: A Guide to Egyptian Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002). ^

13. See also Hugh Nibley, "Roman Games as a Survival of an Archaic Year Cult" (PhD diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1938). ^

14. Nibley mentions the Hopi people of the village of Hotevilla, which is believed to be the center of the world, where the complete cycle of the year must be celebrated to keep the human race in contact with heaven (116). According to a Shoshone acquaintance of mine, Robert Mendez, there are four centers of the world which are the keepers of sacred writings, including the Hopi. The others are in the Swiss Alps, the Kikuyu tribe of Africa, and the Tibetans. See Lance M. Richardson, "They Saw Our Day" (Brigham City, Utah: Brigham Distributing, 2006). ^

15. Nibley also looks at the music of the spheres and the Tree of Life in their connection to the hypocephalus. An updated discussion of the Tree of Life is found in a new publication by John W. Welch and Donald W. Parry, eds., *The Tree of Life: From Eden to Eternity* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, Utah: Neal A. Maxwell Institute for Religious Scholarship, 2011). ^

Angela Hallstrom, editor. *Dispensation: Latter-day Fiction.*

Provo, Utah: Zarahemla Books, 2010.

Reviewed by Scott Hales

Frequently, fiction provides readers with an opportunity to encounter difference. When I began taking literature seriously as a teenager, these encounters with characters so different from me and my surroundings were at once exciting and, for an awkward Mormon kid, somewhat perilous. In those days, my favorite novels were Ernest Hemingway's *A Farewell to Arms* and John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath*. Both works, with their settings in places far distant from the bland Ohio suburb I called home, made me long for some regional or international tragedy—some event that would narrow the distance between my life and that of Frederic Henry or Tom Joad. No such luck. My teenage years passed uneventfully. No Great War or Depression altered my life's direction.

Of course, as a Mormon teenager—as a young priest who had to bless the sacrament every week—I also recognized that my identification with Hemingway's or Steinbeck's characters could only go so far. I couldn't, for example, revel in drink the way the standard Hemingway protagonist did (not if I wanted to keep blessing the sacrament, that is), nor could I align my religious views comfortably with those of Preacher Casy—no matter how much I admired his courage. I was different: I was a Mormon kid from Ohio with a big family, average grades, a set of scriptures, a dozen hideous ties, and a jar in the cupboard that was supposed to be collecting coins for my mission. In a moment of frustration and despair—a concoction of emotion typical of a high schooler—I complained to my English teacher that nowhere in literature were characters like me. Where were the Mormons?

She had no idea.

Sorry, kid. You're stuck with Tom Joad.

So, deprived of a literature of familiars, I learned, as have many Mormon readers, to appreciate differences and the pleasures of reading texts that challenged me to weigh the merits of my own life's choices against those of others. At the same time, I still wanted to read about characters

like me, Mormon characters who looked at the world through Mormon spectacles. Little did I know that kind of literature did exist, that four years earlier Eugene England had edited a book called *Bright Angels and Familiars: Contemporary Mormon Stories*, a collection of twenty-two short stories about characters I could directly relate to—at least more directly than Frederic Henry or Tom Joad.

England's anthology, of course, was not the first compilation of Mormon literature. In the mid-1970s, Richard H. Cracroft and Neal E. Lambert had edited two anthologies of Mormon literature, *A Believing People: Literature of the Latter-day Saints* (1974, 1979) and *22 Young Mormon Writers* (1975). Less than a decade later, in 1983, Levi S. Peterson produced a collection of creative Mormon writing, *Greening Wheat: Fifteen Mormon Short Stories*, which remained the only anthology of its kind until England's *Bright Angels* appeared on the market a decade later, in 1993, to become the standard work of contemporary Mormon fiction. Of course, much has happened in Mormon fiction and the Church since the early 1990s. Not only has Mormonism enjoyed a significant increase in membership and global visibility, but it has also produced a handful of new creative writing talent with new insights and approaches to Mormon experiences.

Enter *Dispensation: Latter-day Fiction*, a new anthology of Mormon short stories recently published by Zarahemla Books (2010), the independent press responsible for some of the most innovative and important works of Mormon fiction from the last decade: Todd Robert Petersen's *Long After Dark* and *Rift*, Douglas Thayer's *The Tree House*, and Coke Newell's *On the Road to Heaven*. A kind of continuation of the project *Bright Angels and Familiars*, *Dispensation* gathers together Mormon short stories from the late 1990s and the first decade of the new millennium. Among the authors anthologized in the book are veterans of Mormon fiction like Douglas Thayer and Margaret Blair Young (who also penned the introduction to the collection), as well as newcomers like Laura McCune-Poplin and Arianne Cope.

Dispensation's editor, Angela Hallstrom, is another rising star in the field of Mormon letters and an enormously talented writer in her own right. Indeed, aside from *Dispensation*, Hallstrom is best known for her novel *Bound on Earth*, a moving narrative of a Mormon family, the Palmers, who struggle to come to terms with the daily realities of mental illness, marriage, family, and faith in twentieth- and twenty-first-century Utah. In 2008, the novel won both the Association of Mormon Letters' Award for the Novel and the Whitney Award for Best Novel by a New Author. More importantly, though, *Bound on Earth* demonstrates Hallstrom's remarkable skill in capturing authentic Mormon voices. Like the best works of Mormon fiction, it

chipped away at the Sunday morning façade of its characters and gave its readers meaningful insight into Mormon life. The novel more than qualified Hallstrom to take the helm on *Dispensation*.

Twenty-eight stories are anthologized in *Dispensation*, and, as Hallstrom notes in her preface to the collection, each story is "Mormon in some way" (xi). Most often, this means that the main characters are Mormons themselves. In Levi Peterson's story "Brothers," for example, the two main characters are aging half-brothers—one an excommunicated Mormon, the other still very active—who reconnect after years of estrangement as they climb to the summit of Wyoming's tallest mountain. During their journey, the brothers reflect on their lives and surroundings with a decidedly Mormon lens. Peterson's device is to juxtapose two seemingly opposite characters in order to challenge his readers' assumptions about Mormon identity. For instance, Bernie, the active brother, looks across the "stark, unadorned landscape" of Wyoming's Gannett Peak and thinks "that this must be a foretaste of the telestial kingdom, that unhappy place where the unvaliant among the Mormons and the wicked among the gentiles will dwell throughout all eternity" (45). The excommunicated brother, Mitch, on the other hand, finds himself questioning the theology Bernie so easily takes for granted:

> Could God be so mean, so punctilious and worried about protocol, that he wouldn't let people associate with each other in eternity even if they wanted to unless they had knuckled under to the church and gone through all the ceremonies and made all the vows and kept all the commandments, all four or five thousand of them? (46)

Bernie and Mitch are Mormons to the core, even though their relationship to the Church could not seem more different. And their Mormonness is not an unspoken, ethereal aspect of the story: it is the story.

Such is not the case, however, with Lisa Madsen Rubilar's "Obbligato," the story that precedes Peterson's in the anthology. Nowhere is it mentioned, for instance, that its characters are Mormons, although its rural Idaho setting, themes of motherhood and sacrifice, and references to "Primary" and "Heavenly Father" make Mormonism its obvious framework. While it begins in a setting familiar to rural American Mormonism, with images and ideas that have been recycled through countless other Mormon short stories, it eventually goes into exile as its narrator, a young French horn player, breaks tradition and moves to Chicago to pursue a career in music. In many ways, her determination to live a life different from that of her parents—particularly in the reluctance that seems to accompany it—is characteristic of a new generation of Mormons that have grown up

in a world of new secular opportunities and expectations. While there's no indication that the narrator has abandoned her faith, something of loss is apparent in her voice as she weighs the consequences of her choices:

> Such questions present themselves at unexpected moments. Like when it's January in Chicago, and you're starting up the stoop to your dreary third-floor apartment when you spy a discarded poinsettia in a garbage can next to the curb, and for a moment the spidery, leafless thing cries out to you like a child; so you lug the plant upstairs where it sheds the last of its green and red leaves into the sink before you lug it back down again. And you say to yourself Mother would have done better. (23)

Peterson and Rubilar tell very different Mormon stories, and new attention to the broader physical and experiential geographies of Mormonism is one of the strengths of *Dispensation*. In fact, one of the aspects of the anthology that is most compelling for a reader like me is its inclusion of stories like Stephen Tuttle's "The Weather Here," Jack Harrell's "Calling and Election," Matthew James Babcock's "The Walker," and Lee Allred's "Hymnal," which engage with Mormonism in stories reminiscent of the early episodes of Rod Serling's *The Twilight Zone*.

In "The Weather Here," for example, Tuttle introduces us to a group of men, plagued by rainstorms and flea infestations, who live in a house without a roof. Omnipresent in the story is the enigmatic Mandelbaum, a former friend of the men, "who was most likely to disagree on any given subject" (95). Mandelbaum's recent departure, along with his endless speculations on their bizarre and barren existence, occupies the thoughts and conversations of the men, each of whom suffers from unreliable memories and a "lack of historical context" (100). Like "Obbligato," "The Weather Here" makes no reference to Mormonism or its culture. It isn't until the end of the story, when the men recall one of Mandelbaum's speculations, that we begin to see why this story is in the anthology:

> He [Mandelbaum] said that we were being punished for misdeeds and that our pasts were catching up to us. He said that this place was the opposite of a resting place, that it was a restless place where we would never know peace again, because we had hurt people, and done them wrong, and presented as truth things which we knew were not. (102)

"The Weather Here" is a complex story, and readers can interpret this passage in any number of ways—although its placement in a book like *Dispensation* would seem to lead the reader to ask where in the Mormon cosmology these men are. Are they stuck in spirit prison? Has Mandelbaum left because his temple work has been done? Or have these men been consigned to the telestial kingdom or outer darkness? Ultimately, Tuttle leaves

these questions, like his characters, in limbo. This uncertainty and ambiguity work so effectively, however, that it makes "The Weather Here" all the more worth reading and pondering.

Dispensation, of course, is exciting for other reasons as well. One welcome aspect is its global vision. For too long, Mormon literature has put its shoulder to the wheel or its hand to plow, turning over stories rooted in the rural landscape of Utah and the American West. While these stories should continue to have place in collections of Mormon fiction—and *Dispensation*, to be sure, has no lack of rural American settings—they are becoming increasingly less characteristic of the worldwide Church as a whole. On the other hand, stories like Paul Rawlins's "The Garden" and Todd Robert Petersen's "Quietly" (arguably two of the best stories in the collection) foreshadow the possibilities of a Mormon fiction more aware of the Church's transnational experiences. Indeed, I think it is significant that the anthology opens with "The Garden," the story of Simon Bob, a black South African, who reluctantly hides a white Mormon missionary from a mob that is trying to kill him. Although Rawlins gives readers a small sense of who the missionary is, "The Garden" really isn't about him. Its emotional center, rather, is Simon Bob and his internal conflict. He's not the hero the missionary needs him to be; in fact, having already experienced enough of tragedy and injustice in his life, Simon Bob mostly wants to fade away and disappear:

> He could be killed for hitting a white man. He could be killed by others for letting him go. He could be killed for many other things as well—or for nothing at all. It was best here to live without being seen. The police didn't see you and harass you about your papers. The *tsotsis* didn't see you and knife you in the street. (9)

Clearly, Simon Bob and the frightened missionary he harbors are a long way from the red rock and irrigated fields of rural Utah. So too is John, the main character in "Quietly," who is a recent African convert given the assignment to dedicate the grave of a Church member recently killed by the Hutus in Rwanda. Like Simon Bob, John brings a new perspective to Mormon fiction. At one point in the story, for example, he finds himself recalling a member who

> had taken his family into Tanzania, working in Dar es Salaam until he had enough money to take them all to Salt Lake City. He wanted his children to grow up in the American Zion. *He should have known that since blacks finally have the priesthood, it needs to stay here in Africa*, John thought. But he knew that he couldn't hold the desire to escape against anyone. (386)

Here, readers get not only John's story, but also the story of the man who fled Africa for the Mormon Zion. Their stories, in some ways, are no different from other Mormon stories that likewise touch on themes of priesthood duty and the yearning to gather with the Saints. At the same time, however, their international settings, as well as their unflinching exploration of such issues as race, immigration, and genocide, testify that these are not your father's Mormon stories.

In her preface to *Dispensation*, Angela Hallstrom writes that "immersing oneself in a completely foreign place or time is one of the fundamental pleasures of reading good literature" (ix), which is certainly the lesson I learned from reading Hemingway, Steinbeck, and countless other writers in my teenage years. Even today, I make a habit of reading books by authors of various backgrounds so that my scope does not become too narrow, my worldview too restricted. But, like Hallstrom, I agree that "recognizing oneself in a work of fiction is an exhilarating experience, too" (ix). The good news is that I no longer need to ask where the Mormons are. Latter-day Saint readers from all walks of life have a book that showcases the diversity and complexity of their experience.

Perhaps because of this, *Dispensation: Latter-day Fiction* also has the potential to act as an intermediary text, a window through which readers of other faiths can look and better understand their Mormon neighbors. It's the kind of book that belongs on every Mormon bookshelf, although its striking portrayal of certain aspects of Mormon life may be off-putting for some readers. That said, those who are looking for challenging fiction that offers an unblinking view of Mormonism will not be disappointed by it. As its title suggests, it's a collection of Mormon stories that seeks to herald in a new dispensation of Mormon literature.

Scott Hales (who can be reached via email at byustudies@byu.edu) is a PhD candidate in the Department of English and Comparative Literature at the University of Cincinnati. His critical essays and book reviews have been published in *War, Literature, and the Arts; The Edgar Allan Poe Review; Ireantum;* and on his Mormon literature blog, *The Low-Tech World: Exploring Mormon Literature* (www.low-techworld.org).

Kim Östman. *The Introduction of Mormonism to Finnish Society, 1840–1900.*

Åbo, Finland: Åbo Akademi University Press, 2010.

Reviewed by Melvin J. Luthy

If one were to ask a returned missionary from Finland, or even a member of the Church in Finland, when missionary work began in that country, a likely response would be that it began in 1946, when Elder Ezra Taft Benson dedicated the land for missionary work. The date is well known, and a small monument commemorating the event has been erected in Larsmo, a small town on Finland's northwestern shore. Although many consider missionaries who served in the years immediately following the dedication to be the first missionaries in Finland, there is a general understanding that some members in Larsmo and nearby Pietarsaari are descendants of those who were baptized in the 1800s by missionaries from Sweden. Studies documenting this time are few and generally not available in English.[1] Thus, Kim Östman's book, a comparative religion doctoral dissertation published in English, is not only the first in-depth treatment of nineteenth-century Mormon activity in Finland, but the first with the potential of reaching a broad English-speaking audience.

Perhaps the neglect of this period has been for lack of scholarly interest, but it may also be for lack of linguistic expertise to do the research. We are fortunate that Östman has both the interest and the language skills for this work. His background has prepared him well for the task. He was born in Pietarsaari, Finland, raised in the Church, and served a two-year LDS mission in Great Britain. Though not presently involved in organized religion, he approaches his study as an objective scholar with no apparent agenda other than to write a well-researched dissertation, which he does with admirable rigor.

Using a discourse analysis methodology, he examines a large corpus of newspaper articles and books covering the period from 1840 (when articles and books about Mormons first appeared) until 1900 (when a proselytizing hiatus began, which lasted until 1946). He chronicles the early history of religious activity in Finland, with an emphasis on how the Mormon image was constructed over time. He discusses the early proselytizing efforts and

their limited results compared with the success experienced in other Nordic countries and suggests reasons for the lack of growth.[2] Of the few missionaries sent from Sweden during that early period, nineteen were Swedes, three were Americans, and two or three were native Finns. Östman writes that by the end of the period, the handful of Finnish converts had mostly become forgotten Saints. From 1900 until the end of World War II, no Mormon proselytizing took place in the country.

Reviewing the earlier proselytizing efforts and the ensuing conflicts with Finnish society, Östman focuses on one geographical area, Pohja, as a "Finnish Mormon microcosm" where eleven baptisms took place in the 1880s, giving hope for sustained growth but attracting the close attention and censure of local authorities.[3] Here as in other parts of Finland, the language of those baptized was Swedish. Because it was against the law to proselytize, local authorities monitored the early missionaries' activities closely. The law stated that it was illegal to "rise to preach," so missionaries and Church leaders would sit while giving their message.

Östman recounts one serious event when a local leader, Johan Blom, was convicted of breaking the proselytizing law and was sentenced to twenty-eight days in prison on bread and water rations. For the most part, as Östman shows, members were careful not to run afoul of the law by only discussing their beliefs informally with relatives and close associates. He notes that Mormons were not the only group that threatened the traditions of the state church. Others including the Baptists, Methodists, and Salvation Army also received opposition. The Dissenter Act of 1889 gave Protestant religions permission to organize as denominations, but Mormons had to wait until 1922, when the Religious Freedom Act made it possible for church activity to proceed legally.

Östman continues with a discussion of emigration to Utah, with documentation on each of the fourteen LDS emigrants who made the voyage. This number contrasts with the nearly twenty-three thousand members estimated to have left the four other Nordic countries during approximately the same time period. With explanatory charts he includes data on converts, missionaries, emigrants, and the social networks through which the group of emigrants expanded. Such information adds significantly to understanding this interesting time and the persons who lived through it.

He discusses press accounts that illustrate how the themes presented produced an extremely negative image of Mormons, contrasted with the positive view that Mormons had of themselves. Borrowed from foreign publications, the primary discourse themes were of fraud, deception, polygamy, and theocratic dominance. His work shows it is not surprising that Finns had a negative view of Mormons when the first missionaries arrived

on their shore in 1875. They had, after all, thirty-five years to digest negative messages of Mormons before meeting one of them.

As one reads of the hegemonic negative views of Mormons in the print media, contrasted with the positive self-image that the Saints had of themselves, one senses the tragedy that two views of reality can be so divergent and divisive. Early on, Mormons were depicted as frauds and schemers, and those from Europe who had gone to Salt Lake City were reported to be in slavery and in harems. Reports to the contrary were received from members who had emigrated to America, but their positive accounts were likely muted when disillusioned emigrants reported negative experiences. Still, Östman reports that missionaries tended to write positively about their work with the "honest, hospitable Finnish people."

The study shows that by the end of the nineteenth century, the meager efforts directed from Sweden to establish a functioning Church organization in Finland were sporadic and ultimately unsuccessful. Not until after World War II did Finland receive effective efforts to reach the Finnish-speaking population. Today, Finland has two stakes, many branches, and a temple. Those who enjoy these benefits and anyone with an interest in Mormonism in this country will find much interest in Östman's book. In addition to assembling valuable data, he has opened a window to a place and time and to an observation of human reactions to "the other" that should capture the interest of both laymen and professionals.

Melvin J. Luthy (who can be reached via email at byustudies@byu.edu) is former Associate Dean of Humanities and Professor Emeritus of Linguistics at Brigham Young University. He has lived in Finland as a missionary, a Fulbright scholar, a mission president, and a temple president.

1. Anna-Liisa Rinne's book, *Kristuksen Kirkko Suomessa,* written in Finnish and published in Turku, Finland: Grafia Oy, 1986, is considered the best treatment to date of early LDS activity in Finland. ^

2. Although Östman does not mention it, in my opinion any explanation for the lack of proselytizing activity during this time should also consider the perception that the Finnish language was an impenetrable barrier to both Swedish and English speakers. Not until a Finnish-speaking mission president, Henry Matis, arrived on the scene after World War II was this perceived barrier breached. ^

3. Of coincidental interest is the recent publication of a historical novel, *The Silence of God* by Gale Sears (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2010), which gives a fictional account of part of the Lindlöf family from the Pohja area who were baptized in St. Petersburg. Sadly, in the wake of the Bolshevik Revolution, six members of the family were sent to labor camps in Siberia, but their residence as Church members in St. Petersburg before the Revolution helped justify the official recognition of the Church in Russia in 1991. ^

Everett Ferguson. *Baptism in the Early Church: History, Theology, and Liturgy in the First Five Centuries.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2009.

Reviewed by Noel B. Reynolds

A Restoration emphasis on baptism has distinguished the teaching and practice of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints from 1829 to the present. In contrast to many Christian denominations, the Church does not condone infant baptism sprinkling, nor does it accept baptisms by other Christian groups that do not have the authority restored by John the Baptist to Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery. A further critical distinction is their insistence that baptismal ordinances are necessary for salvation. Nevertheless, Latter-day Saints are not completely alone in all their views; the Campbellite Churches of Christ also see themselves as a restoration of primitive Christianity, and they share some of the same concerns about the practice and significance of baptism. It should not come as a complete surprise, then, that the first comprehensive analysis of all biblical and early Christian literature relevant to baptism should be written by a scholar coming out of the Campbellite tradition.

This monumental work on early Christian baptism constitutes a worthy capstone for Everett Ferguson's long career of exemplary research in early Christian sources. Educated at Abilene Christian University and Harvard University, Ferguson taught Greek and Bible courses at Abilene Christian University from 1962 until his recent retirement. While both Bible and theology studies at ACU are clearly focused on preparation for Christian missions and ministry (consistent with a Campbellite belief in the necessity of water baptism), Ferguson maintained a sturdy focus on his scholarly work in early Christian history, grounded principally in literary sources. He has been widely and consistently recognized by New Testament and early Christianity scholars for the quality of his contributions over his long career.

While there are other good books on Christian baptism, none has attempted the comprehensive approach that Ferguson presents in this volume. No doubt, Professor Ferguson was motivated to undertake this exhaustive

survey of the available materials because of the continuing wars within the community of Christian scholars engaged in finding or denying early support for modern baptismal teachings and practices. The considerable growth in manuscript discoveries in the twentieth century provided additional impetus for his project. His experience as editor of *The Encyclopedia of Early Christianity* may well have helped him develop a thorough approach, in which he claims to have examined all known relevant texts for the first three Christian centuries and to have extensively sampled the much larger collection of writings from the fourth and fifth centuries.

The work begins with a tight, twenty-two-page survey of the literature that not only puts his own work in perspective but also puts all the ongoing questions about Christian baptism on the table, including questions concerning the necessity of baptism, infant baptism, immersion versus sprinkling, the meaning and symbolism of baptism, and the salvific effects of this Christian sacrament. Included in this survey is Ferguson's own collection of early (second- and third-century) Christian statements relevant to baptism, complete with commentary and notes, which comprise thirty-five pages of his compilation entitled *Early Christians Speak*, the third edition of which was published in 1999 by ACU Press.

Ferguson's findings are divided into seven parts, as follows:

Part 1, "Antecedents to Christian Baptism," surveys purification washings in the Graeco-Roman world, examines linguistic roots and their varied usage in Jewish and pagan writings, reviews Jewish washings and baptismal movements, and finally focuses on John the Baptist and the meaning and manner of his baptism.

Part 2, "Baptism in the New Testament," first examines the baptism of Jesus through scriptural and noncanonical accounts before considering later Christian interpretations through both texts and art. Part 2 then proceeds chapter by chapter and verse by verse through an orderly and thorough analysis of every New Testament text that can be seen as relevant to baptism. Ferguson's mastery of New Testament Greek proves to be very helpful in adding depth to this section.

Part 3, "The Second Century," begins with the *Didache* and Clement's writings and then analyzes a host of pseudepigrapha and apocrypha, apologists, and heretics, ending with chapters on Irenaeus and Clement of Alexandria. The second century proves crucial for most of the conclusions Ferguson draws.

Part 4, "The Third Century to Nicaea (325)," covers the writings of a number of minor and major figures such as Hippolytus, Tertullian, Cyprian, and Origen, but also investigates the thematic literature that arose from controversies over infant baptism and rebaptism. A full chapter is dedicated

to texts and practices in Syria, and another examines key sources at the turn to the fourth century, culminating in the section's treatment of the Council of Nicaea.

Part 5, "The Fourth Century," takes almost 240 pages to examine texts and developments from Egypt, Jerusalem, the Syriac writers, and the School of Antioch—including John Chrysostom, the three great Cappadocian theologians, and other writers in Northern Italy and Spain—among a number of other miscellaneous contributors. In addition, the writings generated by controversies over eunomian,[1] sickbed, and infant baptisms are reviewed. In this section, Ferguson shifts from the comprehensive approach of the earlier sections to an approach based on a broad sampling of the voluminous materials available today.

Part 6, "The Fifth Century," begins again in Egypt with Cyril and subsequent developments, including the Coptic rite. He then surveys contributions from writers whose names will be familiar only to true specialists. He concludes this section with two chapters on Augustine's views and practices and his controversies with the Donatist and the Pelagian separatists. This section concludes with an approach based principally on literary sources.

Part 7, "Baptisteries," gives Ferguson opportunity to explore the archaeological and artistic evidences that have survived from these early centuries. Some of these have been used extensively in modern debates, which made it important for Ferguson to give them his close attention.

Finally, in his fifty-fifth chapter, Professor Ferguson presents an organized statement of his conclusions on the major outstanding issues: Christian baptism originated with John, probably with some influence from Jewish washings but none from pagan purifications. Baptism was at that time universally viewed as necessary for new converts. With few exceptions, immersion was the standard for several centuries. Infant baptism was a late and generally controversial development. The baptismal ceremony itself evolved quickly, beginning with a simple immersion preceded by the administrator lifting a hand and invoking the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. A laying on of hands soon became part of baptism, often conflated with an anointing. Undressing and redressing—later in white—was clearly involved in many geographic regions. Renunciations of the devil also became popular.

---

1. Disciples of the neo-Arian Eunomius insisted that the Trinitarian formula in the baptismal rite did not imply the Nicene consubstantiality of the Father and the Son. They also rejected triple immersion in favor of a single submersion of the convert.

Interestingly, the meaning of baptism varies, even among the earliest sources. It can indicate remission of sins, taking Christ upon oneself, a contract with God, the death and resurrection of Christ (and of all mankind), membership in the Church, and many other things.

Those interested in sorting out and understanding all the developments in the history of early Christian baptism will benefit greatly from Ferguson's book. It is a thorough and monumental work, one that deserves the attention of Christian traditions that no longer value baptism by immersion as a necessary expression of faith.

Noel B. Reynolds (nbr@byu.edu) is Professor Emeritus of Political Science at Brigham Young University. He received his PhD from Harvard University. His continuing academic interests focus on legal philosophy, early Christian theology and history, and the Book of Mormon.

Modern Mormonism: Myths and Realities, by Robert L. Millet (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2011).

Robert L. Millet, professor of ancient scripture at Brigham Young University, has added to his several books designed to encourage interfaith dialogue between Latter-day Saints and fellow Christians. Considering the current presidential campaign and growing media attention directed at Latter-day Saints, *Modern Mormonism* could not have been published in a more timely manner.

Millet tackles those doctrinal points that have become sticking points between Mormons and traditional Christians, working to overcome those various doctrinal misconceptions that have unnecessarily divided them. Such misunderstandings (which are clarified in the book) include: Mormons allegedly believe that God has a finite body, therefore God's power is limited; Mormons are not Christians because they believe Jesus is subordinate to the Father and hence Christ is not fully God; Mormons believe they have the truth, so they maintain an institutional disdain for other churches; because Mormons do not use the cross as a symbol, they do not understand or believe in its significance; and Mormons supposedly believe in a salvation through works and therefore do not believe in any sort of present-day salvation.

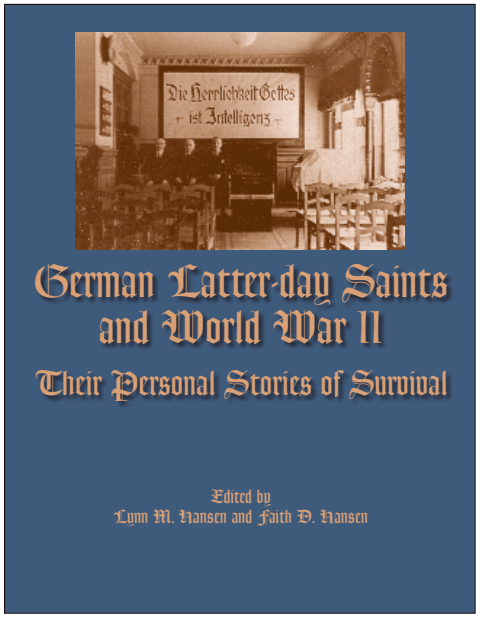
In a tone that is both conciliatory and clarifying, Millet treats these and other doctrinal sticking points with a sensitivity and panache that comes from years of interfaith dialogue. A highlight of Millet's approach is in chapter 10, "Usurping the Divine Throne," which addresses the criticism that Mormon belief disparages God's greatness by asserting that men and women can become like God. Millet frames the issue of deification in terms of generosity: Is God or is God not so generous that he desires to give mankind all that he has? Millet argues that God "is not possessive with his powers" (85). In his infinite magnanimity, God does indeed seek to exalt his children; such generosity does not lower God to the level of mankind but instead exalts him to an even higher glory, power, and dominion.

This book will give insight to both a general Christian audience and to Latter-day Saints in how to engage in friendly conversation with each other. Millet's book is an example of how to give others the maximum benefit of the doubt while at the same time sticking to our doctrinal guns, so to speak.

Modern Mormonism is an affordable book that can be given as a gift to friends or relatives who are interested in an introduction to those Mormon concepts that are most often misunderstood. A welcome relief in our current climate of divisive online message boards and misleading media sound bites, Millet's book is an example of writing with charity and understanding to a world of diverse traditions.

—James T. Summerhays

NEW PUBLICATION



BYU STUDIES

Published by
BYU Studies

map, names index,
208 pages, 8.5" x 11"

$24.95 softcover

ISBN 978–0-8425-2815-3

Mormons in Eastern Europe found themselves mercilessly caught at the center of political and social turmoil during World War II and its aftermath. This book is a completely new collection of first-hand accounts by Latter-day Saints who suffered unbelievably brutal trials and lived to tell their stories. These personal statements, gathered and translated by Lynn Hansen, are humbling: "Mama always said, 'Go to bed, then you will not feel the hunger." "We stumbled around in the dark forest with the others." "A fire bomb fell into the bunker and we had to get out because there was so much smoke. As we came out, we saw the entire city on fire."

Despite having their homes bombed and their lives shattered, and despite having to struggle for survival in frozen forests and on foreign streets, these Saints clung to their faith. Their vivid memories and poignant testimonies convey this through and through. Often, prayer was their only ally.

Though the individual stories of these many Saints are varied and diverse, they all echo a common theme: "Our Father in Heaven was accompanying us." The true treasure of these stories is the lesson that faith and testimony, obedience and faithfulness will bring blessings from heaven. As one survivor puts it, "The gospel is true. The priesthood of God exists, and we have been mightily blessed in the Church, in our families, and also materially in having what we needed to sustain life."

These real-life experiences build faith despite despair, offer hope amidst peril, and champion charity in defiance of hate.