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ABSTRACT

AMERICAN PROPHET, NEW ENGLAND TOWN: THE MEMORY OF JOSEPH SMITH IN VERMONT

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Department of History

Master of Arts

In December 1905, a large granite monument was erected at the birthplace of Joseph Smith on the one hundredth anniversary of his birth. This thesis relates the history of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument from its origins through its construction and dedication. It also explores its impact on the memory of Joseph Smith in the local, Vermont, and national context. I argue that the history of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument in Vermont is the story of the formation and validation of the memory of Joseph Smith as an American Prophet.

Nineteenth century Mormons remembered a variety of individual memories of Joseph Smith that were aggregated through reminiscences, hymns, and commemorations into three dominant collective memories: Joseph Smith as prophet, martyr, and Vermont schoolboy. During the first decade of the twentieth century, these three memories of

Joseph Smith were filtered through the social, religious, and political interests and concretized into the Joseph Smith Memorial Birthplace Monument. The dedication of the Joseph Smith Monument on 23 December 1905 and the messages presented at the site by Junius F. Wells over the next five years shaped a broader interpretation of Joseph Smith as an American Prophet.

The impact of the monument in Vermont is examined through a case study of Royalton, Vermont. Vermont's past had been aggregated into a tradition emphasizing the virtue, patriotism, and individuality of Vermonters, and Royalton residents responded to the Joseph Smith Monument by concretizing their own memory of Royalton as a typical New England Town through monuments, a town history, and an annual town holiday. Competing memories of an American Prophet and the New England Town collided during construction of the Royalton Memorial Library in 1922, and settlement of Royalton's division over the definition of a New England Town validated the memory of Joseph Smith as an American Prophet. Throughout the twentieth century, the memories of an American Prophet and New England Town accommodated each other. Vermont's validation of the memory of Joseph Smith as an American Prophet represents a national transformation in the memory of Joseph Smith.

AMERICAN PROPHET, NEW ENGLAND TOWN:
THE MEMORY OF JOSEPH SMITH IN VERMONT

by

Keith A. Erekson

A thesis submitted to the faculty of

Brigham Young University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Department of History

Brigham Young University

August 2002

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BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE COMMITTEE APPROVAL

of a thesis submitted by

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This thesis has been read by each member of the following graduate committee and by majority vote has been found to be satisfactory.

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BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY

As chair of the candidate's graduate committee, I have read the thesis of Keith A. Erekson in its final form and have found that (1) its format, citations, and bibliographical style are consistent and acceptable and fulfill university and department style requirements; (2) its illustrative materials including figures, tables, and charts are in place; and (3) the final manuscript is satisfactory to the graduate committee and is ready for submission to the university library.

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CONTENTS

List of Tables	X
List of Illustrations	xi
Introduction Crossed Pasts	1
PART ONE: FORMATION	
Chapter 1 Praise to His Memory, 1830-1900	19
Chapter 2 Memories into Monument, 1901-1905	51
Chapter 3 American Prophet, 1905-1910	103
PART TWO: VALIDATION	
Chapter 4 Royalton's Response, 1905-1915	153
Chapter 5 The Mormon Affair, 1915-1935	189
Chapter 6 New England Prophet, American Town, 1935-2000	231
Conclusion	281
Illustrations	287
Appendix	
A Tables	307
B Joseph Smith Memorial Birthplace Site Personnel	328
C Timeline	329
D Biographical Sketches	333
Bibliography	345

LIST OF TABLES

Table

1.1	Prominent Nineteenth Century Mormons Born in Vermont.....	307
1.2	Vermonters in Early Mormon History.....	308
2.1	Construction of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument	309
2.2	Dimensions of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument	310
2.3	Contents of the Copper Casket	311
3.1	Local Residents Offering Woodard Hall to the Latter-day Saints	312
3.2	Latter-day Saints Attending Monument Dedication, 23 Dec 1905.....	314
3.3	Vermonters Signing the Guest Register, 23 Dec 1905	316
3.4	Joseph Smith Birthplace Property Purchases.....	317
3.5	Vermont Granite in Latter-day Saint Monuments and Temples.....	318
3.6	Latter-day Saint Historic Site Purchases.....	319
4.1	Early Vermont Monuments and Markers	320
5.1	Royalton Memorial Library Donors and Persons Memorialized.....	321
6.1	Distribution of 1967 Press Reports	324
6.2	Visitors to the Joseph Smith Memorial Birthplace, 1906-1998.....	325
6.3	Royalton Families in 1911 and 1975	326
6.4	Latter-day Saint Membership in Vermont	327

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure

1.	Vermont.	289
2.	Junius F. Wells (1854-1930).....	290
3.	Monument to Daniel H. Wells, Salt Lake City.....	290
4.	Royalton Township.....	291
5.	Covered bridge over the First (or Tunbridge) Branch.	292
6.	Setting the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument in Place.....	292
7.	Julius Orlando Belknap (1840-1910).....	293
8.	Marvin H. Hazen (1856-).....	293
9.	John Henry Hewitt (1846-).....	293
10.	Mark J. Sargent (1837-).....	293
11.	Charles P. Tarbell (1850-1934).....	294
12.	Arthur G. Whitham (1866-1962).....	294
13.	Edgar J. Fish (1851-).....	294
14.	Charles Henry Woodard (1853-).....	294
15.	South Royalton House (“Woodard Hall”), 1910s.....	295
16.	Advertisement for Woodard Hall, 1906.....	295
17.	Guests in front of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument.....	296

Figure

18.	The Memorial Cottage, 1920s.....	297
19.	Daniel G. Wild (1833-1914).....	298
20.	Monument to the 1780 Indian Raid.	298
21.	Hannah Handy Monument in South Royalton.....	298
22.	Splitting wood at the Joseph Smith Memorial Farm, 1920s.....	299
23.	Winter at the Joseph Smith Memorial Farm, 1920s.	299
24.	Visitors to the Joseph Smith Memorial Birthplace, 1906-1921.....	300
25.	South Royalton Village, 1920s	301
26.	Royalton Village, 1920s.....	302
27.	Evelyn Lovejoy (1847-1928).....	303
28.	Gertrude Laird (1862-1940).....	303
29.	Royalton Memorial Library, 1924	303
30.	Dedication of the Director's Residence and Bureau of Information	304
31.	Billboard directing tourists to Joseph Smith Memorial, 1960s.....	304
32.	Autumn at the Joseph Smith Birthplace Memorial, 1960s.	305

INTRODUCTION

CROSSED PASTS

There are living pasts and dead pasts. Some pasts are the liveliest instigators of the present and the best springboards into the future.

Le Corbusier¹

It is probable that no people ever looked back on a more eventful or interesting past. Faith, zeal, devotion, energy, patriotism and tragedy are woven together forming an important chain of events stretching from the Green Mountains of Vermont to the shores of the Great Salt Lake.

John G. McQuarrie, New England States Mission President, 23 Dec 1905²

On December 23, 1805, near the crest of a hill on the edge of the township of Sharon in the Green Mountains of Vermont, a baby was born. The birth, like many births to impoverished families, was recorded only in his mother's memory, because the township kept no record. Yet for the past two hundred years this birth has been remembered, celebrated, and memorialized by people throughout the world. That baby, Joseph Smith, Jr., grew into a man who translated a book regarded as scripture by millions of people who are and have been members of the church he founded—The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (the Mormon Church). But this story is not

¹ Le Corbusier, "When Cathedrals were White," quoted in *New York Times Magazine*, 11 Nov 2001, section 6, 23.

² John G. McQuarrie, in [Joseph Fielding Smith, comp.], *Proceedings at the Dedication of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument* ([Salt Lake City, UT], 1906), 29; hereafter *Proceedings*.

about the man, nor his church, but about the memories connected to the place where was born.

The birthplace of Joseph Smith was uninhabited after the Smith family's poverty drew them westward in 1816. Late in the nineteenth century their old frame house was dismantled, leaving only the hearthstone, the doorstep, and the crumbling cellar walls. In 1905, what was left of the ruins was incorporated into a new Memorial Cottage intended to host visitors to the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument dedicated to his memory on the centennial anniversary of his birth. In 1959, the cottage was razed and whatever remained of the former ruins was blasted away in order to make the monument the focal point for the thousands of tourists who now visit the site each year. The history of the construction and expansion of the site is found within the following pages, but it is only part of the story. In 1976, the *Official Vermont Bicentennial Guide* observed that Sharon was "the birthplace of one of the immortals of American history, Joseph Smith;" though "[w]hen Smith was alive, Sharon disowned him because of his views on polygamy, views which brought him much trouble, controversy, and finally sudden death at the hands of a mob in Carthage, Illinois in 1844. Today the town is proud of him, and a monument 38 feet high and weighing 40 tons, a huge polished granite monolith, stands on the crest of a hill in commemoration of his birth."³ The history of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument in Vermont is the story of the formation and validation of the memory of Joseph Smith as an American Prophet.

³ Peter S. Jennison, ed., *The 1976-77 Official Vermont Bicentennial Guide* (Taftsville, VT: The Countryman Press, Inc., 1976), 77.

In recent years, memory has captured the attention of professional historians, but its study predates their interest. What people remember about a finite, and hence no longer existent past, has been described variously as myth, legend, image, and popular or folk culture. While professional definitions often split hairs to carve out differences, the essence of memory is simple: "it is the faculty whereby we perceive connections between past and present, thus enabling us to make sense of our surroundings."⁴ Memories are not objects bound in time and space, or capable of being lost or found.⁵ Rather, memories flow out of human experience, whether through individual experience with the past or through the collective experience of families and institutions. Remembering is a fluid process by which memories are shaped and revised, revived and ignored, formed and validated.

Memories begin when people reflect on a past experience and their relationship to it. This mental process becomes tangible when the memories are translated into other forms of recorded expression: photographs, a written diary or history, or collections of relics. The personal tangible expressions of memory become collective as people share their photographs, writings, or relics with other people. When many people share common or similar memories, they often form organizations designed to promote their memory of the past, host public commemorations, erect monuments, and develop tourist

⁴ James McConkey, ed., *The Anatomy of Memory: An Anthology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), preface.

⁵ John R. Gillis, "Memory and Identity: the History of a Relationship," in *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, ed. John R. Gillis (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 3-26; hereafter *Commemorations*. Richard Handler has traced the Western concept of memory and identity arguing that for two hundred years the Western World has perceived memory as an object bound in time and space, in "Is 'Identity' a Useful Cross-Cultural Concept?," in *Commemorations*, 27-40. David Lowenthal argues that this idea is still prevalent, "Identity, Heritage, and History," in *Commemorations*, 41-60.

sites. Memories related to the birthplace of Joseph Smith have been recorded in all of these mediums.

One approach taken by historians of memory has been to compare personal, collective, and institutional forms of memory to what can be verified about their referent past. These historians almost invariably conclude that the “myth” or “legend” or “folklore” (whichever word they choose to describe memory) is incongruent with the “true” or “objective” past (usually preceded by a definite article). They often end up charging that memory is an “oversimplified,” “whitewashed,” “sanitized,” or “untrue” version, setting memory in opposition to “the past.”⁶ Followers of this approach accordingly label people who believe in memory as opposed to people who believe in the past: heritage versus history, popular versus professional, profane versus sacred.⁷ Though quite common, setting memory against the past misses the most critical question about memory—why people remember the past in the way that they do.⁸

⁶ For examples of this approach from American history see Thomas L. Connelly, *The Marble Man: Robert E. Lee and His Image in American Society* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977); Michael C. Adams, *The Best War Ever: America and World War II* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994). In Mormon history see Fawn Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith the Mormon Prophet* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945); Davis Bitton, “The Ritualization of Mormon History,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 43 (1975): 67-85. Brodie argues that “[i]t was the legend of Joseph Smith, from which all evidences of deception, ambition, and financial and marital excesses were gradually obliterated, that became the great cohesive force within the church” (397). Bitton concludes that “[h]istorians have a duty to criticize and correct inaccurate, inadequate, or oversimplified versions of the past” (84).

⁷ David Lowenthal, “The Timeless Past: Some Anglo-American Historical Preconceptions,” *Journal of American History* 75 (March 1989): 1263-1280; Edward T. Linenthal and Tom Englehardt, eds., *History Wars: The Enola Gay and Other Battles for the American Past* (New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1996); David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (New York: The Free Press, 1996); Robert M. Utley, “Foreword,” in Edward Tabor Linenthal, *Sacred Ground: Americans and Their Battlefields* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991).

⁸ Barry Schwartz, *Abraham Lincoln and the Forge of National Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000). Writing about Vermont history Richard H. Saunders and Virginia M. Westbrook observed that “myth and history are not mutually exclusive. Indeed, the ‘myths’ around which this investigation are focused are the stories, traditions, and beliefs, many of them based in fact, which have contributed to the collective sensibility that is Vermont’s cultural legacy ... our myths predominately reflect ideas that we have about ourselves ... not to undermine the myths which have become part of our

The collective social process of remembering the past reveals far more about the people who erect and visit a monument than about the person or event memorialized. Because individuals do not remember the past in the same way, the transfer of memory from personal to collective possession results in negotiation and even conflict. These negotiations become especially intense when memories are translated into concrete form. Cultural geographer Wilbur Zelinsky argued that because changes in the landscape (such as monuments) are the most durable, they are the most contested.⁹ Yet the contours of the contest reveal the aspirations of the agents. Historian David Thelen argued that “the struggle for possession and interpretation of memory is rooted in the conflict and interplay among social, political, and cultural interests and values in the present.”¹⁰ The history of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument provides an excellent window into the interests and values of Latter-day Saints and Vermonters of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Historians frequently analyze the negotiation and struggle surrounding monuments and commemorations as “history wars” or “crises of memory”: brief events that happen and conclude.¹¹ Historians have connected the history of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument to the context of both Vermont and Mormon history, although they

cultural heritage but rather to remind ourselves how they came into being and why we are so acutely dependent upon them,” “Introduction,” in Nancy Price Graff, ed., *Celebrating Vermont: Myths and Realities* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1991), 17.

⁹ Wilbur Zelinsky, *Nation into State: The Shifting Symbolic Foundations of American Nationalism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), chapter 5.

¹⁰ David Thelen, “Memory and American History,” *Journal of American History* 75 (March 1989): 1127.

¹¹ On the Holocaust museum in Washington, DC, Edward T. Linenthal, *Preserving Memory: The Struggle to Create America’s Holocaust Museum* (New York: Viking Press, 1995); on the fifty-year anniversary of the United States atomic bomb drop on Japan, Linenthal and Englehardt, eds., *History Wars*.

have almost exclusively relegated its story to the year 1905. Vermont histories refer to the construction of the monument as the story of a remarkable engineering feat representative of their prized granite industry.¹² The most common telling of the monument's history in Mormon history has been as a story of a miraculous construction project that culminated in a pilgrimage of Mormon leaders to the East.¹³ B. H. Roberts regarded the birthplace (along with several other historic sites purchased by the Church) as evidence of the Church's growing financial success.¹⁴ Biographers of Joseph Smith have also mentioned the monument in passing. John Henry Evans saw in the monument a symbol of the enduring legacy of *Joseph Smith: An American Prophet*, while Fawn Brodie found only barrenness in both the legacy and the granite.¹⁵ Most recently, Kathleen Flake has linked the monument to the Reed Smoot hearings of 1904-1907 and the Church's efforts to discontinue the practice of polygamy.¹⁶

While it is true that the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument was planned, constructed, and dedicated in 1905, its story reaches back to Smith's own lifetime and

¹² See Stanley F. Blomfield, "James M. Boutwell—Man and Mayor," *The Vermonter* 22 (April 1917): 57-67; Barbara Brainerd, "A Winding Route in Vermont," *The Vermonter* 47 (March 1942): cover, 33-36; *A Guide to New Hampshire-Vermont Heartland* (South Royalton, Vermont: Manning House, 1960) 8; Ken Bush, "Joseph Smith: Memorial Vermont Ingenuity," *Barre Life*, Winter 1997, 4-5.

¹³ *Proceedings*; Joseph Fielding Smith, *Life of Joseph F. Smith* (Salt Lake City, UT: The Deseret News Press, 1938), chapter 31; Darel P. Bartschi, "The Joseph Smith Memorial: A 1905 Tribute to the Prophet and His Work," *Ensign*, February 1988, 7-10; Larry E. Dahl, "Vermont," in *Sacred Places: New England and Eastern Canada*, ed. LaMar C. Berrett (Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1999), 102-105; Richard Neitzel Holzapfel and Paul H. Peterson, "New Photographs of Joseph F. Smith's Centennial Memorial Trip to Vermont, 1905," *BYU Studies* 39 (Winter 2000): 107-114.

¹⁴ B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: Century 1*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret News Press, 1930), 6:427-28; James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book Company, 1992), 453.

¹⁵ John Henry Evans, *Joseph Smith: An American Prophet* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933), frontispiece; Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History*, 397-403.

¹⁶ Kathleen Flake, "Mr. Smoot goes to Washington: The Politics of American Religious Identity, 1900-1920" (Ph. D. diss., University of Chicago, 2000), 138-45.

continues to the present.¹⁷ David Thelen has suggested that “popular negotiations over memory [are] more like an endless conversation than a simple vote on a proposition.”¹⁸ The full story of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument is not a single a “battle” in a “history war” (though clashes and battles occurred along the way), but more like “an endless conversation” that began in the nineteenth century and continues through the twenty-first.

Because negotiating memory is a long process that provides insight into the values and interests of its agents, it is important to situate the story within an appropriate context. One approach to the study of memory seeks insight from broad international comparisons. Michael Kammen focused on the United States while arguing along the way for “Degrees of Distinctiveness” between the United States and European countries.¹⁹ Diane Barthel emphasized the differences between preservation, memory, and identity in the United States and Britain.²⁰ Reviewing three books by the eminent historian of French memory, Pierre Nora, John Bodnar argued that Nora’s work mutes claims of American exceptionalism, though he found ideological dissimilarity between French and American efforts.²¹ Despite the popularity of this approach, a full scale

¹⁷ Seeing the story of the monument as simply a two-week event, Paul L. Anderson concluded that the Joseph Smith Monument “had little publicity or missionary value,” “Heroic Nostalgia: Enshrining the Mormon Past,” *Sunstone* 5 (Jul-Aug 1980): 51.

¹⁸ David Thelen, “Memory and American History,” 1127.

¹⁹ Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991).

²⁰ Diane Barthel found evidence for upper class-based, centralized, national efforts in Britain and classless, grassroots, pluralistic efforts in the United States, *Historic Preservation: Collective Memory and Historical Identity* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1996).

²¹ John Bodnar, “Pierre Nora, National Memory, and Democracy: A Review,” *Journal of American History* 87 (Dec 2000): 951-963.

multi-national analysis has not yet been attempted. One reason may be because the broad scale often forces the historian to treat negotiations over memory in a cursory manner, resulting in a barrage of brief accounts with minimal analysis of individual episodes.²²

As a result of international differences, historians of American memory have also placed commemoration efforts within an overarching national timeline. Michael Kammen based his periodization on the confluence of a vast array of cultural sources: art, literature, history, architecture, and advertising.²³ John Bodnar and G. Kurt Piehler emphasize the influence of military wars on shaping developments in American commemoration.²⁴ John R. Gillis and Wilbur Zelinsky focus specifically on the concept of nation state in American commemoration.²⁵ While each approach has studied different types of sources to different ends, a consensus emerges by overlaying the separate

²² David Lowenthal admitted, "I have not conducted exhaustive research on most of the topics this book surveys. Instead I have tried to fashion a plausible synthesis of quite heterogeneous materials," *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), xxv.

²³ In *Mystic Chords of Memory*, Kammen argues that an early period of indifference (colonization to 1870) was followed by years of increasing retrospective vision and a hunger for tradition (1870-1915). The World Wars turned American attention (1915-1945) toward both modernism and nostalgia as a national conscience awakened to search out democratic traditions and cultural independence. After World War II (1945-) memory efforts can be characterized as a varied quest for nostalgia and heritage.

²⁴ John Bodnar argues for the influence of wars on periodization, dividing his periods based on dominant, though not exclusive, commemorative influence: nation-state (1776-1820s), regional interests (1820s-1860s), and business interests (1870s-1915); nation-state (1915-), *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992); G. Kurt Piehler organizes his analysis by major American wars, *Remembering War the American Way* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995).

²⁵ In *Commemorations*, Gillis argues that during the pre-national period (-1776), memory tended to divide rather than unite as only the aristocracy, church, and monarchical state needed institutionalized memory. During the national period (1776-1960s), the urban middle and working classes demanded commemoration as professional historians sporadically filled in the memory of the past. During the current post-national period (1960s-), there are a "plethora of memory options" (monuments, museums, archives) as memory has simultaneously become more global and more local. In *Nation into State*, Zelinsky uses different terms than Gillis, but sees a period of regional domination in commemoration and preservation (1760s-1840s), followed by the mingling of regional and national ideals (1850s-1890s), before the nation-state exerted the dominant influence (1880s-1960s). For Zelinsky, during the post-statist period since the 1960s, there has been no certain influence.

approaches. Before the 1870s, efforts to preserve or contest memory were nonexistent, regionally centered, or sporadically inconsequential. From the 1870s through the 1950s preservation efforts increased as the growing nation-state exerted a strong centralizing influence upon the entire country. Since the 1950s, opportunities to preserve the past and contest memory have exponentially multiplied, and since the 1980s, conflicts have erupted in an unprecedented fashion. Even the arguments of historians not attempting to develop a national timeline coincide with this general outline.²⁶

Despite the widespread attempts to establish a national timeline, the idea itself has several intrinsic limitations. In the first place, all of the models begin to break down in the second half of the twentieth century, as it is difficult to place the wide variety of heritage commemorations in a national context.²⁷ Second, the ability of the United States as a nation to create memory has been called into question by Eric Davis who argues that the nation-state can only implement compulsory forms of commemoration in nations like Iraq where the state maintains the dominant power.²⁸ Several studies have argued that African-Americans, residents of Cleveland, Ohio, and Americans in general place more

²⁶ In a study of world's fairs, Robert W. Rydell accepted that 1876-1916 was a period of industrialization, depressions, class warfare, utopian writings, social reform, and general anxiety, and argues that the world's fairs offered people a chance to reaffirm their collective identity in a time of uncertainty, *All the World's A Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1984). Focusing on the period since the 1980s, David Lowenthal has declared that "all at once heritage is everywhere," asserting that since 1980 all nations have followed a populist quest for heritage, *The Heritage Crusade*, xiii.

²⁷ David Lowenthal points out the explosion in *The Heritage Crusade*, chapter one, as does Kammen in *Mystic Chords of Memory*, part four. They express the same sense of loss to explain the events as Zelinsky in *Nation into State*, chapter 5.

²⁸ Eric Davis, "The Museum and the Politics of Social Control in Modern Iraq," in *Commemorations*, 90-104.

meaning on local commemorations than on national ones.²⁹ In a survey of popular perceptions of the past, Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen have shown that most people do not use national narratives to frame their view of the past, employing personal or family-based narratives instead. Even when collective frameworks are used, they usually only include groups of the same race, tribe, or religion.³⁰ Thus, the clearest understanding of memory and commemoration of the past emerges from its analysis at the local level. The most meaningful negotiations of memory occur not on the Mall in Washington, but on the village green. The implications of Mormon memories of Joseph Smith and the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument are best understood in the context of the Vermont community where Smith was born and the monument was erected.

These three assumptions, that the story of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument provides a window into the motives and interests of the commemorators, that the negotiation of the memory of Joseph Smith is a long conversation, and that the contours of the conversation are most clearly discerned at the local level, form the basis for my analysis of its history. I argue that the memory of Joseph Smith as an American Prophet crystallized around the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument in a dynamic process that passed through two distinct though interwoven phases: internal formation of a Mormon memory tradition about Joseph Smith (1830-1910), and validation of that tradition from

²⁹ Kirk Savage, "The Politics of Memory: Black Emancipation and the Civil War Monument," in *Commemorations*, 127-149; John Bodnar, "Public Memory in an American City: Commemoration in Cleveland," in *Commemorations*, 74-89; Barthel, *Historic Preservation*, chapter one.

³⁰ Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen, *The Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).

an external tradition, in this case Vermont (1905-2000).³¹ I use the term “memory tradition” as a broad term that incorporates the memory of Joseph Smith (or the memory of Vermont’s past) with its various commemorative manifestations over time (personal memories, public celebrations, and monuments). The process of memory formation unfolds as various individual memories are aggregated into dominant collective memories that subsequently become concretized in monumental form and interpreted. All three sub-processes of memory tradition formation—aggregation, concretization, and interpretation—are filtered through the values and interests of the commemorators, the agents of the memory tradition. Though it responds to external events, formation of a memory tradition is largely an internal process determined by the agents who want to preserve and promote it.

But in order for the memory tradition to ultimately endure, it must also receive external validation. This validation comes as the memory tradition and its formative agents interact with other memory traditions and their respective agents. In this story, the Joseph Smith memory tradition competes with and then collides with a Vermont memory tradition that formed through the same process of aggregation, concretization, and interpretation. Ultimately, validation of the Joseph Smith memory tradition came after

³¹ Edward Tabor Linenthal and John Bodnar have presented models for long term memory negotiations, though neither one adequately explains the events in this study. Linenthal’s model is essentially a dialectic model wherein veneration and defilement produce redefinition over time, *Sacred Ground*. Bodnar argues that “[p]ublic memory emerges from the intersection of official and vernacular cultural expressions,” though the latter is always overridden by the former through mutual participation in national wars, *Remaking America*, 13. The problem with both models lies in the assumption that one of the sides is inherently right (veneration, official). In addition to the sources listed throughout the footnotes of the introduction, my thinking on the logic and composition of models has been influenced by Lawrence Goodwyn, *The Populist Moment: A Short History of the Agrarian Revolt in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978); William H. Chafe, *Civilities and Civil Rights: Greensboro, North Carolina, and the Black Struggle for Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980); Ignacio M. García, *Chicanismo: The Forging of a Militant Ethos among Mexican Americans* (Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 1997).

the competition and collision when the Vermont tradition accommodated it by making a figurative place for Joseph Smith in its own tradition.

In Part One, I present the story of the formation of Joseph Smith's memory tradition (1830-1910). Chapter One argues that nineteenth century Mormons remembered a variety of individual memories of Joseph Smith that were aggregated through reminiscences, hymns, and commemorations into three dominant collective memories of Joseph Smith: prophet, martyr, and Vermont schoolboy. During the first decade of the twentieth century, these three memories of Joseph Smith were filtered through the social, religious, and political interests and concretized into the Joseph Smith Memorial Birthplace Monument, as outlined in Chapter Two. The third chapter asserts that the dedication of the Joseph Smith Monument and the messages presented at the site over the next five years shaped a broader interpretation of Joseph Smith as an American Prophet.

Part Two of this work explores the validation of the memory of Joseph Smith as an American Prophet in Royalton, Vermont (1905-2000). Royalton was selected for this case study for two reasons: first, throughout the twentieth century all of the major transportation routes to the monument funneled through the township, demanding that local residents immediately evaluate the meaning of the monument. Second, town historian Hope Nash asserted that "Royalton is as characteristic of Vermont as a town can be," making the experience in Royalton representative of other Vermont towns.³² Throughout the nineteenth century memories of Vermont's past had been aggregated into a tradition emphasizing the virtue, patriotism, and individuality of Vermonters. In

³² Hope Nash, *Royalton Vermont* (Lunenburg, VT: The Stinehour Press, 1975), 3; hereafter Nash, *Royalton Vermont*.

Chapter Four I argue that the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument initiated an intense commemorative response from Royalton residents who concretized the memory of their town's past into monuments emphasizing its place as a typical New England Town, thus forming a competing memory tradition. In Chapter Five the competing traditions of an American Prophet and New England Town collided during construction of the Royalton Memorial Library in 1922, when local residents grappled with the question of whether or not their New England Town could rightly be associated with an American (or, for that matter, any type) of Prophet. Chapter Six explores how the memory traditions of an American Prophet and New England Town accommodated each other after their collision.

One of the serendipities of considering the history of the Joseph Smith Monument in a long-term, local context is that it allows for the examination of many sources. In fact, the main reason that previous histories have paid only brief attention to the monument's history is because they have relied almost exclusively on a single source, an eighty page compilation of newspaper reports and dedicatory speeches published by the Mormon Church in 1906 as *Proceedings at the Dedication of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument*.³³ In addition to the published proceedings, people who attended the dedication wrote about it in their diaries and spoke or wrote about their experience in

³³ *Proceedings*. Despite using only a single source, many accounts have created errors that have been perpetuated by subsequent writers so that some versions of the story are riddled with inaccuracies. The most common errors are citing Junius F. Wells' first visit to the site as 1884 (instead of 1894), confounding Royalton and South Royalton, consolidating the delivery of six monument pieces into a single trip, and overstating or understating the nature of the task, see for example Arnold J. Irvine, "Monument Marks Birthplace of Prophet," *Church News*, 26 Dec 1964, 16; Richard O. Cowan, "Yankee Saints: The Church in New England During the Twentieth Century," in Donald Q. Cannon, ed., *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint History: New England* (Provo, UT: Department of Church History and Doctrine, 1988), 101-108.

public. Visitors to the birthplace could not refrain from recording their impressions. Memory traditions are formed by agents, and the papers of Junius F. Wells, who visited the site in 1894, supervised the construction of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument, and directed the site for five years provide a wealth of previously untapped information. Furthermore, throughout the twentieth century descriptions of the site have appeared in travel literature, maps, and guidebooks. Vermont newspapers provide astonishing details about the sequence of events and the feelings of local residents. Additionally, the site is mentioned in Church curriculum material, missionary literature, periodicals, hymns, visual materials, and popular and children's literature. This extensive cache of information, previously untapped in connection to the monument, provides revealing new insights into the story of the memory of Joseph Smith in Vermont.

For the Royalton side of the story, excellent local histories describe the people in the region around the monument, providing a crucial window into their values and motives. The local newspaper brims with details about the lives and dealings of local residents.³⁴ A central agent in Royalton's New England Town memory tradition, Evelyn Lovejoy wrote a history of the town in 1911.³⁵ Lovejoy's papers and correspondence detailing her involvement in town affairs are preserved in the Royalton Historical Society and the Royalton Memorial Library. The Royalton Town Clerk's Office houses substantial records about town meetings, vital statistics, and political and property

³⁴ There has been a newspaper in Randolph, Vermont, since 1801, though it has gone by different names: the *Weekly Wanderer*, the *Green Mountain Aegis*, the *Orange County Eagle* (1865), the *Green Mountain Herald* (1873). L. P. Thayer purchased the paper in 1874 and began providing a local section for the communities in the White River Valley, thus it was titled *Herald and News*. This local edition was later named *The White River Valley Herald* (1941) and *The Herald of Randolph* (1989).

³⁵ Evelyn M. Wood Lovejoy, *History of Royalton, Vermont, with Family Genealogies, 1769-1911* (Burlington, Vermont: Free Press Printing Company, 1911); hereafter Lovejoy, *History*. Lovejoy's *History* was "updated" by Nash, *Royalton Vermont*.

concerns. I have enjoyed unusual access to local sources because my grandparents, Robert and Virginia McShinsky, have resided in the town for over thirty years.

Shortly after plans for the Joseph Smith Monument were announced in 1905, commentary reprinted in local newspapers observed that “Vermont bears a curious relation to Mormonism.”³⁶ This relation provides a delicious irony to the story of the Joseph Smith Monument because in Vermont the American Prophet and New England Town memory traditions are inextricably meshed by their geographic ties to the White River Valley. During the eighteenth century, settlers from Connecticut and Massachusetts traveled up the Connecticut River into the area known today as Vermont and New Hampshire. One of the Connecticut River’s largest tributaries, the White River winds its way through the Green Mountains of Vermont before emptying into the Connecticut at the aptly named town of White River Junction, Vermont. New Englanders pushing up this river valley established settlements (and Congregational churches) at Norwich in 1763 (church in 1770), Sharon in 1765 (1782), Royalton in 1771 (1783), and Tunbridge in 1776 (1793), moving progressively up stream over time.³⁷

The most traumatic event of the early settlement period—and the event to which generations of Royalton residents would look as their claim to prominence in New England and American history—occurred in the midst of the Revolutionary War. On 16 October 1780 a band of Indians under British leadership descended through Tunbridge to Sharon and Royalton, burning and taking captives along the way before departing

³⁶ Randolph, *Vermont Herald and News*, 1 Jun 1905, 2, reprinted from *St. Albans Messenger*.

³⁷ Nash, *Royalton Vermont*, 3-7.

through the township of Randolph.³⁸ Just over two decades later, in 1791, the Smith family settled in Tunbridge.³⁹ During the next quarter century, Joseph Smith's parents lived successively in Tunbridge (three times), Randolph, Royalton (twice), Sharon, and Norwich—a twenty-five year path ironically similar to that tread by the Indians in a single day. Two paths, crossing in the same geographical region, provide the basis for the memory of Joseph Smith in Vermont. The township of Windsor, situated near Royalton, Sharon, and Norwich in a common county by the same name, is known as the birthplace of Vermont for its role in Vermont's constitutional convention. Vermont, the first state added to the Union is considered the firstborn state. The birthplace of Joseph Smith has been called the birthplace of Mormonism.

In Vermont, the interactions of the memories of an American Prophet and a New England Town have revolved around Joseph Smith's birthplace for nearly two centuries. The question at the commemorative heart of both traditions concerns the definition of America and Americans. What follows is not a history of the Latter-Day Saint Church, nor of Mormon commemoration. By the same measure this is not a history of Royalton, nor of the White River Valley, nor of Vermont; though this case study sheds a unique light on all of those histories. Because it is the story of a local place and the way its past has been remembered over a long period of time, this study argues that memory is not only influenced by social, economic, and political interests, but that memory also shapes those interests. The story of the memory of Joseph Smith in Vermont is based on lively pasts and has unfolded in equally entertaining presents.

³⁸ Lovejoy, *History*, 97-182.

³⁹ Lavina Fielding Anderson, ed. *Lucy's Book: A Critical Edition of Lucy Smith's Family Memoir* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2001), 275-326.

PART ONE:
FORMATION

CHAPTER ONE

PRAISE TO HIS MEMORY, 1830-1900

Joseph the Prophet, martyred saint and seer! Thy name we love, thy mem'ry we revere.
Orson F. Whitney, 1927¹

It is most fitting that his name should be held in sacred remembrance by the Saints, and that the Children of Zion should be taught to honor his memory.
"Joseph Smith, the Prophet," *Improvement Era*, 1902²

Joseph Smith was a memorable man. Standing just over six feet tall with a broad torso, blue eyes, and light brown hair, Smith was handsome and charismatic.³ In his thirty-eight and a half years of life he translated the *Book of Mormon* (a record of the ancient inhabitants of America regarded as scripture by his followers), established the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, founded the city of Nauvoo on the Mississippi River in northern Illinois, commanded the Nauvoo militia, and aspired to the presidency of the United States.⁴ He was approachable and friendly, and scores of

¹ Orson F. Whitney, "Joseph the Prophet, Martyred Saint and Seer," *Latter-day Saint Hymns* (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book Company, 1927), no. 323.

² "Joseph Smith, the Prophet," *Improvement Era*, 5 (Jan 1902): 232-233.

³ Ephraim Hatch, "What did Joseph Smith Look Like?" *Ensign*, March 1981, 65-73.

⁴ On Smith's accomplishments see George Q. Cannon, *Life of Joseph Smith the Prophet* (1888; reprinted Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book Company, 1986); John Henry Evans, *Joseph Smith: An American Prophet* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933); Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1984).

nineteenth century Mormons got to know him while working, serving, preaching, and living. These people remembered a variety of individual memories of Joseph Smith that were aggregated through reminiscences, hymns, and commemorations into three dominant collective memories of Joseph Smith: prophet, martyr, and Vermont schoolboy. These collectively cherished nineteenth century memories laid the foundation for the twentieth century Joseph Smith Memorial Monument.

To understand the initial process formation of the memory of Joseph Smith, it is important to consider the people involved, the process followed, and the sources documenting it. Paul L. Anderson observed that during the nineteenth century, "Latter-day Saint memorialization centered on people more than places."⁵ After Smith's death in 1844, those who knew him personally played a key role in preserving his memory by recording his sayings in diaries and in letters to friends and relatives. For many years, it was common practice in the testimony meetings of Latter-day Saints for the members who had known him personally to have the privilege of speaking first.⁶ While Mormons who met or knew Smith cherished personal memories, several influential people, the agents of Smith's memory, exerted substantial influence in the early formation of Smith's collective memory because of their personal or family connection to Smith: the Prophet's mother Lucy Mack Smith, John Taylor, who was present in Carthage Jail when Smith was killed, Smith's friend and successor, Brigham Young, and Smith's nephew, Joseph F. Smith. Three of these people, Young, Taylor, and Joseph F. Smith, wedded personal

⁵ Paul L. Anderson, "Heroic Nostalgia: Enshrining the Mormon Past," *Sunstone* 5 (Jul/Aug 1980): 48.

⁶ T. Edgar Lyon, "Recollections of 'Old Nauvooers': Memories from Oral History," *BYU Studies* 18 (Winter 1978): 143-50.

and family interest with institutional influence by virtue of their position as President of the Church.

The agents of Smith's memory initiated formation of the Joseph Smith memory tradition through a process of aggregation. Collective memory is not created by elites who impose their opinion on the masses.⁷ Rather collective memories are popular because there is something in them that appeals to numerous individuals. Designating the aggregation process as the "ritualization of Mormon history," Davis Bitton identified several loosely related methods of Mormon remembering: anniversaries, organizations, monuments, pictures, and stories.⁸ The agents of Smith's memory utilized these commemorative forms, along with hymns, to promote the memory of Joseph Smith as prophet, martyr, and Vermont schoolboy to the rising generation of Utah-born Mormons.

The memories of Joseph Smith are documented in a variety of sources. Hyrum L. Andrus and Helen Mae Andrus compiled the recollections of several nineteenth century Latter-day Saints who knew Joseph Smith.⁹ Davis Bitton has explored some of the ways Smith's martyrdom has been remembered.¹⁰ My argument for the formation of a memory of Joseph Smith as a Vermont schoolboy is based on the private and published writings of nineteenth and twentieth century Mormons. Along the way I place emphasis on Mormon hymns and songs as a way of discovering the "collective" memory beyond

⁷ Schwartz, *Abraham Lincoln and the Forge of National Memory*, 8-17.

⁸ Davis Bitton, "The Ritualization of Mormon History," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 43 (1975): 67-85.

⁹ Hyrum L. Andrus and Helen Mae Andrus, comp., *They Knew the Prophet* (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book Company, 1999).

¹⁰ Davis Bitton, *The Martyrdom Remembered: A One Hundred-Fifty Year Perspective on the Assassination of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City, UT: Aspen Books, 1994).

individual recollections. Nathan Hatch argued that religious music provides an excellent window into the popular opinions of nineteenth century religionists.¹¹ In the case of Mormonism, Hatch's assertion rests on a well-developed historiography of Mormon hymns that emphasizes the independence of popular regional and mission songbooks before the creation of institutional hymnals in the twentieth century.¹² As an example of popular nineteenth century Mormon independence, Parley P. Pratt, the author of several nineteenth century Mormon hymns, described himself as being "reared in the wilds of America, with a mind independent, untrammelled and free."¹³ Nineteenth century Latter-day Saint hymns provide a glimpse into popular Mormon sentiment.

Acceptance of Joseph Smith as a prophet drew nineteenth century Americans into the Mormon fold, and his role as a prophet became the most common memory of Smith

¹¹ Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), 146-161.

¹² Michael Hicks, *Mormonism and Music: A History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989); Michael Finlinson Moody, "Contemporary Hymnody in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints" (Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 1972); Jay L. Slaughter, "The Role of Music in the Mormon Church, School, and Life" (Ph. D. diss., Indiana University, 1964); D. Sterling Wheelwright, "The Role of Hymnody in the Development of the Latter-day Saint Movement" (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1943). Commentaries on individual hymns are George D. Pyper, *Stories of Latter-day Hymns* (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret News, 1939); J. Spencer Cornwall, *Stories of our Mormon Hymns* (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book Company, 1961); Karen Lynn Davidson, *Our Latter-day Hymns: The Stories and Messages* (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book Company, 1988). Latter-day Saint hymnals include Emma Smith, *A Collection of Sacred Hymns for the Church of the Latter Day Saints* (1835); Brigham Young, Parley P. Pratt, and John Taylor, *A Collection of Sacred Hymns for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in Europe* (Manchester, England, 1840); J. C. Little and G. B. Gardner, *A Collection of Sacred Hymns for the Use of Latter-day Saints* (Bellows Falls, VT: Blake and Bailey, 1844); *Deseret Sunday School Union Music Book* (Salt Lake City, UT: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1884); *Latter-day Saints' Psalmody* in 1889; nine mission presidents collaborated on *The Songs of Zion: A Collection of Choice Songs* (Salt Lake City, 1912); *Latter-Day Saint Hymns* (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book Company, 1927); *Hymns: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book Company, 1948); *Hymns of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City, UT: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1985).

¹³ Parley P. Pratt, *A Voice of Warning and Instruction to All People* (1837; reprint, Grantsville, UT: Archive Publishers, 1999), vi.

after his death. Throughout their lives, Latter-day Saints commonly recalled and recounted their first meeting with Joseph Smith. Some remembered Smith's appearance or activities: Brigham Young recalled that Smith was chopping wood when they first met, while Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner remembered "how blue his eyes were" and felt as though he could read her thoughts.¹⁴ John M. Chidester remembered, "my impression on beholding the Prophet and shaking hands with him was that I stood face to face with the greatest man on earth."¹⁵ Joel H. Johnson exulted in his 1831 meeting with Joseph Smith by writing a hymn, "To Joseph Whom I Love."¹⁶

As evidence of Smith's prophetic role, Latter-day Saints often recalled his religious power. Luke S. Johnson, one of the initial Apostles, recalled that Smith healed his mother.¹⁷ Newell Knight, Levi Hancock, and Zebedee Coltrin all bore witness that Smith cast "devils" and "evil spirits" out of them.¹⁸ Artemus Millet recalled that while in Nauvoo he "was taken sick with cholera" and sent for Joseph Smith, Sr., and his brother John. They administered to Millet twice, though "without effect." In agony, Millet cried out for the Prophet, and when Smith laid his hands on Millet's head, Millet "began to mend from that very moment."¹⁹

Nineteenth-century Mormons also remembered Joseph Smith's teaching. Many recalled that his face was transparent while speaking, described by Lydia Knight as a

¹⁴ Andrus, *They Knew the Prophet*, 25-6, 38.

¹⁵ Andrus, *They Knew the Prophet*, 13.

¹⁶ Joel H. Johnson, "To Joseph Whom I Love," 1831, Joel H. Johnson, Songbooks, LDS Archives, cited in Hicks, *Mormonism and Music*, 73.

¹⁷ Andrus, *They Knew the Prophet*, 33.

¹⁸ Andrus, *They Knew the Prophet*, 12-13, 19-24, 30.

¹⁹ Artemus Millet, "Reminiscences [1855]," 6-7, LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.

“white and shining glow.”²⁰ Angus M. Cannon recounted, “I never heard [Joseph Smith] speak when it did not electrify my whole soul.”²¹ Joseph F. Smith, nephew of the Prophet, was only a small boy in Nauvoo, though he remembered throughout his life (1838-1918) the visual impression of Smith preaching while “standing in a wagon in the grove near the temple site in Nauvoo.”²²

Most indicative of their memory of Joseph Smith as a prophet, Mormons remembered his prophecies. Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner remembered that Smith prophesied that her husband would not join the Church, and though her husband lived for fifty-two years after the prophecy, she bore record that he never did join the Church.²³ Heber C. Kimball affirmed that Smith’s prophecy about the pending misfortunes of disobedient members came true.²⁴ Anson Call and Claudius V. Spencer overheard Smith announce that the Mormons would move to the Rocky Mountains, and Edward Rushton recalled the prophecy as directed personally to him: “In 1843 the Prophet told me that I should come here to the Rocky Mountains.”²⁵ George Q. Cannon eloquently articulated

²⁰ Lydia Bailey Knight, in Andrus, *They Knew the Prophet*, 48-9. See also Brigham Young, in Andrus, *They Knew the Prophet*, 39; Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner, in Andrus, *They Knew the Prophet*, 25-6.

²¹ Angus M. Cannon, in Joseph F. Smith, “Recollections of the Prophet,” December 23, 1894, *Collected Discourses*, ed. Brian H. Stuy, 5 vols. (Burbank, CA and Woodland Hills, UT: B. H. S. Publishing, 1987-1992) 5:33.

²² Joseph F. Smith, *Collected Discourses*, 5:28.

²³ Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner, in Andrus, *They Knew the Prophet*, 29.

²⁴ Heber C. Kimball, in Andrus, *They Knew the Prophet*, 41.

²⁵ Anson Call, in Andrus, *They Knew the Prophet*, 120-121; Claudius V. Spencer, in Andrus, *They Knew the Prophet*, 35; Edward Rushton, in Andrus, *They Knew the Prophet*, 34.

the memory of Joseph Smith as prophet in a biography prepared over several years and published in 1888, *Life of Joseph Smith the Prophet*.²⁶

While countless experiences throughout Joseph Smith's life formed the foundation for his memory as prophet, the strikingly quick experience of his death evoked his memory as martyr. The assassination of Joseph and Hyrum Smith at the hands of a mob in Carthage, Illinois on 27 June 1844 provoked feelings of deep emotion and shock among his followers, providing the foundation for memories held by Latter-day Saints throughout their lives. Like all tragic events the moment of first hearing the news was pressed indelibly into memory. For decades Saints remembered walking down the street, sitting at home, or standing in their fields when they first heard the tragic news. They remembered the distress and the weeping. Others who were away from Illinois on missions, such as Erastus Snow, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Parley P. Pratt, did not hear the news immediately, but recalled feeling inexplicable feelings of sorrow, grief, and depression on June 27 that they understood only later.²⁷

Poetry proved one outlet for Smith's followers to work through their feelings, and historian Davis Bitton noted that "poetry about the martyrdom began appearing almost immediately."²⁸ Some poetry described the feelings of its author, as in the case of Orson Hyde who was preaching in Vermont when he heard the news: "My blood did chill

²⁶ George Q. Cannon, *Life of Joseph Smith the Prophet* (1888; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1986); see also Nephi Lowell Morris, *Prophecies of Joseph Smith and their Fulfillment* (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book Company, 1920).

²⁷ Bitton, *The Martyrdom Remembered*, 3-21.

²⁸ Bitton, *The Martyrdom Remembered*, 25.

within my vein,/ From weeping I could not refrain.”²⁹ Other poetry recounted the martyrdom in gruesome detail, as in the case of Solomon Hancock who wrote of the bullets “Which brought poor Hyrum to the floor,/ A laying weltering in his gore.”³⁰ Poetry referring to the martyrdom also served to emphasize and perpetuate themes about Smith’s life and significance to his followers. William W. Phelps wrote a rousing poem entitled “Praise to the Man” that was published in the *Times and Seasons* in August 1844. It was probably sung to the tune of “Hail to the Chief,” and later set to a Scottish folk song.³¹ In a spirit described by one commentator as “joyful sadness,” the first verse emphasizes Smith’s role as a prophet and seer while the second mentions the martyrdom: “Praise to his memory, he died as a martyr;/ Honored and blest be his ever great name!”³² Despite the tragedy of the martyrdom, the chorus rejoices that Smith has finally overcome his enemies:

Hail to the Prophet, ascended to heaven!
 Traitors and tyrants now fight him in vain.
 Mingling with Gods, he can plan for his brethren;
 Death cannot conquer the hero again.³³

Other poetry set to music celebrated the memory of the martyred prophet. In April 1845 a Nauvoo glee group sang “Hail Joseph Smith” and throughout the late 1840s and early 1850s a Welsh choir performed a “hero song” about Smith.³⁴

²⁹ William Hyde, Journal, cited in Bitton, *The Martyrdom Remembered*, 25.

³⁰ Michael Hicks, *Mormonism and Music*, 67-68.

³¹ Cornwall, 164; Pyper, 97-100.

³² Pyper, 98.

³³ [John Taylor], “Joseph Smith,” *Times and Seasons* 5 (1 Aug 1844): 607. *LDS Psalmody* (1906), 278; *Deseret Sunday School Songs* (1909), 24; *Songs of Zion* (1918), 24; *Hymns* (1927), 167; *Hymns* (1948), 147; *Hymns* (1985), 27.

³⁴ Hicks, *Mormonism and Music*, 60.

English-born convert John Taylor played a significant role in forming the memory of Joseph Smith as martyr because he was in the Jail when Smith was killed, and though he also received five balls, lived to tell about it. Taylor wrote a tribute to the Smith brothers and recorded a very detailed account of the events of June 27 that was eventually included in the *History of Joseph Smith*.³⁵ Taylor noted that on the afternoon of June 27, Smith asked him to sing a popular Protestant song of the day about Jesus Christ entitled “A Poor Wayfaring Man of Grief.” After his death, Joseph Smith became linked in memory with the song’s narrator who song says that Jesus “asked if I for him would die.” The narrator responds, “The flesh was weak, my blood ran chill, But the free spirit cried, ‘I will!’”³⁶ In January 1845, a poem by Taylor entitled “the Seer” that described Smith’s prophet role appeared in the *Times and Seasons* and premiered in musical form two months later.³⁷ In August 1845, Taylor’s emotional “O, Give Me Back My Prophet Dear” was published in the *Times and Seasons*. The hymn mourns the loss of Joseph and Hyrum Smith by affirming their innocence and condemning their murderers, “Their blood doth now so loudly cry, From prison walls and Carthage ground.”³⁸

After the martyrdom there was also an effort to acquire tangible mementos of the martyred prophet. John Taylor saved his pocket watch, which had been struck by a ball

³⁵ Joseph Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Period 1: History of Joseph Smith, the Prophet*, 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1980), 7:99-108.

³⁶ Pyper, 9-13; Davidson, 57-58; *Hymns* (1985) contains the note: “Hymn sung prior to the martyrdom of the Prophet Joseph Smith” (27).

³⁷ John Taylor, “The Seer,” *Times and Seasons* 5 (1 Jan 1845): 767; Hicks, *Mormonism and Music*, 59-66; *LDS Psalmody* (1906), 314; *Songs of Zion* (1918), 213; *Hymns* (1927), 96; *Hymns* (1948), 296; not included in *Deseret Sunday School Songs* (1909) or *Hymns* (1985).

³⁸ [John Taylor], “Poetry,” *Times and Seasons* 6 (1 Aug 1845): 991; Bitton, *The Martyrdom Remembered*, 31; Hicks, *Mormonism and Music*, 68; *LDS Psalmody* (1906), 89; *Hymns* (1927), 193; *Hymns* (1948), 137; not included in *Deseret Sunday School Songs* (1909), *Songs of Zion* (1918), or *Hymns* (1985).

and stopped at the moment of martyrdom. Emma Smith gave Wilford Woodruff a pair of gloves and cotton handkerchief that had belonged to the Prophet.³⁹ The rough-hewn wooden boxes used to transport the bodies of Joseph and Hyrum from Carthage to Nauvoo were cut up, fashioned into “Canes of the Martyrdom,” and distributed to several of the Prophet’s closest friends—including Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Wilford Woodruff, Willard Richards, and Dimick Huntington. Locks of the martyrs’ hair were preserved and placed in the heads of the canes or woven into artwork.⁴⁰

With the passage of time, variant memories developed that supported or expanded the martyr memory. One story was told of a mob member who tried to decapitate Smith after the martyrdom, but a light from heaven prevented the attempt.⁴¹ Another expression came in retelling the gruesome fate of the murders.⁴² Incidentally, both of these memories, when examined, have not held up.⁴³ Yet another variation of the martyr memory was the belief that divine justice would be served and vengeance repaid on Illinois and the nation. Phelps’ “Praise to the Man” included the affirmation that “Earth must atone for the blood of that man” as well as the assertion that “Long shall his blood

³⁹ Wilford Woodruff, *Journal of Wilford Woodruff, 1833-1898, Typescript*, ed. Scott G. Kenney (Midvale, UT: Signature Books, 1983), 23 Aug 1844.

⁴⁰ Steven G. Barnett, “The Canes of the Martyrdom,” *BYU Studies* 21 (Spring 1981): 205-11.

⁴¹ The story originated with William M. Daniels in 1845, Bitton, *The Martyrdom Remembered*, 63-6, 94-5. See also Harry M. Beardsley, *Joseph Smith and his Mormon Empire* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1931), Chapter 7 entitled “Joseph Myths.” Beardsley added a myth that the Saints believed Joseph would be resurrected, but his citation of Brigham Young in the *Journal of Discourses*, 4:284-6, proves to be only the correction of a misunderstood statement on the subject from earlier the same day—not enough evidence that Saints held a continuing belief.

⁴² Most widely circulated was N. B. Lundwall, *The Fate of the Persecutors of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City, UT: Publishers Press, 1952).

⁴³ Dallin H. Oaks and Marvin S. Hill exploded both in *Carthage Conspiracy: The Trial of the Accused Assassins of Joseph Smith* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975), 89-90.

which was shed by assassins,/ Stain Illinois while the earth lauds his fame.”⁴⁴ Historian Juanita Brooks suggested that this form of the memory was particularly ardent in southern Utah settlements in the 1850s.⁴⁵ And it continued into the twentieth century as B. H. Roberts, in his centennial history of the LDS Church, maintained that “the plighted faith of the state was broken, its honor trailed in the dust, and a stain of innocent blood affixed to its escutcheon that will remain a blot which time cannot efface.”⁴⁶

While memories of Joseph Smith as prophet and martyr sprung immediately out of the experiences of his life and death, during the second half of the nineteenth century, Mormons also remembered Joseph Smith as a Vermont schoolboy. Mormon memories of Joseph Smith in Vermont began with his own recollections. Throughout his lifetime, Joseph Smith considered himself a Vermont born Yankee. One convert to the Mormon faith recalled that the first time he met the Prophet, Smith “said that he rejoist to see us being Yankees for said he [‘]I was born in the State of Vermont[’].”⁴⁷ Smith also asserted that his Vermont childhood shaped his character: “It is a love of liberty which inspires my soul—civil and religious liberty to the whole of the human race. Love of

⁴⁴ The phrase “Stain Illinois” was changed to “Plead unto heav’n” in *Hymns* (1927), 167, see also Pyper, 17-19. However, in the 1940s a Church music committee composed of Apostles Harold B. Lee, Joseph Fielding Smith, Spencer W. Kimball and Mark E. Peterson tried unsuccessfully to restore the original wording (Hicks, *Mormonism and Music*, 132-135). Of all the martyr hymns, only this one, with its textual change, remains in current LDS hymnals, *Hymns of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1985), 27.

⁴⁵ Juanita Brooks, *The Mountains Meadows Massacre* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 15-30.

⁴⁶ B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church*, 2:283-287.

⁴⁷ Millen Atwood, 23 May 1841, cited in Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook, *Words of Joseph Smith: Contemporary Accounts of the Nauvoo Discourses of the Prophet* (Orem, UT: Grandin Book Company, 1991), 94.

liberty was diffused into my soul by my grandfathers while they dandled me on their knees.”⁴⁸ Late in 1843, Smith wrote an impassioned appeal to “the Green Mountain Boys of my native State,” further demonstrating his connection to Vermont, in the hope of receiving assistance to redress grievances against Missouri.⁴⁹

When Smith told his own story, he customarily began with his Vermont birth. Smith’s earliest surviving autobiographical writing, written in 1832, begins with his birth in Sharon and mentions the “indigent circumstances” of his childhood and that he was “deprived of the bennifit of an education.” Two years later, in a letter to Oliver Cowdery intended for publication, Smith lists his birth “according to the record of the same, kept by my parents.” He passes directly from his birth in 1805 to the family’s removal to New York. This pattern of skipping from his birth to his arrival in New York was followed in the account he prepared for his history in 1839 and in a letter written to John Wentworth that was published in 1842.⁵⁰ In December 1842, Smith added a footnote to his 1839 history describing leg surgery he had “[w]hen I was five years old or thereabouts,” the final supplement to his autobiography.⁵¹ Thus, during his own lifetime Smith established

⁴⁸ Smith, 9 Jul 1843, *History of the Church*, 5:498.

⁴⁹ Joseph Smith, Jr., *General Joseph Smith’s Appeal to the Green Mountain Boys* (Nauvoo, Illinois: Taylor and Woodruff, December 1843), 6-7; Vermont Historical Society, Montpelier, Vermont. A more common variant with omissions and discrepancies in punctuation is Smith, *History of the Church*, 6:88-93.

⁵⁰ Smith’s autobiographical writings are compiled in Dean C. Jessee, *The Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1989-1992), 1832 Account 1:3-5, 1834 Letter to Oliver Cowdery 1:13, 1839 Account 1:268-9, spelling as original. The latter account has been canonized and become the “official” version of the story, Joseph Smith—History 1:3, *The Pearl of Great Price* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1981); see also Joseph Smith, *History of the Church*, 1:2. Wentworth letter, in Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:429.

⁵¹ Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:268-9.

a skeletal biographical pattern—birth and move to New York—that has been applied by various biographers and historians.⁵²

Shortly after Joseph Smith died in 1844, his mother Lucy Mack Smith dictated a history of the Smith family that expanded her son's biographical outline. Lucy described her son's leg surgery in greater detail than he had done. She also devoted substantial space to describing the family's ancestors and heritage, and provided a list of her children's births and family moves within Vermont. Lucy also indicated that the family's spiritual questioning began while living in Vermont. But Lucy intentionally gave no detail about her son's childhood before age fourteen, explaining: "I suppose, from questions which are frequently asked me, that it is thought by some that I shall be likely to tell many very remarkable incidents which attended his childhood; but, as nothing occurred during his early life except those trivial circumstances which are common to that state of human existence, I pass them in silence."⁵³ Thus, Lucy provides an

⁵² For accounts of Smith's life that pass from his date of birth to the New York period see Orson Pratt, *A Interesting Account of Several Remarkable Visions, and of the Late Discovery of Ancient American Records* (Edinburgh, 1840), reproduced in Jessee, *The Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:387-401; Henry Caswall, *The Prophet of the Nineteenth Century; or, the Rise, Progress, and Present State of the Mormons, or Latter-day Saints: to which is appended, an Analysis of the Book of Mormon* (London: J. G. R. & J. Rivington, 1843) 26-7; I. Daniel Rupp, *An Original History of the Religious Denominations at Present Existing in the United States* (Philadelphia, 1844), 404-410, in Jessee 1:445-458; Edward W. Tullidge, *Life of Joseph the Prophet* (New York: Tullidge and Crandall, 1878); Lyman O. Littlefield, *The Martyrs: A Sketch of the Lives and a Full Account of the Martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1882); George Q. Cannon, *Life of Joseph Smith, the Prophet*; Thomas Gregg, *The Prophet of Palmyra: Mormonism Reviewed and Examined in the Life, Character, and Career of its Founder from "Cumorah Hill" to Carthage Jail and the Deseret* (New York: John B. Alden, 1890), 10-11; Andrew Jenson, *Conference Report*, April 1920, 67; William A. Morton, *From Plowboy to Prophet, Being a Short History of Joseph Smith, for Children* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1943); Daryl Chase, *Joseph the Prophet: As He Lives in the Hearts of His People* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1944) 105-110; Norma J. Fischer, *Portrait of a Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1960); John A. Widtsoe, *Joseph Smith: Seeker After Truth, Prophet of God* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1951); John J. Stewart, *Joseph Smith: The Mormon Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Mercury Publishing Company, 1966); Leon R. Hartshorn, *Joseph Smith: Prophet of the Restoration* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1970); Truman G. Madsen *Joseph Smith the Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1989); Norman Rothman, *The Unauthorized Biography of Joseph Smith, Mormon Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Norman Rothman Foundation, 1997).

⁵³ Anderson, *Lucy's Book*, 329.

expanded template for viewing the Vermont period of the Smith family's history—ancestry, births and moves, spiritual striving, and leg surgery. Smith's successor Brigham Young sanctioned the formula, emphasizing the Prophet's ancestors:

It was decreed in the counsels of eternity, long before the foundations of the earth were laid, that he should be the man, in the last dispensation of the world, to bring forth the word of God to the people, and receive the fulness of the keys and power of the Priesthood of the Son of God. The Lord had his eye upon him, and upon his father, and upon his father's father, and upon their progenitors clear back to Abraham, and from Abraham to the flood, from the flood to Enoch, and from Enoch to Adam. He has watched that family and that blood as it has circulated from its fountain to the birth of that man. He was foreordained in eternity to preside over this last dispensation.⁵⁴

Such an endorsement from Joseph's Vermont-born successor encouraged subsequent historians to pay attention to Smith's ancestry.⁵⁵ It also solidified Lucy's template, which has been incessantly replicated by historians from B. H. Roberts through Joseph Fielding Smith, Fawn Brodie, Donna Hill, Francis Gibbons, and Richard Bushman.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Brigham Young, 9 Oct 1859, *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1854-1886), 7:289-90.

⁵⁵ Though it is quite certain that she was not trying to carry out Brigham Young's instruction, Mary Audentia Smith Anderson, daughter of Joseph Smith III, compiled the Smith genealogy, *Ancestry and Posterity of Joseph Smith and Emma Hale* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1929). The most notable historical analysis is Richard Lloyd Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New England Heritage: Influences of Grandfathers Solomon Mack and Asael Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1971).

⁵⁶ John Henry Evans, *One Hundred Years of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1905), 8-16; Joseph Fielding Smith, *Essentials in Church History: A History of the Church from the Birth of Joseph Smith to the Present Time, with Introductory Chapters on the Antiquity of the Gospel and the "Falling Away,"* 27 editions (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1922-1979), chapters 5-6; John Henry Evans, *Our Church and People* (Salt Lake City: The Deseret Book Company, 1924), 39-41; Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church*, 1:1-31; Harry M. Beardsley, *Joseph Smith and his Mormon Empire* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1931), 11-15; John Henry Evans, *Joseph Smith: An American Prophet*, 20-35; Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History*, 1-9; Ivan J. Barrett, *Joseph Smith and the Restoration: A History of the Church to 1846* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1967, 1973), 21-37; Mabel Harmer, *The Boy Who Became a Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, Inc., 1969), 1-9; Carl Carner, *The Farm Boy and the Angel* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1970), 32-40; Donna Hill, *Joseph Smith: The First Mormon* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1977), 15-38; Francis M. Gibbons, *Joseph Smith: Martyr, Prophet of God* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1977), 1-26; Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 9-42; Maurice L. Draper, *The Founding Prophet: An Administrative Biography of Joseph Smith, Jr.* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1991), 13-22; James B. Allen and Glen

Joseph Smith was not the only Vermont-born Mormon of the nineteenth century; in fact, many of the people involved in the early events of the Church were also from Vermont. Oliver Cowdery, who served as Smith's scribe for much of the translation of the *Book of Mormon*, had been born in Wells. Cowdery signed his name as one of the Three Witnesses of the book, and three other Vermonters, the Prophet's brothers Hyrum and Samuel Smith and Hiram Page, were among the Eight Witnesses to the *Book of Mormon*. The Smith brothers and Cowdery also constituted four of the six who founded the Church of Christ in April 1830. Two years later, Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball joined the growing ranks of Mormons from Vermont (see Table 1.1).

During the first twenty years of Mormon history, Vermonters were over-represented in Mormon leadership circles. Roughly ten percent of the residents of Kirtland had been born in the Green Mountain State, and this same percentage helped make up Zion's Camp.⁵⁷ However, one in five people mentioned in the revelations published in the *Doctrine and Covenants* were Vermonters, and five members of the original Quorum of the Twelve were Green Mountain Boys.⁵⁸ Ten percent of the original

M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1992), 19-24; Richard L. Bushman and Dean C. Jessee, "Joseph Smith: The Prophet," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1992), 1331-3; Heidi S. Swinton, *American Prophet: The Story of Joseph Smith, based on the documentary by Lee Groberg* (Salt Lake City: Shadow Mountain, 1999), 27-32. Larry C. Porter has pinned the elements down as far as Vermont records permit, "A Study of the Origins of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the States of New York and Pennsylvania, 1816-1831" (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1971; published by BYU Studies, 2000), 5-14.

⁵⁷ Of 830 residents of Kirtland, 102 were from Vermont (12.3%), see Mark Grandstaff, "Pre-Conversion Migration Patterns of Members of the Kirtland, Ohio Branch," in Milton V. Backman with Keith Perkins and Susan Easton Black, *A Profile of Latter-day Saints of Kirtland, Ohio, and Members of Zion's Camp, 1830-1839* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Religious Studies Center, 1983), 85. First on the list was New York (31.8%), followed by Massachusetts (15.1%), Vermont, Connecticut (8.0%) and Maine (8.0%). Of the 207 members of Zion's Camp, 22 were Vermont-born (10.6%), see Backman *Profile of Latter-day Saints*, 1-80, 93-94.

⁵⁸ Susan Easton Black identified 135 people mentioned in the text of the revelations, *Who's Who in the Doctrine and Covenants* (Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1997); Vermont placed highest (27), followed

pioneer party that Brigham Young led to the Great Salt Lake Valley were Vermonters (see Table 1.2).

Following Joseph Smith in the early days was difficult, and several prominent Vermonters (*Book of Mormon* witnesses Oliver Cowdery and Hiram Page, apostles Luke and Lyman Johnson, and apostle/brother William Smith) all had their fallouts with the Mormon leader. Vermonter Philastus Hurlbut perpetuated the “Spaulding Theory,” the most widely accepted theory of the *Book of Mormon*’s fraudulent origins.⁵⁹ Yet, at the same time, Vermonters were some of the most faithful. Joseph Smith observed that “[o]f the Twelve Apostles chosen in Kirtland, and ordained under the hands of Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer and myself, there have been but two but what have lifted their heel against me--namely [Vermonters] Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball.”⁶⁰ After Smith’s death in 1844, Brigham Young led thousands of Mormons to settle in the Rocky Mountains and succeeded Smith as Church president. In the West, with the help of his counselor Heber C. Kimball, Young gave permanence to the movement founded by Smith. Brigham Young’s son, Brigham Young, Jr., became an apostle, while Kimball’s son-in-law Joseph F. Smith (the son of Hyrum Smith) became president of the Church (1901-1918) and was later followed by his son Joseph Fielding Smith (1970-1972), while

by Massachusetts (26), New York (23), Connecticut (12), New Hampshire (10), and Pennsylvania (7). The original Apostles (and their town of birth) were Brigham Young (Whitingham), Heber C. Kimball (Sheldon), William Smith (Royaltown), Luke S. Johnson (Pomfret), and Lyman E. Johnson (Pomfret).

⁵⁹ The essence of the claim is that Sidney Rigdon introduced Joseph Smith to Solomon Spaulding’s romance entitled “Manuscript Found,” which Smith elaborated into the *Book of Mormon*. For the nineteenth century Latter-day Saint response, see George Reynolds, *The Myth of the “Manuscript Found,” or the Absurdities of the “Spaulding Story”* (1883; Grantsville, UT: Archive Publishers, 2000). The theory persisted until being overturned by Fawn M. Brodie in *No Man Knows My History*, 143-144, 442-456.

⁶⁰ Joseph Smith, 28 May 1843, *History of the Church*, 5:412.

Kimball's grandson, Spencer, also presided over the Church (1973-1985).⁶¹ Joseph Smith's direct descendants maintained leadership of the RLDS Church in the Midwest, holding the presidency until 1996.⁶²

In addition to prominent leaders born in Vermont, other Mormons served missions in the Green Mountain State, and established at least a dozen branches throughout the state. The branches ranged in membership from half a dozen to hundreds, and fed scores of Vermonters into the ranks of the Mormon Church. The 1850 census showed nearly three hundred Vermont born residents of the Utah Territory. These converts did not fill the highest positions in the Church organization, but played a fundamental role in the settlement of the west. Lorin C. Farr, for example, born in Waterford, Caledonia County, became president of the Weber Stake (1851-1870), the mayor of Ogden, and served as a territorial legislator.⁶³

One of the easiest ways for Mormon Vermonters to connect their own lives with that of Joseph Smith was to emphasize their shared heritage. The ways in which Mormon Vermonters remembered their native state directly influenced the ways in which they remembered Joseph Smith. Brigham Young was proud of his birth in Vermont and referred to himself as "a green mountain boy."⁶⁴ Heber C. Kimball likewise rejoiced that

⁶¹ Edward L. Kimball and Andrew E. Kimball, Jr., *Spencer W. Kimball: Twelfth President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, Inc., 1977).

⁶² Paul M. Edwards, *Our Legacy of Faith: A Brief History of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1991); Richard P. Howard, *The Church Through the Years* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1992).

⁶³ Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia: A Compilation of Biographical Sketches of Prominent Men and Women in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City, UT: A. Jenson History Company and Deseret News, 1901-36), 1:749.

⁶⁴ Brigham Young, 1 Aug 1852, *Journal of Discourses*, 1:362. Young has commonly been described as having ill feelings for his native state, for example W. Storrs Lee, *The Green Mountains of Vermont* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1955), 93. However, the context of Young's questionable

he was “a backwoods Yankee, born in Vermont.”⁶⁵ In mentioning their birth, both Young and Erastus Snow specifically emphasized that their Vermont birth guaranteed their right to American citizenship.⁶⁶ Others linked their New England heritage to the traditions of virtue, piety, and devotion to the Revolution. For example, Edward Tullidge characterized many of the Mormon women as daughters of the Revolution.⁶⁷ Heber C. Kimball also emphasized that the land of their nativity had been “a rough, hard country” where he was taught to obey his parents.⁶⁸ He drew on his impoverished childhood to challenge converts from Europe to work hard and not expect the Church to take care of them:

They were like the bean-porridge that President Young and I got in Vermont, and I would have defied anybody to find a bean in it! It is no disgrace to be poor. I have been so poor that I could not get up in the morning! That may seem funny,

comment reveals that he is not expressing disdain for Vermont, but rather using his birth as an example of things in life that cannot be controlled, in contrast to those which can: “We are surrounded with circumstances that control us to a certain degree. My father and mother moved into the State of Vermont, and it happened that I was born there. I cannot help that. They might have stayed in Massachusetts, close to Boston. If they had, I should have been born there, and I could not have helped that. My father's name was John Young, and my mother's maiden name was Nabby How. I cannot help that. My father was a poor, honest, hard-working man; and his mind seemingly stretched from east to west, from north to south; and to the day of his death he wanted to command worlds; but the Lord would never permit him to get rich. He wanted to command all, and that too in righteousness. I cannot help all this; I have no power to control such circumstances. When I was about twenty months old, my father moved from Vermont into the State of New York, where I lived with him until I became a man. I cannot help that. There are a thousand circumstances I cannot help or control that are thrown around me without any action of my choice,” Brigham Young, 5 Jan 1860, *Journal of Discourses*, 9:106.

⁶⁵ Heber C. Kimball, 28 Aug 1859, *Journal of Discourses*, 7:233.

⁶⁶ Brigham Young, 6 Apr 1861, *Journal of Discourses*, 9:4; Erastus Snow, 26 Feb 1882, *Journal of Discourses*, 23:230.

⁶⁷ Edward W. Tullidge, *The Women of Mormondom* (New York: n.p., 1887); Thomas Gregg placed significance on Smith's “Yankee origin” in *The Prophet of Palmyra* (New York: John B. Alden, 1890), 10-11.

⁶⁸ Heber C. Kimball, 31 May 1857, *Journal of Discourses*, 4:328. See also Heber C. Kimball, 19 Mar 1854, *Journal of Discourses*, 3:106; Heber C. Kimball, 28 Aug 1859, *Journal of Discourses*, 7:235.

but it is true. I have lived in Vermont when I did not have half of what they have in Europe.⁶⁹

In addition to memories of poverty, Heber C. Kimball also commented on the corruption and wickedness he witnessed in Vermont.⁷⁰ He commented on their hypocrisy:

I came from a Christian country—from old Vermont—and they are all Christians there, of course. How can those of the New England States be otherwise who have held up so nobly for their Christianity? They are much extolled for their righteousness. I was there taught to be righteous, and I used to say, like many others there, it was pretty hard for a man to be a righteous man and get any property; for they, in that country, were a pack of knaves who would take the teeth out of your head if you did not keep your mouth shut. That was the kind of Christianity I was brought up amongst.⁷¹

After preaching in his home state, Erastus Snow felt ashamed that those of his native state placed declining importance on having children and raising families.⁷²

The patterns Vermont-born Mormons displayed in remembering their heritage carried over into the memories established to honor Joseph Smith. Some appeals brought out Joseph Smith's New England heritage and his American identity. This was especially beneficial during the anti-polygamy campaign when Mormons were charged with anti-American sentiment. For example, in 1882 Joseph F. Smith emphasized that the Prophet's parents were American citizens, and later stressed that Smith and "[m]any of the early proselytes to our faith were descendants of the Pilgrims and Puritans."⁷³

⁶⁹ Heber C. Kimball, 2 Sep 1860, *Journal of Discourses*, 8:214. For other references to his poverty in Vermont, see Heber C. Kimball, 12 Apr 1868, *Journal of Discourses*, 12:190-1.

⁷⁰ "I was born in Vermont, among the rocks, and have lived the greater portion of my days among those who are without God in the world; and I know their corruptions—yes, as well as they do. I know the wickedness in their cities, in their synagogues, and in their high places," Heber C. Kimball, 16 Jul 1854, *Journal of Discourses*, 7:20.

⁷¹ Heber C. Kimball, 31 Apr 1859, *Journal of Discourses*, 11:96.

⁷² Erastus Snow, 26 Feb 1882, *Journal of Discourses*, 23:230.

⁷³ Joseph F. Smith, 29 Oct 1882, *Journal of Discourses*, 24:14-15; Joseph F. Smith, *Conference Report*, April 1907, 5. Reprinted in B. H. Roberts, *Defense of the Faith and the Saints*, 2:240.

Memories of Joseph Smith in Vermont also centered on his poverty and its resultant lack of education. On one hand, remembering Smith as “a farmer’s boy”⁷⁴ strengthened claims for the authenticity of the Book of Mormon. Various missionaries, including Orson and Parley Pratt, Andrew Jenson, and B. H. Roberts, invoked this memory in literature directed outside the faith.⁷⁵ Years later the claim was most succinctly expressed by Franklin S. Harris, who asserted that this memory evinced the truth of the Book of Mormon because “No Vermont schoolboy wrote this.”⁷⁶ Similar appeals have continued throughout the twentieth century.⁷⁷ When directed inside the faith, the memory of a Vermont schoolboy gave added weight to the wisdom that Joseph Smith received through divine instruction. John Taylor described how Smith “was brought up in the Green Mountains of Vermont, and he did not have any of the advantages of what we call an education. The Lord took him into His school, and he

⁷⁴ Orson F. Whitney, *The Strength of the Mormon Position* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1917), 5.

⁷⁵ Orson Pratt, *Several Remarkable Visions* (1840), 3; Parley P. Pratt, *Key to the Science of Theology* (1855. Grantville, UT: Archive Publishers, 2000), 80; John Taylor, 29 Jun 1884, *Journal of Discourses*, 25:213; 5; Andrew Jenson, 16 Jan 1891, *Collected Discourses*, vol. 2; B. H. Roberts, *New Witnesses for God*, 3 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1909-1911), 1:204.

⁷⁶ Franklin S. Harris, Jr., *The Book of Mormon: Messages and Evidences* (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret News Press, 1953), 200.

⁷⁷ James E. Talmage, *The Story and Philosophy of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: The Deseret News, 1914), 8; Talmage, *Articles of Faith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1924), 1, 458; John Henry Evans, *Our Church and People* (Salt Lake City: The Deseret Book Company, 1924), 39; John Henry Evans, *Joseph Smith: An American Prophet*, 8-9; Joseph L. Wirthlin, CR, Apr 1943, 117; LeGrand Richards, *A Marvelous Work and a Wonder* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1950), 6; Spencer W. Kimball, *Faith Precedes the Miracle* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1972), 325-326; Harold B. Lee, *Stand Ye in Holy Places* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1976), 37; Neal A. Maxwell, *Wherefore Ye Must Press Forward* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1977), 102; Bruce R. McConkie, *A New Witness for the Articles of Faith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1985), 4; Heidi S. Swinton, *American Prophet: The Story of Joseph Smith, based on the documentary by Lee Groberg*. Salt Lake City: Shadow Mountain, 1999), 27-32.

taught him things that I have seen puzzle many of the wisest scientists, profoundest thinkers, and the most learned men that I have met with in this world.”⁷⁸

As nineteenth century Mormons formed collective memories of Joseph Smith as prophet, martyr, and Vermont schoolboy, they also developed ways to aggregate and perpetuate these memories. Historian James B. Allen has identified the 1880s as a critical time in this process.⁷⁹ Joseph Smith’s history was published serially in the *Times and Seasons* in Nauvoo during the early 1840s and in the *Deseret News* in Utah from 1852 to 1857.⁸⁰ Reminiscences of Smith were increasingly published during the 1870s and 1880s in Mormon periodicals: the *Woman’s Exponent*, *Young Women Journal*, and the *Juvenile Instructor*.⁸¹ Smith’s history was set to music and canonized in Mormon scripture. Yet, as the people who knew Joseph Smith began to pass away in the latter end of the century, there were calls for remembrance of Smith through public commemorations and monuments.

One of the most influential persons in the aggregation of the memory of Joseph Smith was painter C. C. A. Christensen. Born in 1831 in Copenhagen, Christensen converted to Mormonism in 1850 and immigrated to Utah seven years later. He prepared several paintings related to Mormon themes, but in the late 1870s began his most

⁷⁸ John Taylor, 29 Jun 1884, *Journal of Discourses*, 25:213.

⁷⁹ James B. Allen, “The Significance of Joseph Smith’s ‘First Vision’ in Mormon Thought,” *Dialogue* 1 (Autumn 1966): 29-45; James B. Allen, “Emergence of a Fundamental: The Expanding Role of Joseph Smith’s First Vision in Mormon Religious Thought,” *Journal of Mormon History* 7 (1980): 43-61.

⁸⁰ Howard C. Searle, “History of the Church (History of Joseph Smith),” *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1992), 647-648.

⁸¹ The majority of sources compiled in Andrus, *They Knew the Prophet* are from these periodicals.

influential work, a panorama of Mormon history. When completed, the panorama contained twenty-three paintings depicting scenes in Mormon history, from Joseph Smith's visions to the Saints' arrival in the Great Salt Lake Valley. The paintings are significant for this study because Christensen did not witness the events he painted, so his depictions were drawn from the aggregated recollections of others. Christensen displayed his paintings throughout the Utah where they were widely admired, and many Mormons hung copies of his paintings in their homes.⁸²

Christensen's Mormon Panorama collection provides a glimpse into the memories nineteenth century Mormons held of their faith and its founder. Of the twenty-three total paintings, five depict scenes of the Mormons crossing the plains and entering Salt Lake valley, events that took place after Smith's death. Fifteen paintings demonstrate the persecution Mormons experienced from their neighbors in Missouri and Illinois as well as their reactions to it. Joseph Smith appears in four of these persecution paintings, being tarred and feathered, being arrested, entering Liberty Jail, and mustering the Nauvoo Legion in response. Two of the persecution paintings present Joseph Smith as martyr: one a from scene inside Carthage Jail before his death, and the second a scene outside the jail afterward. Along the bottom of the interior scene Christensen presented the words "The Blood of the Martyrs is the Seed of the Church." The memory of Joseph Smith as a martyr had implications for all of his followers who could gain strength and conviction from Smith's martyrdom. Three of the paintings in Christensen's collection, however, portrayed Smith in a prophetic role. The first two paintings in the sequences depicted

⁸² Richard L. Jensen and Richard G. Oman, *C. C. A. Christensen, 1831-1912: Mormon Immigrant Artist* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1984); Bitton, *The Martyrdom Remembered*, 63-6, 94-5.

Smith's 1820 vision of God and Jesus Christ, and Smith's receiving the gold plates from the angel Moroni. The third prophetic painting showed Smith preaching to a group of assembled Indians.⁸³

Christensen's paintings have been mentioned by Mormon historians in connection with the memory of Joseph Smith, but their significance for understanding popular perceptions of the Mormon past has yet to receive due attention.⁸⁴ Christensen's depiction of the outside of Carthage Jail after the martyrdom illustrates the fabricated experience of a ray of light halting the efforts of a mob member to decapitate the murdered prophet, and professional historians in the twentieth century have labored diligently to trace the source of the story and to demonstrate its falsity.⁸⁵ Yet as recently as 1994, Davis Bitton has observed that the story persists in popular Mormon memory.⁸⁶ The enduring nature of this story is a testament to the influence of Christensen's work and to the power of popular memory. One hundred years earlier, at a gathering of surviving Saints who had personally known the Prophet, three of the speakers emphatically averred that contemporary paintings of Joseph Smith did not capture his true appearance, one woman calling them "little better than caricatures."⁸⁷ Yet, for the generation of Mormons converted after Smith's death or born in Utah during the second

⁸³ Twenty-two of the twenty-three paintings are reprinted in Jensen and Oman, *C. C. A. Christensen*, 91-113. The first painting in the panorama, that of Smith's First Vision, does not survive.

⁸⁴ James B. Allen mentions him in passing, "The Emergence of a Fundamental," 53-54.

⁸⁵ Oaks and Hill, *Carthage Conspiracy*, 88-89; Richard C. Poulsen suggested that the fate of the persecutors myth was adapted from other myths, "Fate and the Persecutors of Joseph Smith: Transmutations of an American Myth," *Dialogue* 11 (Winter 1978): 63-70.

⁸⁶ Bitton, *The Martyrdom Remembered*, 64.

⁸⁷ Bathsheba W. Smith, Angus M. Cannon, John Smith, *Collected Discourses*, 5:33.

half of the nineteenth century, paintings were the best available substitute for personal experience.

Christensen's painting of Joseph Smith's First Vision, though now lost, set off a chain reaction that reverberated through the first half of the twentieth century. The painting was first displayed in 1878 and viewed by convert George Manwaring. Manwaring felt he was "immediately inspired" to pen the four verse text describing Joseph Smith's experience with prayer.⁸⁸ The text was polished and published with music in 1878 in the *Juvenile Instructor*, a magazine for Mormon children, and later published in Sunday School songbooks.⁸⁹ Historians of Mormon music agree with Verena Ursenbach Hatch's observation that the Sunday School was "the dominant force in fostering music of the Church."⁹⁰ Manwaring's translation of Christensen's artwork into music influenced generations of Mormon children.

In 1880, two years after the hymn version of Smith's history, the Church performed what has become perhaps the most important single institutional act in remembering Joseph Smith: they canonized the portion of his history that recounted the First Vision, the visits from Moroni, translation of the *Book of Mormon* and the restoration of the priesthood. Joseph Smith had recorded his story in the History of the Church, and portions of it had been published in England in the *Pearl of Great Price* as

⁸⁸ Pyper, 33-38.

⁸⁹ George Manwaring, "Joseph Smith's First Prayer," *Juvenile Instructor* 13 (15 Mar 1878): 72. On editing the text see Hicks, *Mormonism and Music*, 117-118. *Deseret Sunday School Union Music Book* (1884), 87-8; *Deseret Sunday School Songs* (1909), 41; *Songs of Zion* (1912), 41; *Hymns* (1948), 136; *Hymns* (1985), 26.

⁹⁰ Verena Ursenbach Hatch, "Latter-day Saint Church Music: Past, Present, and Future," unpublished address given 25 Sep 1980, 5, Harold B. Lee Library. On the relationship between Sunday School songs and the official hymnals of the twentieth century see Hicks, *Mormonism and Music*, chapter 8; Moody, "Contemporary Hymnody in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," 14-18; Jay L. Slaughter, "The Role of Music in the Mormon Church, School, and Life," 195-219.

early as 1851. Apostles George A. Smith and Wilford Woodruff had also announced that “[t]he History of Joseph Smith is true, and is one of the most authentic histories ever written.”⁹¹ In October 1880, the Church convened a general conference at which John Taylor, acting president since Brigham Young’s death in 1877, was sustained as Joseph Smith’s successor in the office of president of the Church. His counselors George Q. Cannon and Joseph F. Smith presented the *Pearl of Great Price* to a vote of the general membership “as from God, and binding upon us as a people and as a Church.” The vote was unanimous.⁹² A century later, Heber C. Kimball’s grandson and Joseph Smith and John Taylor’s successor, Spencer W. Kimball, described the enduring significance of this event, “[I]n a very real sense, special records, such as the holy scriptures, are the spiritual memory of mankind.”⁹³ The canonization of Joseph Smith’s history secured his place as the preeminent figure in the spiritual memory of the Latter-day Saints.

Two years after Smith’s history was canonized, in 1882, the Deseret Sunday School Union published a catechism designed to inculcate the essential details about Joseph Smith. It began, naturally, with his birth:

5 Q. Who was Joseph Smith?

A. -- A prophet whom God raised up to begin His great work in our days.

6 Q. -- When was Joseph Smith born?

A. -- On the 23rd of December 1805.

7 Q. -- Where was he born?

A. -- At Sharon, Windsor County, in the State of Vermont.⁹⁴

⁹¹ Joseph Smith, *History of the Church*, 1 :vi

⁹² Journal History, 10 Oct. 1880, cited in H. Donl Peterson, *The Pearl of Great Price: A History and Commentary* (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book Company, 1987).

⁹³ Spencer W. Kimball, World Conference of Records, 12 Aug 1980.

⁹⁴ *Questions and Answers on the Life and Mission of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Sunday School Union, 1882) 9.

Recited repeatedly by several generations of children, the catechism indelibly impressed Joseph Smith's Vermont birth on the minds of Mormon children.⁹⁵

A commemorative impulse present in Mormon thought since the 1820s found open expression during the 1880s. Joseph Smith visited the Hill Cumorah annually for four years before receiving the plates. Latter-day Saints gather each April and October for general conferences. Referring to Biblical practice, Wilford Woodruff noted in his journal on April 6, 1843 the beginning of a Jubilee year.⁹⁶ Two years after their arrival in the Salt Lake Valley, Mormons began to celebrate the day of their arrival, July 24, as Pioneer Day. At the April 1880 conference of the Church, leaders kicked off a year long jubilee celebration. In Biblical tradition, \$800,000 of debts was forgiven to poor immigrants who could not repay their perpetual emigration fund loans. The Church also forgave over \$75,000 in unpaid tithing, and the Church and its members collaborated to donate 1,000 cows and 5,000 sheep to poor and widows. Over the next half century, institutional jubilee celebrations featuring music, parades, banquets and addresses were held to commemorate the founding of the Relief Society (1892), Sunday School (1899), and Mutual Improvement Association (1925), as well as the Pioneer arrival (1897).⁹⁷

The 1880 Jubilee year also sparked personal celebrations. Orson Pratt held a private commemoration celebrating fifty years of church membership.⁹⁸ On December

⁹⁵ See Howard R. Driggs, "A Place of Worship in the Green Mountains," *Juvenile Instructor* 57 (Oct 1922): 540-43.

⁹⁶ Woodruff, *Journal of Wilford Woodruff*, 6 Apr 1843.

⁹⁷ Woodruff, *Journal of Wilford Woodruff*, 6 and 7 Apr 1880; *Deseret News 1980 Church Almanac* (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret News, 1980), 316-7; *Deseret News 1981 Church Almanac* (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret News, 1980), 298-99.

⁹⁸ Woodruff, *Journal of Wilford Woodruff*, 19 Sep 1880.

23, 1880, Latter-day Saints in St. George, Utah, gathered to celebrate the 75th Anniversary of Joseph Smith's birth. Mormon poet and author, wife of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young, and president of the women's Relief Society, Eliza R. Snow wrote a poetic tribute that linked the birth of Mormonism with the birth of its Prophet: "We celebrate our glorious era's morn,/The day the prophet Joseph Smith was born; A mighty destiny hangs on that birth,/That yet will revolutionize the earth." Reading her poem publicly in St. George, Utah, where the first temple in Utah had recently been constructed, she mused on Smith's prophetic role, the presence of a temple witnessing "That God is with us. And it testifies/That Joseph Smith, the great and good and wise,/Is God's true prophet, and his memory dear/The hosts above, and Saints on earth, revere."⁹⁹ In 1889, Junius F. Wells, the editor of *The Contributor* announced that "the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Later-day Saints, set apart the anniversary of the birthday of the Prophet Joseph Smith, December 23d, as a day of fasting and prayer," in which Mormons abstained from business affairs as well as food. The editor noted that a Church-wide fast was an uncommon practice for the time that "marks an important epoch in the history of the Latter-day Saints."¹⁰⁰

In terms of the memory of Joseph Smith, the last decades of the nineteenth century were indeed an "important epoch in the history of the Latter-day Saints" as the Saints realized that not only had Joseph Smith passed on, but those personally acquainted

⁹⁹ The poem was published posthumously, "A Tribute to the Birthday of the Prophet Joseph Smith," *The Relief Society Magazine*, 4 (Dec 1917): 663-665. Regarding Eliza R. Snow see Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, ed., *The Personal Writings of Eliza Roxcy Snow*, 2d ed. (Logan, UT: Utah State University Press, 2000).

¹⁰⁰ Junius F. Wells, "A Day of Fasting and Prayer," *The Contributor*, 11 (January 1889): 115-116.

with him were quickly following him to the grave. Heber C. Kimball died in 1868, Brigham Young in 1877, and Eliza R. Snow and John Taylor in 1887. On 23 December 1894, a gathering was held in the Sixteenth Ward Meeting House in Salt Lake City to which were invited all still alive who had known or seen Joseph Smith. Fewer than two dozen appeared.¹⁰¹

This 1894 gathering is significant because it seems to be the place where Joseph F. Smith, nephew of the Prophet and then a counselor in the First Presidency, perceived the need to remember the Prophet in more enduring ways and began to act on it. Smith noted on this occasion that in the half century since the Prophet's martyrdom, the Saints "never had to [his] knowledge more than a small private gathering occasionally." The lack of attention was unfortunate, and Smith, observing that his family relation may be the cause of a little bias, declared that "the next birthday celebration to that of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ should be that of Joseph Smith."¹⁰²

Perhaps Smith considered the possibility of erecting a monument to the memory of Joseph Smith. George A. Smith, an Apostle and cousin of Joseph Smith, placed a limestone marker commemorating the Smith ancestry in the Topsfield Massachusetts cemetery in 1873.¹⁰³ Fifteen years later, O. B. Huntington erected a monument to the pioneers who had died at Mt. Pisgah, Iowa, on one acre of land purchased by the Church

¹⁰¹ Those in attendance included twenty-three people who had known Joseph Smith, including two wives, two people baptized by him, one man who had been ordained by him to the Priesthood, and five people who had simply seen him, *Collected Discourses*, 5:26-35.

¹⁰² Joseph F. Smith, *Collected Discourses*, 5:26-27.

¹⁰³ LaMar C. Berrett, ed., *Sacred Places: A Comprehensive Guide to Early LDS Historical Sites*, 3 vols. (Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1999-2002), 1:32. While serving a mission in England, Junius Wells assisted George A. Smith in tracing the Smith genealogy, see Junius F. Wells, *CR* Oct 1926, 68-69.

in 1886.¹⁰⁴ Most recently, the Brigham Young Memorial Association was organized in 1891 and commissioned a monument to the colonizer.¹⁰⁵

Whether he considered a monument or not, Smith proposed a solution: “I should like to see introduced among the Latter-day Saints, even at the risk of introducing another general holiday, the practice of celebrating or commemorating the birthday of the Prophet Joseph Smith.”¹⁰⁶ Throughout the remaining years of the nineteenth century, such celebrations became more widespread and grew in scale. In 1897, the Ogden Third Ward Sunday School hosted a special program, with music including “We Thank Thee O God for a Prophet,” “Joseph Smith’s First Prayer,” “A Poor Wayfaring Man of Grief,” and “Oh Give Me Back My Prophet Dear.” A few people who had known the Prophet were also invited to share their reminiscences. C. F. Middleton was eight years old in March 1842 when Smith baptized him, and he later met one of the Prophet’s murderers. Those present could not help “feeling that the time is near at hand when a more general celebration of this important birthday will be observed as men learn to appreciate the great worth of the mission performed by the Prophet Joseph Smith.”¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ Purchased in 1886, the cemetery property was exempt from taxes and no specific record of the purchase seemed to have been made in Salt Lake City. The Church’s ownership was “rediscovered” by a group of Mormon tourists who visited the site in 1936, and finding it in poor upkeep, inquired about its ownership, see Richard L. Evans, “Mt. Pisgah Mormon Cemetery,” *Improvement Era* 40 (Jan 1937): 20-22.

¹⁰⁵ The monument began as a statue of Young with left hand outstretched that was displayed at the World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893 before being placed on a base at the intersection of South Temple and Main Streets in Salt Lake City. The statue and base were unveiled at the Pioneer Jubilee in 1897 and the entire monument, which also included statues of a trapper and an Indian, was completed in 1900. See J. Michael Hunter, “The Monument to Brigham Young and the Pioneers: One Hundred Years of Controversy,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 68 (Fall 2000): 332-50.

¹⁰⁶ Joseph F. Smith, *Collected Discourses*, 5:26-27.

¹⁰⁷ “Joseph Smith’s Birthday,” *The Juvenile Instructor* 33 (1898): 76.

However, as public commemoration increased, the need to appropriately remember Joseph Smith became more apparent. By the end of the century, the majority of living people who had known or seen the Prophet were only children when they knew him. The experiences of children with Smith were less often about his preaching, healing, and prophesying and more often about the trivial things that children remember from their childhood: Smith broke up a fistfight, gave someone a ride on his horse, disciplined a rowdy child, told stories, or played with the children on the ice.¹⁰⁸ Perceiving this situation, Joseph F. Smith, at the December 1894 gathering, cautioned the speakers that “it is sometimes the ludicrous things and drastic things which occur that impress themselves with greater vigor upon the mind, and we remember them more distinctly than we do other things of far greater importance and which are far more worthy to be recollected.” He reminded those in attendance that “if somebody tells us about Joseph being fond of wrestling, fond of running a foot race, fond of having a good scuffle, with some lusty neighbor or friend...it need not detract one iota from the great and glorious principles which were revealed through him to the world.”¹⁰⁹

If Joseph F. Smith had any hopes for a monument to Joseph Smith, the 1890s was not the time for the Church to undertake the project, as it was still strapped by debt and Utah was not granted statehood until 1896.¹¹⁰ Shortly after Utah received statehood, Church President Wilford Woodruff proposed the idea of a monument to Joseph Smith and recommendations were made to erect a monument on the southeast corner of the

¹⁰⁸ These stories were all told in the early twentieth century, T. Edgar Lyon, “Recollections of ‘Old Nauvooers:’ Memories from Oral History,” *BYU Studies* 18 (Winter 1978): 143-150.

¹⁰⁹ Joseph F. Smith, *Collected Discourses*, 5:27-28.

¹¹⁰ Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890-1930* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1996), chapter one.

Temple Block, or to construct a memorial building across the street.¹¹¹ Not all of the Church leaders, however, believed that a monument was the most appropriate way to remember the past. George Q. Cannon of the First Presidency said he was “not much of a believer in monuments, for I think that men and their good deeds should live in memory,” and the idea was tabled for several years.¹¹²

Throughout the nineteenth century, Latter-day Saints who knew Smith in life cherished their individual memories, while influential Mormons aggregated the individual expressions into collective memories of Joseph Smith as prophet, martyr, and Vermont schoolboy. Yet, as those personally acquainted with Smith began to pass away, others sought to perpetuate Smith’s memory through painting, hymn, scripture, and public commemoration. The opening of the twentieth century would witness a change in Church leadership that promoted commemoration of the past in the tangible forms of places and monuments.

¹¹¹ Woodruff, *Journal of Wilford Woodruff*, 23 Apr 1896; John R. Winder, “Joseph and Hyrum Memorial,” *Conference Reports of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (CR)*, April 1904, 77. Woodruff often visited monuments and commented on them in his diary, *Journal of Wilford Woodruff*, Bunker Hill 11 May 1838; Washington’s monument in Baltimore 31 Mar 1846; Lord Nelson 11 Jan 1840, George Granville 18 Feb 1840, various monuments in Worcester Cathedral 21 Apr 1840, monument of the Fire of London 21 Aug 1840, St. Pauls’ Cathedral 24 Aug 1840, Westminster Abbey 5 Sep 1840; Duke of York 8 Sep 1840, Duke of Wellington 20 Oct 1840, Mountain Meadows monument 25 May 1861.

¹¹² The dedication of the Brigham Young Monument in 1900 evoked Cannon’s public statement, *Deseret Evening News*, 24 Jul 1900, cited in Hunter, “The Monument to Brigham Young,” 340. On Cannon’s significant influence in Church and state affairs see Davis Bitton, *George Q. Cannon: A Biography* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1999).

CHAPTER TWO

MEMORIES INTO MONUMENT, 1901-1905

Out of the mists of memory rises that exquisite shaft; it cleaves the sky, the flawless surface bearing a clear-toned, divine message to the darkened world of superstition and unbelief.

Susa Young Gates, March 1906¹

Vermont bears a curious relation to Mormonism.... It is a peculiar coincidence that the Vermont of a century ago, dominated by the straitest sect of Puritanical thought, should have given birth to the master minds of an organization so at variance with all for which New England has stood in the field of religion and morals.

Randolph, Vermont *Herald and News*, 1 Jun 1905²

In his study of the Statue of Liberty, Marvin Trachtenberg emphasized that “monuments function as social magnets, crystallizations of social energy, one of the means civilization has devised to reinforce its cohesiveness and to give meaning and structure to life. Monuments are a way men transmit communal emotions, a medium of continuity and interaction between generations, not only in space but across time, for to be monumental is to be permanent.”³ The memories of Joseph Smith as prophet, martyr, and Vermont schoolboy aggregated during the nineteenth century were concretized into

¹ Susa Young Gates, “Memorial Monument Dedication,” *Improvement Era* 9 (1905-1906): 388.

² From *St. Albans Messenger*, reprinted in Randolph, Vermont *Herald and News* (RH), 1 Jun 1905.

³ Marvin Trachtenberg, *The Statue of Liberty*, rev. ed. (New York: Viking Penguin, Inc., 1986), 7.

monumental form in the twentieth century. Though not the first monument proposed to Joseph Smith, the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument in Vermont was the first monument completed. And while it was also the first monument erected by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, the details of its construction were planned and carried out largely under the direction of Junius F. Wells.

Histories of the construction of Joseph Smith Memorial Monument have relied exclusively on Wells' summary of the project given on the day of its dedication on 23 December 1905 and published the following year in the dedication proceedings.⁴ In this account, Wells was very specific about naming the people involved, but spoke only generally of timing and chronology. The Wells collection at the LDS Church Archives contains several additional statements and correspondence that yield significant insight into the process of identifying and purchasing the property, and proposing and carrying out the project.⁵ Yet, the key source for confirming the details of the monument's construction is found not in Utah, but in Vermont. Throughout the state, newspapers chronicled, commented, and congratulated or condemned Junius F. Wells' efforts to tap the resources of the Vermont granite industry for the purpose of commemorating Joseph Smith.⁶ Incorporating all of these sources, this chapter presents a fuller picture than previously possible of the process by which the memories of Joseph Smith as a prophet, martyr, and Vermont schoolboy were concretized into the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument in Vermont. The story of Wells' efforts to identify Smith's birthplace, design

⁴ *Proceedings*, 9-15.

⁵ Junius F. Wells, Collection, LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah. The collection is uncatalogued and referenced hereafter as Wells Collection.

⁶ The most detailed accounts appear between April and December 1905 in the *Randolph Herald*, *Burlington Free Press*, and *Montpelier Daily Journal*.

a monument, and carry out its construction is exciting and amazing, and the concretization process reveals that Wells' cooperation with Vermonters throughout the state gave Latter-day Saint memories of Joseph Smith distinctive twentieth century ties to Vermont.

By 1901, Utah had enjoyed statehood for five years. The Church was moving out of debt, and the new century brought a new sense of place for the Church in the nation. The days of pioneering and hardship were fading from memory. An editorial in a Church periodical called for increased memorialization of Joseph Smith:

This people in the past have been involved in the building and formation of a new and undeveloped country, in which labor they have spent their energies to lay the foundation for the present prosperous material conditions. They have scarcely had time to dwell upon birth or death, or the glorious mission of the prophets of God; and it is true that Joseph Smith and his mission have not always received that recognition that his labor, and its importance and magnitude should demand. It is, therefore, pleasing and appropriate, and will result in good, that his name and mission should be held in remembrance as on the occasion referred to; and it is to be hoped that now, when the people have more time for thought, and leisure to devote to their spiritual welfare, that the Prophet's anniversary will be held, from this time forth, in sacred remembrance, and his glorious mission in daily sacred reverence.⁷

Also in 1901, the deaths of George Q. Cannon (in April) and Church President Lorenzo Snow (October) precipitated the organization of a new First Presidency composed of three men with strong interest in the Church's history. Church President Joseph F. Smith was the son of Hyrum Smith and nephew of Joseph Smith. The new president had been born in Missouri in 1838 and cherished memories of both his father and uncle, recalling with poignant emotion the day of their martyrdom. Smith had crossed the plains with the Mormons and grown up in Utah, and served as a counselor in

⁷ "Joseph Smith, the Prophet," *Improvement Era* 5 (January 1902): 233.

the First Presidency to Brigham Young and his three successors, and had recognized in 1894 the need for enduring commemoration. Smith called as first counselor John R. Winder, a native of England who immigrated to Utah in 1853 where he served in the local militia, founded a successful dairy, and involved himself in local politics. Smith's second counselor, Anthon H. Lund, was born in Denmark less than two months before Joseph Smith was martyred in 1844. Arriving in Utah in 1862, Lund farmed in Utah's southern Sanpete County. President Joseph F. Smith served as a personal connection to the Church's history, and his counselors shared his interest in the history of their faith.⁸

As the first year of the new century closed, "in accordance with the very timely and appropriate suggestion of the First Presidency of the Church, the ninety-sixth anniversary of the birthday of the Prophet Joseph, was fittingly remembered in all the cities and settlements of Zion, this year, by special commemorative services, held in all the wards on Sunday, December 22nd." Indeed, many felt it "most fitting that his name should be held in sacred remembrance by the Saints, and that the Children of Zion should be taught to honor his memory."⁹

As 1902 opened, Church leaders felt that "time admonishes us that his centennial natal day is close at hand; and, at that time, nothing could be more fitting than its universal celebration by the Saints of God, in some appropriate manner that would tend to build his monument, not only in perishable stone and marble, but more particularly in

⁸ Joseph Fielding Smith, *Life of Joseph F. Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1938); Francis M. Gibbons, *Joseph F. Smith: Patriarch and Preacher, Prophet of God* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1984); Richard Nietzel Holzapfel and R. Q. Shupe, *Joseph F. Smith: Portrait of a Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 2000); Michael K. Winder, *John R. Winder: Member of the First Presidency, Pioneer, Temple Builder, Dairyman* (Bountiful, Utah: Horizon Publishers, 1999); Jennifer L. Lund, "Anthon H. Lund," in *Counselors to the Prophets*, ed. Michael K. Winder (Roy, Utah: Eborn Books, 2001), 261-273.

⁹ "Joseph Smith, the Prophet," *Improvement Era* 5 (January 1902): 232-233.

the hearts and lives, the everlasting memory, of the Saints, and the youth of Israel.”¹⁰

The following year leaders continued to encourage that “his birthday should be appropriately celebrated in the congregations of the Saints.”¹¹ In 1903, the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers hosted a commemorative service where Joseph F. Smith and Senator W. H. King gave addresses, and the following year, President Smith encouraged local leaders to host similar services in their congregations.¹²

In 1903, John R. Winder proposed the purchase of Carthage Jail and the Church’s first definitive move in the direction of historic site acquisition came in 1903 when the jail was purchased. The following year the Church purchased property in Missouri. In April 1904, John R. Winder proposed action closer to home: “I would like to see something erected to these martyrs that would be an object lesson to our children and our children’s children throughout all generations, and also to the thousands of people who visit us, that they too may have something of this kind to look at.” Winder read a resolution that called for the erection of a building or monument and proposed that President Joseph F. Smith appoint a committee to oversee the project. The resolution was “adopted unanimously” by the congregation, and President Smith appointed Winder to chair the committee composed of Quorum President Elder Francis M. Lyman, Presiding Bishop William B. Preston, and Bishop George Romney. The congregation ratified the

¹⁰ “Joseph Smith, the Prophet,” *Improvement Era* 5 (January 1902): 233.

¹¹ *Improvement Era* 7 (December 1903): 138-39.

¹² “Journal History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,” LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, 8 Oct 1904, 2; 20 Dec 1904, 2. The Daughters of the Utah Pioneers was organized in 1901 by John Taylor’s daughter to promote Mormon heritage, see *History and Sketch of the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers and President’s Report* (Salt Lake City, UT: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1907); *Daughters of the Utah Pioneers: The First Twenty-Five Years* (Salt Lake City, UT: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1986); Norma B. Winn and Emma R. Olsen, comp., *Daughters of the Utah Pioneers through the Years* (Salt Lake City, UT: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1990).

action by singing “Praise to the Man.”¹³ The official institutional response to Winder’s resolution came two months later on 27 Jun 1904, when Church authorities selected a site on Temple Square. However, the project would not be completed until June 1911, when statues of the Prophet and Patriarch were dedicated.¹⁴

In the meantime, Winder’s charge and the general institutional interest in monuments and historic commemoration elicited a non-institutional response from a second generation Mormon raised on the memory of Joseph Smith. Junius Free Wells was born in Utah in 1854 to Daniel Hanmer Wells and Hannah C. Free. Daniel Wells lived in Illinois during the 1830s and 1840s and knew Joseph Smith personally. “Squire Wells,” as he was known to the Mormons in Nauvoo, did not join the Church until after the Prophet’s death, but after emigrating to Utah, Wells became an Apostle and counselor to Brigham Young.¹⁵ As Joseph Smith left Nauvoo for Carthage in June 1844, sensing he would not return, he admonished Wells to “cherish my memory.”¹⁶ Daniel Wells named three of his sons Joseph, Brigham, and Heber, and they along with Junius and their brothers and sisters grew up on the stories and memories of the Saints who had walked and talked with the Prophet. After attending the University of Deseret, Wells managed his father’s lumberyard and worked as a clerk in ZCMI, a Utah department store. He served a mission to Great Britain from 1872 to 1874, and to the Eastern States during

¹³ John R. Winder, “Joseph and Hyrum Memorial,” *CR*, April 1904, 76-77.

¹⁴ *Improvement Era*, 7 (Aug 1904): 810.

¹⁵ Bryant S. Hinckley, *Daniel Hanmer Wells and Events of His Time* (Salt Lake City: The Deseret News Press, 1942).

¹⁶ Smith, *History of the Church*, 6:554.

1875-76. Between the two missions, Brigham Young asked him to organize a Church auxiliary organization for young men. On 10 June 1875, Wells inaugurated the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association (YMMIA) in the Salt Lake City Thirteenth Ward, and served as its first superintendent from 1876 to 1880. On 17 June 1879, Wells married Helena Middleton Fobes and the couple had two children.¹⁷

In October 1879 Wells founded *The Contributor*, a magazine directed to youth that he edited for nearly two decades.¹⁸ Those who knew Wells personally recognized him as a “great friend maker” with a “polished, charming manner.” Wells was a man of broad interests: he loved the outdoors and dabbled in mining. He studied history (his Mormon friends said that “few men in the entire community were better acquainted with Church history and doctrine than was he”), and kept abreast of local and national politics (“few men in the nation were better posted on the trend of world affairs”).¹⁹ Wells also traveled widely, throughout Europe and all of the continental states. The friends he met along the way described him as “a typical western man, quiet, resourceful, interested, vivid in speech.” They observed that he was “most courteous, but he does things when things are to be done” (see Fig. 2).²⁰

¹⁷ Andrew Jenson, *Latter-Day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:714; Paul Thomas Smith, “Junius F. Wells,” *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1992), 1560-1561; *Deseret News Church Almanac, 1999-2000* (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret News, 1998), 95.

¹⁸; Junius F. Wells (JFW), “Historic Sketch of the Y.M.M.I.A.,” *Improvement Era*, 27(Jun 1925): 713-736; Junius F. Wells, “The Contributor,” *Improvement Era*, 33 (Nov 1929): 55-57; Junius F. Wells, Share of Stock in the Contributor Company, BYU Special Collections; George Albert Smith and Ruth May Fox, “Original Y.M.M.I.A. Worker Called Home,” *Improvement Era*, 30 (Jun 1930): 549.

¹⁹ George Albert Smith and Ruth May Fox, “Original Y.M.M.I.A. Worker Called Home,” *Improvement Era*, 30 (Jun 1930): 549; George Albert Smith, “Funeral Services for Junius Free Wells,” 20 April 1930, 18, LDS Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

²⁰ *Boston Sunday Globe*, 17 Dec 1905.

In August 1894, while on one of his many trips, Wells took a detour through Vermont. Stepping off the train, Wells became one of over eight thousand guests who visited Windsor County that year, and in dining at a local restaurant he contributed to the estimated \$500,000 in revenues generated throughout the state by the tourism industry.²¹ Wells found his way to the Sharon Town Clerk's Office where he was directed to Harvey Smith (only a distant relation to Joseph Smith, and that through marriage), a long-time resident familiar with the history of the region. Wells called on Smith and purchased some maple syrup from his wife. Smith then led Wells out across the fields to an old cellar hole, some crumbling cellar walls overgrown with small shrubs and the only physical remains of the Smith family home where the prophet was born. Six months later, Wells reported on his visit in *The Contributor*.²² He later recalled that as he rode away from the Prophet's birthplace, he commented "that some time we ought to mark this place with a monument of the faith of our people in Joseph Smith the Prophet."²³

But just as the 1890s was not the time for a the Church to erect a monument, it was likewise not the time for a monument to Joseph Smith in Vermont. Throughout the nineteenth century, residents of Vermont had not forgotten about Smith or the Mormons. During the 1830s and 1840s many followed Smith's career with curiosity through newspaper accounts and correspondence. While some were inclined to simply dismiss or forget Vermont's connection with Mormonism, others wanted to punish and even

²¹ Vermont Department of Agriculture, *Report on Summer Travel for 1894* (Montpelier, Vt.: Watchman Publishing Co., 1894), 2-6, Wilbur Special Collections, Bailey-Howe Library, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vermont.

²² JFW, "Birthplace of the Prophet Joseph Smith," *The Contributor*, 16 (Feb 1895): 202-211.

²³ JFW, *Proceedings*, 9-10.

eradicate Smith's followers. Utah territorial representative and Mormon Apostle George Q. Cannon observed that while Mormons "have received so many blessings through men born in the Green Mountain State," it was "a remarkable thing that Vermonters should be the chief instruments in framing, urging and securing the passage of legislation against us."²⁴ Congressional opposition to polygamy received an over-representative boost from Vermonters, such as Justin Morrill (1862), Luke Poland (1874), and George Edmunds (1882, 1887) who sponsored tough anti-polygamy legislation.²⁵ In 1894, the year that Wells arrived in Vermont, Jacob G. Ullery compiled a study of notable *Men of Vermont*, relegating Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, and Heber C. Kimball to a short list of "Queer Characters" from Vermont's past.²⁶

Yet the twentieth century was a new century, and ever interested in his own family history, Junius Wells traveled to Boston to meet with a monument contractor, Riley C. Bowers of Montpelier, Vermont, to inquire about granite for a monument to his father, Daniel H. Wells. In the course of their 28 March meeting, Wells mentioned the idea of a monument to Joseph Smith in Sharon, to commemorate the centennial anniversary of his birth in 1805. Bowers thought it a workable idea and recommended

²⁴ George Q. Cannon, 8 Oct 1882, *Journal of Discourses*, 23:273. See also Erastus Snow, *Conference Report*, Apr 1880, 60.

²⁵ On the legislation and its impact see Edward Brown Firmage and Richard Collin Mangrum, *Zion in the Courts: A Legal History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2001); Sarah Barringer Gordon, *The Mormon Question: Polygamy and Constitutional Conflict in Nineteenth Century America* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2002). On Morrill see William B. Parker, *The Life and Public Services of Justin Smith Morrill* (1924. New York: Da Capo Press, 1971); Coy F. Cross II, *Justin Smith Morrill: Father of the Land-Grant Colleges* (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1999). On Edmunds see Walter Hill Crockett, "George F. Edmunds," *The Vermonter* 24 (1919): 28-42.

²⁶ Jacob G. Ullery rounded out his list with John Humphrey Noyes, *Men of Vermont: An Illustrated Biographical History of Vermonters and Sons of Vermont* (Brattleboro, VT: Transcript Publishing Company, 1894), 197-201.

Barre granite because “of its fine quality and of its proximity to [Sharon]” and Bowers “volunteered to assist” Wells.²⁷ After making arrangements for the monument to his father, Wells returned to Salt Lake City to share his idea with the First Presidency.

Wells made his proposal for a monument to Joseph Smith to President Joseph F. Smith, and his counselors, by way of a letter dated 1 April 1905. Although the letter has not survived, Wells likely reported that he had stood at the site ten years earlier and that a contractor in Vermont felt that the land could be purchased and a monument erected. Wells offered to supervise the project and took the liberty of proposing a monument for the site, recommending dimensions and inscriptions, and even included a sketch of the proposal. The First Presidency was more cautious than Wells, however, and instructed that he first verify the location of the Prophet’s birth and then attempt to purchase it; only then would they consider the proposal for building a monument.²⁸

With these instructions, Wells left Salt Lake for Vermont on 10 May 1905. He telegraphed Bowers on the way to inform him of the plans, asking him “to secure an extension of the option to buy the property from Mr. Robinson until June 15th.” Wells felt this would be important “to gain a month’s time and as a precaution against any temptation that might come to the owner to raise difficulties.” Bowers acted promptly and had the extension by the time Wells arrived. Wells and Bowers met in Montpelier and traveled together to South Royalton on 15 May.²⁹

²⁷ JFW, *Proceedings*, 10.

²⁸ JFW, “Report on Joseph Smith’s Birthplace,” 10 Jun 1905, 23-25, JFW Collection, LDS Church Archives.

²⁹ JFW, “Report on Joseph Smith’s Birthplace,” 1; *RH*, 18 May 1905, 7.

Situated at the confluence of the White River and its largest tributary, the First or Tunbridge Branch, the village of South Royalton began as a gamble. The first rail line in the state of Vermont was laid through the White River Valley in 1848, from White River Junction at the river's mouth on the Connecticut River, to Bethel at the mouth of the third branch. Daniel Tarbell of neighboring Tunbridge and Lyman Benson of neighboring Sharon recognized the unprecedented opportunity and collaborated on the most successful railroad speculation in Windsor County. Near the mouth of the First Branch, the pair built a bridge over the White River, set up a store and station, and Tarbell built a hotel across the street. Soon a church, school, and several houses were built and South Royalton sprung up "like a mushroom overnight."³⁰

By the time Wells and Bowers arrived in 1905, the village had grown to a bustling modern outpost. In 1900, the village installed electric lights, and the original bridge over the White River was replaced by a steel one in 1903. The latest craze among residents centered on a strange new contraption, the telephone. Three fires (the most recent in 1886) had gutted the village and most of the buildings had been rebuilt in a modest style of Greek revival architecture. A wide green served as the symbolic center of the village, the rail line running north-south along its western edge. To the east stood a traditional white Congregational chapel, and just beyond rose the year old shingled tower of the Methodist Church. To the north ran a row of busy stores while a dozen houses, recently remodeled in styles of "money and fashion, gingerbread and lacework, turrets and towers and verandas and trim" circled the green.³¹ On the southwest corner of the green, Daniel

³⁰ Nash, *Royalton Vermont*, 30-31. Tarbell unsuccessfully tried his hand at a steam mill and bank.

³¹ Nash, *Royalton Vermont*, 41.

Tarbell's hotel, the South Royalton House, still served travelers and here Wells "made headquarters."³²

In the small village of South Royalton, it was not difficult for residents to notice the presence of a Mormon, and the national attention the Church had received for its practice of polygamy likely created curious images in their minds. Nevertheless, the local newspaper reported that Wells' "gentlemanly bearing and open manner soon swept aside any preconceived prejudice." Residents also respected the fact that he "made no secret of his purposes—to settle indubitably the exact spot where Joseph Smith was born, to acquire the premises and to erect a monument thereon."³³ In order to accomplish his purpose, Wells had two principal objectives: "to establish the location of this farm, from the records; and of the house from the testimony of living witnesses and physical conditions that would establish it."³⁴ Later writers have questioned the thoroughness of what they have considered Wells' "superficial examination," but Wells' papers and contemporary Vermont sources demonstrate that Wells and Bowers, together with friends made along the way, left no stone unturned.³⁵

The pair began their investigation in the neighboring township of Sharon. Sharing Royalton Township's eastern border, the eight hundred residents of Sharon in 1905 represented only half of the village population at its peak in 1840. Although the

³² JFW, "Report on Joseph Smith's Birthplace," 1.

³³ *RH*, 28 Dec 1905, 3.

³⁴ JFW, "Report on Joseph Smith's Birthplace," 1.

³⁵ Steven L. Olsen, "Museums and Historic Sites of Mormonism," in *Mormon Americana: A Guide to Sources and Collections in the United States*, ed. David J. Whittaker (Provo, UT: BYU Studies, 1995), 523. T. Edgar Lyon recognized that Wells did all that he could in 1905 and questioned late twentieth century development at the site in "How Authentic Are Mormon Historic Sites in Vermont and New York?" *BYU Studies* 9 (Spring 1963): 341-50.

small village center boasted two stores and a hotel, the town's economy centered entirely on farming, and a small creamery churned out butter for twenty-four cents a pound.³⁶ In the town clerk's office, Wells and Bowers found Daniel E. Parkhurst, a shoemaker by trade who also served as both Town Clerk and Treasurer. Wells recalled that Parkhurst accorded the investigators "every facility for the search."³⁷ Beginning with Lucy Mack Smith's recollection that her son had been born while they lived on her father's farm in Sharon, Wells soon discovered that Solomon Mack had purchased a one hundred-acre tract from Samuel Shepherd II, on 27 Aug 1804.³⁸ Tracing the records back to the grant from King George III to New Hampshire Governor Benning Wentworth in 1761, Wells found that Shepherd's farm had been formed out of three purchases made from 1794 to 1796.³⁹

The farm Mack purchased from Shepherd was described in the deed as being "the whole farm" that Shepherd lived on and seven acres of land that was "laid out between the two lines" of Sharon up to its western boundary which bordered on Ebenezer Dewey's farm in Royalton, aligning the property line with the township line.⁴⁰ Yet, after 1859, the Sharon land records indicated that the town line was not the real division of the farms.⁴¹ Wells visited Royalton Town Clerk William Skinner and discovered that

³⁶ G. A. Cheney, "A Pen Picture of Sharon, Vermont in the Year Nineteen Hundred Five," 25 Nov 1905, Wells Collection.

³⁷ Wells, "Report on Joseph Smith's Birthplace," 1.

³⁸ Anderson, *Lucy's Book*, 294; Sharon Town Land Records, Book 5, page 313, Sharon Town Clerk's Office, Sharon, Vermont.

³⁹ Sharon Town Land Records, Book 3, pages 272-73, 485.

⁴⁰ Sharon Town Land Records, Book 5, page 313.

⁴¹ JFW, "Report on Joseph Smith's Birthplace," 10.

portions of the Mack farm had ended up in the Royalton town records as part of the Durkee farm.⁴² Thus, the land that composed the Mack farm in Sharon in 1805 had been split and redefined over the course of several sales so that in 1905 it lay in both Sharon and Royalton townships. By tracing the property titles forward, Wells verified that C. H. Robinson presently owned the land in both townships that had at one time been the Solomon Mack farm.⁴³

Having verified the former existence of the Solomon Mack farm and having identified it as the current farm of C. H. Robinson, Wells next endeavored to identify the exact place on the farm where Joseph Smith was born. Harvey Smith had taken Wells to the remains of the crumbling cellar walls, the “cellar hole,” in 1894, but Wells wanted other testimonies to the same fact. On 19 May 1905, Wells visited the cellar hole with Benjamin Cole Latham, who had owned the land from 1868 to 1892. While sitting on the former doorstep of cellar hole, Latham testified that he had been born in the neighborhood in 1824, and that his father and his neighbors had referred to the farm as the “Old Mack Farm” and that the cellar and foundation “was always pointed out to them as the ruins of the house in which [Joseph Smith] was born.” Latham himself had ties to the Church. His mother-in-law, Eliza Baker Durkee (wife of Bela Durkee), had a sister named Zina who married William Huntington, and their daughter, Zina D., had been a plural wife of Joseph Smith.⁴⁴

⁴² Royalton Land Records, Book H, pages 205-206, Royalton Town Clerk’s Office, South Royalton, Vermont.

⁴³ JFW, “Report on Joseph Smith’s Birthplace,” 4-8. Robinson purchased the land on 3 Nov 1902, and the deed is in Sharon Town Land Records, Book 18, page 91.

⁴⁴ Martha Sonntag Bradley and Mary Brown Firmage Woodward, *4 Zinas: A Story of Mothers and Daughters on the Mormon Frontier* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2000).

The next day Wells received a similar statement from Maria N. Griffith, who had learned of the Joseph Smith's birthplace from her uncle, the fourth Ebenezer Dewey, who had died in 1871. On 22 May, Wells obtained a third testimony from Harvey Smith, the man who had first directed Wells to the site in 1894. Though Smith was eighty years old at the time, Wells noted that he was "hale and hearty mentally and physically." He, too, remembered his uncle and the Deweys speaking of the place: "It was the common talk among them, after the Mormons came up [1830], and always that Joseph Smith was born in the house that stood over the cellar and foundations." The ruins had not changed much as long as Harvey could remember, and, he too, was related to the Mack family, as his cousin married Daniel Mack's son, Lyman. Wells recorded this testimony with the other two and certified and recorded according to Vermont law.⁴⁵

In May 1905, Junius F. Wells positively identified the birthplace of Joseph Smith. All that remained of the Smith's frame house was a cellar hole measuring eight feet by twenty feet. There were also signs that the original house had been approximately twenty-two feet by twenty-four feet.⁴⁶ Wells later described his find to the First Presidency:

The foundation stones of the farm house are still in place; also the walls of the cellar and the hearthstone and door stone; some of the stable foundation and much of a stone wall that inclosed [sic] the barnyard and extended far beyond to fence off the orchard still stand. The old well, now filled with boulders, is still visible and contains water. The orchard of apple trees was quite extensive and many of the old trees, the trunks of some of them two feet in diameter, are still standing and bearing fruit. The blossoms were just beginning to burst forth from the most forward while I was there. Dimly marked on the hillside is the grass-covered road

⁴⁵ The original documents are "Testimonies Relating to the Birthplace of Joseph Smith," LDS Church Archives. Daniel Parkhurst made a certified copy in the Sharon Town Records in the presence of Arthur G. Whitham, see *Miscellaneous and Highway Record*, Vol. 1 (1880-1985), pages 49-53. The Latham and Smith testimonies were reproduced in *Proceedings*, 35-37.

⁴⁶ JFW, "Birthplace of the Prophet Joseph Smith," *The Contributor*, 16 (Feb 1895): 211.

that formerly led down from the farm house to the old Sharon road, along the right bank of the White Brook, a beautiful little stream, abounding in trout, that flows through the property and about equally divides the lands of the old Mack farm. The hill, so largely covered with apple trees in bloom, surmounted by the ruins of the farm house is very picturesque and beautiful. It is an isolated, quiet, lovely sylvan spot; surrounded by some of the most charming scenery of the Green Mountains, of which varied and extended views are obtained from many points of vantage on the premises. It is probable that the place has not changed much in its physical appearance for at least eighty years.⁴⁷

Wells also noted that a wide variety of trees (maple, hemlock, spruce, white pine, beech, butternut, elm, ash, and birch), flowers (hydrangeas, golden rod, daisies, and lilies), and plants (sumac, ferns, clover, corn, and mosses) grew naturally around the site.⁴⁸

Thus, Wells had identified the former Solomon Mack farm through local land records, and on the basis of personal testimony had established the location of the home in which Joseph Smith had been born, but a more difficult question had arisen in the process. The land records clearly demonstrated that a portion of the Mack farm had become part of Royalton Township. Inasmuch as no official survey of the township boundary had been performed, Wells hired a surveyor from Barre, F. A. Walker, and the pair located an old stone wall two thousand feet south of the birth site that had served as the customary division between the townships at one time. From the center of the wall they ran a survey 44°10' east (the theoretical boundary coordinate), and, as Wells reported, "this brought the town line about four feet east of the southeast corner of the house in which the Prophet was born. This throws the whole of the foundation in Royalton."⁴⁹ But Wells also remembered having seen in the town records that the

⁴⁷ JFW, "Report on Joseph Smith's Birthplace," 19.

⁴⁸ JFW, "Report on Joseph Smith's Birthplace," handwritten note on reverse of appended material.

⁴⁹ JFW, "Report on Joseph Smith's Birthplace," 10.

original township definition, though never actually performed, described the township line as running north at 40° east. Walker took the measurement and confirmed, “If we were to extend the town line we used up to the southerly side of the 65-acre lot, then set on the bearing N. 40°E. it would strike the old house foundation a little west of center.” Thus, it was possible that a theoretical dividing line could have run through the house. Wells suggested that perhaps the line had moved, and Walker agreed that “at some time during the past one hundred years that may have been done, without making any account of variations.”⁵⁰ This theory allowed Smith to be born in Sharon in 1805, while at the same time not precluding the obvious fact that the ruins now lay entirely in Royalton. In reporting to the First Presidency, Wells laid out the situation with exactness. He emphasized that there was no documentation for a boundary change, but that it was a possibility.

The official published *Proceedings* included Harvey Smith’s uncertain comment that “the town line between Royalton and Sharon was supposed to run through the old Smith house, and they used to say Smith was born in the side over the Sharon line,” and like all good stories, it has taken on a life of its own.⁵¹ To Harvey Smith’s uncertain claim, a 1952 Mormon travel guide added concrete details about the interior layout of the former Smith home: “the bedroom in which he was born being on the Sharon side of the house. Had he been born in the kitchen, which was on the opposite side of the house, he

⁵⁰ JFW, “Report on Joseph Smith’s Birthplace,” 10. The statement signed by Walker is included. There is also an architect’s drawing by Walker & Gallison in the collection that places all but the southeast corner of the house in Royalton.

⁵¹ Harvey Smith, in *Proceedings*, 36-37. It is impossible to discern whether Harvey Smith put forth the theory on his own, or whether he was responding to a question from Wells about the boundary line. In either case, Wells was curious to know exactly where the dividing line lay.

would have been born in Royalton township.”⁵² Over the years, the bedroom/kitchen logic has been presented both ways: Smith was obviously born in the bedroom because that is where his mother would have been resting, and Smith was obviously born in the kitchen near the fire place because it was a cold Vermont December.⁵³ Variations of the story state that the Smith “log cabin” had been intentionally “placed squarely on the dividing line,” and one version even gives the line not as the Royalton/Sharon boundary but as the Windsor/Orange County line.⁵⁴

The home in which Joseph Smith was born did not rest on the town line between Sharon and Royalton. Six years after Wells’ investigation, town historian Evelyn Lovejoy published her extensive examination of town boundaries in her history of Royalton. Lovejoy found no record of a boundary shift after 1805, though there had been considerable confusion during the 1770s.⁵⁵ Not only had the line not shifted, but subsequent surveys in 1967 and 1997 have confirmed Walker’s original measurement that placed the entire foundation on the Royalton side of the line. Ironically, each survey has successively placed the line farther from the original home site.⁵⁶

⁵² Alma P. Burton, *Mormon Trail from Vermont to Utah: A Guide to Historic Places of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1952), 8.

⁵³ Carter E. Grant, “Epochal Events at the Prophet’s Birthplace,” *Improvement Era*, (May 1961), 299-300; Larry C. Porter, “A Study of the Origins of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the States of New York and Pennsylvania, 1816-1831” (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1971; reprinted Provo, UT: Joseph Fielding Smith Institute, 2000), 13; “Christmas Lights in South Royalton,” *Valley News*, 24 Nov 1992, 16.

⁵⁴ Carma Wadley, “Joseph Smith Memorial,” *Deseret News*, 21 Dec 1997, T1. The Windsor/Orange version, William C. and Eloise Anderson, *Guide to Mormon History Travel*, 5th ed. (Spanish Fork, UT: BANTA ISG, 1997), 1.

⁵⁵ Lovejoy, *History*, 43-55.

⁵⁶ In addition to Walker’s 1905 survey that placed the birthplace four feet inside Royalton Township, subsequent surveys have confirmed this placement. On 19 Jan 1967 Clarence G. Shupe of Salt Lake City, and Ralph E. Beck, of Royalton, examined the deeds and surveyed the boundaries of the property and certified that “the lands within said boundary are the same lands described in said parcels and

A simpler explanation is that during the nineteenth century the boundary line between Royalton and Sharon was a theoretical division that was practically defined through land transactions. Thus, when Solomon Mack purchased the land in 1804, the edge of his property constituted the legal boundary between the two towns. Lacking an official town boundary survey, the land records are the legal source for the line. This evidence, coupled with Lucy's record of the birth, adequately identifies the Prophet's 1805 birth in Sharon, Vermont.⁵⁷ Twentieth century surveys reveal that the home lay on the Royalton side of the line, but no official survey has been undertaken. The legal definition of the boundary continues to be property transactions.⁵⁸ What was most important to Wells, however, was that he had identified the place where the Prophet had been born, and because the cellar hole was part of Royalton Township, that is where he went to secure purchase of the property.

On Tuesday, 23 May 1905, seven people gathered at the Royalton Town Clerk's office to settle the transaction. As requested by Wells and Bowers, local attorneys Charles P. Tarbell and Arthur G. Whitham brought a certificate of the soundness of C. H. and Hannah Robinson's deed to the property.⁵⁹ Town Clerk William Skinner stood by as the parties made the final arrangements. Wells had selected a 65-acre tract out of the

concrete monuments have been set in the ground at the corners of said boundary." Their survey is in Royalton Land Records, Book 16, pages 296-301. In addition to the Smith home, Larry E. Swanson placed the monument in Royalton as well, surveyed Sep 1997, copy in Royalton Town Records, Lister Card C-780.

⁵⁷ The Sharon vital records during this period demonstrate that events were not recorded at or even near the time of occurrence. That parents' memory was commonly accepted as legal record is shown by the fact that entries in the record book are made for all of the children in a family at a single time, Sharon Vital Records, Sharon Town Clerk's Office.

⁵⁸ The transactions of the birthplace property are listed in *Proceedings*, 33.

⁵⁹ JFW, "Report on Joseph Smith's Birthplace," 14.

center of the C. H. Robinson's 252-acre farm. "This was arrived at by the desire to possess the site of the house in which Joseph was born, and enough to the westward in Royalton to take in the entire hill on which it stood." Wells also made sure to include "the farm-house and barn, foundations, of what was known as the Solomon Mack place on the brook and old Sharon road." And inasmuch as the Old Sharon Road had long been abandoned and property was inaccessible from Royalton, Wells also selected a narrow strip of land, comprising only one and one-tenth acre and running east-west, that connected the birthplace with Dairy Hill Road. Finally, as the site lay high above any near water supply, Wells also "bargained for two springs lying near the northeasterly corner of the property," from which a pipe could "convey an abundance of good spring water for domestic uses to any part of the premises."⁶⁰ The birth site, access path and springs constituted a 68-acre piece of property, which C. H. and Hannah Robinson transferred to Joseph F. Smith, "Trustee in Trust for the Body of Religious Worshippers Known as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints of Salt Lake City" at 3:40 p.m.⁶¹ Notary Public, Arthur G. Whitham, stood by to oversee the transaction.⁶²

Along the way to securing the purchase, Wells had made several friends in the community. He remembered that Riley C. Bowers had "taken the liveliest interest and [had] been ready at all times to serve [Wells] in obtaining the options, surveys, photographs, estimates, etc. His help facilitated the purchases; saved a good deal on the price of the land; and made all the work pleasant and easy." Charles P. Tarbell and

⁶⁰ JFW, "Report on Joseph Smith's Birthplace," 13-14.

⁶¹ Royalton Land Records, Book Y, page 14; Sharon Land Records, Book 18, pages 524-525.

⁶² JFW, "Report on Joseph Smith's Birthplace," 25.

Arthur G. Whitham were quite helpful, and the latter continued to be on the look out for information about the history of the property.⁶³ And Wells felt that “the feeling of friendly interest shown by the people I met at Royalton and Sharon made my work very pleasant.” He also noted that reporters at the local newspapers as well as the *Boston Herald* “manifest a kind and shrewdly favorable disposition towards the purchase of and any improvement that may be made upon the place.”⁶⁴

Two days later, Royalton newspaper editor, Mark J. Sargent, reported that “a business transaction was consummated Tuesday which will make a historical event that has been considered inconsequential of much more importance and in a larger sense interesting. Trustees of the Mormon church of Utah have become purchasers of the birthplace in this town of Joseph Smith.” Sargent noted that local records had not recorded an exact date for Smith’s birth, but that the property was located in Royalton. He announced that “the purpose of this transaction is to secure the site of the birthplace of Joseph Smith” and “thereon to erect a monument and shrine, lay out walks and otherwise beautify the place, also to erect some cottages for use in annual pilgrimages.” He commented that the site “is a beautiful situation on a high elevation two miles from South Royalton village and White river, commanding a view for miles around, a delightful place in the summer season.” He also stated that Mr. Wells and his family would arrive in the summer.⁶⁵ From the outset, local residents knew of the transaction and of its intended consequences.

⁶³ See Arthur G. Whitham to JFW, 31 May 1905, Wells Collection.

⁶⁴ JFW, “Report on Joseph Smith’s Birthplace,” 25.

⁶⁵ *RH*, 25 May 1905, 7.

Having completed his assignment, Wells left his associates and returned quickly to Salt Lake City for the dedication of the monument to his father. Though Daniel H. Wells had died in 1891, the family had not as yet erected a memorial marker. Accordingly, on the afternoon of 29 May the Wells family gathered in the Salt Lake City Cemetery. Junius Wells represented the eighty-seven living descendants in offering the family tribute, and John R. Winder and Anthon H. Lund spoke before President Joseph F. Smith offered the dedicatory prayer. The fifteen-foot tall monument built by the R. C. Bowers Granite Company in Montpelier, Vermont, was quickly recognized as “one of the most imposing in the state.”⁶⁶ The monument featured a polished Vermont granite shaft and sphere resting on a square base of Utah granite (see Fig. 3). The size of the cubical base, height and largest circumference of the column, and circumference of the sphere were “exactly equal in feet and inches” to the height of Daniel H. Wells, and each element symbolized the virtue of his character. In the base of Utah granite the family placed a copper box containing a copy of the family genealogy, family photographs, and engraved portraits of some his friends and associates.⁶⁷ This was a happy day for the family to finally commemorate their ancestor. But for the First Presidency, it was also a chance to see first hand the quality of Vermont granite and the simple elegance of Wells’ design. Most importantly, it was an opportunity to see Junius F. Wells and R. C. Bowers in action, because they had planned built, shipped, and dedicated this beautiful monument in only two months.

⁶⁶ Joseph F. Smith, Jr., “Events of the Month,” *Improvement Era*, 8 (July 1905): 715-16.

⁶⁷ “Memorial Services and Dedication of Monument at the Grave of Daniel H. Wells,” LDS Church History Library.

During the first week of June 1905, Wells prepared a detailed report of his recent activities in Vermont. He described his work of searching land records and recording oral testimony that culminated in the purchase of the site of Joseph Smith's birth. Before concluding his report, Wells again mentioned "the proposition to erect a suitable monument at this place to commemorate the one hundredth anniversary of the Prophet's birth." But this time he included a detailed sketch of his proposal and a sample of his recommended dark bluish gray "Barre granite." The design was the same as he had proposed before securing the property, and Wells took the liberty of quoting from his April 1 letter:

The foundation would be twelve feet of concrete, tamped down to the solid rock, and surmounted by two blocks, each 6'x12'x16". Upon this one block, 9'x9'x2', then comes the inscription die, a cube 6'x6'x6' surmounted by a plain but ornate moulding 7'4"x7'4"x2'6". From this a shaft, of a single block, 4 feet square at the base and three feet at the top, 38 ½ feet high, a foot for each year of the Prophet's life, would complete the monument. All this stone to be of dark Barre granite, and all highly polished from the base to pinnacle. This is the finest granite of Vermont.⁶⁸

On the eastern face of the inscription die, Wells proposed an inscription that listed the dates of the Prophet's birth and martyrdom: "Sacred to the Memory/ of/ Joseph Smith the Prophet,/ Born Here 23d December, 1805,/ Martyred, Carthage, Illinois,/ 27th June, 1844."⁶⁹ On the western face would appear a summary of the Prophet's accomplishments titled "Testimony of Joseph Smith" by Wells:

In the spring of the year of our Lord, 1820, The Father and The Son appeared to him in a glorious vision, called him by name and instructed him. Thereafter heavenly angels visited him and revealed the ordinances of the Gospel, restored the authority of the Holy Priesthood, and the organization of the Church of Jesus Christ in its fulness and perfection.

⁶⁸ JFW, "Report on Joseph Smith's Birthplace," 23.

⁶⁹ JFW, "Report on Joseph Smith's Birthplace," 24.

The engraved plates of the Book of Mormon were given him by the angel Moroni. These he translated by the gift and power of God. He organized the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saint on the sixth day of April, 1830, with six members. He devoted his life to the establishment of this Church, and sealed his testimony with his blood. In his ministry he was constantly supported by his brother Hyrum Smith, who suffered martyrdom with him. Over a million converts to this testimony have been made throughout the world; and this monument has been erected in his honor, to commemorate the one hundredth anniversary of his birth, by members of the Church which he organized. They love and revere him as a Prophet of God, and call his name blessed forever and ever, Amen.⁷⁰

Finally, the north and south faces of the inscription die would contain bronze medallions with the profile of Joseph Smith on one side and Hyrum Smith on the other. And running around all four sides, immediately under the moulding, would read the passage of scripture found in James 1:5 that inspired him to pray for guidance.⁷¹

Unfortunately, Wells left no description of how he designed the monument, but the major elements can be deduced from the context in which Wells acted. The selection of Vermont granite is an obvious tie to the Prophet's native state, and the obelisk shape is a further connection to the Smith family's Revolutionary Era Vermont roots, as obelisks were common in Revolutionary War monuments—the Bunker Hill monument in Boston, the Washington Monument in the nation's capital, and the Bennington Battle monument in Bennington, Vermont. When Wells designed the marker for his father's grave he prepared the proportions as a symbolic representation of his father's life, a precedent he followed in designing the height of the shaft as a representation of the Prophet's age. Wells also followed the same basic design of two bases, an inscription die, and shaft,

⁷⁰ JFW, "Report on Joseph Smith's Birthplace," 25.

⁷¹ JFW, "Report on Joseph Smith's Birthplace," 25.

from his father's marker. That the granite would be "highly polished" may have reference to a statement the Prophet made about himself in 1843: "I am like a huge, rough stone rolling down from a high mountain; and the only polishing I get is when some corner gets rubbed off by coming in contact with something else.... Thus I will become a smooth and polished shaft in the quiver of the Almighty."⁷² These words are quite similar to those of the prophet Isaiah who said of the Lord, "in the shadow of his hand hath he hid me, and made me a polished shaft; in his quiver hath he hid me."⁷³ Both inscriptions make reference to the Prophet's martyrdom, and the inclusion of bronze likenesses of both the Prophet and his brother demonstrates that Wells felt the monument could fulfill in part Winder's recent injunction to memorialize the martyrs.⁷⁴ Furthermore, the longer inscription summarized Joseph Smith's history that had been canonized in 1880, beginning with a reference to Smith's First Vision in 1820, an event that had been heralded since 1878 in Mormon hymn.

Wells projected that the monument could be ready by the end of October, before the winter weather set in. He provided estimates of the cost of the monument as well as other costs involved in the monument's preparation, transportation, and supervision. He also recommended the construction of a small "house of entertainment." Wells closed his report by imploring,

I earnestly hope that you will authorize this further undertaking. Timely publication concerning it; the energetic presentation of it to public spirited members and organizations of the Church, I feel sure would result in a sufficient

⁷² Smith, 21 May 1843, *History of the Church*, 5:401; Smith made a similar statement on 11 Jun 1842, *History of the Church*, 5:423.

⁷³ Isaiah 49:2; the passage is quoted in the *Book of Mormon*, 1 Nephi 21:2.

⁷⁴ John R. Winder, "Joseph and Hyrum Memorial," *CR*, April 1904, 77.

subscription of means to carry it out. The few that I have already approached are enthusiastic; and it only remains for you to say “go ahead” and it will be done.⁷⁵

After some deliberation, the First Presidency approved the project and accepted Wells’ proposal, making only two changes: they substituted the word “principles” for “ordinances” in the “Testimony of Joseph Smith,” and decided to leave out the bronze medallions, though the monument’s inscription would still mention Hyrum Smith. They recognized in Junius F. Wells a determination and gentlemanly refinement that would make this plan a reality. Thirty years later, Joseph Fielding Smith, who in 1905 was assistant church historian, and who would later become an Apostle and President of the Church, recalled that the monument to Joseph Smith in Vermont came about “through the earnest pleadings of Elder Junius F. Wells.”⁷⁶

On 1 July 1905 a condensed version of Wells’ report to the First Presidency appeared in the *Deseret Evening News*. Wells explained the process of locating the farm and identifying the birth site. Along with descriptive information, the article also included photos and praise for the Vermont community. An accompanying sidebar advertised not only a monument but also a pleasant summer resort:

The ancient farm is a natural park. By clearing out dead timber, making a roadway and some paths, it will be converted into a beautiful summer resort. The White brook flowing through it, hidden by trees, abounds in trout. The native Vermont deer run wild over the glades and hill tops. The Maple Sugar industry is at its best here. In early spring when the sap begins to flow, and before the winter’s snow has entirely gone, it is the delight of the people, old and young, to attend the syrup boilings and “sugaring off.” There is to be erected a cottage for the use of a caretaker and accommodation of visitors. This will afford a pleasant resting place for a day or two to missionaries enroute to and from their foreign mission fields.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ JFW, “Report on Joseph Smith’s Birthplace,” 25-26.

⁷⁶ Joseph Fielding Smith, *Life of Joseph F. Smith*, 353.

⁷⁷ JFW, “Birthplace of Joseph Smith the Prophet,” *Deseret Evening News*, 1 Jul 1905, 14.

Thus, Wells envisioned a “living memorial” in Vermont as well as a monument. During the 1880s and 1890s scores of monuments to Civil War leaders, soldiers, and battles were erected throughout the country. By the twentieth century, however, there was a growing “Progressive” sentiment throughout the United States that monuments should have a utilitarian purpose, by including bridges, parks, roads, and gardens.⁷⁸

In making this announcement, Wells was cautious of the feelings of Vermonters. He assured readers that “there is however, nothing in the exaggerated dreams of some newspaper specials to justify the thought of establishing there a holy shrine, or a “Mormon” mecca, to which tens of thousands will make the annual pilgrimage.” Wells assured Salt Lake readers that the local Vermont citizens “readily recognize the propriety of a prosperous community such as the Latter-day Saints have become, in doing honor to the memory of the founder of their faith.” And he added that “it will so be received by the intelligent people of the world, and it will be a source of comfort and happiness to the followers of Joseph Smith that they have done this honor to his memory, as a Prophet of God, in this hundredth anniversary of his birth.”⁷⁹

Wells had good reason to be cautious in his announcement, for word had gotten out of the purchase and of possible plans to erect a monument. In June an Associated Press article began circulating throughout the country describing the action of secret agents who purchased the birthplace of Joseph Smith in Sharon, to the disgrace of the

⁷⁸ On Civil War commemoration see G. Kurt Piehler, *Remembering War the American Way*, chapter 2. He traces the transition toward “living memorials,” 105-113, 134-8.

⁷⁹ JFW, “Birthplace of Joseph Smith the Prophet,” *Deseret Evening News*, 1 July 1905, 14-15. See also Joseph F. Smith, Jr., in “Events of the Month,” *Improvement Era*, 8 (July 1905), 715.

community. The dispatch went on to report that “[t]his greatly amused the Royalton People and they gently chaffed Sharonites.” In no time, the article asserted,

there was considerable feeling and no little bitterness. Finally one of the Selectmen advanced the theory that the Robinson property was not in Sharon at all, but in Royalton. It was known that the line dividing the towns ran very close to the farm, but Royalton people were utterly astounded when a surveyor hired for the purpose found that the whole of the Robinson property was in Royalton. Now the Sharonites are gloating and Royalton folk are preparing to give the Mormons a warm reception.⁸⁰

Besides misconstruing all of the major details of what had been reported in the local Vermont newspapers, the article invented a conflict between residents of Sharon and Royalton, who were most likely quite surprised to learn of their disagreement in the paper. Shortly after the property purchase, the local paper had clarified the situation for its readers, “So far as can be ascertained by records and surveys, after careful examination in the clerk’s office in Royalton and Sharon made by J. [F]. Wells, an attorney representing the Mormon church at Salt Lake city, Messrs. Tarbell & Whitham, attorneys of this village, and F. A. Walker of Montpelier, surveyor, it was determined that the house in which Smith was born, stood in Royalton and within six feet of the Sharon town line and the deed was made accordingly.”⁸¹

While the stories were amusing to Royalton and Sharon residents, they were quite disturbing to members of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (RLDS). Based in Lamoni, Iowa, for over half a century the RLDS Church had contested the claims of the Latter-day Saints in the courts and in the proselytizing field.⁸² During

⁸⁰ *Salt Lake Tribune*, 26 Jun 1905, 1.

⁸¹ *RH*, 1 Jun 1905, 7. However the same paper later stated that Smith had been born exactly on the town line, and that the monument was erected in Sharon, *RH*, 28 Dec 1905, 3, 4.

⁸² There is not a thorough analysis of the relationship of the two churches. Histories of the 1840s treat the succession crisis, bibliography in Allen and Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 720.

the early months of 1905, Richard C. Evans of the RLDS First Presidency, and Joseph Fielding Smith, son of LDS President Joseph F. Smith, carried out an extensive debate by correspondence with the Toronto *Daily Star* in which the pair debated the traditional issues of conflict between the two churches—legitimacy of succession, the origins of polygamy, and doctrinal differences.⁸³ Frederick M. Smith, son of RLDS Church president Joseph Smith III and also a member of the RLDS First Presidency had visited Salt Lake City a number of times and was cordially hosted by his cousin Joseph Fielding Smith.⁸⁴ President Joseph F. Smith personally invited Frederick to the one hundred fourth anniversary of the birth of Hyrum Smith that was celebrated in 1904.⁸⁵ In June 1905, Fred Smith returned to the city, but he had more on his mind than a familial visit.

Contested missionary work and Temple lawsuits have been examined. There are studies of doctrinal differences, Samuel R. Carpenter, "Facts about Differences that Persist between the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints and The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormon)," (pamphlet, 1958). Linda King Newell explored the relationship between Joseph Smith III and Joseph F. Smith, "Cousins in Conflict: Joseph Smith III and Joseph F. Smith," *The John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 9 (1989): 3-16. Ross Geddes examined the implications of competitive proselytizing down under, "'A Storm in the Camp of Brighamism': LDS-RLDS Relations in Brisbane, Australia," *The John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 11 (1991): 47-59.

⁸³ The debates were published as Joseph Fielding Smith, *Blood Atonement and the Origin of Plural Marriage* (1905; reprinted Grantsville, Utah: Archive Publishers, 2000). Other examples include John Powell, "The Church Rejected—When?" *Improvement Era* 7 (Sep 1904): 817-28. On 30 Nov 1875 Joseph F. Smith had written to Junius F. Wells, "Hence they strike at the very foundation of the work of God, which Joseph Smith lived and died to establish, namely the sealing power, the power to bind and loose on earth and in heaven...polygamy, or the law of eternal union of husband and wife, or more correctly, the sealing power," Kenny Collection, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

⁸⁴ Frederick's biographer grandson noted that "despite the confrontations that would arise later, the friendship [with Joseph Fielding Smith, Jr.] lasted on a personal basis even though there would be, officially, many hard words over the years, Paul M. Edwards, *The Chief: An Administrative Biography of Fred M. Smith* (Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing House, 1988), 70. See also Joseph Fielding Smith, Jr., *Life of Joseph Fielding Smith*, 136-7; Joseph Fielding Smith, *Life of Joseph F. Smith*, 353-4. Larry Hunt explores Fred M. Smith's connection to the "Progressive Era," *F. M. Smith: Saint as Reformer*, 2 vols. (Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing House, 1982).

⁸⁵ Joseph F. Smith to Edward A. Smith, 12 Feb 1904, Joseph F. Smith Collection, LDS Church Archives.

He intended to “save the ‘good Mormons’,” “eradicate the effects of polygamy,” and “preserve the honorable name of his grandfather.”⁸⁶

On July 1, the same day that Wells’ description of the project appeared in the *Deseret News*, the *Salt Lake Tribune* published an “Open Letter to All People” from Frederick M. Smith. Acknowledging the Associated Press dispatches, Smith reminded readers of the ongoing Smoot hearings and argued that the Mormons of Utah did not represent Joseph Smith but Brigham Young. The meat of the argument was essentially a restatement of the arguments that had been made for the past fifty years: the question of succession, debates over the institution of polygamy, and charges of civil disobedience. He protested the erection of the monument as “unfair” and a “great discredit to the memory” of his grandfather. Speaking of the leaders of the Utah Church, Smith charged, “These men have great amounts of money placed in their hands by a sacrificing people, for which there is no account rendered to that people, and this money they freely spend in erecting monuments to fix the eyes of the world upon their infidelity to morals and law.” He closed with a “protest against the further stigmatization of Joseph Smith’s name by the present Mormon authorities through their malfeasance and the erection of mocking monuments.”⁸⁷

Frederick Smith’s letter was summarized in the *Burlington (Vermont) Free Press*, and the summary reprinted in the White River Valley paper. The local reporter concluded “that such a prospect could not be hailed with Vermonters generally is quite evident; but that it can be defeated by protests from the Smiths or the citizens is not very

⁸⁶ Edwards, *The Chief*, 73.

⁸⁷ Frederick M. Smith, *Salt Lake Tribune*, 1 Jul 1905, 3.

likely.”⁸⁸ Fred M. Smith’s letter was mentioned in *The Nation* and in the July issue of the *Interstate Journal*, but was generally tied into the larger debates about Mormonism and polygamy.⁸⁹ *The Boston Globe* characterized Joseph Smith and Brigham Young as “strong characters and natural leaders of men, and in this aspect of their lives at least Vermont has no reason to feel ashamed of them.”⁹⁰ In Royalton, the local reporter observed that “there is more agitation outside the locality of the monument than within, it would seem. Nobody appears greatly concerned hereabouts.”⁹¹

Despite protest from the RLDS Church, Salt Lake leaders decided to move ahead with the project.⁹² On Thursday, July 6, Joseph F. Smith met with his counselors, John R. Winder and Anthon H. Lund, and wrote out a statement giving Wells full power of attorney. President Smith authorized him to erect “a granite monument in memory of the Prophet Joseph Smith and Patriarch Hyrum Smith” and “to do any and all things that may be necessary in connection therewith.” The next morning Joseph F. Smith appeared before a notary public to authenticate the statement, and delivered it to Wells.⁹³ With this statement, the First Presidency had given Wells a *carte blanche* to carry out the project.

⁸⁸ *RH*, 13 Jul 1905, 7. See also “Mormon Fight on Mormons,” *New York Times*, 2 Jul 1905, 10.

⁸⁹ P. L. Allen mentioned the letter without referring to the monument before turning to questions of polygamy, commercialism, and politics, “The Public View of Mormonism,” *The Nation* 81 (1905): 113-4; No author, “Mormon Shrine in Vermont,” *Interstate Journal* 10 (June 1905): n.p.

⁹⁰ *Journal History*, 17 Jul 1905, 2.

⁹¹ *RH*, 10 Aug 1905, 2.

⁹² The day after Fred Smith’s protest appeared, he called on his cousin Joseph Fielding Smith to see what he thought of it. A “spirited discussion” ensued that continued for next several months, resulting in Joseph Fielding Smith’s booklet *Origin of the Reorganized Church: The Question of Succession*, see Francis M. Gibbons, *Joseph Fielding Smith: Gospel Scholar, Prophet of God* (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book Company, 1992), 121-5.

⁹³ The original statement is in the Wells Collection.

But Wells, ever cautious to execute directions with exactness, sent a memorandum to the First Presidency that day confirming the exact details of the project. He acknowledged authorization to make, transport, and erect a monument, to prepare the foundation, to erect a small cottage, to lay a water pipeline, and to make a roadway and fence the property by late October or early November. President Smith signed and returned this letter of specific authorization.⁹⁴

Having obtained both legal and personal authorization from the President of the Church, Junius F. Wells set out immediately for Vermont. He passed through Montpelier to announce the contracts, and arrived in South Royalton on Saturday, 13 July. There he began to show around prospective bidders and to make arrangements for room and board for those who would work on the project. The granite industry was a new and dynamic part of Vermont's renowned mining and quarrying economic sector. Granite companies were consolidating and taking advantage of both new techniques as well as the extension of rail lines to link the quarries with the Vermont Central Railroad. While ten years earlier granite revenues hovered near one million dollars annually, by 1905 they had quadrupled to more than four million dollars, and the industry employed nearly four thousand men. In Barre, there were over one hundred quarrying firms.⁹⁵ On Monday, 24 July, Wells awarded the general contract to his friend, the owner of R. C. Bowers Granite Company of Montpelier.⁹⁶ As general contractor, Bowers was responsible for the entire

⁹⁴ JFW to First Presidency, 7 Jul 1905, Wells Collection.

⁹⁵ George H. Perkins, *Report of the State Geologist on the Mineral Industries and Geology of Certain Areas of Vermont, 1905-1906* (Montpelier, Vermont: Argus and Patriot Press, 1906), 19-28.

⁹⁶ *Proceedings*, 10.

operation of quarrying, polishing, and transporting the six granite pieces (ranging from ten to forty tons) from Barre to South Royalton. Bowers in turn subcontracted most of these tasks, drawing upon his experience with already established networks in the Vermont granite industry.

The day the general contract was signed, workers at the Marr & Gordon Quarry in Barre, to whom Bowers had sublet the task of quarrying, began to look for suitable pieces of granite. A few days later, Wells moved his residence to Montpelier so that he could personally supervise the work. Then, as now, granite was extracted in boulder forms and it was often difficult to locate the large dimensions that Wells desired, so he “watched with a good deal of faithfulness their operations.”⁹⁷ Under ordinary circumstances, a project of this size and precision would take eight to twelve months.⁹⁸ Wells had only five months, and knew he had no time to lose if the monument was to be completed before December, so he spent his time “pushing it along.”⁹⁹ Wells recalled, “sometimes I thought I was in the workmen's way, because I was anxious to see that we got the right stones out of the quarry.”¹⁰⁰ The first success came when a piece of granite proved suitable for the die and cap. Quarrymen soon found a piece sufficient for the second base, but after removing a large piece for the first base, they found that one corner was cut off, rendering the piece insufficient. For Wells, “this was a disappointment,” but a suitable piece was soon located on the opposite side of the quarry.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ *Proceedings*, 10.

⁹⁸ *RH*, 28 Dec 1905, page 3.

⁹⁹ JFW, “Undated Project Summary,” 1, Wells Collection.

¹⁰⁰ *Proceedings*, 10.

¹⁰¹ *Proceedings*, 10.

While quarry work slowly advanced in Barre, Wells pressed forward with other matters in South Royalton. Surveyors Walker and Gallison began the last week of July to lay out plans at the birth site for “a park, roads, walks and building lots.”¹⁰² And by mid-August, Wells had “fifteen Italian laborers at work there, excavating and road-making.”¹⁰³ By the end of August, Wells had also contracted with Joseph Perkins of Montpelier for the construction of a Memorial Cottage.¹⁰⁴ Architect F. A. Walker designed the cottage to sit directly over the old cellar hole, and incorporated the hearthstone, in its original position, into the cottage fireplace. Wells had personally verified this detail because he believed that since Joseph Smith was three years old when his parents moved, “if he had any association with that hearthstone, it was as a child.” Wells “thought perhaps it was where he was washed and dressed as a babe.”¹⁰⁵

But progress in South Royalton was not enough to distract Wells from quarry work in Barre. Workers at the Marr & Gordon quarry had found four pieces, but the most difficult, the forty-foot shaft, still remained to be located. Wells was after “a perfect shaft” that would be “typical of a perfect man,” for Wells and the Latter-day Saints “believe that Joseph Smith came to be as nearly a perfect man as ever lived.”¹⁰⁶ In

¹⁰² *RH*, 3 Aug 1905, page 5.

¹⁰³ *RH*, 17 Aug 1905, page 7. In September, excavators unearthed a one cent coin dated 1803, see *RH*, 14 Sep 1905, page 7.

¹⁰⁴ *Montpelier (Vermont) Journal*, 29 Aug 1905; see also *RH*, 31 Aug 1905, page 7.

¹⁰⁵ *Proceedings*, 15. Mormons praised Wells’ work: “The place was purchased; the site of the house where he was born was located; everything on the premises which might be a reminder of the olden time was put carefully in the way of preservation; even an old apple tree from which without doubt the kitchen table of the Smith family was served many a time with fruit, was given a new lease of life, when it threatened to die, by filling its partly hollow trunk with cement,” *Liahona*, 7 Mar 1916, quoted in *Journal History* 7 Mar 1916, 8.

¹⁰⁶ *Proceedings*, 10.

practical terms, Wells needed “a stone that was large enough to measure, when it should be polished up, four feet at the base and long enough to measure 38½ feet, a foot for each year of the prophet’s life.”¹⁰⁷ Mr. Blakeney, the foreman, selected a prospect, but Wells “had not a bit of confidence in” it. Wells had “some experience in mining and thought there was a cleavage that would cut it off,” and his suspicion proved correct.¹⁰⁸ When a second place did not pan out, Blakeney decided to try the other side of the quarry. But Wells was getting a little discouraged. Concerning the prospect of finding a large enough piece of granite on the quarry, he recalled, “That was our hope, but it was a hopeless hope to me. I had not the faith in me. I had not the impression. I have been going by impressions all the way through. Somehow when I had the right impression it has come out all right.”¹⁰⁹ But without such assurance, Wells began to wonder if his plans would really come to pass.

Then something happened outside of Wells’ supervision that proved expedient for the project. The Marr & Gordon quarry was purchased by the Boutwell, Milne & Varnum Company, who owned an adjoining quarry. James M. Boutwell was Vermont’s incarnation of the American Dream. Starting out as a poor farm boy, Boutwell rose through the railroad and quarry industry until his quarry employing twelve men in 1890 had become a corporation operating twelve quarries on over one hundred acres by 1917. Boutwell soon became a central figure in Vermont politics as mayor of Montpelier and a member of the State Railroad Commission. Known as “the Green Mountain Granite

¹⁰⁷ *Proceedings*, 10.

¹⁰⁸ *Proceedings*, 10-11.

¹⁰⁹ *Proceedings*, 11.

King of America,” Boutwell teamed up with H. W. Varnum in 1904, and Milne had joined earlier in 1905.¹¹⁰ Wells recalled that this robust company “took over the contract with great skill” and two days later, foreman Farnsworth located a stone that was “partly disclosed, that gave some promise of the size required.”¹¹¹ Farnsworth said it would take a week before he could be sure, but Wells “believed at once we were on the right track.”¹¹² Wells followed the quarrying “pretty closely, with increasing confidence” as quarry men cut down both sides and took off the top. It was a “happy day” for Wells when Farnsworth announced that the stone was forty-six feet long and sufficient for the shaft. The rough stone weighed nearly sixty tons, and it “took the ingenuity of both Mr. Boutwell and Mr. Varnum combined” to raise it out of the quarry.¹¹³

As the sixty-ton stone was being removed, Varnum, a former railroad builder, oversaw construction of a temporary railroad spur from the main line right into the quarry. It took two days to load the stone onto the railroad cars because the derrick could only lift one end of it at a time. Recalling this critical juncture, Wells said, “I have always felt that our success was largely due to this transfer of the contract at the opportune moment and to the interest and energy put forth by the latter firm to fulfil it.”¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ Stanley F. Blomfield, “James M. Boutwell—Man and Mayor,” *The Vermonter* 22 (Apr 1917): 57-67. See also Arthur W. Brayley, *History of the Granite Industry of New England*, 2 vols. (Boston: E. L. Grimes Company, 1913), 2:7-23.

¹¹¹ *Proceedings*, 11.

¹¹² *Proceedings*, 11.

¹¹³ *Proceedings*, 11.

¹¹⁴ JFW, “Undated Project Summary,” 1, Wells Collection.

The rough shaft stone, like the others, was sent six miles by train to the Barclay Brothers cutting and polishing shed in Barre. A native of Scotland, William Barclay began his quarrying operation in 1887 and was both a skilled craftsman and an effective executive. Like Boutwell, he, too, was involved in local politics, serving as Mayor of Barre from 1904 to 1906. Upon arriving at Barclay's cutting shed, powerful steam cranes and chains lifted the shaft off the railroad cars, inverted it, and lowered it into the cutting blocks where it was cut in just sixteen minutes. Wells marveled at "the difference when knowing how and having the mechanical means and power and in not having it."¹¹⁵ And while "the stones were cut with remarkable skill and celerity," it seemed at the same time to Wells that they would never be done. September was already drawing to a close, and the dedication date was drawing near.¹¹⁶ As time passed, weather conditions increasingly became a factor. The previous year, two feet of snow had already fallen by mid-November and heavy snowfall continued until spring.¹¹⁷ The work seemed extremely slow, and Wells recalled that "it took constant prodding and work over time to get the stones through the cutting shop and out of the hands of the polishers."¹¹⁸ Polishing was "very tedious and exceedingly risky" for a slip or chip would ruin the whole block. William Barclay supervised the work and would not allow "a single move to be made unless he was there to direct."¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ *Proceedings*, 11.

¹¹⁶ *RH*, 28 Sep 1905, page 7.

¹¹⁷ *Proceedings*, 11.

¹¹⁸ JFW, "Undated Project Summary," 1, Wells Collection.

¹¹⁹ Barre, Vermont, *Daily Times*, 7 Nov 1905.

As the quarry and polishing phase of the project drew to the close, the transportation phase began, opening a new set of difficulties. The prospect of transporting a 40 ton piece of polished granite was daunting. Wells recalled that

While some people had said they had done this sort of thing, when it came to the proving of it, it never had been done. They had done it in a small way; they had moved big stones short distances, and had moved large stones not polished, which did not have to be handled with such care. It was all new to me.¹²⁰

Wells had awarded the contract for transporting and setting the monument in place to M. F. Howland of Barre, who recommended a wagon he had built to remove the stones of St. John's cathedral at Morningside Park, New York. The wagon had tires twenty inches wide, axles eight feet long and eight inches in diameter, and weighed eight tons. Howland said that "on the level twelve horses would walk right along with the wagon fully loaded," but recommended using a block and tackle to pull it up the hill.¹²¹

Hills were perhaps the most daunting challenge, and Wells hoped to transport the pieces by rail to South Royalton to minimize overland transportation by wagon. However, in calculating the combined weight and dimensions, Wells realized that the old iron bridge over the White River in South Royalton, though "nice to look at," was not strong enough for the load. He considered strengthening the bridge, but decided instead to unload the pieces three miles up the river in Royalton, where the railroad depot was on the same side of the White River as the birth site.

But this decision brought its own complexities. Besides adding three miles distance to the trip, they would still have to cross the First Branch that fed into the White River at South Royalton. The Branch was sixty feet wide spanned by an old wooden

¹²⁰ *Proceedings*, 11.

¹²¹ *Proceedings*, 11-12.

covered bridge that hovered twenty feet above the water level (see Fig. 5). During the first week of October, Wells called on Joseph Perkins, who had contracted to build the Memorial Cottage, and Robert Ford, of Bethel, to help shore up the bridge.¹²² After scavenging “all over the state to get them,” the men placed five bents (a transverse framework that carries lateral and vertical loads) of ten-inch posts, four to a bent, under the bridge. The posts were twenty-one feet tall and rested on mudsills that were fourteen inches wide, five inches thick and twenty feet long. Wells remembered that “after the first load it never sagged a half inch. But we were anxious until it held up the bridge.”¹²³

The bridges were not the only part of the route that made transportation difficult. The narrow road from Royalton railroad station to the top of Dairy Hill wound up and down and around and through groves of pine and spruce trees. One traveler noted that “scarcely a foot of level ground was passed over, but up and down and around the corners we went.”¹²⁴ At the base of one particular rise, known as Haynes’ hill, was a deep mud hole. Wells asked the road supervisor, John Button about fixing the hole. Button, described by a town historian as “one of the trusted officers of the town, a highly respected citizen,” replied, “Well, but, Mr. Wells, it has always been a mud hole.” Wells

¹²² *RH*, 12 Oct 1905, page 7; *Proceedings*, 26.

¹²³ As Wells described it “We put in five bents of 10-inch posts, 21 feet long, four to each bent. The caps were 12-inch timbers, and the stringers a foot square and thirty feet long. Six of them we borrowed from the Wells River Railway, after skirmishing all over the state to get them. This was through the kindness of Mr. Stanyan. When we came to set these posts it was found that the bottom was quicksand. I thrust a pole into it. It went down over four feet and my heart with it. Fortunately we found some planks that came out of the old river bridge, which were fourteen inches wide, five inches thick and twenty feet long. Of these we made mudsills to rest our posts on and they held up the bridge.” *Proceedings*, 11. The author wishes to thank Russell L. Erekson for clarifying the engineering terminology.

¹²⁴ Edith Smith, *Journal*, 20.

compromised by subsidizing a temporary solution that would fix it long enough to get the stones through. Button agreed and filled in the hole as much as possible.¹²⁵

Having strengthened the bridge and cleared up the mud hole, the overland portion of the journey was prepared, but the granite still needed to be shipped by railroad to Royalton Village. However, the rail line ran close to the hill, and there was not enough room at the Royalton Depot to unload the stones. Fortunately, Mr. Mullins, the local superintendent, authorized the placement of a small side spur that ran out from the hill to facilitate unloading. Back in Barre, the first pieces ready to leave were the two bases, but the first base was twelve feet square, three feet wider than the railway customarily carried. The Barclay shed had the equipment to load the base on its end to meet the width requirements, but there would have been no way to unload it in Royalton. So Wells had to get a special permit to carry the wide load, and also had to use a rail car designed for wide loads. In the early hours of Saturday, October 14, Mr. Keefe, the chief roadmaster of the Vermont Railroad personally brought the two bases and the inscription die to Royalton.¹²⁶

When the granite pieces arrived in Royalton, James F. McNeil, of Syracuse, New York, was already on hand to unload them. The two bases together weighed over thirty tons and the die twenty tons, and to Wells it “seemed a very tedious and long process” as he watched the crew try to unload them.¹²⁷ The crew helping McNeil had little experience with stones of this size, but they finally managed to remove them from the rail

¹²⁵ Lovejoy, *History*, 712; *Proceedings*, 14.

¹²⁶ *Proceedings*, 12.

¹²⁷ *Proceedings*, 12.

car and load the two bases on the wagon. It was already late in the day when the wagon was finally prepared. Mr. Ellis, of the Bethel quarries, had sent “twenty of his most magnificent horses” to help pull the load, and two more were picked up in Royalton. The horses had no trouble pulling the wagon down the small bank that led from the side spur to the highway, but as soon as they started to move on a rise, the horses stopped. Three times the horses heaved, and three times the wagon did not budge.¹²⁸

Wells was discouraged. He had been assured that twelve horses could pull the load, but twenty-two could not do it. As the shadows of evening fell across the men and horses, Wells dismissed them. Returning to his hotel, he drafted a telegram to President Joseph F. Smith asking permission to ship the monument instead to Salt Lake City to be erected on the Temple Block. He proposed that a smaller monument be placed at the birth site, but he did not send the telegram.¹²⁹ The next morning was Sunday, and Wells, McNeil, and Leonard again assembled, this time deciding to use a block and tackle. Some of the horses would pull the wagon forward while the others would pull the opposite direction on the block and tackle. To Wells’ delight, the horses pulled the stones three quarters of a mile! To his discouragement, the residents of Royalton village were quite upset that he would violate the Sabbath by working. On the day of the dedication Wells said he believed “the people have forgiven us for that Sunday work, though it was pretty hard for them to do at the time,” but the reference to the experience did not appear in the published *Proceedings*.¹³⁰

¹²⁸ *Proceedings*, 12; *RH*, 19 Oct 1905, page 7. E. B. Ellis had been quarrying “white” granite at Bethel for three years, Perkins, *Report of the State Geologist*, 23-4.

¹²⁹ *Proceedings*, 12.

¹³⁰ The statement is from the stenographer’s copy of Wells’ speech with Wells’ corrections, and is found in the Wells Collection.

Early Monday morning the crew continued their work, but as the wagon inched forward, Wells discovered that the winding road that followed the floor of the White River Valley would be slow going. In addition to curves, the roads were so soft that the twenty-inch tires still sunk. So the team resorted to placing two planks, ten inches wide and three inches thick, underneath the wheels. Because they had a limited number of planks, they had to be placed and replaced as the wagon went along. The twelve-foot base extended two feet over both sides of the wagon, so the boys had to get on their hands and knees to do it. By the end of the day they had pulled the wagon only 1960 feet, and after one week they had traveled two miles and arrived in South Royalton.

Wells recalled that “it was slow work and those were anxious days.” Every once in a while, despite the planks, a wheel would sink, and it would take a while to jack the wagon up and move on. Slowly but steadily the wagon lurched forward, but arriving at the foot of Dairy Hill introduced a new challenge. There were only two miles left to travel, but the road rose nearly eight hundred feet. Some of the men were sure the wagon could make it, but it had only traveled over paved streets. Inching up a narrow, winding, unpaved country road, with only trees to serve as support points for the block and tackle was a different story.¹³¹ Wells pressed forward, urging the horses on and praying that the trees would not give out. Two weeks after they had set out from Royalton, the crew arrived at the birth site. The road behind was “strewn with trees, some large ones, that were pulled up by the roots,” but they made it. Supervisor McNeil considered the work a

¹³¹ *Proceedings*, 12.

triumph, and Wells was happy as well. Traveling six miles in two weeks, they had “planked the road from Royalton all the way up the hill” (see Fig. 4).¹³²

The successful transportation of the two bases was only the beginning, and confidence in agreeable weather was quickly running out. Wells had landed the bases late in October, but his original plan was to have the monument complete by this time. The inscription die, the 40-ton shaft, and the moulded cap still remained to be transported. While the route of travel was the same for all pieces, each one had its own setbacks.

After unloading the bases, Wells and his crew lost no time in returning for the second load—the six-foot cube inscription die. Weighing only twenty tons, it was lighter than the previous load. One day, while passing close to the riverbank, the wagon veered off the planks and one of the massive wheels sunk a foot into the soft ground. For some reason, Wells had asked the stone cutter to leave the Lewis iron in the top of the die. The crew used a guy-rope and raised the load long enough to get the wagon back on the planks. They continued without incident until they arrived at the reinforced bridge over the Tunbridge Branch. The combined height of the wagon and die was twelve feet two inches, but the opening in the covered bridge only allowed eleven feet four inches. Wells made arrangements with H. C. Leonard of Barre to bring a special wagon that was built lower to the ground. The wheels were only twelve inches wide, but it was sturdy, and Leonard brought some of his horses to help pull it. Leonard took charge of the die from that point on, and it was fortunate that he had a lower wagon, for there was a possibility that the height of the load may have caused it to tip over on Dairy Hill, thus defacing the

¹³² *Proceedings*, 12-13; *RH*, 26 Oct 1905, page 7, 2 Nov 1905, page 7.

inscription.¹³³ Another benefit of the lower wagon was that it freed the large wagon to haul the shaft, which had just arrived in Royalton.

In organizing a crew to return for the shaft, Wells expanded the Royalton operation to its largest size by employing four different work crews. One crew, under the direction of Wells and McNeil worked at moving the shaft, while Leonard led a crew to transport the die. At the monument site, W. H. Howland's crew was preparing to erect the monument, and Joseph Perkins and his team continued to construct the cottage. The work was "being pushed with effort possible to land the monument on the site before a snowstorm." All of the work was a benefit to the township, employing several of the young men who were paid two dollars a day with dinner furnished.¹³⁴ Wells also involved seven families who provided those dinners. Town Clerk William Skinner offered his oxen to help pull the wagon, and local Ed Green who drove the oxen was one of the many residents involved in the process. Selectman Elmer Doyle and road supervisor Button did everything possible to make the transportation successful (see Table 2.1). Wells noted "an undercurrent of genuine interest" in the project on the part of local residents.¹³⁵ And Mark Sargent, local newspaper editor, noted that "there is more agitation outside the locality of the monument than within, it would seem. Nobody appears greatly concerned hereabouts."¹³⁶

On November 7, Wells and McNeil began to haul the forty-ton shaft. Not only was it extremely heavy, it was nearly forty feet long as well, especially tricky on the

¹³³ *Proceedings*, 13.

¹³⁴ *RH*, 16 Nov 1905, 7.

¹³⁵ *Proceedings*, 13.

¹³⁶ *RH*, 10 Aug 1905, 2.

narrow curves. As the shaft drew near the foot of Hayne's hill it began to rain. The rain continued all day, and the former mud hole that Button had reluctantly patched up filled again with a muddy bog. Arthur Whitham remembered that a neighbor hurrying on with an empty hay wagon attempted to cross the mud hole and the wheels sank "deeper and deeper in that miserable little swamp."¹³⁷ The mud was so thick that it took four horses to pull the hay wagon out. Wells dismissed his crew. When he was alone he knelt and prayed for help in completing his task.¹³⁸ He returned to his hotel.

Wells later recalled that during the night it began to snow and the temperature dropped thirty-five degrees in three and a half hours and a strong north wind blew the storm down to the sea. The crew assembled. They planned to lay the planks in threes for a combined thickness of nine inches. When everything was prepared the horses heaved, and the weight of the load split the planks into kindling. The ground was frozen solid. The crew moved the shaft over the frozen mud hole and pulled it up the hill so quickly that they arrived a day before the inscription die. That morning was the coldest day of the entire project, and Wells acknowledged it as divine assistance. Wells asked one of the men riding with him, "one who does not believe much in anything, if it was so hard to believe in Providence now." "Well," the man replied, "I almost believe it." Wells later joked that that was the "nearest to a convert" he had made in Vermont.¹³⁹

If Wells did not make any converts in Vermont, he made a lot of friends.

Vermont newspapers reported that while in Barre and Montpelier, Wells "made a wide

¹³⁷ Arthur G. Whitham, "Statement on the Erection of the Joseph Smith Monument," speaking in South Royalton, Vermont, 5 Sep 1953, notes taken by J. Howard Maughan, typescript in Joseph Smith Birthplace Memorial Library.

¹³⁸ See George Albert Smith, *CR*, April 1906, 55.

¹³⁹ *Proceedings*, 14.

circle of friends among those with whom he has come in contact by his unfailing courtesy and charming personality as a gentleman.”¹⁴⁰ Wells felt it his business “to attend strictly to my own work, to employ local people and patronize the local stores even though I paid a little more sometimes and to distribute patronage among them all. This made good feelings and prevented jealousies.”¹⁴¹ Residents of Royalton saw him on the highways day and night, and he was recognized by all. Arthur Whitham remembered that Wells knew the names of all the town children, and that the young boys in town called him “Genius” Wells.¹⁴² Other residents were amazed that Wells had seemingly beaten the weather. Newspaper accounts all over the state had taken notice of his “tearing race with Old King Winter,” and as the project drew near completion, some called the unusually mild weather “Mr. Wells’ weather.”¹⁴³ James Boutwell had attributed Wells’ success to “Mormon luck,” but Wells felt more comfortable calling it Providence.¹⁴⁴

While drawing the last piece of granite, the moulded cap, Wells recognized another instance that to him “was very impressive—another instance of Providence.” E. B. Ellis had brought his horses down from Bethel again, and as the crew moved up Burbank Hill, the load sank through two layers of planks. It seemed “there was not bottom to the ground, the soil being treacherous and porous.” Although the stone weighed ten tons, they were riding on a wagon with six inch tires, and they knew that if

¹⁴⁰ *Montpelier (Vermont) Journal*, 29 Aug 1905; see also *RH*, 31 Aug 1905, 7.

¹⁴¹ JFW to Frank L. Brown, 20 Mar 1911, Wells Collection.

¹⁴² Arthur G. Whitham, “The Joseph Smith Monument at South Royalton,” *RH* 27 Sep 1945; reprinted *Improvement Era* 50 (Jan 1947): 18, 55-6.

¹⁴³ *St. Albans Messenger*, 9 Dec 1905; *Proceedings*, 11.

¹⁴⁴ *Proceedings*, 10.

they could pull swiftly they could make it up the hill, but if they were to stall, the wagon would sink for sure. Wells located four more horses, and Mr. Davis, the foreman, attached a battering ram to the running gear in what Wells considered “a triumph of mechanical skill.” Ellis and Davis led fourteen horses in pulling the wagon, and the entire crew went alongside cheering the horses on. Horses heaved, the men yelled, and the wagon inched onward. Wells followed behind with the other four horses, preparing to give the load a final push to make it over the hill. As Wells walked alongside the horses, he “had the most singular feeling come over me at the way the near horse acted.” Wells loved animals, especially big ones, and he noticed that the horse “did not simply get down to an ordinary pull at the last.” Instead, “he seemed to be inspired,” and “went at it with his nostrils wide distended and his eyes bulging from his head, and he simply plowed his way, as though he had to lift that load up the hill.” Wells saw “a little inspiration in it,” and the stone was transported from the Royalton depot to the monument site in just six hours. It landed on Sunday, November 26, three days less than a month before the centennial anniversary.¹⁴⁵

On Dairy Hill the most significant part of the monument project—setting the stones in place—was yet incomplete. This challenge involved lifting the forty-foot shaft thirteen feet in the air, turning it perpendicular and setting it in place.¹⁴⁶ W. H. Howland of Barre was supervising the work, and had sent for a large derrick from Pennsylvania in early November.¹⁴⁷ After a ten-day delay the rigging finally arrived and was in place by

¹⁴⁵ *RH*, 30 Nov 1905, 7.

¹⁴⁶ *RH*, 28 Dec 1905, 3.

¹⁴⁷ *RH*, 16 Nov 1905, 7.

November 25. Howland was meticulous and while Wells later called Howland “the best stone setter in the world,” Howland’s “slow, sure process of arranging things” during the last week of November caused Wells no little anxiety.¹⁴⁸ As December opened, and Wells felt confident that the monument would be erected, he traveled to Boston to finalize preparations there.¹⁴⁹ In Wells’ absence, Howland placed the two bases, inscription die, and molded cap in place. Wells was back in town on December 8, for the placement of the tall shaft (see Fig. 6). Nearly forty years later, Arthur G. Whitham recalled that “[a] great crowd assembled in the bleak wind on Dairy Hill with coat collars turned up and earlaps down.” With Wells down below on the ground, Howland arranged that from his position atop the derrick, he would wave his cap in the air when the shaft rested in place. Whitham remembered,

When the signal was finally given, the crowd started cheering, but only for a moment. They were set back on their heels by Wells at the foot of the monument. He was waving his arms frantically and shouting, “Stop! Stop!” The cheering ceased and to the surprise of all he fell upon his knees at the foot of the monument and offered a prayer—a prayer of thanksgiving that he had been permitted to do this thing. When he had finished, he jumped to his feet and yelled, “All right, boys, now I am with you, let her go!” Then the crowd did yell and shout, “Wells, Wells, hurrah for Junius Wells!”¹⁵⁰

After one hundred thirty seven days of anxious work, and only fifteen days before the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Joseph Smith, the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument was complete (see Table 2.2).

¹⁴⁸ JFW, “Undated Project Summary,” Wells Collection; *Proceedings*, 15.

¹⁴⁹ See *RH*, 14 Dec 1905, 7; 21 Dec 1905, 7.

¹⁵⁰ Arthur G. Whitham, “The Joseph Smith Monument at South Royalton,” 55-6.

The idea of a monument to Joseph Smith clearly grew out of nineteenth century Mormon memories of Joseph Smith as prophet, martyr, and Vermont schoolboy. The inscriptions on the monument refer to the first two memories, and that it was erected in Vermont rather than Utah is a tangible reference to the third. But one symbolic detail of the monument physically illustrates that in the process of transforming the memories of Joseph Smith into monumental form, new dimensions of Smith's relationship with Vermont and America became apparent. When Wells designed the monument to his father, he made provision for a small receptacle to hold family relics. In a similar vein, Wells asked local resident, George H. Dewey, to prepare a small "copper casket" that would be filled in an informal ceremony and included in the monument's first base "to the end that they shall be preserved through all the generations of time while this monument shall stand."¹⁵¹ The artifacts were secure in this location as the casket could not be removed unless the entire monument was disassembled. Yet Wells did not intend for the artifacts to be included and then forgotten: a list of the contents was recorded in the Royalton and Sharon town records and published in the dedicatory *Proceedings*.¹⁵²

On Sunday evening, 26 November 1905, Wells invited several of his acquaintances to the South Royalton House to fill the ceremonial "casket." Representing both the institutional and public Mormon traditions, Wells placed copies of Mormon scriptures and a hymnal. Also included were copies of *The Life of Joseph Smith* by Lucy Mack Smith and *Life of Joseph Smith the Prophet* by George Q. Cannon, as well as portraits of Church presidents along with a list of current Church officers. Royalton's

¹⁵¹ *RH*, 28 Dec 1905, 3.

¹⁵² *Proceedings*, 27-28; Sharon Miscellaneous & Highway Records 1:53-56.

first selectman, Elmore Doyle, looked on as Wells deposited the title deed to the property, and testimonies of local citizens certifying the site of Joseph Smith's birth.

In addition to Mormon artifacts, Wells also included elements commemorating the cooperation of Vermonters in the endeavor. The granite monument itself would ever stand as a tribute to the Vermont granite industry, and general contractor Riley Bowers and James McNeil helped compile a list of names of all who had worked to quarry, transport, and erect the monument and placed it into the container. State Senator Edgar J. Fish, a resident of South Royalton, provided a copy of the Acts and Resolves of the State of Vermont for 1904, which contained the names of all state officials. Sharon Town Clerk Daniel Parkhurst contributed the Town Report for 1905, a chronicle of Sharon's current events for the year that had been prepared by G. A. Cheney. Similarly, Royalton Town Clerk, William Skinner, presented a Town Report and chronicle of events of 1905 that he had prepared. A small publication entitled *Glimpses of the White River Valley*, by G. A. Cheney, was also placed in the casket. This fifty page pamphlet gave a brief history of Sharon and Royalton and described the prominent citizens of the two towns, including Edgar Fish, William Skinner, postmasters Julius and Pearl Belknap, sheriff Marvin Hazen, merchant John Hewitt, lawyer Charles Tarbell, hotel proprietor Charles Woodard, and local newspaper editor Mark Sargent, who were all present (see Fig. 7-14).

The copper casket also contained items representing the American tradition shared by both Mormons and Vermonters. Wells included a copy of the Bible, a book cherished by Latter-day Saints as well as by Vermont religious congregations. It was this commonly revered book that had inspired seventeenth century Puritans to leave the old world and settle New England. Notary public, young Arthur G. Whitham, observed that

several U. S. coins of 1905 mint were placed in the receptacle, along with portraits of George Washington and current U. S. President Theodore Roosevelt. Roosevelt provided a common link because he was the chief executive of their common nation, but also in a more personal way. Roosevelt had visited Utah and had decided to throw his support behind Mormon Senator Reed Smoot. He had also visited South Royalton in 1902, stopping briefly at the train station to address the citizens.¹⁵³

The copper casket symbolizes the roots of a subtle transformation in the memory of Joseph Smith (see Table 2.3). It is significant to note that the receptacle does not contain a lock of Joseph Smith's hair or other relics related to the martyr memory. This memory is inscribed on the face of the monument, but buried deep in the heart of the monument are objects giving special emphasis to the monument's connection with Vermont. Nineteenth century Mormons were tied to Vermont through their birth and memories of the Green Mountain State. Twentieth century Mormons were now bound to Vermont by granite excavated from the Green Mountains. By concretizing the memories of Joseph Smith into a monument *in* Vermont, Latter-day Saints commemorated past ties, but also established stronger ones in the present. Past ties had fostered memories of Smith as a Vermont schoolboy, the interpretation of present ties would help transform a Vermont schoolboy into an American Prophet.

¹⁵³ Lovejoy, *History*, 622.

CHAPTER THREE

AMERICAN PROPHET, 1905-1910

Why does humanity build monuments to men that are dead? Certainly not to please those who have passed on. Rather to perpetuate among the living in more lasting form than frail flesh the ideas of virtue, courage, patriotism, art, religious principles, or other noble qualities that the deceased exemplified and the builders of the monument love. It is a cultural act.

Angus J. Cannon, Joseph Smith Memorial Birthplace director, 1929¹

[Joseph Smith] is pre-eminently the American Prophet. He is not the 'boy prophet;' I dislike that term. He is not the 'Prophet of Palmyra;' he is the Prophet of the dispensation of the fulness of times; if localized at all he must be known as the 'American Prophet.... Never was greater mistake made than to suppose that the disciples of Joseph Smith could be unpatriotic Americans. They must be ardently patriotic Americans.

B. H. Roberts, Address in Salt Lake City, 22 Dec 1907²

On Saturday, December 23, 1905, nearly five hundred people gathered around the fifty-foot granite monument and waited anxiously for its unveiling. Smith family historian, Edith Smith, had made the long journey from Salt Lake City, Utah, as the oldest female representative of the Smith family. One of her fellow traveling companions later wrote that when Edith's "slender hand drew the rope which bound the Stars and Stripes about the polished base" the crowd burst into cheers, while others wept in

¹ Angus J. Cannon, *A Latter-day Prophet* (Independence, MO: Zion's Printing and Publishing Company, n.d.), 1.

² B. H. Roberts, *Joseph Smith the Prophet Teacher, A Discourse by Elder B. H. Roberts* (Salt Lake City, UT: The Deseret News, 1908), 66.

memory of Joseph Smith.³ The entire assembly burst into a hearty rendition of “The Star Spangled Banner” that, as a Mormon historian later noted, indelibly impressed each member “with thrilling effect.”⁴ At the dedication of the monument on 23 December 1905, the one-hundredth anniversary of Smith’s birth, the speeches, singing, a dedicatory prayer by Church President Joseph F. Smith, the program agenda, and responses of the people in attendance all contributed to the interpretation of the monument. Over the next five years, Junius F. Wells built upon the dedicatory interpretation by emphasizing Joseph Smith’s connection to Vermont, his place in the nation, and his role as a prophet. As a result twentieth century Mormons began to remember Joseph Smith as an American Prophet.

The dedication of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument provided a setting for its first official interpretation, and the event is documented in several sources. The speeches were transcribed, edited, compiled with various materials relating to the monument, and published early in 1906 as *Proceedings at the Dedication of the Joseph Smith Birthplace Memorial Monument*.⁵ In addition to this “official” account, Smith family historian, Edith Smith, filled nearly two hundred pages of her diary with information about the dedication and the two-week trip by Church leaders from Utah to Vermont and back. Smith’s diary brims with the “unofficial” information concerning the weather, the names

³ Susa Young Gates, “Memorial Monument Dedication,” *Improvement Era* 9 (Feb/Mar 1906):317.

⁴ *Proceedings*, 24.

⁵ *Proceedings*. The compilation begins with a letter from Royalton residents to the Mormons that will be contextualized below. After the speeches follow the testimonies of the three witnesses to the birth site, the monument description, and excerpts from Wells’ project summary published in the *Deseret Evening News*, 1 Jul 1905. The speeches were recorded by Arthur Winter, secretary to the First Presidency. Winter’s transcript of Wells’ speech accompanies Arthur Winter to JFW, 5 Jan 1906, Wells Collection. Winter asked Wells to verify all the names and recommended a detailed description of the monument

of people in attendance, details about food, arrangements, and about the activities of women on the trip. She concludes with a poem Susa Young Gates composed on the train ride home that creatively describes each member of the party, and Smith's careful account was apparently used by Gates in her summary of the trip for Mormon readers of the *Improvement Era*.⁶ Junius Wells' efforts to improve the site strengthened ties with Vermonters, and presented Joseph Smith as an American Prophet to visitors from throughout New England and the nation.

Late in November 1905, Junius F. Wells notified the First Presidency of his progress in erecting the monument and assured his leaders the project would be completed in time for dedication on 23 December 1905. Wells recognized that preparing the particulars of the ceremony itself was the prerogative of the First Presidency, but he offered several ideas concerning ancillary preparations. In a 23 November 1905 letter to the First Presidency, he drafted the proposed text of an invitation that he recommended be engraved and sent "to the officials of the State, County, and the towns of Sharon, Royalton and Tunbridge, and to leading people here," as well as "to the presiding officials throughout the Church, down to the bishops anyway, as a souvenir of the occasion." Wells envisioned a splendid event attended by local residents, Church leaders, and even some singers. He reported that the cottage would be usable, but not complete, and "the grounds cannot be cleaned up as I should like, for everything is already frozen solid, but we will get things in as presentable shape as the conditions will admit of." He also gave several recommendations for dining, lodging, and travel

⁶ Edith Smith, Journal, Dec 1905-Jan 1906, LDS Church Archives; Susa Young Gates, "Memorial Monument Dedication," *Improvement Era* 9 (Feb 1906): 308-319 and 9 (Mar 1906): 376-389.

arrangements, and added, "I realize that this is hurrying at the last, and regret it, but it has not been possible for me to write with perfect assurance until we actually had the monument on the ground. We can have an interesting and very effective time now, and the fame of it will go all over the world."⁷

While Mormon missionaries carried the message of Mormonism to the world, the year of the monument's dedication the Church continued to receive attention in the national press. As 1905 opened, President Theodore Roosevelt's swearing in and the Russo-Japanese War topped national headlines.⁸ The beginning of the twentieth century was a time of rapid transformation in America as immigrants flooded into the country, pressing the limits of burgeoning urban centers. Eastern Europeans and Asians, Jews and Catholics, all struggled to make a living and to find a place in America. Increasing numbers of immigrants frightened many Americans, and political and popular debates often centered on the definition of a true American. By the mid-1920s, anxiety over the issue would flare into the Red Scare, race riots, a revival of the Ku Klux Klan, tighter immigration restrictions and the beginning of Mexican repatriation.⁹

For many years, Mormons had been characterized as un-American, but nationwide concern about American identity drew Mormons into the public debates with the congressional investigation of Reed Smoot. In 1900 Smoot became a member of the LDS Quorum of Twelve Apostles, one of the leading councils in Church government.

⁷ JFW to First Presidency, 23 Nov 1905, Wells Collection.

⁸ *Salt Lake Tribune* and *Deseret Evening News*, 1905. On Cannon see Kenneth M. Godfrey, "Frank J. Cannon: Declension in the Mormon Kingdom," *Differing Visions: Dissenters in Mormon History*, ed. Roger D. Launius and Linda Thatcher (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 241-61.

⁹ Lary May, *Screening Out the Past: The Birth of Mass Culture and the Motion Picture Industry* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980); Francisco E. Balderrama and Raymond Rodriguez, *Decade of Betrayal: Mexican Repatriation in the 1930s* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1995).

Three years later Smoot was also elected Republican U.S. Senator from Utah. Shortly after his election, religious and women's groups, led by the Salt Lake Ministerial Association, sent scores of letters protesting the propriety of having a Mormon leader in national public office.¹⁰ Smoot was granted his seat, but the Senate convened investigative hearings in 1904 to decide if he would be allowed to keep it. It soon became apparent, however, that it was the Church—not Smoot—that was on trial. President Joseph F. Smith was called to testify in 1904 about polygamy, but since Smoot was not a polygamist the debate shifted to questions about the influence of Church government (derogatorily characterized as “hierarchy” in the press) and whether or not oaths sworn in Latter-day Saint Temples contained Anti-American sentiment, a charge that particularly rankled Smoot.¹¹ In the fall of 1905, leaders of the RLDS Church, unsuccessful in their plea to stop the monument, joined with non-Mormons in Salt Lake City to form an “American Party” to challenge the Mormons politically.¹²

During the weeks preceding the dedication, anti-monument emotions that had been smoldering throughout Vermont for months drew on national sentiment and erupted

¹⁰ Milton R. Merrill, “Reed Smoot: Apostle in Politics,” (Ph. D. diss., Columbia University, 1950; published by Logan, Utah: UT State University Press, 1990); Harvard S. Heath, “Reed Smoot: The First Mormon” (Ph. D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1990). Heath, 1909-1932, *In the World: The Diaries of Reed Smoot* (Salt Lake City, UT: Signature Books, 1997).

¹¹ Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890-1930* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1996), Chapter 2; Kathleen Flake, “Mr. Smoot goes to Washington: The Politics of American Religious Identity, 1900-1920” (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 2000), Chapters 2-3. On charges of Latter-day Saint un-Americanness, see Merrill, 301-2; Flake, Chapter 1; B. H. Roberts, *Defense of the Faith and the Saints* (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret News, 1907), 5, 407-41. On charges specific to the temple ceremonies see Alan Elmo Haynes, “Brigham Henry Roberts and Reed Smoot: Significant Events in the Development of Pluralism” (Master's thesis, Catholic University of America, 1966), 39-59.

¹² On the formation of the American party see Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition*, 29-39. In addition to protesting the monument, leaders of the RLDS Church also encouraged formation of the American Party. Speaking in Salt Lake City on 24 Sep 1905, Joseph Smith III delivered “sledge-hammer [sic] blows in the battle for loyalty to the Government, for obedience to the laws of the land and of god,” Charles Millard Turner, “Joseph Smith III and the Mormons of Utah,” 448, see especially 445-458.

in one last public appeal to protest the project. In June the *Interstate Journal* had described “Mormonism as a species of deep-sea octopus, with ever-reaching tentacles, seeking whom it may devour.” The following month *The Burlington Free Press* reprinted Wells’ summary of the project, adding “this reads finely, nevertheless Joseph Smith was an imposter, and the religion he founded a delusion and a snare.”¹³

Throughout the state, Congregational circuit speakers found increasing success in their anti-Mormon lectures, especially those speakers who could share first hand accounts of conditions in Utah. Audiences appeared anxious to hear that “Mormonism in rural places differs from the Mormonism of Salt Lake City,” and that church leaders wield “an authority similar to that of the pope of Rome.” Some reported that “the immorality and irreverence of the people are appalling,” or that education “is nowhere more needed than in” Utah. Polygamy also received attention, as some asserted that “though they may tell you polygamy is not the main thing in Mormonism...yet they all believe in it.” Others claimed that “wolves in certain sections roam [Utah] unhindered by civilization,” or that “its soil is so fertile that everything can be raised, including potatoes weighing three hundred pounds”—a testament to the inability of Mormon farmers to capitalize on their natural environment.¹⁴

During the first week of December, these feelings of protest surfaced in Royalton. Reverend Levi Wild of Royalton Village wrote to the editor of the local paper on behalf of those “who regard with deep concern the present Mormon invasion of our community.” Wild introduced a leaflet prepared by the Woman’s Home Missionary

¹³ “Mormon Shrine in Vermont,” *Interstate Journal* 10 (Jun 1905); *Burlington Free Press*, 10 Jul 1905.

¹⁴ *RH* 16 Nov 1905, 21 Dec 1905.

Union of Vermont. Members of the Union presented several reasons why the monument was “an offence to the thoughtful people of Vermont”: Smith was deplorable, the hierarchy sought only power, it would provide a foothold in Vermont for missionary work. They condemned all who had a part in the monument, from those “tempted” to sell their land, to the “owners of those granite hills” for “allowing a flake of it to go to perpetuate the infamy of the system which holds plural marriage as the distinguishing tenet of its faith.”

The Women’s Home Missionary Union also charged Wells with broad-ranging duplicity who, “by his unassuming and gentlemanly bearing, wins the favor of people at our state capital.” And “by his purchase of the largest and most costly monument ever sent from the Barre granite works he gains the good will of one of the largest business concerns in the state.” Furthermore, “by his employment on a liberal pay roll of many of the laborers of Royalton and vicinity he wins the encomiums of local journalists, who see material prosperity accrue to the town of Royalton in various ways from this enterprise.” The women announced that “there are some who look beneath the fair exterior and see only uncleanness within.” And while they recognized they were in the minority, they warned that “this imposing monument marks the grave of the virtue of women and the sanctity of monogamy.” In a final reference to Biblical prophecy, they declared the monument to be “the abomination of desolation standing where it ought not on the soil of our free and enlightened state. It is an insult to the womanhood of Vermont, of our country, and of the world.”¹⁵ The Vermont women asserted that the Mormons who

¹⁵ Levi Wild to *RH* editor, 4 Dec 1905, and “A Protest from the Woman’s Home Missionary Union of Vermont” printed in *RH*, 7 Dec 1905, 7. The tract continued to be printed for several years, and a post 1944 copy may be found in the LDS Church History Library.

practiced polygamy the people who tolerated them were a threat to their state and to America.

When Wild's letter and the accompanying protest appeared in the paper on December 7, residents of neighboring South Royalton village were shocked. Two days later, South Royalton lawyer Charles Tarbell challenged the protest "and the spirit which that article breathes." Tarbell argued that "the Mormons have the same right to worship God that we claim for ourselves," and that "they may exercise that right wherever and whenever they please, provided they do not violate the law or interfere with like vested rights in other people." Said Tarbell, "We admire and emulate the spirit which leads thousands of Christian people to walk with reverent footsteps in places made sacred by the early prophets and by those who later were fellow-workers with the Christ when he was on the earth and to erect magnificent churches and other costly memorials to honor their memory." He readily acknowledged that most people in town did not believe Joseph Smith was a prophet, but if Mormons hold this belief, "is it not a commendable thing for them to honor his memory?" Challenging the professed piety of the Woman's Home Missionary Union, Tarbell queried, "Can it be that Christian people in this fair land have not yet outgrown the spirit which caused so-called witches to hang and cut off the ears of inoffensive Quakers, that we cannot treat these people with common Christian courtesy?"¹⁶

Tarbell's polished public reply was seconded by the signature of forty-three other citizens (men and women) of Royalton township, who joined together the same day in signing a petition welcoming visiting Mormon authorities to their town. Additionally, the

¹⁶ Charles P. Tarbell to *RH* editor, 9 Dec 1905, printed in *RH* 14 Dec 1905, 7.

petition offered the visiting Latter-day Saints free use of “Woodard Hall,” a local assembly hall attached to the South Royalton House hotel (see Fig. 14-16). The petitioners included most of the prominent citizens of South Royalton Village, and three out of four of the elected town officials (see Table 3.1).¹⁷ In the December 14 edition of the *Herald*, local editor Mark Sargent called the monument “a marvel of simple elegance and beauty,” and praised “the energetic manner in which it has been carried to completion by the representative of the church.” He predicted that “the dedication will largely be attended by people eager to witness the unveiling and curious to see the leaders of the Mormons.”¹⁸

Whether Wells was in town or not when the protest appeared is difficult to ascertain. Because Wells did not record his daily activities, the local newspaper is the best source for tracking his movements, though it usually describes his weekly activity only briefly. The paper reports that he was in Boston during the first and third weeks of December, and returned to Vermont briefly in mid-December. He was in town on December 8 when the monument was completed. Present or not when the protest was published, Wells stayed informed of local events with the help of South Royalton postmaster, Julius Belknap, who would have certainly shown Wells a copy of the protest had he not seen it initially. On December 15 Wells wrote a letter from South Royalton officially accepting the offer to use Woodard Hall.¹⁹

¹⁷ The original petition is in Wells Collection, LDS Church Archives. A transcribed list was published in *Proceedings*, 6, however it contains several errors that vary from the original.

¹⁸ *RH*, 14 Dec 1905, 7.

¹⁹ JFW to Citizens of Royalton, 15 Dec 1905, Wells Collection.

Wells' public reaction to this "public relations" disaster was typical of his use of the press generally—he ignored the negative and emphasized the positive. Throughout the entire construction process, Wells had kept eastern and western presses informed of his progress.²⁰ The ceremonial sealing of the copper casket had been reported in papers around Vermont and to members of the Church in the *Improvement Era*.²¹ In the case of the protest, Wells made no mention of it in his personal papers or surviving written correspondence. The published proceedings of the monument project contained no reference to negative sentiment, but reprinted the offer to use Woodard Hall in its entirety, including signatures. Wells obviously passed the word along to Church leaders who, when speaking at the dedication, went out of their way to emphasize the kindness of Vermonters. In newspapers throughout the state Wells made no response to the protest, but simply announced the finalized dedication plans and made sure that the invitation was printed for the public.²² Perhaps hoping the outburst was a singular occurrence, Wells returned to Boston to make final travel arrangements for the soon arriving party from Salt Lake. After the protest, local residents seemed resigned to the presence of the monument, but the anxious feelings that burst in early December would continue to smolder beyond the day of the monument's dedication.

²⁰ See H. G. Whitney (*Deseret News* editor) to JFW, 1 Aug 1905; Richard W. Young to JFW, 29 Sep 1905; First Presidency to JFW, 5 Dec 1905; all in Wells Collection.

²¹ See *St. Alban's Messenger*, 28 Nov 1905; *Montpelier Daily Journal*, 28 Nov 1905; "Centennial Anniversary Monument," *Improvement Era* 9 (Dec 1905): 184.

²² See *St. Alban's Messenger*, 9 Dec 1905; *RH*, 14 Dec 1905; *Boston Sunday Globe*, 17 Dec 1905; *Deseret Evening News*, 21 Dec 1905.

While Wells raced to tie up loose ends in the East, leaders of the LDS Church and members of the Smith family in the West prepared for a cross-country “centennial memorial trip.”²³ Early on the morning of December 18, thirty-one Mormons set out from Salt Lake City, traveling in a special Pullman car named *Sofala*.²⁴ Joining Church President Joseph F. Smith, were his counselor, Anthon H. Lund, five Apostles, the Church Patriarch, and two members of the Seventy. Also present were descendants representing the families of all of the Church presidents and several early leaders, including Vermonters Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball. Some of the company had been acquainted with Joseph Smith during his lifetime. One of these, Lorin Farr, had been born in Waterford, Vermont, in 1820, and his father had been born in Royalton. Also present were several record keepers: Edith Smith the Smith family historian, Joseph Fielding Smith of the Church Historian’s Office, and the Church reporter and stenographer Arthur Winter (see Table 3.2). The business arrangements of the trip were in the hands of Apostle George Albert Smith, who was careful to publicize that all members of the party paid their own way.²⁵

The nonstop trip east, by way of Chicago, was pleasant, as the party members spent time “chatting, reading, singing, playing games.”²⁶ They arrived in South Royalton on the morning of 22 December, and “found a mantle of snow covering the hills and the

²³ Edith Smith, *Smith, Journal*, Dec 1905-Jan 1906; Susa Young Gates, “Memorial Monument Dedication,” 308-319, 376-389. See also Richard Neitzel Holzapfel and Paul H. Peterson, “New Photographs of Joseph F. Smith’s Centennial Memorial Trip to Vermont, 1905,” *BYU Studies* 39 (Winter 2000): 107-114.

²⁴ Only thirty are listed in *Proceedings*, 5. Joseph F. Smith’s daughter, Ina, is missing from the list, but is mentioned by Gates.

²⁵ See George Albert Smith, *Diary*, 31 Dec 1905, University of Utah; and George Albert Smith, *CR*, April 1906, 53.

²⁶ Anthon H. Lund, *Diary*, 18 Dec 1905, LDS Church Archives.

valley. It looked very beautiful, had fallen the previous day.” Junius Wells and his wife, Lena, and daughter, Abbie, were present to welcome the travelers. After a breakfast at the South Royalton House, the party split up.²⁷ President Smith and members of the Smith family traveled to nearby Tunbridge to look at records in the Town Clerk’s Office pertaining to the Smith family. Others of the party wanted to catch an early glimpse of the monument and traveled up Dairy Hill. While they found the monument in place, Wells was directing workers who scurried back and forth to finish the final preparations. The porch floor had not yet been laid, and Gates observed that inside the cottage Lena and Abbie Wells “were also in working clothes, sweeping, unpacking and flying about, directing others as well as working themselves.”²⁸

A party of twenty-one Mormons arrived in the afternoon from New York and Boston, including several singers and musicians, as well as missionaries laboring in the Eastern States. That evening, the Mormons gathered to Woodard Hall for a meeting. Local painter, Edgar Parkhurst, had decorated the room “with flags and greens in honor of the occasion.” And “a huge fire had been carefully stoked with great pieces of wood, all day, to warm this quaint old gathering-place.”²⁹ The brief program included both patriotic and Latter-day Saint music and short addresses by Church leaders.³⁰

²⁷ Edith Smith, *Journal*, 8. Edith mentioned that the breakfast included baked potatoes, mush, meat, and fruit, but not cakes. She also noted that “Mrs. Lena Wells & daughter Abbie were in the hotel we met them after breakfast. They seemed desirous of doing all they could to make it pleasant for all,” *Journal* 8-9. Edith’s diary is at times critical of the social conditions in Vermont. While she found the countryside beautiful and frequently comments on it, there are also scattered references to the backward nature of the little village as she compared it to the civilization she knew at home in Utah.

²⁸ Gates, “Memorial Monument Dedication,” 312.

²⁹ Gates, “Memorial Monument Dedication,” 313. See also *RH*, 28 Dec 1905, 5.

³⁰ See *Proceedings*, 6-7.

The day of the dedication dawned cold. There had been a thaw overnight and a “flurry of snow” in the morning that made travel possible for both wagons and sleighs.³¹ The large party of visiting Mormons and reporters required transportation such that “every rig in South Royalton had been preempted.”³² George Albert Smith, manager of the traveling party, was surprised to find “these vehicles were furnished gratis by the citizens”—another expression of their support of Wells and the endeavor.³³

The procession across and then along the White River and up Dairy Hill was quite a sight. Several hundred people had come out from Montpelier, Barre, and Johnstown, Vermont. Reporters had come from Boston and other cities. The Utah Mormons appreciated the local interest but, in light of their recent experience with the Smoot hearings, were somewhat wary of the press. Edith Smith recorded that “several newspaper men were in the party, to get items and pictures for their papers. They seemed very anxious to get Pres. Smith’s photo, so he gave them one & also stood while they pressed the button.”³⁴ The reporter for the local *Herald* had a chance to speak with the Latter-day Saint President who told the reporter that “all he hoped for—but seldom got—from the press was the plain and simple truth regarding the faith and practices of his people; that on account of the prejudice that exists newspapers usually find it more satisfactory to misrepresent Mormons and Mormonism than to tell the truth.” The reporter was obviously impressed and did his best to fulfill President Smith’s wishes.³⁵

³¹ See *Proceedings*, 7; Gates, “Memorial Monument Dedication,” 313.

³² *RH*, 28 Dec 1905, 5.

³³ George Albert Smith, *CR*, April 1906, 54.

³⁴ Edith Smith, *Journal*, 19.

³⁵ *RH*, 28 Dec 1905, 5.

The local paper also noted that “there was one interested observer of the day’s proceedings who came without invitation.” This was Francis M. Sheehy of Boston, a member of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, who “came with credentials from Joseph Smith of Lamoni.” The *Herald* reporter quickly perceived that “Mr. Sheehy was persona non grata to the other Mormons, and they gave him the cold shoulder at South Royalton.” Nevertheless, “he unburdened himself freely to the Herald man” describing the differences between the two Mormon churches and decrying polygamy and “the evil side of Brigham Young’s followers.” After a lengthy conversation with Sheehy, the local reporter concluded that “his errand at South Royalton was apparently to spy and to create local hostility to the opposing faction.”³⁶

Mormons, reporters, and Vermonters wound their way up Dairy Hill Road through what Edith Smith described as a “rolling paradise of dream-vistas,” commenting on the trees uprooted by the use of block and tackle and marveling at the thought of transporting the large stones up such a narrow passage.³⁷ She noted that “the snow was gently falling adding to the beauty of the surroundings.”³⁸ Sloshing along through the mud and snow, the group finally rounded the last corner and caught their first glimpse of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument. George Albert Smith was “astonished at the great work,” and Susa Young Gates later recalled that “its simple beauty and majesty, like the character of the man it represents, defies description.”³⁹ For Smith family

³⁶ *RH*, 28 Dec 1905, 5.

³⁷ Gates, “Memorial Monument Dedication,” 310.

³⁸ Edith Smith, *Journal*, 20.

³⁹ George Albert Smith, *Diary*, 23 Dec 1905, University of Utah ; Gates, “Memorial Monument Dedication,” 310.

historian, Edith Smith, “it was a supreme moment,” and Church President Joseph F. Smith later observed that “I have never had an adequate idea of the amount of work and the number of difficulties that [Wells] has had to contend with. It is a revelation to me...it is something marvelous in my eyes. I am astonished at it.”⁴⁰ As the Mormons gazed at the thirty-eight and a half foot granite shaft, and the inscription die draped in the Stars and Stripes, George Albert Smith observed that their “tears flowed freely, under the influence of the Spirit, every soul was humbled, every heart was melted, and we rejoiced in the blessings of our Heavenly Father.”⁴¹

The cold travelers soon turned their attention to the cozy cottage erected near the Monument. Ascending the eastern steps, upon entering the cottage, “the first thing which met our gaze was the historic hearthstone, with its mantle decorated with carnations, chrysanthumums & pine boughs.”⁴² A picture of Joseph Smith hung over the mantle, and the only furniture present was a piano and some furniture, both loaned by neighbors for the occasion.⁴³ Upstairs Benjamin Goddard, director of the recently initiated Bureau of Information in Salt Lake City designed to provide visitors with accurate information about Mormons, set out a makeshift bureau of information displaying various pamphlets for interested local visitors, and Edith Smith noted that “there were very few if any who did not secure a souvenir from this room.”⁴⁴ The bathroom and bathtub upstairs and the

⁴⁰ Edith Smith, *Journal*, 20; *Proceedings*, 9.

⁴¹ George Albert Smith, *CR*, April 1906, 54.

⁴² Edith Smith, *Journal*, 21.

⁴³ Gates, “Memorial Monument Dedication,” 375.

⁴⁴ Edith Smith, *Journal*, 22. In 1901, LeRoi C. Snow, son of then Church President Lorenzo Snow, overheard a hack driver outside the Beehive house telling tourists that “No one is ever permitted to go in there. We don't know what goes on there.” Snow interrupted the conversation, introduced himself, and invited the tourists in to meet his parents. As a result of observing the kind of information provided by

furnace downstairs were “also very much scrutinized”⁴⁵ as “such luxuries” were usually only encountered “in hotels and books.”⁴⁶

At 11:00 a.m. the service began, but the cottage had been full long before. There were only a few chairs in the cottage, so most of the gentlemen and “some few ladies” were standing. The doors and windows were opened wide in the hope that the two to three hundred people outside might be able to hear as well.⁴⁷ Eastern States Mission President, John McQuarrie, and Benjamin Goddard recognized an opportunity to preach to the Vermonters and gathered several of them around the monument. The reporter for the local *Herald* observed that they “dwelt vigorously on the revelation that came to Joseph Smith, comparing him to the prophets of old, and making him out their equal in divine appointment. They sketched the career of the prophet, and described in glowing terms the growth and greatness of their church.”⁴⁸

Inside the cottage, after singing “America” and “We Thank Thee, O God, for a Prophet,” Junius F. Wells gave “a vivid yet modest recital of the story of the

non-members Snow vowed, “I shall not rest until I do all in my power to see that this work is taken out of your hands and that steps are taken to give visitors to Salt Lake reliable and truthful information about our faith, people and Church.” He made his proposal to the Y.M.M.I.A. leadership and was appointed to head a committee to look into the matter. Snow’s committee proposed the establishment of a “Bureau of Information” on Temple Square, manned by two missionaries who would provide tracts to interested persons. In July 1902 construction began on a small octagonal building that opened on August 4 as the Bureau of Information and Church Literature under the direction of Benjamin Goddard. Over 150,000 people visited the Bureau during the first year. In 1904, a permanent granite building was built, and growing visits prompted the construction of three separate additions by 1918. Volunteers who both gave and sold pamphlets staffed the Bureau as it grew “to be one of the best missionary institutions in the Church;” see Edward H. Anderson, “The Bureau of Information,” *Improvement Era* 25 (Dec 1921): 131-139.

⁴⁵ Edith Smith, *Journal*, 21.

⁴⁶ Gates, “Memorial Monument Dedication,” 310.

⁴⁷ Edith Smith, *Journal*, 22.

⁴⁸ *RH*, 28 Dec 1905, 5.

monument.”⁴⁹ He thanked every Vermonter that had anything to do with the monument, mentioning most by name. “It has been courtesy and kindness all along. I have not a word of complaint to make,” he said. “My association with you has been one of delight. I want to express my thanks and gratitude to you in public today.” He also thanked the Church leaders who had trusted him, and announced that “this whole enterprise will cost somewhere between \$25,000 and \$30,000 by the time it is completed.”⁵⁰ Then Robert Easton sang “in his own soulful, matchless style.”⁵¹

Wells’ address was followed by several short speeches from visiting Church leaders who emphasized the Church’s connection with the Green Mountain State. President of the Quorum of the Twelve, Francis M. Lyman, thanked his “dear brothers and sisters of Vermont (for we are all of Vermont),” asserting that Wells “could not have done it without you. He could not have made this monument if it had not been for Vermonters, for Vermont stone, roads, railroads and horses.”⁵² Apostle Hyrum M. Smith seconded that “this monument is a credit to you and to this state.”⁵³ Apostle John Henry Smith and Jesse M. Smith gave brief patriotic addresses, and Apostle Charles W. Penrose summarized them all saying, “Their brief addresses were well worded, and they were evidently very desirous of producing a good impression.”⁵⁴

⁴⁹ Gates, “Memorial Monument Dedication,” 315.

⁵⁰ *Proceedings*, 9-17. Wells’ final cost estimate was confirmed in *Journal History*, 7 Mar 1916, 8.

⁵¹ Gates, “Memorial Monument Dedication,” 315.

⁵² Francis M. Lyman, *Proceedings*, 17.

⁵³ Hyrum M. Smith, *Proceedings*, 19.

⁵⁴ *RH*, 28 Dec 1905, 5.

On behalf of Vermonters and the citizens of Royalton, State Senator Edgar J. Fish, from South Royalton congratulated the Mormons on their accomplishment, adding “we beg to share with you in feelings of satisfaction and pride at the erection of this beautiful, magnificent and enduring memorial.” He further welcomed the Mormons to town, “We greet you in that broad spirit of toleration and Christian charity and brotherly love which unites men of every country, every sect and every opinion; and which recognizes everywhere, in all men, at all times and in all places the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man.”⁵⁵

After the addresses, President Joseph F. Smith offered a “simple, beautiful and touching dedicatory prayer.”⁵⁶ He dedicated the ground “that it may be sacred and most holy,” and the foundation, “typical of the foundation Thou hast laid, of Apostles and Prophets, with Jesus Christ, Thy son, as the chief corner stone.” He dedicated the base “as typifying the rock of revelation on which Thy Church is built,” and the inscription die with its moulded cap “as a sign of the glorious crown that Thy servant Joseph has secured unto himself through his integrity to Thy cause, and of that similar reward which shall grace the head of each of his faithful followers.” Next, he dedicated the thirty-eight and one half foot shaft “as a token of the inspired man of God whom Thou didst make indeed a polished shaft in Thine hand, reflecting the light of heaven, even Thy glorious light, unto the children of men.” Finally, President Smith dedicated the entire monument as “signifying the finished work of human redemption.” He pleaded that the monument might be “preserved from the ravages of time, the disintegrating action of the elements,

⁵⁵ Edgar J. Fish, *RH* 28 Dec 1905, 5.

⁵⁶ Gates, “Memorial Monument Dedication,” 316.

from upheavals of the earth's surface, and from the violence of human malice or caprice." He also asked for a blessing on the cottage, for all who had worked on the project, and for "the people of South Royalton, of Tunbridge and Sharon, and of the surrounding country."⁵⁷ Edith Smith reported that "the Prayer was listened to by all present with great attention, while many were standing there was not the least noise and every word could be distinctly heard."⁵⁸

After the prayer, those in the cottage filed outside for the unveiling of the monument. The inscription die was draped with an American flag, and its inscription had been kept a strict secret to those in attendance. In the early stages of planning, Junius Wells' daughter, Abbie, was to uncover the inscriptions, but shortly before the service began, President Smith felt impressed that Edith Smith, the family historian and oldest attendant female descendant, should have the honor.⁵⁹ Gates recalled that as Edith Smith withdrew the American flag, "a shout at once arose, and men reverently lifted their hats, while women wept with joy and gratitude that such a man had lived, had died, and now had been remembered."⁶⁰ Both President Smith and the "thronging crowd demanded more music" from Emma Lucy Gates, and she favored them with "The Star-Spangled Banner" and crowd members joined in the singing.⁶¹ Several pictures were taken by

⁵⁷ The prayer was published in the local Vermont newspaper, *RH*, 28 Dec 1905, 5. It was printed for the general LDS church membership as "Prayer in Dedication of the Memorial Monument," *Improvement Era* 9 (Feb 1906): 324-327. It was also included in *Proceedings*, 22-24.

⁵⁸ Edith Smith, Journal, 32.

⁵⁹ For Abbie Wells' prearranged role, see the prepared telegraphic account that was printed in *Deseret Evening News*, 23 Dec 1905. For the selection of Edith Smith, see Edith Smith, Journal, 32.

⁶⁰ Gates, "Memorial Monument Dedication," 317. See also Edith Smith, Journal, 33.

⁶¹ Gates, "Memorial Monument Dedication," 317; Edith Smith, Journal, 33.

Royalton photographer I. L. Welcome, and George Albert Smith and Benjamin Goddard, the “indefatigable amateurs” (see Fig. 17).⁶²

Shortly after the unveiling, E. G. Faneuf of South Royalton called for three cheers for Junius F. Wells, and it was “given with a will by the men who have labored for him in moving and erecting the monument.”⁶³ Edith Smith later guessed that “then if at no other time Bro Wells must have realized that he had many friends in that section of the country.”⁶⁴ Throughout Vermont and New England, Wells was known in newspaper accounts as both a “gentleman” and a “lucky man.”⁶⁵ The Mormons recognized that he had “with his characteristic faith and perseverance, aided by the providence of God” succeeded “far beyond the fondest expectation of the Saints.”⁶⁶ George Albert Smith observed that he had “warmed the feelings of that community towards him, and won their love and respect; they seemed to look upon him almost as one of their own.”⁶⁷ During the dedicatory prayer, President Smith had acknowledged Wells’ success and thanked God “for him, for his integrity, for his persistent and intelligent labor in the accomplishment of this work.”⁶⁸ Susa Young Gates also noted that “it would be unfair to omit the mention of the work done by Mrs. Wells and her young daughter Abby, in the selection and arrangement of the cottage furnishings and the final exercises; although

⁶² Gates, “Memorial Monument Dedication,” 380; George Albert Smith, *Diary*, 23 Dec 1905, University of Utah.

⁶³ *RH*, 28 Dec 1905, 5.

⁶⁴ Edith Smith, *Journal*, 33.

⁶⁵ *Boston Sunday Globe*, 17 Dec 1905.

⁶⁶ *Proceedings*, 3.

⁶⁷ George Albert Smith, *CR*, April 1906, 54.

⁶⁸ Joseph F. Smith, “Dedicatory Prayer,” *Proceedings*, 23.

Mrs. Wells herself smilingly declined to accept any honor, placing all our laurel wreaths of praise on the brow of her capable husband. But certainly both ladies must have done much to contribute to the final artistic success.”⁶⁹ Gates concluded that through the work of the Wells family, “the power and the influence of the Church itself are greatly magnified in central Vermont,” and that “as long as the monument stands, the name of the man who originated it will be spoken in honor.”⁷⁰ Two years later a visitor to the monument registered the same feeling: “Praise to the Man, Mr. J. F. Wells.”⁷¹

After the unveiling, Mormons and Vermonters mingled, and the *Herald* reporter was pleased that “a lunch was served free to the ‘Gentiles,’ consisting of salads, cold meats, sandwiches, cakes, coffee, etc., of which all partook by general invitation. The Mormon high churchmen mingled freely with the people.”⁷² While mingling, nearly one hundred thirty people signed the “Register of Visitors to Joseph Smith’s Birthplace.” President Joseph F. Smith was the first to sign his name, and all of the visiting Latter-day Saints followed suit. Even Francis M. Sheehy signed his name, perhaps in symbolic defiance or maybe because he tacitly approved of the occasion. Whichever the case, his signature marked the end of LDS and RLDS quibbling over the monument in Vermont, though their debates continued at other sites.⁷³

⁶⁹ Gates, “Memorial Monument Dedication,” 315.

⁷⁰ Gates, “Memorial Monument Dedication,” 314-315; 310.

⁷¹ Rose K. Thomas, “Register of Visitors to Joseph Smith’s Birthplace,” 18 Aug 1907, LDS Church Archives.

⁷² *RH*, 28 Dec 1905, 5.

⁷³ Heman C. Smith and Vida Elizabeth Smith of Lamoni, Iowa visited the Monument on 13 Aug 1914, the latter writing in the guest register, “Daughter of Alex H. Smith, Granddaughter of Joseph Smith the Martyr,” “Register of Visitors to Joseph Smith’s Birthplace,” LDS Church Archives. In 1929, Mary Audentia Smith Anderson, another RLDS granddaughter of Joseph Smith, published a detailed family history in which she described the “magnificent monument” and “impressive ceremonies” and includes

The guest register also provides insight into the reaction of local residents to the monument dedication. Not all of the residents of surrounding towns attended the event, and the following week the *Herald* commented:

It may be asked, What is the attitude of the people of Royalton and Sharon toward this monument and the things it implies? The answer is, general complaisance. There are some who resent the intrusion and deplore the coming of Mormonism in even this form, but most of the natives look on with interest, and tolerate, if they do not approve of it.⁷⁴

Yet, analysis of those Vermonters who did attend and sign the guest register demonstrates a curious geographic division among local residents that both reflected the last minute protest from Royalton women and foreshadowed debates that would surface in the region for the next two decades. Only two visitors from Sharon, Harvey Smith and G. A. Cheney signed their names. Both had direct ties to the monument, Smith having identified the birthplace for Junius Wells and Cheney having prepared a brief description of Sharon that was included in the symbolic copper casket. In his statement, Cheney emphasized that the birthplace actually lay in Royalton, though he acknowledged that “the proximity of the place of his birth to the Sharon line will ever permit her to share with her sister town of Royalton the world-wide interest, affirming, “[n]aturally, the people of Sharon have manifested a lively interest in the rearing of this notable monument to the memory of Joseph Smith.”⁷⁵ The unliveliness of Sharon residents’ pens

photos of the Vermont monument and the Topsfield monument, *Ancestry and Posterity of Joseph Smith and Emma Hale* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1929), 57, 68-69. On continuing debates, see Francis M. Gibbons, *Joseph Fielding Smith: Gospel Scholar, Prophet of God* (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book Company, 1992), 268. The monument does not appear in other period RLDS histories or subsequent travel guides: Inez Smith Davis, *The Story of the Church* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1938); *Church Historic Sites Tour Guide* (Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1979).

⁷⁴ *RH*, 28 Dec 1905, 3.

⁷⁵ G. A. Cheney, “A Pen Picture of Sharon, Vermont in the Year Nineteen Hundred Five,” 25 Nov 1905, Wells Collection.

on the dedication day may undercut Cheney's statement. From Royalton Township, four from Royalton village signed the record, while sixty South Royalton residents—more than Latter-day Saints—signed the register. Residents of South Royalton village seemed more willing to associate with the Mormons and their monument than residents of the older villages of Sharon or Royalton. Additionally, seven people from out of the region—including Benson, Boutwell, Milne, and Varnum—signed the book (see Table 3.3).⁷⁶

Edith Smith recalled that while visitors signed the guest register, in the basement of the cottage, “a more elaborate lunch” of chicken pie, meats, salads, olives, pickles, mince and pumpkin pie, and apple cider was served.⁷⁷ “Tables had been placed around three sides of the basement and while all had to stand a general good time was had.”⁷⁸ The preparations were directed by Miss Ala Day of South Royalton, “the best cook in all the countryside.”⁷⁹ The Mormons were particularly impressed by the meal. Susa Gates later commented on the “chicken pies of mammoth proportions,” and George Albert Smith recalled the “most delicious lunch” fondly, as he had “never tasted better Chicken and Pumpkin pie.”⁸⁰

After the meal, the Vermonters slowly departed and the Mormons gathered around the hearthstone in the cottage. Anthon H. Lund, a counselor to President Joseph F. Smith, presented him with a pocket watch from the company, declaring “we are

⁷⁶ “Register of Visitors to the Birthplace of Joseph Smith,” 1-6.

⁷⁷ *RH*, 28 Dec 1905, 5.

⁷⁸ Edith Smith, *Journal*, 37.

⁷⁹ Gates, “Memorial Monument Dedication,” 317; Day is identified in *RH*, 28 Dec 1905, 5.

⁸⁰ Gates, “Memorial Monument Dedication,” 317; George Albert Smith, *Diary*, 23 Dec 1905.

pleased that you felt impressed to have this work done when it was suggested by Brother Wells.”⁸¹ Joseph F. Smith became quite emotional as he considered the gift from his friends and the occasion that permitted it, and he expressed his gratitude. Wells then brought out a box and presented each person with a polished granite paperweight that had been crafted out of the section of the monument base that had been removed to allow for the copper casket. To President Smith, Wells also gave a large button and coin dated 1803 that had been found during excavation of the site.⁸² The Mormons returned to South Royalton that evening and held another meeting in Woodard Hall, where the reporter from the local paper noted that “the public was welcomed, but the outside attendance was not large.”⁸³

The next morning the party departed for Boston, and that day commemorative services were held “throughout the Church.”⁸⁴ The First Presidency had announced the completion of the monument in their annual Christmas message as “a cause of great congratulation to all who believe in [Joseph Smith’s] divine mission.”⁸⁵ Commemorative certificates and medallions were prepared as souvenirs.⁸⁶ Services in honor of both

⁸¹ Anthon H. Lund, *Proceedings*, 24.

⁸² Gates, “Memorial Monument Dedication,” 318.

⁸³ *RH*, 28 Dec 1905, 5.

⁸⁴ Andrew Jenson, *Church Chronology*, 24 Dec 1905. After holding commemorative services in Boston, the Utah party traveled home, visiting Church history sites in New York and Ohio along the way. A description and photos of the trip may be found in the *Deseret Evening News*, 6 Jan 1906, 8-9; Gates, “Memorial Monument Dedication,” 375-89.

⁸⁵ *Deseret Evening News*, 16 Dec 1905. It was reprinted in *Improvement Era* 9 (Jan 1906): 246-248, and James R. Clark, ed., *Messages of the First Presidency*, 4:123.

⁸⁶ A certificate bearing a sketch of Joseph Smith, Hill Cumorah, the Book of Mormon, and Carthage Jail can be found in the LDS Church History Library. The medallion was prepared by Mahonri Young and showed “on its face a bust portrait of the prophet, with the date of his birth, and the date of its hundredth anniversary. On the obverse side is a sketch of the monument erected this year on the site of his birthplace, of the house in which he was born, and an inscription explaining the nature of the occasion

Joseph Smith and Christmas were held in meetings of local Latter-day Saint congregations. Most of the gatherings included singing and addresses by leaders or those who had known Joseph Smith.⁸⁷ The historic Mormon Tabernacle was decorated with a large picture of Joseph Smith, “great festoons of national colors,” “a great canopy of sky blue bunting,” and “a wealth of white bunting, palms, potted plants, holly and Christmas trees, bells, and other holiday effects” for “the most pretentious natal celebration in the annals of the Church.”⁸⁸ On Sunday morning a meeting was held for the children of the Sunday School. James E. Talmage, a widely known scholar and later Apostle in the Church, commented on the dual nature of the celebration: “It may be asked if it be not presumptuous to honor one character with the other. No, certainly not. Jesus said to his disciples, ‘He that honoreth you honoreth me.’”⁸⁹ In the afternoon, President John R. Winder presided over a service attended by six thousand people. Among the hymns sung was one written by Mormon Tabernacle Choir director Evan Stephens especially for the occasion, “Vermont the Birthplace of Patriots.”⁹⁰ The effects of the centennial

which the medal commemorates,” *Deseret Evening News*, 13 Dec 1905. See 23 Dec 1905 for a photo of the medallion.

⁸⁷ Programs for the following wards were printed in the *Deseret Evening News*, 23 Dec 1905, 5: Third, Ninth, Eleventh, Twelfth, Thirteenth, Sixteenth, Eighteenth, Twentieth, Twenty-First, Twenty-Eighth, Twenty-Ninth, Waterloo, and Sugar House. The most common Christmas hymns sung were “Jesus Once of Humble Birth,” “Far, Far Away on Judea’s Plains,” and “With Wondering Awe.” Those most often sung in memory of the prophet included: “Joseph the Blest,” “One Hundred Years,” “Praise to the Man,” “A Poor Wayfaring Man of Grief,” “The Seer,” “We Thank Thee, Oh God, for a Prophet,” and “Joseph Smith’s First Prayer.”

⁸⁸ *Deseret Evening News*, 23 Dec 1905.

⁸⁹ *Deseret Evening News*, 25 Dec 1905, 4. See also James E. Talmage, *Journal*, 24 Dec 1905. A copy of the program may be found in Talmage’s *Journal* and the LDS Church History Library.

⁹⁰ *Deseret Evenings News*, 25 Dec 1905, 2. On Stephens see Dale A. Johnson, “The Life and Contributions of Evan Stephens” (Master’s thesis, Brigham Young University, 1952); Ray L. Bergman, *The Children Sang: The Life and Music of Evan Stephens with the Mormon Tabernacle Choir* (Salt Lake City, UT: Northwest Publishing Inc., 1992). Stephen’s hymn was one of two centennial hymns promoted by the *Juvenile Instructor* magazine. In June 1905 the editors offered money for the two best poems about

celebration were felt throughout the world, as missionaries as far away as Japan participated.⁹¹ President Smith's dedicatory prayer was even translated into Hawaiian.⁹² As far as the Latter-day Saints were concerned the occasion had been an overwhelming success.

Throughout the dedicatory services, three themes received special emphasis: the monument's connection to Vermont, the connection of Joseph Smith and Mormonism to America, and Joseph Smith's prophetic role in the Mormon faith. Concerning Vermont, erecting the monument was an engineering feat, and Wells had won the friendship and admiration of Vermonters in Royalton and throughout the state.⁹³ George Albert Smith recalled that "the people of South Royalton were waiting to make us welcome...every member of the party was made to feel that we were in the hands of friends."⁹⁴ The local paper noted that "the expenditure of many thousands of dollars in the enterprise, the employment of help and the pecuniary benefits derived have doubtless had their influence in paving the way for the good feeling that exists."⁹⁵

Joseph Smith's birth. The poems were published in August and the editors called for musical arrangements for the poems that were published in time for local congregations and choirs to sing them as local commemorative services. See "Centenary of the Prophet's Birth: Premiums for Poems on the Subject," *Juvenile Instructor* 40 (1 Jun 1905): 338; "Centenary of the Prophet's Birth," *Juvenile Instructor* 40 (1 Dec 1905): 721.

⁹¹ Reid L. Neilson, *The Japanese Missionary Diaries of Alma O. Taylor, 1901-1910* (Provo, UT: BYU Studies and the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute, 2001), 263-264.

⁹² Joseph F. Smith, *He Pule hoolaa no ke kia hoomanao o Iosepa Kamika, ke kaula a mea nana o ke Ekalesia o Iesu Kristo o ka poe Hoano o na La Hope nei* (Honolulu, HI: Ka Na'i, 1906), LDS Church Library.

⁹³ Dedication coverage occupied two full pages in the local *Herald*, 28 Dec 1905, 3, 5. See also *St. Alban's Messenger*, 26 Dec 1905; "Monument to Joseph Smith," *New York Times*, 24 Dec 1905, 10.

⁹⁴ George Albert Smith, *CR*, April 1906, 53.

⁹⁵ *RH*, 28 Dec 1905, page 3. The report summarized the story of Joseph Smith and the rise of Mormonism, acknowledging that "there are both good and bad features of Mormonism." Recognizing the Mormon belief in scriptures, Christ, the Trinity, and faith, the article noted that "the one blight of

In the American context of 1905, several features of the proceedings stand out as evidence of Mormon patriotism. The anthems “America” and “The Star-Spangled Banner” so frequently sung during the course of the services had been only recently added to the LDS hymnbook.⁹⁶ Francis M. Lyman, President of the Quorum of the Twelve, referred in his address to the Vermont-born Mormons of the nineteenth century as “the pilgrim fathers No. 2.”⁹⁷ Apostle John Henry Smith emphasized this American message: “I am not here to talk religion; but I am here as an American citizen.”⁹⁸ And photos of Church leaders standing in front of an obelisk, the monumental symbol of Revolutionary memories, draped in an American flag made a statement as well. Because New England was literally the region from which so many emigrants spread out to settle the American countryside, it claimed a figurative place as the birthplace of Yankee America.⁹⁹ Thus, for Mormons celebrating the birth of Joseph Smith in Vermont in 1905, it was entirely consistent that the founding prophet of an American Church would have been born in a New England town. Beyond the borders of Vermont, the Mormons received positive attention in the national press, a marked change from the often antagonistic coverage of the Reed Smoot hearings.¹⁰⁰

Mormonism has been the practice of polygamy.” And while the author concluded that Mormonism was “a species of priestcraft, bound up in mysticism, with a powerful hold for good or evil over its membership,” he conceded that its members were “peaceable, honest, law-abiding, temperate, faithful, and industrious.” See *RH*, 28 Dec 1905, 3.

⁹⁶ The 24th edition of the hymnal included thirteen new hymns including “Onward Christian Soldiers,” “Rock of Ages,” and the patriotic hymns. See *Deseret Evening News*, 25 Dec 1905, 4.

⁹⁷ Francis M. Lyman, *Proceedings* 17.

⁹⁸ John Henry Smith, *Proceedings*, 19.

⁹⁹ Susan E. Gray, *The Yankee West: Community Life on the Michigan Frontier* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 1-16.

¹⁰⁰ *Boston American*, 24 Dec 1905.

As expected, the dedication day also promoted the memory of Joseph Smith Mormonism's founding prophet. Referring to the monument's inscription, Apostle Charles W. Penrose asserted that it stood as a testimony to Smith's vision of God and Jesus Christ, concluded by quoting the chorus of the martyr hymn "Praise to the Man."¹⁰¹ President Joseph F. Smith dedicated the monument "to the memory of...Joseph Smith, the great Prophet and Seer of the nineteenth century," and the assembled Mormon crowd sang "Praise to the Man" and "We Thank Thee, O God, for a Prophet."¹⁰²

The interpretation of the monument as a symbol of Joseph Smith's ties to Vermont, his place in the nation, and his role as a prophet that found expression on the day of the monument's dedication were cultivated by Junius F. Wells in the continuing development of the site. During the first three months of 1906, Wells traveled to Montreal, Montpelier, Boston, and New York City to tie up loose ends and purchase furnishings for the cottage.¹⁰³ He felt the Memorial Cottage would be best used as a "historical repository for the entertainment of representative men of the Church" and their visitors, instead of being used as a dwelling place.¹⁰⁴ With this end in mind he acquired the essential elements of the cottage furnishings—rugs, curtains, chairs, and kitchen implements—and took special care to gather photographs, books, and maps.¹⁰⁵ Each

¹⁰¹ Charles W. Penrose, *Proceedings*, 21.

¹⁰² Joseph F. Smith, *Proceedings*, 22; *Proceedings*, 9.

¹⁰³ His travels are chronicled with those of other local residents in *RH*, Jan-Mar 1906, 7.

¹⁰⁴ JFW to Joseph F. Smith, 25 Nov 1908, Wells Collection.

¹⁰⁵ Inventory, 31 Dec 1910, Wells Collection. The books and photographs will be analyzed below. Maps in the collection included one of the grounds and property, the planting plan, survey of water pipelines, U.S. topographical map showing Memorial, road map of neighborhood, map of missionary hill,

summer from 1906 to 1910, Wells and his family returned to Vermont where they continued to strengthen friendships with local residents and developed the site into a pleasant place where visitors could learn about the Vermont-made monument, the American-born Smith, and Smith's prophetic place in the lives of twentieth century Mormons.

The task that occupied most of Wells' time involved presenting the monument and its meaning to Vermonters, an attempt to allay the negative feelings that persisted throughout the state. In a January 1906 letter reprinted in newspapers around Vermont, a resident of Brattleboro had condemned the residents of South Royalton who "welcomed" the Latter-day Saints and who "by their presence at the dedicatory ceremonies should have assisted in honoring the memory of one whose notorious career reflects anything but glory on the place of his birth." The writer also condemned others throughout the state who "regard[ed] the performance seemingly with indifference."¹⁰⁶

In his efforts to promote the monument, Wells began at the top. On 15 May 1906, he hosted a visit to the Monument from Vermont Governor C. J. Bell, state school superintendent M. S. Stone, and Frank Greene, editor of the *St. Alban's Messenger*. The governor "expressed pleasure at what he saw," and the following week he returned to the monument with his wife.¹⁰⁷ Later in the month, Joseph Fielding Smith arrived from Salt Lake with several copies of the recently printed *Proceedings*. Over the next few months Wells visited his friends and his acquaintances in Vermont and presented them with

map and plan for improving the grounds, map and survey of proposed pipe-line from standing pond, map of Solomon Mack farm, map and survey of standing pond, map of Plympton purchase tract.

¹⁰⁶ Katharine Miles, Brattleboro, to the Editor of the Vermont Phoenix, *RH*, 18 Jan 1906, 2.

¹⁰⁷ "Register of Visitors to Joseph Smith's Birthplace," 6.

signed copies of the *Proceedings*.¹⁰⁸ To Charles Tarbell, the South Royalton lawyer who had publicly defended the Mormon right to erect the Joseph Smith Monument, Wells presented a dedicated 1888 edition of *The Book of Mormon*.¹⁰⁹

In July, Wells started a tradition at the memorial that would endure for decades. On 23 July twenty missionaries from the New England States Mission came to Royalton to celebrate Pioneer Day, the anniversary of the 1847 arrival of Mormon pioneers in the Great Salt Lake valley. Festivities began on the morning of the 23rd when missionaries ascended nearby “Patriarch Hill” to raise the American flag. Before Wells purchased the property, local residents referred to the hill as “Bald Knob” because like many hills in the region, its trees had been cleared for grazing. After the First Presidency decided to omit Hyrum Smith’s likeness from the monument, Wells devoted the monument to the memory of the Prophet and named the hill in honor of “the Patriarch.”¹¹⁰

Commemoration the following day, the official day of celebration, included worship services, “flag raising and salutes, with short addresses and bonfires in the evening.”¹¹¹

Throughout the summer, Dairy Hill neighbors and residents of the surrounding town turned out to see the monument. The Boutwell family came down from Montpelier,

¹⁰⁸ One example is Mr. and Mrs. Lisle McIntosh. Wells wrote, “Compliments of Junius F. Wells, So. Royalton, Vt., July 1906. Mr. and Mrs. Lisle McIntosh, Meadow Brook Farm, South Royalton, Vermont.” This copy in possession of their great-grandson, G. Lester Corwin, II, South Royalton, Vermont. The copy of the *Proceedings* at the Vermont Historical Society is also signed by Wells.

¹⁰⁹ The book is now in the Joseph Smith Memorial Birthplace Library.

¹¹⁰ Bald Knob is identified by Wells in *Deseret Evening News*, 1 Jul 1905, 14. The hill is designated as Patriarch in “Register of Visitor’s to Joseph Smith’s Birthplace,” 12 [23 Jul 1906]. Richard O. Cowan incorrectly ascribed the origin of the celebration to Ben E. Rich in 1913, and falsely attributed the name “Patriarch” as referring to B. H. Roberts, New England States Mission President from 1922 to 1927; see “Yankee Saints: The Church in New England During the Twentieth Century,” in *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint History: New England*, ed. Donald Q. Cannon (Provo, UT: BYU Department of Church History and Doctrine, 1988), 104.

¹¹¹ *RH*, 26 Jul 1906, 5.

and even some of the more skeptical residents of Royalton made the effort to see the feat.¹¹² When local high school classes resumed in September, Wells offered a prize to the student for the best essay on the Monument.¹¹³ That month, Wells learned that President Joseph F. Smith would pass through town on his way home from Europe and arranged an “informal reception” with prominent citizens of the town. Invited to the reception were the same supporters who had taken part in the copper casket sealing and who had offered Woodard Hall: Senator Edgar Fish with his wife Eliza and son and daughter-in-law, Charles and Lucia Tarbell, Julius and Mary Belknap, John and Jeannie Hewitt, Marvin and Caroline Hazen, Perley and Kittie Belknap, and Mark Sargent.¹¹⁴ President Smith was happy to find that things were well, and the Vermonters were pleased to visit with the Mormon leader. Smith later commented that “the burden of their conversation was: ‘Don’t take Mr. Wells away from us.’ They want Mr. Wells to remain with them.”¹¹⁵

The sentiment expressed by word to President Smith was demonstrated by action to Junius Wells. At the close of the summer travel season, Wells invited “his Vermont friends” to a farewell reception at the memorial. Despite threatening weather, over one hundred twenty people—most from South Royalton—came out to honor their friend. Ala Day served up her renowned refreshments while the guests enjoyed music for a band brought in from Montpelier. Wells observed that “the company was very cheerful and

¹¹² “Register of Visitors to Joseph Smith’s Birthplace,” 6-42.

¹¹³ *RH*, 20 Sep 1906, 5.

¹¹⁴ See *RH*, 27 Sep 1906, 5. Also present were Daniel and Nellie Burnett, Prof. Thomas Bosworth of Chicago, Mrs. Edward Martin of Lowell, Mass., and Mr. Hanna of Florida.

¹¹⁵ Joseph F. Smith, *CR*, October 1906, 4.

pleasant and appeared to enjoy the occasion.” He also felt “much gratified with the cordial greetings and expressions of good will.”¹¹⁶ Wells and his family returned to Salt Lake to spend the winter.

In addition to shaping public opinion, Wells also worked to expand and develop the physical facilities at the Joseph Smith birthplace. In May 1905, the Church had purchased only sixty-eight acres from C. H. Robinson, and in 1906 Wells hired him to take care of the site year round. Robinson had worked in the Woolen Mill at Winooski, Vermont, and had settled only recently on Dairy Hill.¹¹⁷ In November 1906, Robinson sold the remainder of his 152-acre farm to the Church.¹¹⁸ This purchase and two others that were made in 1906 and 1907 increased the total size of the Church parcel to 283 acres (see Table 3.4).¹¹⁹

In the spring of 1906, Wells directed Robinson to plant a double row of maple trees along the avenue leading from Dairy Hill Road to the Cottage. A broad gate was built which Wells hoped would welcome visitors, though a new iron fence protected the actual monument from defacement.¹²⁰ Later that fall President Joseph F. Smith

¹¹⁶ “Register of Visitors to Joseph Smith’s Birthplace,” 43-47 [30 Oct 1906].

¹¹⁷ Robert E. Munson, [Statement about C. H. Robinson], in Edna K. Bush to M. Russell Ballard, 13 Jan 1989, Edna K. Bush Papers, LDS Church Archives.

¹¹⁸ The sale of 152 acres was consummated on 17 Nov 1906. See Royalton Land Records, Book Y, p. 93; Sharon Land Records, Book 19, p. 222.

¹¹⁹ For an 18-acre purchase on 24 May 1906, see Sharon Land Records, Book 18, p. 542. For a 45-acre purchase on 14 Aug 1907, see Royalton Land Records, Book Y, p. 134 and Sharon Land Records, Book 19, p. 22. Wells continued alert for opportunities to purchase other adjoining property as well, see P. S. Belknap to JFW, 5 Jun 1908, Wells Collection.

¹²⁰ Journal History, 30 Apr 1906, 7. On the need for an iron fence, Gates reported, “One day, on arriving at the grounds, [Wells] saw a couple of tourists with a ten-pound hammer. One of them was trying to break off a part of the hearth to take away as a relic; with the only angry words he uttered while there, he

ceremonially assisted in planting “First Presidency Row,” a hexagonal cluster of six pine trees laid out around a central spruce. Over the next two years an “Apostle’s Grove” and “Seventies Row” were also set out, along with over one thousand maple trees and about two hundred pines and spruces. In 1909, Anthon H. Lund added to the First Presidency Row, Joseph Fielding Smith helped to initiate the “Smith Family Row,” and Junius Wells set aside “Missionary Hill” for Elders who wanted to leave their legacy at the site. Later Wells designated one row as a memorial row for “faithful missionaries who were true in life & death & have gone to labor with Joseph Smith & his associates in the Spirit World.”¹²¹

Early in 1907, Wells hired landscape architect Dana F. Dow of Ipswich, Massachusetts, to add floral beauty to the place (see Fig. 18). Dow arranged for the planting of hundreds of flowers throughout the property, including the Cinnamon Rose, which Wells renamed “The Prophet’s Rose.”¹²² Down the hill from the Monument and the Cottage, Wells installed a lily pond, feeling that “the presence of standing water in this almost ideal landscape completes its beauty, and is very grateful and refreshing in the summer time.”¹²³ Into this pond, Wells piped water from nearby springs to create two fountains, and the combined effect helped to win “the admiration of all visitors.”¹²⁴

rebuked the vandal who would ruthlessly destroy the one thing of all others most cherished for the altar of this new-old home. Surely the iron fence contemplated to be set about the monument will be needed, else the perfect granite shaft would be chipped to pieces by ruthless hands,” “Memorial Monument Dedication,” 318.

¹²¹ See JFW, “Tree Record,” Wells Collection, LDS Church Archives.

¹²² Dana F. Dow, “Planting Plan for the Grounds of the Joseph Smith Memorial, Feb 1907,” LDS Church Archives.

¹²³ JFW to Joseph F. Smith, 25 May 1908, Wells Collection.

¹²⁴ JFW to Charles W. Penrose, 16 Nov 1909, Wells Collection, LDS Church Archives.

During the summer of 1907 Wells corresponded with Utah photographer, George Edward Anderson, who was visiting and photographing Latter-day Saint Church history sites in the east. Anderson arrived late in the year and stayed for several months capturing scenes of the Monument and Cottage, and also of the roads, houses, and people of Royalton. The collection is a priceless vestige of the Monument and of the town from this time period. Wells used the photographs to increase awareness of the site, making sure the images appeared in Mormon literature.¹²⁵ He sent copies of the photographs to newspapers such as the *Boston Sunday Globe* and the *Deseret News*.¹²⁶ He sent framed photographs of the Monument to be hung in Church schools, and in the temples in Utah and the mission headquarters of Europe, and colored sketches of some of the photographs were included in a twelve-piece postcard set.¹²⁷ Twenty years later, while serving as assistant Church historian, Wells persuaded Church officials to purchase the collection of over thirty thousand negatives.¹²⁸

¹²⁵ The photos appeared in "View from the Prophet Joseph's Birthplace," *Improvement Era* 11 (Apr 1908): 434; Junius F. Wells, "The Smith Family in Vermont," *Improvement Era* 14 (Dec 1910): 95-102; and Evelyn M. Wood Lovejoy, *History of Royalton* (Burlington, Vermont: Free Press Printing Company, 1911) 644-48. Other photos appear in Edward H. Anderson, "The Mission of the Prophet Joseph Smith," *Improvement Era* 12 (Nov 1908): 114-118; *Improvement Era* 23 (Apr 1920): 547-8.

¹²⁶ See *Boston Sunday Globe*, 10 May 1908; *Deseret Evening News*, 1 Jan 1910; *Journal History*, 20 Jun 1908, 10-16; 1 Jan 1910, 2.

¹²⁷ See JFW to Charles W. Penrose, 16 Nov 1909, Wells Collection. David H. Cannon, President of the St. George, Utah, Temple, assured Wells that it would "give general satisfaction to the saints who come to this Temple to see that on the birthplace of the greatest Prophet that has lived upon the earth, save Jesus Christ, there has been an all-time enduring monument erected to his Sacred Memory," Cannon to JFW, 19 Dec 1907. On photos in the England, Sweden, Scandinavian, Swiss, German, and Netherlands mission headquarters, see Charles W. Penrose to JFW, 10 Dec 1909. Both letters are in the Wells Collection. Many postcard sets are preserved in various repositories: Joseph Smith Memorial Library, Royalton Historical Society, LDS Church Archives, and Brigham Young University.

¹²⁸ The George Edward Anderson Collection is located in the LDS Church Archives. A good introduction to Anderson's photographic mission and the collection is Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, T. Jeffery Cottle, and Ted D. Stoddard, eds., *Church History in Black and White: George Edward Anderson's Photographic Mission to Latter-day Saint Historical Sites, 1907 Diary, 1907-08 Photographs* (Provo, UT: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1995). See also George Edward Anderson to JFW, 25 Nov 1907, Wells Collection.

Wells managed the memorial with the idea that the site should be a type of resort or park. He arranged for the construction of a registry office and an official Bureau of Information supplied with literature, souvenirs, and pictures. Over one thousand visitors signed the guest register each of the five years Wells managed the site.¹²⁹ Many of the visitors were Latter-day Saints and Wells obtained several books about LDS doctrine, hymnals, and a solid silver sacramental service for such gatherings.¹³⁰ Wells believed that if Mormons held their own meetings at the site it would “naturally attract such others as are likely to join us,” including “reporters of the papers and magazines, prominent men and women in politics and literature, and other professions of whom so many spend the summer months in neighboring resorts.”¹³¹

Wells possessed big plans for the memorial resort, recommending in 1908 the addition of a stocked fishpond, a small herd of cattle and some horses “to add reputation to the place,” and large octagonal summerhouse on top of Patriarch Hill. The latter would serve as “a mark of distinction seen from the railway and from the hotels on the

¹²⁹ “Register of Visitors to Joseph Smith’s Birthplace,” 6-250 [1906-1910].

¹³⁰ There were several volumes of Mormon literature: Bible, Book of Mormon, Doctrine and Covenants; Smith, *History of the Church*, vols. 1-3; Whitney, *History of the Church*, vol. 1; Cannon, *Life of Joseph Smith*; Lucy Mack Smith, *Life of Joseph Smith*; Jenson, *Church Chronology and Historical Record*, vol. 5-6; Evans, *One Hundred Years of Mormonism*; B. H. Roberts, *New Witness for God, Outlines of Ecclesiastical History, and Successors in the Presidency*; Pratt, *A Voice of Warning and Key to Theology*; McQuarrie, *Talks of Mormonism*; Nicholson, *Preceptor*; Keeler, *Lesser Priesthood*; and *Concordance of the D&C and Cowley’s Talks*. There were also 12 copies of *Songs of Zion*, hymnals, a scrapbook, and a record book. The sacrament set contained a basket, pitcher, cup, table cloth, and six napkins, Inventory, 31 Dec 1910, Wells collection. Frederick A. Mitchell commented both on the set and on the nature of the meetings: “The Conference meetings that were held were of a high type, much inspirational instruction was given, earnest testimonies were born by the Elders at the Sacrament meeting, a new sacramental Service of sterling silver had been purchased by Elders Wells for the exclusive use of meetings held in the Cottage, and it fell to the writers lot to offer the Dedicatory Prayer consecrating it for that use, being the Senior Elder present; this privilege caused the heart to swell with gratitude to heavenly Father which will ever be remembered. Frederick A. Mitchell, Logan, Utah, to Milton R. Mitchell, 30 Nov 1909, 4, LDS Archives.

¹³¹ JFW to Joseph F. Smith, 25 May 1908, Wells Collection.

summits of the White and Franconia Mountains.”¹³² None of these ideas would be carried out, however, as Church leaders in Salt Lake City considered it more important to settle old accounts before undertaking new ones.¹³³ Upon his arrival in Vermont in 1905, Wells had feared the reactions from Vermont banks if he opened an account in the Church’s name, so he carried out the project in his own name. Wells did not distinguish between personal and Church expenses and made most of his payments in cash without retaining documentation for much of his work. Church leaders in Salt Lake directed Wells to obtain receipts or vouchers for all of his activity and Wells spent most of the latter half of 1910 complying with this request. He hired a Boston accounting firm to assist him, though it took several years before all of the details were finally straightened out.¹³⁴

As in the case of his financial records, Wells’ records of the messages presented at the site are likewise fragmented and incomplete. Throughout his stay Wells wrote

¹³² JFW to Joseph F. Smith, 25 May 1908, Wells Collection.

¹³³ Wells’ 25 May 1908 letter was considered in joint meetings of the First Presidency and Apostles, see *Journal History* 27 May 1908, 7; 3 Jun 1908, 12.

¹³⁴ Much of Wells’ correspondence with the First Presidency, the Presiding Bishopric, and the Safe Guard Account Company of Boston is in the Wells Collection. In 1913, Senator Reed Smoot called on fellow Senator Dillingham of Vermont to exert his influence in settling issues with the Vermont banks, see Harvard S. Heath, ed., *In the World: The Diaries of Reed Smoot* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997), 193-4; they both signed the guest register on 28 Oct 1913, “Visitor’s to Joseph Smith’s Birthplace,” LDS Archives. At Wells’ funeral in 1930, George Albert Smith said of his financial habits, “If Junius F. Wells had possessed wealth there would have been thousands of people who would have been made more comfortable and their lives more delightful because of that. He would not have retained very much of it, but he would have scattered it where he thought it would do the most good. There was no difference to Junius F. Wells in a dollar and a thousand dollars. He said to me many times when I tried to restrain him about something that required money to be expended, ‘Oh well, money is not good for anything unless you spend it. I cannot make very much, but I do know how to spend it if you will just help me.’ That seemed to be his humorous way of calling my attention to the fact that I was more stringent with the means of the Mutual Improvement Association of the Church,” George Albert Smith, *Funeral Services for Junius Free Wells*,” 20 April 1930, LDS Library, 19-20.

several letters to Church leaders, and in 1911 he wrote letters to his successor. As part of his final examination of the financial records, Wells performed an inventory that included books, pamphlets and photographs.¹³⁵ The majority of visitors to the monument were from Vermont and New England, and knowing the general sentiment of the region, Wells thought it inappropriate “to make [the memorial] a mission or conference headquarters or place of very active propaganda.” Instead, he believed that “every soul who comes to visit the Monument should feel free to come and free to go, taking away simply a favorable impression and testimony of the place itself, as we improve and maintain it, and such literature and information as they desire.”¹³⁶ As a structural demonstration of this belief, Wells “purposely made a wide open gate-way but without gates” so that visitors might “feel that they were welcome to come and bring their friends at all times to tie up under the shed which has been built on purpose to go about the grounds and view the premises.”¹³⁷ Wells did not try to corral visitors into a discussion of religion, but instead thought it would be more effective if missionaries called on the visitors at their homes to follow up on their impression, “carrying whatever discussion and conflict that may arise away from this place instead of concentrating it there at the risk of breeding strife and enmity.”¹³⁸ At the Joseph Smith birthplace, Junius F. Wells told visitors about the monument’s ties to Vermont, the relationship between Joseph Smith and America, and the esteem with which Mormons held Joseph Smith as a prophet.

¹³⁵ Correspondence between JFW and Frank L. Brown, 1911, and Inventory, 31 Dec 1910, Wells Collection.

¹³⁶ JFW to Joseph F. Smith, 25 May 1908, Wells Collection.

¹³⁷ JFW to Frank L. Brown, 20 Mar 1911, Wells Collection.

¹³⁸ JFW to Joseph F. Smith, 25 May 1908, Wells Collection.

One important feature of Wells' presentation demonstrated the connection and cooperation between Mormons and Vermonters, as demonstrated by the story of the monument's construction. In the cottage Wells displayed thirty-seven photographs of the transportation and erection of the monument.¹³⁹ Wells was proud of both the engineering accomplishment as well as the cooperative achievement between the Church and Vermont's granite industry. On the day of the dedication, Wells observed that the monument was "the largest polished shaft that we know anything of in America, and perhaps in the world." He and James Boutwell had pored over Boutwell's encyclopedias and granite industry literature without finding "anything equal to it. The great obelisks are larger stones than this, but they are not polished, and they are of carved syenite. This was a smooth, polished surface, and to grip that near the smaller end and lift it up in its place required knowledge, skill, courage and ability." Thus, Wells explained to visitors that the engineering feat was "a great triumph" for "all who have had anything to do with it."¹⁴⁰

Wells also made certain to emphasize that the present connections between the Mormons and Vermont had substantial roots in the past. The most tangible link to the past was the former Smith family hearthstone—the central feature of the cottage. Wells encouraged people to sit by the stone and to imagine the infant a century before who had most likely played near the warmth of the fire during the cold Vermont winters. Above the hearthstone hung paintings of Joseph and Hyrum and of their mother Lucy Mack

¹³⁹ Inventory, 31 Dec 1910, Wells Collection.

¹⁴⁰ JFW, *Proceedings*, 15.

Smith.¹⁴¹ Nearby, a photograph of the old cellar hole also witnessed this connection. Outside the cottage was the old well, estimated by Wells to have served the farm for generations, and he hoped visitors who drank from the well felt this tangible link to the past. But Wells also displayed broader historical connections to Vermont by hanging a painting of Vermont-born Oliver Cowdery, and steel engravings of Brigham Young and of the seven Vermont apostles. He intended the photographs of the Smith family homes in Massachusetts, Vermont, New York, and Pennsylvania to strengthen Latter-day Saint ties to the East in general, and to New England and Vermont in particular.

In addition to his attempt to engender good feelings with local residents, Wells' emphasis on the historic and present connections between the Latter-day Saints and Vermont promoted an image of the Church and its members as American. This theme had been present at the monument's dedication in 1905, but Wells' presentation of the theme centered on a statement made by Harvard graduate and former mayor of Boston Josiah Quincy (1802-1882) in his widely read *Figures of the Past*:

It is by no means improbable that some future text-book, for the use of generations yet unborn, will contain a question something like this: What historical American of the nineteenth century has exerted the most powerful influence upon the destinies of his countrymen? And it is by no means impossible that the answer to that interrogatory may be thus written: Joseph Smith, the Mormon prophet.¹⁴²

¹⁴¹ The paintings were done by artist Lee Greene Richards who visited the monument and cottage in August 1906, "Register of Visitors to Joseph Smith's Birthplace," 2 Aug 1906. All three are on still on display in the director's residence.

¹⁴² Josiah Quincy, *Figures of the Past: From the Leaves of Old Journals* (1882. Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1883), 376, for his entire commentary on Smith see 376-400.

Shortly after it was published in 1882, Latter-day Saint leaders took note of Quincy's comment and referred to it on various occasions.¹⁴³ John Henry Smith mentioned the statement in passing during his address at the dedication ceremony.¹⁴⁴ But it was the Salt Lake City celebration of the 1907 anniversary of Joseph Smith's birth, likely attended by Junius F. Wells on his winter return to the West, that drew out the most detailed commentary on Quincy's statement.

In December 1907, B. H. Roberts delivered a discourse in honor of the Prophet's birthday entitled "Joseph Smith the Prophet Teacher" in which he examined Quincy's claim for the influence of Joseph Smith. Roberts asserted that in order for Quincy to be correct Smith's influence would have to eclipse that of patriots Jefferson, Webster, and Lincoln; inventors Fulton, Whitney and Edison; philosophers Franklin and Emerson; poets Longfellow, Poe and Whitman; and preachers Edwards and Beecher. Roberts reviewed the life and teaching of Joseph Smith for the assembled audience and concluded that Smith "is pre-eminently the American Prophet. He is not the 'boy prophet'; I dislike that term. He is not the 'Prophet of Palmyra'; he is the Prophet of the dispensation of the fulness of times; if localized at all he must be known as the 'American Prophet'." As evidence for Smith's Americanness, Roberts cited his teaching that the Garden of Eden was in America, that the Constitution was inspired of God, and the Book of Mormon teaching that America would be fortified against other nations. Finally, Roberts reasoned

¹⁴³ George Q. Cannon, 19 Aug 1883, *Journal of Discourse*, 24:259-60; Matthias F. Cowley cited the statement and affirmed "that [Quincy] was guided by the spirit of prophecy when he wrote that statement, and it will come to pass," *CR* Oct 1901, 15; Brigham H. Roberts, *CR* Oct 1907, 120-1. Cannon, *Life of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, 346-51; John Henry Evans, *One Hundred Years of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1905), 357-70. The first edition of *One Hundred Years* consisted of 5,000 copies. The printing of second and third editions in 1909 evidences that it sold quickly

¹⁴⁴ John Henry Smith, *Proceedings*, 18-19.

that Joseph Smith's being an "American Prophet" had implications for his twentieth century followers as well. "Adherence to these principles is pure Americanism," Robert contended, and "Never was greater mistake made than to suppose that the disciples of Joseph Smith could be unpatriotic Americans. They must be ardently patriotic Americans." Thus, Roberts concluded that "of Joseph Smith it will yet be said—as Josiah Quincy half predicted sixty-three years ago—He influenced his countrymen more than any other historical American of his time."¹⁴⁵

Roberts' discourse was immediately successful among Latter-day Saints and was published shortly after being delivered, and the 1910 Birthplace inventory reveals that Wells was influenced by Roberts' reasoning. Between 1905 and 1910 Wells placed in the Cottage library copies of Quincy's *Figures of the Past* as well as histories of Joseph Smith and the Church that cited Quincy. But most indicative of the nature of the message Wells shared with visitors was that in addition to purchasing the books he prepared a large framed quotation of Quincy's prediction. This framed quotation, which visitors were encouraged to read and consider, was displayed together with steel engravings of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln and Theodore Roosevelt (the same four Presidents memorialized two decades later on Mount Rushmore).¹⁴⁶ Visitors to the granite obelisk in the Green Mountains of Vermont would surely sense that Joseph Smith was an "American Prophet."

¹⁴⁵ B. H. Roberts, *Joseph Smith the Prophet Teacher, A Discourse by Elder B. H. Roberts* [22 Dec 1907] (Salt Lake City: The Deseret News, 1908), 11, 66, 73, 77. Arguing that one's subject displays certain central American characteristics is a common rhetorical device among historians. Leon Fink argued that "the 'labor question' holds the key to explaining much of what is peculiarly American about American history," "American Labor History," in *The New American History*, ed. Eric Foner (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1997), 348.

¹⁴⁶ Inventory, 31 Dec 1910, Wells Collection. On Mt. Rushmore, see Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995), chapter 7.

While Wells stressed Smith's "Americanness," the most emphatic message that he presented was that Smith was a Prophet. For Wells, the monument, the hearthstone, the Latter-day Saint ties to Vermont, and Quincy's prediction all came together in the fact that Joseph Smith was chosen by God as a Prophet in the latter days. In addition to the framed Quincy statement, Wells framed two passages from Latter-day Saint scripture. The first was the statement of John the Revelator—"I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people"—widely interpreted by Latter-day Saints as a prophecy fulfilled by the visit of Moroni to Joseph Smith.¹⁴⁷ The second framed statement presented Moroni's message to Joseph at the time John's prophecy was fulfilled: "He called me by name, and said unto me that he was a messenger sent from the presence of God to me, and that his name was Moroni; that God had a work for me to do; and that my name should be had for good and evil among all nations, kindreds, and tongues, or that it should be both good and evil spoken of among all people."¹⁴⁸ Wells believed "that the world has spoken the name of Joseph Smith for evil; they have traduced his name; they have wickedly attempted to break down and destroy the influence of his mission; they have lied about his kindred, about his ancestors, about his family, about their lives." He hung Moroni's statement above the mantelpiece and while "standing on the hearthstone of the cottage where [Joseph Smith] was born, where his mother washed and dressed him as a babe," Wells declared to his New England neighbors:

¹⁴⁷ Revelations 14:6.

¹⁴⁸ Joseph Smith—History 1:33.

Joseph Smith and his family were just like you and your families.... Go to the records, in building your churches, your schools, and in holding every office that anybody else held. They had the respect of their neighbors. They were industrious, they were upright, they were an honorable family, and here their descendants are, holding up their names in honor. And we, Latter-day Saints, a million of us, have held up Joseph Smith's name in honor, that his name might be spoken for good.

And with his playful wit, Wells often added, “you of the world, unbelievers in ‘Mormonism,’ have been speaking the name of Joseph Smith for evil; we Latter-day Saints have built this monument and this memorial to show our love, our admiration and our testimony and bearing our witness for good, that his name might be spoken for good. So, between you and us we have fulfilled the words of the angel of God, and proved Joseph Smith, who quoted them and gave them to the world, a prophet of God.”¹⁴⁹ For Wells, “the main object” of maintaining the site was expressly “that it may for years to come speak the Prophet’s name ‘for good’ to all nations.”¹⁵⁰

When Wells returned to Utah from Vermont in December 1910, he left a legacy in Vermont that lingers to this day. Wells was quite aware that “it is a boast of the Vermonters that they are slow to form friendships but that they are true when formed,” and over the course of six years Wells fashioned friendships with many Vermonters.¹⁵¹ Wells generously gave Perley Belknap of South Royalton an inch high replica of the Monument, which Belknap wore on a chain strung across his vest.¹⁵² He also received generosity from all levels of society. Senator Fletcher D. Proctor sent Wells a gift of

¹⁴⁹ JFW, *CR*, Oct 1926, 70.

¹⁵⁰ JFW to Joseph F. Smith, 25 May 1908, Wells Collection.

¹⁵¹ JFW to Frank L. Brown, 20 Mar 1911, Wells Collection.

¹⁵² Alice Vesper to Mrs. Robert [Helen] Dumville, 28 Jan 1990, Royalton Historical Society.

maple syrup.¹⁵³ J. L. Southwick, editor of the *Burlington Free Press*, sent Wells information, and J. O. Belknap gave Wells an elegant matted a photograph of himself.¹⁵⁴ From Eleanor P. Skinner of Randolph he received a photo and a book belonging to her ancestor who likely knew the Smith family.¹⁵⁵ He kept aware of local politics, and congratulated his friends when they were elected to public office.¹⁵⁶ Wells had befriended even his enemies. In the summer of 1909, General O. O. Howard, “who used to be an enemy,” consented to visit the site with Vermont Senator Fletcher Proctor and Governor Prouty. Wells was pleased to “draw out from the veteran general an expression of approval of the enterprise of our people in building so beautiful a monument here.”¹⁵⁷ Wells believed that each part of his work served to “weld another link in the chain that is binding Utah and Vermont so happily together,” and as late as the 1930s Vermonters who visited the site continued to reminisce about their “charming” friend Mr. Wells.¹⁵⁸ While the term “public relations” did not exist yet in common parlance, Wells was a master at it.

In Latter-day Saint circles, Wells had become highly respected and his opinion was sought on issues ranging from granite to mining to ancient Egyptian artifacts.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵³ See Fletcher D. Proctor to JFW, 16 Jun 1909, Wells Collection.

¹⁵⁴ JFW to J. L. Southwick, 7 Dec 1909, Wells Collection; Photograph of Julius Orland Belknap, LDS Church Archives. The photograph is dedicated, “To My Friend Junius F. Wells, Julius Orlando Belknap, South Royalton, Vermont, 14 Nov 1906.”

¹⁵⁵ See Eleanor P. Skinner to JFW, 20 Sep 1906 and 17 Dec 1907, Wells Collection.

¹⁵⁶ JFW to P. S. Belknap, 3 Jan 1911, Wells Collection.

¹⁵⁷ JFW (Boston) to Charles W. Penrose (Liverpool), 16 Nov 1909, see also JFW to Fletcher D. Proctor, 16 Jul 1909, Wells Collection.

¹⁵⁸ JFW to Reed Smoot, 21 Jan 1909, Wells Collection; Angus J. Cannon, “The Joseph Smith Memorial Farm,” *Improvement Era* 32 (Jan 1929): 194-8.

¹⁵⁹ A request for Wells’ endorsement on granite came from the Cache Valley Marble company, J. H. Brown to JFW, 16 Mar 1909. On mining, see C. C. Paisons to JFW, 10 Jul 1906. An unsigned letter to JFW of 11 Jul 1906, asked his opinion about a lost mine in Idaho. As early as 1903, Wells was involved in

Because of his successful experience in Vermont, Church leaders asked Wells to supervise the construction of two more monuments—one to Vermonter Oliver Cowdery in Missouri and the other to Vermonter Hyrum Smith in Salt Lake City. In both cases, Wells returned to his friendly business connections in the Vermont granite industry.¹⁶⁰ Additionally, Vermont granite was used in the monument at Cumorah in New York, and in various monuments in Utah. More recently, four Latter-day Saint temples have featured Vermont granite (see Table 3.5).

Wells' influence also stretched over the Church's commemorative and historic preservation efforts. In supervising the construction of the first monument to Church founder Joseph Smith and establishing the first bureau of information outside of Utah, Wells pioneered the first Latter-day Saint pilgrimage site or "tourist attraction." By the time he left Vermont it could be boasted that "Thousands are visiting the birth place of Joseph Smith, while only [a few] years ago it was almost impossible to identify the exact spot of his birth, and now the people of Vermont, from the governor down, are visiting that place, and are commencing to feel proud of the fact that their state gave birth to a man who had exercised such an influence upon this generation."¹⁶¹ Wells' success in Vermont served as a model for the development of previously purchased sites at Carthage, Illinois, and Independence, Missouri. Church historian Joseph Fielding Smith

the analysis of Egyptian photos and translation, JFW to James W. Barclay, 6 Oct 1903, JFW to Walter Wolfe, 23 Oct 1903. See also JFW to J. H. Brown, 20 Mar 1909. All correspondence is in the Wells Collection.

¹⁶⁰ Correspondence with the Cowdery family began in Nov 1909, and Wells contacted his friend R. C. Bowers in Feb 1911. Wells described the project in "The Oliver Cowdery Monument at Richmond, Missouri," *Improvement Era* 15 (Jan 1912): 251-272.

¹⁶¹ John G. McQuarrie, *CR*, October 1907, 81-82. Wells commented on this change in "The Prophet's Birthplace," *Improvement Era* 11 (Dec 1907): 133-137.

felt that “the purchase of the old Mack farm and the erection of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument, met with such remarkable success in allaying prejudice and the making of friends, that it became the stimulant for the purchase in later years of the Hill Cumorah, the Smith farm and Sacred Grove, and yet later the Whitmer farm” (see Table 3.6).¹⁶²

Senator Reed Smoot, the Mormon most in tune with national sentiment, also acknowledged the influence of Wells’ work in Vermont in shaping the national perception of Latter-day Saints. In 1909, after Smoot was reelected to the U. S. Senate, he wrote to Wells that the “American people have changed their sentiment materially in regard to the Mormons.” Smoot described the negative national opinion at the time of his election, but concluded “We are better understood than we ever were before; people are anxious to listen to us and be with us to defend us.” In acknowledging this change of opinion, Smoot felt that Wells deserved a share of the credit, and praised Wells for “the great work you accomplished in the erection of the Joseph Smith monument in Vermont.” Smoot added, “I thank you, as a member of our Church, for the magnificent work you did.”¹⁶³

During the one hundred and five years since his birth, Joseph Smith had been remembered by his followers, and through the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument and developed birthplace those memories had been concretized and interpreted by Latter-day Saints as a confirmation of their memory of Joseph Smith as an American Prophet. But while Reed Smoot perceived a change in national opinion, any substantive national

¹⁶² Joseph Fielding Smith, *Life of Joseph Smith*, 372.

¹⁶³ Reed Smoot to JFW, 26 Jan 1909, Wells Collection.

transformation is in reality the summation of shifts in local opinion. Perhaps Junius F. Wells sensed this reality as he prepared to leave Vermont late in 1910. Wells informed the local merchants and businessmen of the imminent arrival of his replacement, Frank L. Brown. In South Royalton, Wells made a special request to Perley Belknap to help insure that Brown would be well received.¹⁶⁴ Wells asked C. H. Robinson, the caretaker of the memorial birthplace, to warm the cottage and help Brown's wife Winnifred, who would most likely be lonely.¹⁶⁵ Wells also wrote several letters to Brown describing the site and his vision of its improvement, and provided Brown with a letter of reference to present to Perley Belknap. Without knowing the full impact of his advice, Wells listed several in the village of South Royalton—"I might almost say the rest of the village people"—who would be friendly.¹⁶⁶ Little did Wells realize that the village of South Royalton and the township of Royalton had a vital role to play in the validation of the memory of Joseph Smith as an American Prophet.

¹⁶⁴ See JFW to P. S. Belknap, 17 Mar 1911, Wells Collection.

¹⁶⁵ See JFW to C. H. Robinson, 14 Mar 1911,; also JFW to Dana F. Dow, 14 Mar 1911, Wells Collection.

¹⁶⁶ Those named by Wells were J. Edgar Fish, Marvin H. Hazen, M. S. Adams, Charles H. Woodard, P. S. Belknap, Hope, J. H. Hewitt, Charles B. Black, A. W. Bohonmon, Charles P. Tarbell, Whitham, Rev. Goodwin, Mis Ala Day, Miss Bingham, and J. W. Woodward, JFW to Frank L. Brown, 20 Mar 1911, Wells Collection.

**PART TWO:
VALIDATION**

CHAPTER FOUR

ROYALTON'S RESPONSE, 1905-1915

The erection of this monument [to Joseph Smith] has provoked a great deal of interest throughout the locality.

Randolph *Herald and News*, 28 Dec 1905.¹

Dear old Royalton, thee we love
All our other thoughts above,
And the spot we mark today
Shall be dear to us always.
They who plant the trees plant hopes,
But they who put to granite strokes
Mark that which ever shall endure
And through the ages standeth sure.

Fannie Eastman, read on the 125th anniversary of Royalton's Indian Raid, 16 Oct 1905²

The first three chapters of this study have examined the Mormon process of remembering Joseph Smith, from prophet, martyr, and Vermont schoolboy in the nineteenth century to the concretization of his memory as an American Prophet in the early twentieth century in the monument at his birthplace in Vermont. Yet as soon as Junius F. Wells began his work in 1905, Vermonters reacted by emphasizing their own memories of their past. Only one week after Junius Wells purchased the birth site of the Prophet on behalf of the Mormon Church, an editorial in the *St. Albans Messenger*

¹ *RH*, 28 Dec 1905, 5.

² Ivah Dunklee, *Burning of Royalton, Vermont, by Indians* (Boston: Geo. H. Ellis Co., 1906), 52.

predicted that “attention again will be directed to the fact that not a few of the sons of the commonwealth, who ‘fought a good fight’ and who ‘kept the faith’ have no memorial.”³ A local journal noted that “Vermont has too few memorials to the great men of her past but a movement to establish such seems to be gaining headway.”⁴ On the day of the dedication of the Joseph Smith Memorial, Wells goaded, “We Latter-day Saints believe that Joseph Smith came to be as nearly a perfect man as ever lived. That is contrary to the opinions of many of you; but we have proved our faith by our works, and many of you have not yet—very much (laughter.)”⁵

While the Latter-day Saint dedicatory proceedings record some levity on 23 December 1905, ultimate acceptance of Mormon memory could not be achieved solely through Mormon efforts. Over the next several decades Vermonters confronted the Joseph Smith memory tradition to determine if *they* believed their native Vermont was a suitable place “the birthplace of an American Prophet.” The response was particularly intense in Royalton because Wells had discovered that Joseph Smith’s birthplace actually lay in Royalton. Furthermore, all of the transportation routes to the monument lay within the township borders. Residents initially responded to the Mormon monument by promoting their own tradition of a New England Town through monuments, a written town history, and an annual heritage celebration. For nearly two decades in Royalton, local memories of Royalton as a New England Town flourished alongside Mormon

³ Reprinted in *RH*, 1 Jun 1905, 2.

⁴ “Ethan Allen Memorial,” *Inter-State Journal* 10 (June 1905): n.p.

⁵ *Proceedings*, 10.

memories of Joseph Smith as an American Prophet. The first phase of validation allowed for the simultaneous development of competing memory traditions.

Formation of the Vermont memory tradition developed through the same process and during the same period as had the Joseph Smith memory tradition. Regular settlement of Vermont began after the Treaty of Paris in 1763 minimized the threat of French and Indian invasion. Vermonters of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries looked back on their ancestors who had blazed the trails, settled the villages, and established civilization in the wilderness. They cherished what they perceived as a unique sense of individualism in the Vermont character, the product of Revolutionary ancestry crossed with frontier grit.⁶ First incarnated in the lives of Ethan Allen and his Green Mountain Boys, Vermont's independent character manifested itself throughout Vermont's history as residents declared independence from the American colonies (1777), abolished slavery (1777), and nullified the federal government's fugitive slave law (1852).⁷ In the twentieth century, Ralph Nading Hill observed that "[t]he people who first came to the Green Mountains from Connecticut and Massachusetts and New Hampshire were rebels. The Republic of Vermont was conceived in controversy and

⁶ Michael Sherman, "Memory, Commemoration, and the Storyteller's Creed: Lessons about History and a Bicentennial Celebration," *A More Perfect Union: Vermont Becomes a State, 1777-1816*, ed. Michael Sherman (Montpelier, VT: Vermont Historical Society and Vermont Statehood Bicentennial Commission, 1991), 172-183. On the peculiarities of Vermont character see Dorothy Canfield Fisher, *Vermont Tradition: The Biography of an Outlook on Life* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1953). See also Charles Edward Crane, *Let Me Show You Vermont* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1937); *A Treasury of Vermont Life*, ed. Stephen Greene, Arthur W. Peach, Ralph N. Hill and Walter Hard, Jr. (Woodstock, VT: The Countryman Press, 1956); Cora Cheney, *Profiles from the Past: An Uncommon History of Vermont* (Taftsville, VT: The Countryman Press, 1973).

⁷ Henry W. De Puy, *Ethan Allen and the Green-Mountain Heroes* (Boston: Horace Wenthworth, 1853).

reared in rebellion...this heritage of waywardness persevered.”⁸ For over a century after the Civil War, Vermonters remained unflinchingly Republican (in 1912 Republican presidential incumbent Taft won only Vermont and Utah). Describing the Green Mountain state as a “never-never land of eternal Republicanism,” Ralph Nading Hill explained that “Vermont liberals are not really liberal, nor the conservatives really conservative. They are simply conservative in some things and liberal in others.”⁹

As the inheritors of such a unique and valuable character, Vermonters have been intensely interested in recording their memories and history. In 1838 (the same year Joseph Smith began his history that was later canonized), Vermonters established the Vermont Historical Society, and an early history of the state listed its principal purpose as describing the hardy, enterprising, hospitable, and original Vermont character.¹⁰ Between 1850 and 1900, forty percent of the people born in Vermont left each decade, and Vermonters used this migration as an impetus to estimate their influence upon the entire nation.¹¹ In 1937, one counter tallied a pair of U.S. presidents and a pair of vice presidents, one hundred thirty seven U.S. Congressmen, twenty-nine U.S. Senators, fifty-three governors, twenty-nine chief justices, seventy-four presidents of colleges and universities, and three fathers of U.S presidents produced by Vermont.¹² The widespread inherited interest in Vermont’s past induced one writer to declare in 1953, “I have lived

⁸ Ralph Nading Hill, “Contrary Country,” *Vermont Life* 5 (Autumn 1950): 12.

⁹ Hill, “Contrary Country,” 12.

¹⁰ Hosea Beckley, *The History of Vermont; with Descriptions, Physical and Topographical* (Brattleboro, VT: George H. Salisbury, 1846).

¹¹ Dona Brown, *Inventing New England: Regional Tourism in the Nineteenth Century* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995), 135-50.

¹² Dorman B. E. Kent, *Vermonters* (Montpelier, VT: The Vermont Historical Society, 1937).

in Vermont ever since 1763...family history often vividly recounted becomes as real to every generation as personal experience.”¹³

Family and local history had been vividly recounted in Royalton, and especially for the residents of Royalton village, the past was real and vital. The first settler in Royalton Township planted roots in 1771, although the first building was not erected in Royalton village until 1784. By 1800 the blossoming little village supported five merchants and a lawyer, and by 1810 “the great forest trees that had shut out the sun were disappearing fast. Good dirt roads ran between fields walled in stone, past neat frame houses with long open ells filled with wood and barns filled with hay.” In 1807, Royalton Academy opened, and throughout the next century grew into a renowned teaching institution.¹⁴ The founding of the village of South Royalton began to drain the resources of Royalton village. Royalton village was very much like its neighbor up the First Branch, Chelsea, which Hal S. Barron characterized as an agrarian village composed of “those who stayed behind” in the nineteenth century.¹⁵

Royalton residents were typical patriotic Vermonters, celebrating the Fourth of July as early as 1814, the centennial of their Congregational church in 1877, and since 1885 the town had allocated thirty to forty dollars annually to celebrate its participation in the Civil War on Decoration Day.¹⁶ But beyond country, religion, and military service,

¹³ Dorothy Canfield Fisher, *Vermont Tradition: The Biography of an Outlook on Life* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1953), 3.

¹⁴ Nash, *Royalton Vermont*, 3-12.

¹⁵ Hal S. Barron, *Those Who Stayed Behind: Rural Society in Nineteenth-Century New England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

¹⁶ Lovejoy, *History*, 79; “Centennial at Royalton: Commemorative Exercises at the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Organization of the Congregational Church of Royalton, Vermont,” 10 Oct 1877, Vermont Historical Society; Royalton Town Reports, 1885-1925.

Royalton had an additional tie to the Revolutionary American heritage that made it unique, even among Vermont towns. During the Revolutionary War, Royalton had been raided and burned by a British-led band of Indians. The raiding party descended the First Branch burning homes, killing residents, and carrying others away captive. Two residents stood out for their efforts to warn and protect their neighbors. A wounded Phineas Parkhurst, known as “Vermont’s Paul Revere,” galloped off toward Sharon to sound the alarm. Hannah Handy, a young mother taken captive by the Indians, successfully pleaded for her release along with the release of her son and eight other children.¹⁷ For over a century, “it ha[d] been a matter of pride to the loyal-hearted people of the valley to treasure every word, incident, and relic that centres around that historic date, Oct. 16, 1780.”¹⁸ In June 1825, because of the raid on Royalton, Marquis de Lafayette visited the village to pay his tribute to the patriotism of the residents. In 1830, the event had been commemorated with speeches and the singing of a hymn that celebrated progress and peace. In 1863, fervor was again revived as a dramatized representation of the raid was performed, and the proceeds donated to the local “Boys in Blue.”¹⁹

By 1880, residents anticipated a celebration that would be “the greatest in the history of the place,” but “there was a little hitch in preparations for it.” Royalton’s upstart sister village to the south had grown sufficiently to rival the former. After extensive debate, it was decided that “as South Royalton was better adapted to

¹⁷ Lovejoy, *History*, 97-182.

¹⁸ Dunklee, *Burning of Royalton*, 7.

¹⁹ See Dunklee, *Burning of Royalton*, 40; Nash, *Royalton Vermont*, 18.

entertaining guests, that place was chosen for holding the celebration.” The celebration included a parade, speeches, lunch at Woodard Hall, as well as a hair-raising performance for 4,000 guests, in which actors portraying Indians actually set fire to the little wooden dwellings before making “merry in a war dance.”²⁰ In 1903, local doctor, Daniel L. Burnett, published extensive new research about the 1780 Indian raid.²¹ In commemorating the Indian Raid, Royalton residents did not celebrate the Indians, but the colonial survivors. Like the majority of their fellow statesmen, who ignored the Indian menace, residents believed that their state was “an absolutely uninhabited wilderness.”²² Their commemoration emphasized the virtues and durability of their hardy ancestors who had weathered the attack.

The first native of Royalton to propose monumental concretization of the town’s history had moved away almost fifty years earlier. Daniel G. Wild was born in Royalton in 1833, studied at the Royalton Academy, graduated from Dartmouth, then moved to New York City where he established a successful law practice. Wild possessed “a total indifference to political and social ambitions,” and in his spare time, he made several trips to Canada, the south, and the west, even visiting Utah in 1898 (see Fig. 10). The following year Wild retired comfortably, spending his time reading, driving, walking, and

²⁰ Lovejoy, *History*, 176-177.

²¹ Daniel L. Burnett, “The Burning of Royalton,” *Inter-State Journal* 7 (Oct 1903), n.p.

²² Peter S. Jennison, ed., *The 1976-77 Official Vermont Bicentennial Guide* (Taftsville, VT: The Countryman Press, Inc., 1976), 5. See also John Hayward, *A Gazetteer of Vermont* (Boston: Tappan, Whittemore, and Mason, 1849; reprinted Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, Inc., 1990), 7. Recent scholarship is showing the inaccuracy of this belief: Francis Jennings, *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina, 1975); Colin G. Calloway, *The Western Abenakis of Vermont, 1600-1800: War, Migration, and the Survival of an Indian People* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990); Colin G. Calloway, *Dawnland Encounters: Indians and Europeans in Northern New England* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1991); William A. Haviland and Marjory W. Power, *The Original Vermonters: Natives Inhabitants, Past and Present*, revised and expanded edition (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1994).

admiring botanical gardens.²³ But though he spent over forty years in New York, Wild “never lost sight of or interest in his old Town.”²⁴ His maternal grandfather, Garner Rix (1769-1854), had been taken captive during the Indian raid of 1780, and one year later became one of the original grantees of Royalton.²⁵

Daniel Wild responded by promoting Royalton’s heritage, and took his ideas to the Royalton Woman’s Club.²⁶ Organized in October 1896, Royalton’s sorority had as its object “mental culture and intellectual improvement.” Over the course of a decade, the women had studied current events, the history of Rome and the British Isles, English and American literature, and practical sciences of art, forestry, household science, and civil service. In the community they had installed first kerosene and then electric street lamps, furnished supplies for schools and the town library, and coordinated memorial services for President McKinley. But their primary purpose was to promote the history and heritage of Royalton. Their meetings were called to order by the rap of a gavel made of charred wood that had survived the burning of 1780, and they spearheaded a project to restore the original town charter and to repair the aging Academy building, two symbols of the heritage and cultural significance of Royalton.²⁷

²³ See Frank G. Wild, “Ancestor Book,” 34-36, Vermont Historical Society.

²⁴ Royalton Town Records, 1880-1916, 222.

²⁵ See Lovejoy, *History*, 924-25.

²⁶ In December 1905, Wild’s nephew, Levi, responded to the Smith monument by sponsoring the letter of the Vermont Woman’s Home Missionary Union, see chapter 3.

²⁷ “Royalton Woman’s Club, 1896-1936,” *The Vermonter* 41 (Oct 1936): 189-190; Dunklee, *Burning of Royalton*, 53-54.

Daniel Wild offered \$1,000 to the cause, half of which he directed be used to erect a monument.²⁸ In proposing a monument to the Indian Raid, Wild desired to set the community's heritage in stone at a time when the definition of Vermont's heritage was expanding. Historian Dona Brown argues that the late nineteenth century industrialization of southern New England shifted the cultural home of "New England's true heritage" to the northern states. Once considered the backwater, Vermont was becoming recognized as "what America was," and during the 1890s the Vermont Board of Agriculture promoted the state's farms and maple sugar products.²⁹ Vermont towns were inheriting and encouraging a perception as true New England Towns, carrying forward the heritage of American liberty and democracy.³⁰ The idea was working, as the 1905 tourist season was the largest ever in Vermont history.³¹

The first step toward the erection of an Indian raid monument took place on 16 Oct 1905, the 125th anniversary of the raid. That morning the selectmen (Doyle, Benson, Black) and town representative, R. B. Galusha, met at the town clerk's office in Royalton

²⁸ Monument building was not a new endeavor in Vermont (see Table 4.1). In 1799 Vermonters marked the site of a baby born to an Indian captive with two slate slabs. During the nineteenth century, they had erected monuments to the memory of Ethan Allen and two Revolutionary War battles. Most recently, they had constructed a remarkable 306-foot limestone monument at the site of the Battle of Bennington (1891), and in 1903 they had identified and marked the birthplace of U.S. President, Vermonter Chester A. Arthur. See Edward Connant, *Conant's Vermont: Geography, History, and Civil Government of Vermont*, revised by Mason S. Stone (Rutland, VT: The Tuttle Company, 1908); Deane C. Davis, "Ethan Allen, An Address," *Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society* 10 (Sep 1942): 137-147; John Spargo, *The Bennington Battle Monument: Its Story and Its Meaning* (Rutland, VT: The Tuttle Company, 1925); Thomas C. Reeves, "The Mystery of Chester Alan Arthur's Birthplace," *Vermont History* 38 (Autumn 1970): 291-304.

²⁹ Dona Brown, *Inventing New England: Regional Tourism in the Nineteenth Century* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995), 135-67.

³⁰ Kenneth A. Lockridge, *A New England Town, The First Hundred Years: Dedham, Massachusetts, 1636-1736* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1970).

³¹ Andrea Rebek, "The Selling of Vermont: From Agriculture to Tourism, 1860-1910," *Vermont History* 44 (Winter 1976): 14-27.

village to officially grant the right to erect a monument. At 3:00 p.m., the Woman's Club met with school children. Francis Joiner recited the history of that fateful day and Club president, Fannie Eastman, broke ground. A flag was raised and all in attendance sang "America."³² In the following month, local granite worker W. V. Soper was awarded the contract for the monument and prepared the foundation. The local paper announced that the monument, like that to Joseph Smith, would be of Barre granite.³³ But while Wells won his race with winter, the Indian Raid monument could not be ready until the following spring.

On 23 May 1906, over seven hundred people—residents, former residents, descendants of those captured by the Indians—gathered on the Royalton village green to dedicate the monument. After a poem was read the monument was unveiled (see Fig. 20). The proceedings then moved inside the Congregational church where prayers, hymns, and addresses celebrated the occasion. Rev. Levi Wild, nephew of Daniel Wild, read a poem and Vermont Governor, Charles Bell, spoke. After the ceremony, Clara Denison McClellan, granddaughter of Dr. Jo Adam Denison who delivered the infant Joseph Smith a century earlier, hosted a reception in the Denison family home. The leading ladies of the Woman's Club—Laura Dutton, Emily Wild, Gertrude Laird, Myra Galusha, and Kittie Belknap—assisted.³⁴

Several elements of the Indian Raid Monument demonstrate that in addition to concretizing Royalton's memory as a New England Town, the monument may also have

³² Dunklee, *Burning of Royalton*, 51-52.

³³ *RH* 23 Nov 1905, 7.

³⁴ Dunklee, *Burning of Royalton*, 55-74; Lovejoy, *History*, 177-182; *RH* 31 May 1906.

been an explicit response to the Joseph Smith Monument. First, though the Indian Raid Monument was dedicated in May 1906, the inscription reads simply “Erected by the Royalton Woman’s Club 16 Oct 1905,” a reference to the anniversary, but also an effort to antedate the Mormon monument. No reference on the stone indicates that it actually completed later. Second, that residents dedicated the monument on May 23 also symbolically links it to the Mormon monument, because it was one year to the day that Junius F. Wells purchased the birthplace on behalf of the LDS Church. Finally, residents published their own dedicatory proceedings that contained “a complete account of the various anniversaries,” thus mirroring the Mormon Proceedings.³⁵ Clearly, the Royalton Woman’s Club was competing with Mormon commemoration efforts by celebrating their own history, and the Indian Raid Monument was only the beginning.

While the Indian Raid Monument construction crew waited for the ground to thaw, the Woman’s Club turned up the heat. At Town Meeting in March 1906, Woman’s Club President Frances Joiner addressed the assembled citizens, “an unheard of thing” for the time.³⁶ In what the town clerk described as “well chosen and deserved comments,” Joiner described Wild’s gift and announced that \$500 was given “for the purpose of writing and publishing a History of Royalton.” R. B. Galusha, Royalton’s representative to the state Legislature, moved that the Town match Wild’s donation and recommended the establishment of a committee to oversee the project. Residents affirmed Galusha’s proposal with a unanimous vote.³⁷

³⁵ Ivah Dunklee, *Burning of Royalton, Vermont, By Indians* (Boston: Geo. H. Ellis Co., 1906).

³⁶ Nash, *Royalton, Vermont*, xiii.

³⁷ Royalton Town Records, 1880-1916, 222-223.

One week later the twelve committee members, four appointed by the Woman's Club and eight appointed by the Town, met in the first meeting of the town Historical Committee, later known as the Historical Association. The Committee elected Joiner as president, Daniel Burnett as vice president, and Galusha as treasurer. In the coming weeks, however, Frances Joiner died, and was replaced by Laura Dutton. For an unknown reason, Levi Wild resigned from the committee. In May, three days after the Indian Raid Monument was dedicated, the committee voted that work on the history should begin at once, and that the only person for the job was Evelyn Lovejoy.

Born in the adjoining township of Pomfret, Evelyn M. Wood received training at the Royalton Academy and the Randolph Normal School. In 1874, she married into the Lovejoy family, one of the Royalton's most distinguished founding families, but within six years both her husband Daniel Webster and her first and only child died. Lovejoy stayed in Royalton as principal of Royalton Academy and superintendent of schools, but in 1886 she went west. After eight years of teaching in South Dakota, Lovejoy enrolled at the University of Chicago, graduating with an A.B. degree in 1897. She taught for two years at St. Cloud Normal School in central Minnesota, where she devoted her spare time to writing a novel, *Dandelion*, published in 1899.³⁸ By 1906, Lovejoy had been teaching high school grammar and literature in the Helena, Montana, schools for five years. She

³⁸ Mary Evelyn Wood Lovejoy, *Dandelion; or, Out of the Shadows* (London, New York, and Chicago: F. Tennyson Neely, 1899). The novel is about a young schoolteacher, abandoned at birth, who strives to discover her true parents and thus her true identity. The work provides a striking window on Lovejoy's personal experience. The school teacher (like Lovejoy) heroine marries a doctor (as Lovejoy had). The primary setting is the village of Stockweed, Rockmore County, Vermont, though the characters travel to Chicago, South Dakota, and Europe (as Lovejoy had). Along the way, Lovejoy shares through the narrator (a widow like Lovejoy), her opinions about the philosophy of education, the education of women, Progressive reform, higher criticism, and Christian morality. The mystery/adventure/romance ends with a twist of fate and brims with literary allusions (Lowell, Hawthorne, Shakespeare, and Greek literature).

most likely would have stayed in the West had she not been invited to return to Royalton.³⁹

Lovejoy arrived in Royalton during what she later described as “a critical time in its history.”⁴⁰ Having lived in the west for twenty years, Lovejoy “was able to look at the town from without as well as within.”⁴¹ In the summer of 1906, Evelyn Lovejoy settled in South Royalton and set out to prepare a history of the Township. Over the next five years she personally “visited and examined the records of all the neighboring towns,” and poured through “hundreds of genealogies, town histories, and State papers.” She even marshaled the members of the Woman’s Club into a force of research assistants who scoured local cemeteries.⁴² Leaving no stone unturned she filled thirty one 8 ½-by-7-inch composition books with information about deeds, cemeteries, vital records, probate records, and family information. Additionally, she sent out hundreds of handwritten letters requesting genealogical and historical information, and received responses from people throughout New England and the Midwest.⁴³

³⁹ Lovejoy, *History*, 336-9, 858; Nash, *Royalton, Vermont*, xiii, 61, 228. Lovejoy’s papers were sorted by Nash and are stored in the attic of the Royalton Memorial Library. There is only one diary in the Lovejoy Collection, labeled “#3” and begins 7 May of an unstated year, describes a trip to Europe, and ends with her return to South Royalton on 24 June of the same year. Lovejoy’s papers include notes from town records, plates of illustrations, letters about families, a typed copy of *History*, correspondence with printer and engraver, letters about the library, and diary of a trip to Europe.

⁴⁰ Lovejoy, *History*, vii.

⁴¹ Nash, *Royalton Vermont*, xiii.

⁴² Lovejoy visited town clerks in Royalton, Bethel, Woodstock, Hartford, Pomfret, Sharon, Tunbridge, Chelsea, Barnard, Hartland, Norwich, Thetford, and Randolph in Vermont, as well as Hanover and Lebanon, New Hampshire. She also visited the New England Genealogical and Historical Association, the Vermont Historical Association, and the Dominion Archive in Ottawa, Canada, Lovejoy, *History*, v-vi.

⁴³ Lovejoy’s collected correspondence at the Royalton Memorial Library contain postmarks from fourteen states: Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, and Ohio.

For the first three years, Lovejoy did not receive any monetary compensation for her work other than an occasional reimbursement for her traveling or material expenses. Lovejoy supplemented her income from 1906 to 1908 by working as principal of the Royalton Academy, but her duties consumed so much of her time that she made only small progress. Daniel Wild's \$500 donation was not made available until 1909, at which time Lovejoy finally received \$100 "in partial payment of services as historian."⁴⁴ While Lovejoy was barely surviving, the project was in danger of financial ruin. In 1908, Lovejoy began a campaign to collect five hundred subscriptions of five dollars in advance to help cover the costs.⁴⁵ At the 1909 town meeting, town residents reluctantly approved an interest free loan to the Historical Association, allowing it to draw up to fifteen dollars from the town "to complete the printing, writing, binding and publication of the History of Royalton." This loan was granted, however, on the condition that proceeds from the history go to pay off the town loan first.⁴⁶

With enough money to continue, Lovejoy finished the history, although she acknowledged in the preface that her work was "in large part a labor of love."⁴⁷ After writing the history, Lovejoy made the arrangements for its publication.⁴⁸ The resultant *History of Royalton, Vermont* is a one thousand-page history with over one hundred

⁴⁴ Alice D. Grant, "Report of the Treasurer of the Royalton Historical Society, 9 Feb 1909," Royalton Town Records, 1880-1916, 280-281.

⁴⁵ A copy of the flyer in Lovejoy Collection.

⁴⁶ Royalton Town Records, 1880-1916, 269-270.

⁴⁷ Lovejoy, *History*, vii.

⁴⁸ In the Lovejoy Collection there is a large wooden crate containing indexing note cards, correspondence with the publisher and other letters about errors, and a complete manuscript of the History. Another crate contains more index cards, two more copies of the manuscript, page proofs, and correspondence about the proofs and subscriptions. There is another crate with all of the original blocks used with the photos.

illustrations, maps, genealogical records, and a comprehensive index.⁴⁹ Lovejoy's book weaves narrative with primary sources, including the town charter and meeting minutes and reprints Zadock Steele's 1818 narrative of the 1780 Indian raid. Lovejoy also solicited contributions from local residents: Amos J. Eaton wrote on local wildlife, Levi Wild on flowers, and many residents on their family histories. The result is not only a history of the town through 1910, but also, perhaps more importantly, it provides a vital window into the thoughts and desires of Royalton residents at the start of the twentieth century. Six hundred volumes were printed in 1911, and by 1913, Lovejoy received six hundred dollars for her work.⁵⁰

Lovejoy's *History of Royalton* was well received throughout the state and she became readily acknowledged as one of the foremost experts on Vermont's early history. Daniel Wild purchased seven copies himself and congratulated Lovejoy on the "great work" and praised, no doubt in reference to her financial struggle, "the wonderful patience & ability you have shown in carrying it through."⁵¹ Most people opened the book to see what it said about them, and some quibbled over small errors.⁵² One reader wrote to Lovejoy to express her amazement "at the quantity of detail, and quality." But beyond information, this reader perceived a "kindly spirit that shines forth

⁴⁹ Evelyn M. Wood Lovejoy, *History of Royalton, Vermont, with Family Genealogies, 1769-1911* (Burlington, Vermont: Free Press Printing Company, 1911).

⁵⁰ "Report of Royalton Historical Association," 1912 Royalton Town Report, 61-62.

⁵¹ Daniel G. Wild to Evelyn M. Lovejoy (EML), 6 Nov 1911, Lovejoy Collection. See Daniel G. Wild to EML, 26 Jun 1911, 13 Jun 1911, Lovejoy Collection. There are over seventy letters of correspondence between the two.

⁵² A. W. Kenney called the mis-transcription of a number and omission of a word "a gross error," while admitting that he had "not been able to examine it but very little," though he praised "the good paper and clear, legible print," A. W. Kenney to EML, 6 Jan 1912, Lovejoy Collection.

throughout...the Christ Spirit—it breathes throughout the book.”⁵³ Lovejoy’s 1899 novel contained a strong Christian moral, and it is no surprise that she continued to emphasize uprightness and virtue. In Royalton Township, Evelyn Lovejoy became instantly one of the most respected citizens. She had captured in published form the feelings of local residents. In the preface, Lovejoy commented that along the way several people had asked her why her town wanted a written history. Her response reflected the sentiments of many of her neighbors: “Because it has loyal sons and daughters who are still interested in it, though living for many years outside its limits, and because it is one of the most progressive, up-to-date towns in the State of Vermont.”⁵⁴ To Evelyn Lovejoy and her local friends, Royalton was a typical New England Town.

One of the stories appearing between the lines of Lovejoy’s *History* is the rivalry between the township’s two villages. In 1906, the women of South Royalton organized their own woman’s club, opposite the Royalton Woman’s Club. Lovejoy took part in the foundation of the society organized for “mutual improvement and social ability” whose motto was “Lofty Thoughts and Noble Deeds.” Over the years the women studied history, geology, industry, public institutions, persons, buildings, and the influence of women.⁵⁵ Yet the organization summary submitted to Lovejoy’s *History* by the Royalton Woman’s Club cast a condescending glance at its splinter sister. The writer praised the Royalton club’s unity as it had “no cliques and no factions,” and asserted that “it has

⁵³ Mary C. Johnson to EML, 8 Jan 1912, Lovejoy Collection.

⁵⁴ Lovejoy, *History*, vi.

⁵⁵ “South Royalton Women’s Club Calendar, 1906 & 1907,” Wilbur Collection, University of Vermont Library; Lovejoy, *History*, 603-604.

proved its right to existence by the good works it has done.”⁵⁶ As her *History* rolled off the press, Evelyn Lovejoy was elected president of the South Royalton Woman’s Club and turned her attention to answering the charges of the Royalton Club.

Once all the publishing debts had been paid, members of the Historical Committee wanted to give the profits to Lovejoy, but she seized the opportunity to use the money to further concretize Royalton’s New England Town memory tradition. Lovejoy recommended that the committee “set aside 125 copies, the sales of which shall be used in erecting a fitting memorial to Mrs. Hannah Handy,” the woman who had successfully plead for the freedom of herself and nine children during the 1780 Indian raid.⁵⁷ Because the Royalton Woman’s Club had erected a marker in their village, Lovejoy recommended placing the Handy marker “in So. Royalton, perhaps a monument on the common.”⁵⁸ Committee Vice President Daniel Burnett (of South Royalton) thought the idea “excellent and very generous,” adding that he had “often thought in years gone by that some of the places of interest in town should be marked by suitable tablets.”⁵⁹ Daniel Wild also agreed with Lovejoy, recommending “[s]omething that will appeal to the eye as well as to the mind—a memorial stone, a monument or something that will explain itself for centuries & a thing that will defy time & storms for generations.”⁶⁰ A four-member committee was established and in 1913 began to request

⁵⁶ Lovejoy, *History*, 602-603.

⁵⁷ EML to Daniel Burnett, 1 Apr 1912, Royalton Historical Society.

⁵⁸ EML to Daniel Burnett, 1 Apr 1912, Royalton Historical Society.

⁵⁹ Daniel Burnett to EML, 5 Apr 1912, Royalton Historical Society.

⁶⁰ Daniel G. Wild to EML, 14 Apr 1912, Lovejoy Collection.

estimates, before signing a contract with Adams and McNichol for \$425.⁶¹ The monument was designed as a stone archway with the front inscription memorializing Hannah Handy's rescue and Phineas Parkhurst's ride to call for help. The back of the monument listed the names of the four men killed, the twenty-five prisoners, and nine children rescued during the raid. The Historical Association accepted subscriptions from local residents, and the list of donors was published in the local paper as well as sealed in the base of the monument.⁶² Lovejoy later observed that through the "hearty cooperation of citizens," the monument was ready for unveiling in 1915, the 135th anniversary of the raid.⁶³ But instead of dedicating the monument on October 16, the committee decided to hold the services in August during Royalton's Old Home Week.

New Hampshire Governor Frank Rollins invented Old Home Week in 1899. In the face of economic trouble caused in part by a decline of farming, Rollins created the week-long celebration to raise spirits, foster a sense of pride, and to encourage former residents to return with their money and spend it in the state. In 1901, the occasion was celebrated in Vermont and by 1904 every state in New England had adopted the practice.⁶⁴ Royalton had acknowledged the practice in the 1910s, but the 1915

⁶¹ Charles P. Tarbell, Perley Belknap, Evelyn Lovejoy, and Laura Dutton composed the committee. Adams and McNichol to EML, 7 Sep 1914, Royalton Historical Society. Various estimates are in the Royalton Historical Society.

⁶² *RH*, 5 Aug 1915, 5.

⁶³ EML, "Historical Address at the Unveiling of a Memorial to Phineas Parkhurst," *The Vermonter* 25 (Aug 1920): 121.

⁶⁴ Dona Brown, *Inventing New England*, 135-50; J. Kevin Graffagnino, "Arcadia in New England: Divergent Visions of a Changing Vermont, 1850-1920," in Nancy Price Graff, ed., *Celebrating Vermont: Myths and Realities* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1991), 45-59; "Vermont Old Home Week," *The Vermonter* 6 (May 1901): 166-7; "The First Observance of Old Home Week," *The Vermonter* 7 (Sep 1901): 1.

celebration was easily the largest in the town's history—and it was primarily a South Royalton event.

On Sunday, 15 August, pastors in both villages noted “an unusually large attendance,” and that evening a community service was held at Knight's Hall in South Royalton with “singers from both churches.” The next morning residents decorated South Royalton storefronts and houses “with flowers, flags, and bunting” and placed antiques in the windows. The primary entrance to the village, Chelsea Street, was decorated with Chinese lanterns and a large “Welcome” sign strung across the street. The veiled monument stood on the green while two thousand guests watched a moving picture show and danced. Tuesday was “Royalton's Day,” as visitors viewed paintings and exhibits of old china and silver and farm tools in the older village. Cold, rainy weather forced the picnic indoors for special services under the direction of Laura Dutton. Mary Whitney, whose father Joel was pastor of the Royalton Congregational Church, read a poem she had prepared especially for the occasion. Recounting Royalton's long history she asked:

But have we reached the evening?
Is our town's best work done?
Are we basking in the radiance
Of our history's setting sun?
Nay! In the mist of morning
Our valley still lies concealed;
We know not what joy or sorrow
In our day may be revealed.⁶⁵

The Hon. Frank Plumley of Northfield addressed this gathering of farmers and provided words of encouragement. He assured residents that “little Vermont still has its place in the world, that her schools are the peer of any in the land and that her citizens do not need

⁶⁵ Mary E. Whitney, “Royalton's Morning,” Vermont Historical Society.

to be ashamed to look any city man in the face.” That evening local residents attended a concert with their “city man” cousins.⁶⁶

The local paper reported that Wednesday morning, 18 August 1915, began with a splendid parade emphasizing “the contrast between old and new methods of agriculture and domestic industry, and of education.” Evelyn Lovejoy rode on the Royalton Academy float that carried several “former principals and students.” The South Royalton High School float followed, “one of the most elaborate, with a display of laboratory methods.” The parade ended at the village green where the monument was unveiled (see Fig. 21). Levi Wild spoke and Laura Dutton read a speech written by Lovejoy that “paid a tribute to the courage and persistence of the early pioneers, eulogized the bravery of Mrs. Handy, [and] alluded to the fact that it was a woman’s club that made the events of the day possible.”⁶⁷ The speech began with a quote attributed to John Quincy Adams that the “man who does not venerate his ancestors is either a natural born fool or has become one.” Lovejoy and Dutton affirmed that the Historical Association did indeed venerate its ancestors as evidenced by Lovejoy’s *History* and this new monument.⁶⁸

Vermont congressman and Spanish-American War veteran, Frank L. Greene, followed Dutton with a religious speech. Greene’s speech (sermon) centered on Deuteronomy 32:7 which reads, “Remember the days of old.” He traced the history of the twelve tribes of Israel down through the death of Christ at Calvary before praising Hannah Handy and challenging all in attendance to read or reread Zadock Steele’s

⁶⁶ *RH*, 19 Aug 1915, 6; “Royalton’s Old Home Week,” *The Vermonter* 20 (Aug 1915) 153.

⁶⁷ *RH*, 26 Aug 1915, 5.

⁶⁸ [Evelyn M. Lovejoy,] “Address by Mrs. Henry W. Dutton,” 18 Aug 1915, Royalton Historical Society.

captivity narrative. Alluding to the current war in Europe, Greene declared, "Let us face the world we live in, the perils that face us, the duty we owe to our neighbors and all mankind, invoke the memory of Hannah Hunter Handy, the Green Mountain girl."⁶⁹

That was the only way to survive, "We will not be worthy to claim as our own heritage such a precious memory as this woman has bequeathed to us if we in our turn do not face just as resolutely, just as courageously, just as devotedly, and with the same self-sacrifice the perils that beset our path in this modern life."⁷⁰ The "Star-Spangled Banner" played while four descendants of the raid's captives unveiled the monument, and the evening ended with a concert.

On Thursday residents and visitors watched a baseball game and theatrical presentation of the "Burning of Royalton." The following day brought a historical pageant. On the hill above South Royalton, "Indians" burned a small house while Phineas Parkhurst sounded the alarm. The pageant then showed the arrival of new settlers, and the horn that heralded Lafayette's arrival in 1825 sounded again, announcing an old stage coach pulled by four white horses reenacting his visit, this time to South Royalton. The theatrical presentation was repeated and visitors danced until 2:30 a.m.⁷¹

Residents estimated that over 3,500 people spilled into their town during the week, and Royalton's Old Home Week was considered a huge success. The local paper attributed the success to the town's most influential resident, Evelyn Lovejoy: "[T]o her must be given chief credit for the idea of erecting the Handy Memorial, for ceaseless

⁶⁹ "Address by Frank L. Greene," 18 Aug 1915, 12, Royalton Historical Society.

⁷⁰ "Address by Frank L. Greene," 18 Aug 1915, 23, Royalton Historical Society.

⁷¹ *RH*, 26 Aug 1915, 5.

work in its behalf and no small pecuniary sacrifice on her part. She also assisted materially in arranging the celebration.”⁷² Congressman Frank L. Greene was likewise impressed, “I only wish more towns in Vermont would follow your example, more women of gifted nature would emulate you in your untiring energy and public spirit, and that we would all be more frequently brought to “Remember the days of old,” he wrote.⁷³ Thus, by 1915, Evelyn Lovejoy had written a history of her community, become renowned throughout the state as an expert on Vermont history, helped found and lead a Woman’s Club, and oversaw the erection of a monument in South Royalton.

While the official concretization of Royalton’s history arose as a competitive response to the Joseph Smith Monument, it did not exclude Mormons. Evelyn Lovejoy asked Junius Wells to contribute to her *History*, and he prepared a brief sketch of the Smith family in Vermont and a description of the monument, as well as photos of the monument, hearthstone, and Joseph, Hyrum, and Lucy Mack Smith.⁷⁴ Furthermore, during the 1915 Old Home Week, an exhibit of “interesting and valuable relics” displayed Mormon bank notes from the Kirtland Safety Society alongside Dr. Joseph Denison’s old account book and an iron kettle left by the raiding Indians.⁷⁵

At the personal level, many residents accepted the monument to Joseph Smith, seeing no serious threat by its presence, especially now that several monuments had been

⁷² *RH*, 26 Aug 1915, 5.

⁷³ Frank L. Greene to E. W. Lovejoy, 19 Aug 1915, Royalton Historical Society.

⁷⁴ EML to JFW, 5 Jan 1909, Wells Collection; Lovejoy, *History*, 644-648. See also JFW, “The Smith Family in Vermont,” *Improvement Era* 14 (Dec 1910): 95-102.

⁷⁵ *RH*, 26 Aug 1915, 5. The bank notes are still in the Royalton Historical Society.

erected to Royalton's heritage. The first two summers after the monument was dedicated (1906-1907), local residents came out to see it for themselves. Some, like the families of Edgar Fish and Perley Belknap, paid a visit every summer. Governor Bell, in town to dedicate the Indian Raid monument, made time to take his wife to visit the Joseph Smith monument as well. Town Clerk William Skinner, who had assisted in the property transaction and offered his oxen to pull the monument, came to see the fruit of his participation and Leon D. Latham came for a personal connection, writing in the guest register, "Born on this farm 21 Sep 1874."⁷⁶ William's cousin, Eleanor P. Skinner, lived in Randolph and wrote to Wells to inform him she was the granddaughter of Jonathan Kinney. Kinney (1790-1851) was a selectman in Royalton, a deacon in the Congregational Church, and one of Royalton's early temperance advocates.⁷⁷ But Kinney also taught school on Dairy Hill, and Eleanor believed that "he was the only one who taught Mr. Joseph Smith his letters." In the hope of linking her family history with the Smith family history, Eleanor sent Wells a photograph of her grandfather and one of his old school books bearing his signature, "thinking it would otherwise be an unobtainable souvenir." On the envelope of one of Eleanor's letters, Wells wrote,

Keep this. It is from old Miss Skinner and is so quaint in phraseology & style. She is rich & has traveled everywhere and is deeply interested in the Monument. Her grandfather Deacon Jonathan Skinner taught the Prophet his a. b. c.'s. I shall hang the portrait in Memorial Cottage.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Gov. C. J. Bell and wife, 23 May 1906; William and Katharine Skinner, 13 Aug 1909; Leon D. Latham, 23 Jul 1911; in "Register of Visitors to Joseph Smith's Birthplace," LDS Church Archives.

⁷⁷ Lovejoy, *History*, 843-4, 963.

⁷⁸ Eleanor P. Skinner to JFW, 20 Sep 1906; Eleanor P. Skinner to JFW, 17 Dec 1907, Wells Collection. A photo album prepared by JFW includes the photograph and Skinner's testimony: "One of the strongest of my childhood memories, is the fact oft repeated by my grandfather, Deacon Jonathan Kinney, of Royalton. 'I taught Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet, his letters, while teaching school upon Dewey Hill about the year 1810-1815,' Randolph, [Vermont] Oct. 7, 1906," JFW, "Photograph Album," LDS Archives.

Residents on Dairy Hill demonstrated remarkable openness to Mormon presence in their hillside community. The Haynes, Bingham, McIntosh, and Robinson families had served meals to those transporting and erecting the Joseph Smith monument in 1905.⁷⁹ Harry Bingham also furnished horses to help pull the load.⁸⁰ Some residents of Dairy Hill, the Bingham, Burbank, and Dewey families, had lived in the area for over a century.⁸¹ Lisle McIntosh married into Burbank family, inheriting their property adjoining the Mormon property. One resident recalled McIntosh as “a jolly man” who chewed Tiger tobacco and told “all kinds of tales,” in fact, “there was no one who could hold your interest as he could.”⁸² His son, Roland, was a handy mechanic who could fix just about anything. Perhaps the most unique member of the McIntosh family was Lisle’s wife, Emily, described as “a Vermont farm woman, with a big family, a responsible citizen.” In 1891, while preparing mincemeat for her family, she made some extra to share with her neighbors, and over the next sixty years her “extra” grew to four and a half tons annually which she distributed by train, truck, and mail to every state in the Union.⁸³

⁷⁹ *Proceedings*, 28-29.

⁸⁰ Medora Severance Bingham Dodge, interview by author, South Royalton, VT, 28 Aug 2001.

⁸¹ Lovejoy, *History*, 682-686, 759-764.

⁸² Frank Clifford, “An Evening with Frank Clifford,” video interview by Judson H. Flower, Jr., 9 Sep 1999, Joseph Smith Memorial Birthplace Library; Edith Clifford Chadwick in “A Synoptic Narrative of the Joseph Smith Birthplace Memorial Historical Site,” Joseph Smith Memorial Birthplace Library, South Royalton, Vermont. This typed source is really a compilation of excerpts from several sources. After extractions from *Proceedings* follow excerpts from an “Autobiography of Edwin Clifford,” “What I Remember of England & Early Days in America” by Edith Clifford Chadwick, “A Visit with Frank Clifford” an interview performed by site director Reed Harding in Oct 1996, “A Visit with Sister Elaine Soule,” in Dec 1996; hereafter “Synoptic Narrative.”

⁸³ Baird Hall, “The Kind Grandma Makes,” *Vermont Life* 5 (Autumn 1950): 24-27.

In addition to supplying many neighbors with mincemeat, Emily McIntosh also employed most of the young girls who grew up on the Hill.⁸⁴

One reason Dairy Hill residents were more open to Mormon “outsiders” in their community may have been because their farming community generally had more “outsiders” than the long settled villages in the township. Many of the farmers hired boarders to help with farm work during the summer months. Other families had settled on the hill during in the recent past. Fred and Fannie Coffin and their children moved to Dairy Hill from Massachusetts, while Isaac and Carrie Dodge came from New Hampshire. Josiah Frost’s wife Elvra was born in Canada, while John and Rose Baker had recently emigrated from Canada. Rose Baker’s native language was French, as was that of Adelard and Ellen Rodur, recent transplants from Quebec. Frank and Ella Shirlock were of Irish descent.⁸⁵

Residents of Dairy Hill, both old and new, were united by the common practice of farming. Of the twenty-four household heads listed on the 1920 Census, all but two (a carpenter and a railroad employee) are listed as farmers.⁸⁶ In the evenings when work was done, neighbors gathered to play games and sing, and to eat pumpkin pies, cakes, apples, and sweet cider. Their associations were seasonal. At harvest time the neighbors gathered for corn-husking bees and women baked pies and donuts, during the winter the children went sledding together, and in the spring neighbors collaborated on maple

⁸⁴ Medora Dodge, interview by author, South Royalton, VT, 28 Aug 2001; Kay Boardman, interview by author, South Royalton, VT, 30 Aug 2001.

⁸⁵ U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1920* (Washington, DC: United States Census Office, 1920).

⁸⁶ *Fourteenth Census* (1920).

sugaring projects (see Fig. 22-23).⁸⁷ When wind or fire destroyed a neighbor's barn, neighbors joined in to help rebuild.⁸⁸

Common vocational ties of Dairy Hill farmers were socially solidified by the district three schoolhouse. Local historian Hope Nash described the district schools in Royalton as the local center, the site of "singing, spelling, and writing schools as well as weddings, funerals, church meetings, neighborhood town meetings, and socials."⁸⁹ The property purchased by the Mormon Church in 1905 was located across Dairy Hill road from the schoolhouse, and in time the social center of community life expanded to include the Joseph Smith Memorial as well as the school house. In 1915 (the year the Handy Monument was dedicated in South Royalton), the local paper reported that "Dairy Hill school and neighborhood held their annual picnic Saturday, the 3rd, on the 'Cottage' grounds," an event featuring races, ball game, peanuts, bananas, and lemonade.⁹⁰

Latter-day Saints who succeeded Junius Wells in directing the Joseph Smith Memorial did their best to fit into the Dairy Hill community, in the words of local historian Hope Nash, they "made themselves pleasant."⁹¹ Wells' successor as director of the memorial was Frank L. Brown (1875-1919). Brown married Winnifred Tibbs in

⁸⁷ Edith Clifford Chadwick in "Synoptic Narrative." "We had corn-husking bees to help the farmers get their corn husked. All the neighbors came in the evening and sat in the barn on stools husking ears of corn. If a boy found a red ear of corn, he kissed a girl; and, likewise, if a girl found one she kissed a boy. We had foods after that job was finished," Edith Clifford Chadwick, "History," copy in author's possession.

⁸⁸ Medora Dodge, interview by author, South Royalton, VT, 28 Aug 2001.

⁸⁹ Nash, *Royalton Vermont*, 3.

⁹⁰ *RH*, 8 Jul 1915, 4.

⁹¹ Hope Nash, *Royalton Vermont*, 80.

September 1902 and the following month they left together on a mission to England. They returned to Utah in 1904 with their young son, Kenneth, and in 1911 moved to Vermont to take over for Wells.⁹² Brown continued to host visitors to the site, though he did not seem as interested as Wells in recording the names of every visitor in the guest register. The number of names in the register dropped from an average of 1,152 annually during Wells' directorship to 530 during Brown's (see Fig. 24).⁹³ Nevertheless, Brown estimated that roughly 3,000 visitors passed through the gate each summer.⁹⁴

Instead of counting visitors, Brown focused his attention on turning the site into a memorial farm. Shortly after he arrived at the site, Brown wrote to an acquaintance in England offering him a position as caretaker of the memorial. Edwin Clifford had been baptized in 1901 and his wife and children followed two years later. Clifford was a professional flower gardener who Brown must have met while on a mission in England. In 1912, Clifford secured passage to America on the *Titanic*, but called off the trip when his youngest child became sick. The next year Brown wrote again, but Clifford was reluctant to leave his job and take his nine children across the ocean. However, one day Clifford prayed to know what to do and felt that he should accept the position. Sailing from Southampton to Quebec and riding the rails from Montreal to South Royalton, the Clifford family arrived in town on 21 May 1913. Frank and Winnifred Brown met their friends at the South Royalton station and drove Edwin and Alice Clifford and their daughters up to the memorial in their shiny black Cadillac. Twelve year old Edith

⁹² Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4:734-5.

⁹³ "Register of Visitors to Joseph Smith's Birthplace," LDS Archives.

⁹⁴ *Journal History*, 11 Oct 1915, 2.

recalled the ride as “a pretty rough trip” and she “wondered if all the United States were made of stones and bumps.” The Clifford sons were left to walk up the hill.⁹⁵

Clifford was “a bit homesick at first,” but soon kept busy caring for the seven acres of lawns and four hundred varieties of flowers.⁹⁶ But Brown had more in mind for Clifford than simply gardening. Brown purchased a large herd of Jersey cattle and built a \$3,000 barn, and soon Clifford found himself putting up barbed wire fences and milking cows. In a short time, the memorial farm had fifty acres of alfalfa under cultivation with 300 apple trees and 800 sugar maples.⁹⁷ After four years of farm labor at the memorial farm, Clifford asked for permission to leave and returned to work as a professional gardener for a wealthy estate owner in Connecticut.

Vermonters are not known for accepting outsiders or change, but the few Mormons that did live on the Hill felt welcome. Young Frank Clifford swept the schoolhouse before class and lit the fire on winter mornings. His sister Edith worked in Emily McIntosh’s mincemeat enterprise, and neighbors cut ice from the Mormon pond.⁹⁸ Frank Brown was elected to the school committee.⁹⁹ In September 1915, to celebrate the thirteenth wedding anniversary of Frank and Winnifred Brown, approximately one hundred residents marched up to the cottage dressed in their “Sunday finery.” The

⁹⁵ “Synoptic Narrative,” 5-11; quote from 9.

⁹⁶ “Synoptic Narrative,” 9; *Journal History*, 11 Oct 1915, 2.

⁹⁷ *Journal History*, 11 Oct 1915, 2.

⁹⁸ “Synoptic Narrative,” 13.

⁹⁹ *Journal History*, 28 Oct 1916, 5. The school papers were preserved for several years by Mary McIntosh, but have since been destroyed.

neighbors presented the Browns with “a beautiful carving set of silver.” The group’s spokesperson said, in effect,

We do not know why we do this. You know New Englanders rarely welcome anyone to their midst, but regard them as strangers until they have been in our midst at least 20 years. And here, after only six years, we find ourselves regarding Mr. and Mrs. Brown and their son Kenneth as one of us, and expressing our esteem and love for them, for we do love them.

The Browns accepted the gift and the guests enjoyed games, readings, music, and refreshments. The gesture was especially appreciated by the Browns who felt they were working in the shadow of Junius Wells. When President Joseph F. Smith called the Browns for their mission he “blessed them to go up there and live the gospel rather than to preach it, and had prophesied that a few years would turn hate into love, and the people would come to them voluntarily in love.” They felt this experience was a fulfillment of that promise.¹⁰⁰

Late in 1918, Frank Brown caught influenza and died 1 Jan 1919. During his nine years at the birthplace, he had initiated an operation that included fourteen head of cattle and seventeen dry stock, primarily Holstein and Jersey. There were also three horses, five pigs and thirty-one hens. Brown also oversaw the work of two dairy barns, a horse barn, granary, two silos, a corn crib and grain bin, and an ice house and sugaring house.¹⁰¹ The farm was successful, bringing in over \$2500 in 1918 by selling wheat, wool, butter, stock, hogs, apples, eggs, beans, poultry, and onions.¹⁰² Brown was

¹⁰⁰ Journal History, 28 Oct 1916, 5. Presiding Bishop Orson F. Whitney visited the Browns in August 1914 and wrote of them: “They had a hard light to shine against in the form of their predecessors, Junius F. Wells and family, who are still much beloved in that part: but they shine nevertheless, having many friends among the farm folk and business people in and around South Royalton,” *Deseret Evening News*, 5 Sep 1914, in Journal History 27 Aug 1914, 3.

¹⁰¹ Inventory of Joseph Smith Memorial Farm, 1919, Wells Collection.

¹⁰² Joseph Smith Memorial Farm Earnings Statement, 1918, Wells Collection.

succeeded by Heber C. Smith, former state dairy and food commissioner of Utah, who introduced “modern business methods” in order to “cultivate the land to the greatest extent.”¹⁰³ Smith was succeeded in 1924 by another dairyman, Angus J. Cannon, who continued to emphasize the farming aspect of the property.¹⁰⁴

While the new emphasis on farming helped establish the Mormons and the Joseph Smith Memorial in the Dairy Hill community, the formal initiation of Mormon missionary work served to distance Mormons from Vermonters throughout the state. Active missionary work in Vermont officially began with the organization of the Vermont Conference as part of the Eastern States Mission in 1909. Initially, the Conference was composed of a dozen or so missionaries who traveled throughout the state. The missionaries who labored in larger cities—Barre, Montpelier, and Burlington—spent most of their time walking, passing out tracts, selling a few books, and preaching in open-air meetings.¹⁰⁵

Missionaries also traveled through the countryside doing what they termed “country work.” Typically, they rented a house in one of the larger towns, which served as a center of operations. After “tracting” (leaving missionary tracts at houses) in the central town, the missionaries traveled to neighboring towns, asking for board each night (though they were more often refused than accepted). Thirty-four year old William Rappleye came from Cowley, Wyoming to preach Mormonism in Vermont. In October

¹⁰³ *Journal History*, 23 Apr 1919, 3.

¹⁰⁴ *Journal History*, 13 May 1924, 3.

¹⁰⁵ William Edwin Rappleye, *Journals, 1911-1914*, LDS Archives.

1911, he was assigned to do “country work” in Morrisville, Grand Isle County. On 15 Oct 1911 he recorded in his diary that he and his companion Elder Lindburg “traced all day and finished the whole village.” Unfortunately for Rappleye and Lindburg their visit to Morrisville had been preceded by a woman “recently lecturing on a year among the Mormons in Utah and How she escaped losing her life.” When Lindburg approached one Vermonter, the man said he had already learned the truth about Mormonism from the lecturer “and he just faunched & fo[a]med at the mouth & cursed the Mormons for all he could think of.” Of Lindburg’s response, Rappleye recorded, “My companion was still pouring the message into him which he was there to deliver and the old fellow got so angry that he gave a good swift kick at Elder but missed him and nearly sit down on the door step. My companion turned him over to the buf[fet]ings of sat[a]n and left him cursing to himself.” The next day, Rappleye and Lindburg returned to visit Mr. and Mrs. Oaks who had shown interest. They took with them “a lot of views of the Monument to Joseph Smiths birthplace and of Colorado Canion.” After this two-day stay, the pair took their suitcases and umbrellas and moved on to Stowe. One week later the pair went out “tracing as usual and had some very good conversations.” In fact, Lindberg felt that it had been the most successful day of his mission so far, as he had sold one Book of Mormon and six other books.¹⁰⁶

One missionary, Lewis W. Larsen of Cache County Utah, described his early 1910s Vermont missionary experience in poetry, and copies of the poem soon spread among missionaries. The poem begins with the arrival of a missionary in Vermont. The “green” missionary is assigned to work with an experienced companion who sets out the

¹⁰⁶ William Edwin Rappleye, Journal, 15 Oct 1911, 22 Oct 1911, spelling as in original.

first day to show his young colleague the ropes. Of tracting, the senior companion says: “Don’t go near that little red house, there’s a catholic woman there,/ And she likes a Mormon elder like a bulldog likes a hare./ Hear that telephone a ringing, they just pass it down the line,/ Here comes the mormon elders, lock your door and pull the blinds.” After requesting a meal from a Vermonter, the local responds “What? feed a mormon elder? well you fellows there’s the gate./ And you better hit the highway, without any farther wait.” The “green” missionary asks “Well that’s mighty interesting, are they all like him? by hum,” and the experienced missionary responds, “No that man is pretty decent, but the worst is yet to come.” The pair then continues their tracting: “So we trudged all afternoon without a bite to eat;/ Stopping now and then to rest our burning blistered feet./ We have covered now full twenty, ere the setting of the sun;/ And we haven’t had our supper; but the worst is yet to come.” As night falls, the pair calls upon a Vermonter requesting permission to sleep in his barn. The farmer replies “Well I really haven’t room boys, but I’ll tell you where you can;/ Just go up to my neighbor’s, he’s a thorough Christian man./ So we called upon his neighbor, and we told our tale of woe;/ But the town’s so full of Christians, it just keeps us on the go.” The poem ends as the missionaries fall asleep under a tree.¹⁰⁷ While Mormon missionaries found occasional converts, the fruits of their labors were generally few. The irony is apparent in the diary of one missionary: “After dinner we went and visited the saints to our great surprise We found we had a new follower. Sister Griffin had a fine black headed baby boy an eight pounder.”¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ Poem by Lewis W. Larsen, copied in William Edwin Rappleye, *Journal*, after 31 May 1912.

¹⁰⁸ William Edwin Rappleye, *Journal*, 20 Aug 1911. See also Ervin Thomas Hawkins, *Journals*, 1916-1919, LDS Church Archives, 12-13 Aug 1916

Residents of Dairy Hill shared their fellow Vermonters' opinion of Mormon missionary work, though it was tempered by respect for the Mormon people. One Dairy Hill resident recalled, "I never heard anything bad about [the Mormons], it seems as though people just went their own way."¹⁰⁹ Another agreed that the Mormons "were nice people, but we had our own religion."¹¹⁰ The Mormons on Dairy Hill signed an agreement that missionaries would not proselyte to Hill residents, though occasionally new missionaries who had not been warned of the agreement tried to share the Mormon message.¹¹¹ Dairy Hill residents often encountered Mormon missionaries who came to lend additional support at the Memorial Farm during sugaring season, at harvest time, or to help in construction projects.¹¹² Brown also called in missionaries for the entire summer. The elders worked hauling hay, milking cows, weeding corn, harvesting hay, and completing farm chores.¹¹³ Missionary labor played a significant role in the growth and success of the farm. Of the assignment to work at the farm, mission president Ben E. Rich stated that "the elders who were laboring on the Joseph Smith Memorial Farm were doing just as great a work as those who were in the service distributing gospel literature."¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁹ Kay Boardman, interview by author, South Royalton, VT, 30 Aug 2001.

¹¹⁰ Medora Dodge, interview by author, South Royalton, VT, 28 Aug 2001.

¹¹¹ Medora Dodge, interview by author, South Royalton, VT, 28 Aug 2001.

¹¹² Four elders were called in to help with the construction of a large barn in August 1916, Ervin Thomas Hawkins, Journals, 1916-1919, LDS Archives, 14-16 Aug 1916.

¹¹³ "Synoptic Narrative" 15.

¹¹⁴ Reported in George Edward Anderson, "The Last Celebration of the 24th At the Birthplace of the Prophet Joseph Smith, by President Ben E. Rich," *Improvement Era* 17 (Nov 1913): 125.

Not all of the missionaries' time was spent at farm work. Cool summer evenings provided opportunities to play baseball or croquet and eat ice cream and watermelon. Leisurely Sunday mornings found the elders eating wild raspberries.¹¹⁵ One Sunday afternoon, four elders decided to play a game of croquet: "We made a start and was getting along nicely When Sister Brown informed us that we were breaking the Sabbath after a short argument We put our Mallets up and decided to take a walk." The missionaries went out into the woods, sat down and began to sing popular LDS hymns. Back at the cottage a visitor stood gazing at the monument and "could hear a faint sound of [their] singing." She was so "carried away" that she sighed to her tour guide, "O, if I could only just go to where that singing was."¹¹⁶ In recent years, though probably unrelated to this event, speakers have been installed in the forest to pipe the music of the Mormon Tabernacle Choir throughout the grounds.

Dairy Hill residents also participated in the missionary celebration of Pioneer day. In early years, the celebrations began with a flag raising and hymn singing on top of Patriarch Hill. The day was usually spent playing baseball, engaging in games and footraces, and enjoying a feast of watermelons, bananas, and peanuts. In the evening the missionaries gathered around a bonfire where they shared their experiences and testimonies. The tradition Wells began in 1906 grew each year to include all of the missionaries in the New England states, and in time the celebration extended nearly a week. The missionaries slept in several large tents, the largest about 100 feet by 50 feet.

¹¹⁵ William Rappleye, Journal, summer 1911.

¹¹⁶ William Rappleye, Journal, 30 Jul 1911. The next year the missionaries were invited to neighbor Fred Shepherd's for a dance in his barn. Rappleye and a few others declined on account of a desire to catch up in their journals and write a few letters. Winnifred Brown "called us all pikes but we stayed home anyway," William Rappleye, Journal, July 27 1912.

Each year new activities were incorporated as part of the celebration. The 1909 celebration included a large banquet and fireworks. In 1911, each missionary planted a tree on Missionary Hill. The next year the missionaries went down to South Royalton for a game of baseball against the local team and lost 7-16. Each year the celebration included the reassignment of companions and places of labor, so the event became an experience that missionaries looked forward to with anticipation while on their missions, one they looked back on with fondness for the rest of their lives.¹¹⁷ The Mormon missionaries were not the only people to cherish happy memories of gatherings at the Memorial. From the time of Junius Wells, local neighbors were invited to the Pioneer Day celebrations and by 1915 well over half of the two hundred in attendance at the celebration were local neighbors.¹¹⁸

In the decade after the erection of the Joseph Smith Monument, two memory traditions were promoted in Royalton Township. On Dairy Hill, the Mormon monument to Joseph Smith drew visitors from near and far, while the Mormons who maintained the monument befriended their neighbors. In Royalton village, the Woman's Club had erected a monument to their community's survival of the 1780 Indian Raid, and in South Royalton, the Historical Association erected a monument to Hannah Handy. Evelyn Lovejoy was invited back from the West to write a history of their beloved New England Town, and the town's heritage was now celebrated annually during Old Home Days.

¹¹⁷ Frederick A. Mitchell to Milton R. Mitchell, 30 Nov 1909, LDS Church Archives; William Rappleye, *Journal*, 24-26 Jul 1911, 23-27 Jul 1912; George Edward Anderson, "The Last Celebration of the 24th At the Birthplace of the Prophet Joseph Smith, by President Ben E. Rich," *Improvement Era* 17 (Nov 1913): 122-127; New England Mission Scrapbook, 1967-1969, LDS Church Archives; Frank Clifford, "An Evening with Frank Clifford," video interview by Judson H. Flower, Jr., 9 Sep 1999, Joseph Smith Memorial Birthplace Library.

¹¹⁸ *RH*, 29 Jul 1915, 4.

A revealing feature in the development of the two competing memory traditions is that they were spatially segregated, Joseph Smith on Dairy Hill and the New England Town in the two villages. Village residents visited Dairy Hill, and Dairy Hill Mormons did business in the villages. Mormon missionaries even played baseball against village youths. Yet simultaneous separate commemoration is one thing; shared commemoration is a different story. When the prospect of mutual commemoration arose during the construction of the Royalton Memorial Library, the memories of Joseph Smith as an American Prophet and Royalton's New England Town collided.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE MORMON AFFAIR, 1915-1935

They remind us that the founder of Mormonism, and his brother, and some of their prophets and so-called apostles were Vermont-born. Well, those leaders, whoever they were, are enough Mormons to last Vermont forever. We don't want anymore—not up here in the Green Mountain State. These missionaries should go back to the Utah wastelands where they came from.

Burlington Free Press, early 1920s

These people are with us and they have property interests and vested rights. They are American citizens and have all the rights and privileges of the law-abiding citizens, no more, no less. They are with us simply to honor the founder of their religious faith, one who by chance was born in Royalton.

Randolph Herald and News, 21 Dec 1905²

Royalton residents responded to the Joseph Smith monument by concretizing their past as a New England Town through monuments, a history, and a town holiday. The competing memory traditions of an American Prophet and New England Town collided during the 1920s over the construction of the Royalton Memorial Library. The proposal to include Joseph Smith's name on a tablet memorializing Royalton's early residents set off a frenzied debate among local residents about the relationship between Joseph Smith and their town.

¹ Cited only as "a Burlington newspaper" in Robert O'Brien, *Marriott: The J. Willard Marriott Story* (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book Company, 1977), 81.

² *RH*, 21 Dec 1905, 7.

The competing memory traditions collided within the context of an inter-village rivalry between Royalton and South Royalton, for while the two villages promoted memories of their New England Town, they did not share the same interpretation. Evelyn Lovejoy's recent efforts to emphasize South Royalton challenged Royalton's position of cultural supremacy, and the cultural battle between the two villages boiled down to differing visions of what it meant to be a New England Town. Specifically, residents debated whether or not their town could rightly be remembered as the birthplace of Joseph Smith. The contours of the debate are preserved in the form of correspondence between Evelyn Lovejoy and current and former residents of both villages.³ The letters trace an unending cycle of argument that reveals that the question of Joseph Smith's name on the monument had roots deeper than religious difference. The Royalton Memorial Library was the last major confrontation in Royalton's quest to maintain village supremacy.

From the early days of its history, Royalton village's cultural position had been founded on libraries. The Royalton Academy had a library and as early as 1842 there was also a private library in town. In time the Congregational Church Sunday School began to gather books and a small library association arose after the Civil War. In 1893, a new graded school opened in South Royalton and the following year, books gathered into the various repositories were turned over to the school. That same year, the State of Vermont passed legislation providing state aid for towns that elected trustees and

³ The author is indebted to Royalton historian John Dumville who preserved the correspondence in the Royalton Historical Society and provided copies for this project. The correspondence is referenced throughout as Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

appropriated money toward a town library. In 1896, Royalton appropriated twenty-five dollars and Royalton Free Public Library was born.⁴ Residents donated books and the state sent one hundred dollars worth of books, enough so that when the library opened in 1898, some of the books were housed in the town clerk's office in Royalton and the rest at the graded school in South Royalton. The library opened once every other week.⁵

Library trustees were selected each year at town meeting, and reported on their work in the annual town report. As would be expected, for the first twenty years, the balance of representation lay consistently with Royalton residents. In 1909, Rev. Joel F. Whitney of the Royalton Congregational Church became chair and began an active campaign to expand the library, purchase books, prepare a catalog, and open both branches weekly. The original town allocation of twenty-five dollars rose to two hundred dollars during Whitney's direction and by 1911 there were 1200 books in the collection. Whitney's library acquired patriotic and religious books. Titles such as *The Voice of the People*, *Men who Found America*, and *Poems of American History* found their place on the library shelves next to *The Sword of the Lord*, *Priscilla of Good Intent*, *The Road to Providence*, and *Moral Instruction of Children*. Also collected were books dealing with social gospel issues, *A Woman for Mayor*, *Uncle Toms' Cabin*, and Booker T. Washington's *Up from Slavery*.⁶ Royalton's Free Public Library, controlled by the elite of its older village, became Royalton's last cultural stronghold, and the final battleground for village dominance.

⁴ Minutes of 3 Mar 1896 Town Meeting, Royalton Town Records, 1880-1916, 101.

⁵ Lovejoy, *History*, 627-9; Patricia W. Belding, *Where the Books Are: The History and Architecture of Vermont's Public Libraries with Photos and Anecdotes* (Barre, VT: Potash Brook Publishing, 1996), 145-46.

⁶ Royalton Town Report, 1910, 34-36; 1911, 32-36; 1912, 55-59.

The first decade of the twentieth century was a critical time for the balance of power within Royalton Township. Rivalry between the two villages began with the founding of South Royalton in 1848, and by the opening decade of the twentieth century South Royalton had grown to nearly three times the size of the older village, its lawyers, doctors, dentist, and merchants making South Royalton, in the words of town historian Hope Nash, the “village of trade” (see Fig. 25). On the other hand, Royalton with the town hall, Royalton Academy, and public library clung tenaciously to its place as the “village of culture” (see Fig. 26).⁷

Yet each passing year increased South Royalton’s threat to Royalton’s political dominance. The annual town reports list the names of public officers elected to service. While there are many offices, seven of them wield the most influence on town affairs. Three selectmen are responsible for overseeing all that goes on in the town, analogous to the position of mayor in other municipalities. The town clerk records all town business, and the treasurer controls the purse strings. The moderator at the annual town meeting controls what is discussed at the meeting and the constable enforces town decisions.

Using the genealogical information in the local histories by Lovejoy and Nash, as well as U.S. Census data, it is possible to identify the village association of town officers between 1895 and 1936. As expected, in the early years Royalton residents captured two-thirds of the public offices. But in February 1905 when town moderator Dudley Chase Denison died, he was replaced by South Royalton resident Marvin H. Hazen. In March 1905, voters also elected two South Royalton selectmen, giving South Royalton its first majority in township history. While the balance was precarious during the next

⁷ Nash, *Royalton Vermont*, 40.

decade, the newer and larger village maintained the majority for the next thirty years.⁸ It is significant to note that Junius F. Wells recalled that it was March 1905 when he began to consider a monument, and for Wells, it is likewise significant that South Royalton residents backed him up along the way.

The transition of political power toward public office holders from South Royalton was mirrored by a transition of cultural influence among the town library trustees. At the 1912 town meeting, local residents voted to place Evelyn Lovejoy, who had just finished her *History* and was just beginning to think about the Handy Monument, on the board of library trustees, filling the spot held by South Royalton's Congregational minister Sherman Goodwin. The event is significant because it marks the first time in Royalton's history that a woman filled a public office. In 1870 Vermont women voted against woman suffrage, only two of Royalton's sixty-seven women voted for it. Women in the town kept account books, wrote novels and poetry, painted and took photographs, and worked in the neighborhood schools, but had not shown much interest in public office.⁹

For the story of the Library the appointment of Evelyn Lovejoy is significant because her presence was immediately felt. At the University of Chicago, Lovejoy's favorite subjects had been grammar, English and American literature, ethics, and astronomy.¹⁰ During the next two years the library holdings blossomed with the addition of works by Hawthorne, Churchill, Dickens, Hugo, London, Greeley, Bunyan, Louisa

⁸ Royalton Town Reports, 1885-1935; Lovejoy, *History*; Nash, *Royalton Vermont*; *Fourteenth Census* (1920).

⁹ Nash, *Royalton, Vermont*, 61.

¹⁰ Lovejoy's notebooks from her study at Chicago are preserved with her other materials in the attic of the Royalton Memorial Library.

May Alcott, Shakespeare, Tenneyson, Robert Louis Stevenson, and Sir Walter Scott. *Keller, The Story of My Life* and *Life of Florence Nightingale* were added along with *Rocks and Minerals, Mineralogy, History of the Roman Empire, and The Civil War Through Camera*. In two years over seven hundred books were added. Lovejoy's idea of education and taste for literature differed from Rev. Whitney's, and in 1913, after the first year of Lovejoy's participation, the holdings for the Royalton and South Royalton branches were listed separately in the town report.¹¹

Several events in 1917 dramatically changed the Library's course. That year, Levi Wild's term on the five-member library committee expired (the same Wild who published the Vermont Woman's Missionary Union letter opposing the Joseph Smith Monument in 1905) and he was replaced by South Royalton resident Emma Hubbard. At the same time, George A. Laird resigned and residents elected Charles Tarbell to fill his place (the same Tarbell who responded to Wild's letter by defending Mormon right to worship). Evelyn Lovejoy took Laird's place as treasurer. Almost instantly, the committee's composition transformed from three to two in Royalton's favor to four to one in favor of South Royalton, with Rev. Whitney the only remaining voice from the older village. Lovejoy, Hubbard, and Tarbell were joined by their South Royalton neighbor Perley Belknap, now South Royalton postmaster. Belknap and his father had been close friends of Junius Wells and Belknap visited the monument each summer with his family, and continued to correspond with his Mormon friend. Belknap had been a member of the committee since 1905, but his most enduring contribution came immediately after the balance of power shifted.

¹¹ Royalton Town Report, 1912, 55-59; 1913, 43-52.

In 1917, a substantial bequest from the Ella C. Latham Estate to the Royalton Free Public Library finally became available. Latham had been a teacher in the South Royalton schools for several years and was revered by her neighbors as “a faithful guardian of those in her charge, and a skillful instructor.”¹² Latham was also the daughter of Benjamin Latham who purchased the former Mack Farm in 1868 when Ella was seventeen years old. Over the next twenty-four years that her father owned the property, she likely lived or at least visited the place often. She died in 1901, without knowing that her father’s property would become a Mormon shrine. The committee acted quickly on the Latham bequest by linking with the Historical Association to form the Royalton Memorial Library Association—composed of the five Library trustees and three representatives from the Historical Association, only one of whom, President Laura Dutton lived in Royalton village. The goal of the new association was to raise money through subscriptions to build a permanent library building. Donors could memorialize their ancestors on a special plaque. On 25 May 1917, the group (except Dutton) gathered at Evelyn Lovejoy’s home in South Royalton to discuss the construction of a library building. The minutes show that six sites were recommended, “to all of which objections were raised.” Then Perley Belknap offered a piece of property he owned located at the corner of Stafford Street and Pleasant Street, one block from the South Royalton House and the village green. The property was worth \$500, but Belknap offered it to the Library for \$200, and the committee voted unanimously to purchase it.¹³

¹² Lovejoy, *History*, 848.

¹³ Meeting minutes recorded by EML in Royalton Town Records, 1916-1937, 39.

Over the next few years the library began to take shape. By 1919 the cement basement was in place and the following year the Association purchased building materials. By the end of 1921 the frame exterior was nearly complete. However, the tangible progress of construction paralleled an ever-growing debt. In 1920 the Association spent more than it received in pledges, and by 1921 they were in debt.¹⁴ Evelyn Lovejoy, secretary of the Memorial Library Association, felt the financial pinch personally. She probably reflected on the similar difficulties she had surmounted in preparing her *History*, and knew that now, as before, she had to take action or the project would not come to fruition.

Late in 1921, Lovejoy accepted a friend's offer of a car and chauffeur and "canvassed Dairy Hill from house to house" soliciting contributions to the library. The director of the Joseph Smith birthplace, Heber C. Smith, was away so she simply left a flyer. During the winter Smith sent her a large maple log for fuel. Early in the summer of 1922, Lovejoy continued "striving to get funds to pay our bills," and she wrote to Smith suggesting that in addition to a log he might be interested in making a monetary contribution as well. Smith replied that he would think about it, and a few weeks later he appeared with a \$200 dollar contribution.¹⁵ Having "no authority as secretary to refuse money," Lovejoy accepted the donation and informed Smith of his privilege of memorializing an ancestor's name on the memorial tablet. Smith was the adopted son of former Church president Joseph F. Smith, son of the Prophet's brother Hyrum. Smith

¹⁴ "Report of Royaltown Memorial Library Association," Royaltown Town Report, 1919, 26; 1920, 33; 1921, 29.

¹⁵ EML, South Royaltown, to Gertrude S. J. Laird (GL), Royaltown, 6 Oct 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence, Royaltown Historical Society; Receipt worded "Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, per Heber C. Smith 200.⁰⁰," Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

indicated that he wanted to place Joseph Smith's name on the memorial. "As soon as he handed me what he wished placed on the tablet," Lovejoy recalled, "I told him the matter would have to be decided by the Association." Lovejoy had no objection to accepting the money or including Joseph Smith's name, so she contacted other Association members and library donors until she found a majority approved and deposited Smith's donation in the Association account.¹⁶

In the process of speaking with donors and Association members, Evelyn Lovejoy made a trip to Royalton village. There she visited with Gertrude Laird and Levi and Emily Wild. Both Levi Wild and Gertrude's husband, George, had been library trustees. Gertrude Laird made what Lovejoy later described as a "courteous protest," but the Wilds were more alarmed.¹⁷ After Lovejoy left, Laird felt that Lovejoy had given no indication that the money would be refused. The trio was appalled that a majority of the Library Association members offered no objection to including Smith's name with "those whom Royalton delights to honor." They decided that the library meant too much and that "something more than a simple protest was needed if Joseph Smith's name was to be kept from appearing on it."¹⁸

Levi Wild acted first, penning a brief note to Evelyn Lovejoy on 22 Jul 1922. "I am told that it is proposed to memorialize the name of Joseph Smith in connection with our Library building," he began formally. "If this is the case I hereby enter my earnest protest against doing so. If it is done the name of my father, John Wild, must be left

¹⁶ EML to GL, 9 Aug 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

¹⁷ EML to GL, 9 Aug 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

¹⁸ GL to EML, 17 Oct 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

out.”¹⁹ Wild turned his attention next to the library trustees. Rev. Whitney had been replaced on the library board of trustees by Wild’s neighbor John E. Waterman. A few days later, Waterman entered the first protest from a library trustee.²⁰ Levi and Emily Wild spread their influence through their social circle in Royalton village, primarily members of the Congregational Church and the Woman’s Club. Former town representative, George Ellis, is reported to have predicted “that if money was accepted the library was ruined.” William Pierce’s daughters “were thinking of giving \$100 to memorialize their father when they heard that Joseph Smith’s name might be placed on the tablet they decided to wait.”²¹ One woman wrote to Evelyn Lovejoy that when she told her husband of the prospect he answered, “Thunder. No. I wouldn’t memorialize Joseph Smith.” She agreed with her husband, “We both think it. No money from the Church of the Latter Day Saints and no honoring of Joseph Smith.”²² Through Levi and Emily Wild’s persuasive influence several other families were likely involved.²³

The exact details of the resulting explosion of opinion were not recorded. Much of the discussion went on in parlor rooms and pastures where only the participants and cattle bore record.²⁴ Evelyn Lovejoy insisted on keeping the matter quiet to “avoid as

¹⁹ Levi Wild, Royalton, to EML, 22 Jul 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

²⁰ “I at once began getting the feeling of all members of the Association. Not one objected until after Mr. Wild did, then John Waterman did.” EML to GL, 6 Oct 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

²¹ GL to EML, 18 Sep 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

²² E[llen] W[est] Ainsworth to EML, 27 Jul 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

²³ Wild and Laird attended a Sunday School convention in Bethel with Rev. Joel Whitney, *RH*, 30 Nov 1922, 4; Emily Wild traveled with the Watermans, *RH*, 1 Jun 1922, 5; and held missionary meetings in her home, *RH*, 15 Jun 1922, 8. In the fall, Mrs. Bigelow hosted a bridal shower for Beatrice Joy attended by Mrs. Culver, Laird, Roundy, Stafford, Wild, Waterman, Whitney, Woodward, *RH*, 14 Sep 1922, 3.

²⁴ There were more cows than people in Vermont until 1963, Charles T. Morrissey, *Vermont: A Bicentennial History* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1981), 114.

much publicity as possible,” she wrote. “I appreciated the fact,” she recalled “that Mr. Smith was brought up in a Mormon household, that he loved and revered Joseph Smith, and I wished to spare his feelings as much as I could.” But some Royalton residents, particularly Clara Denison McClellan “advocated telling the whole world.”²⁵ Lovejoy’s wishes were largely fulfilled. The local paper made only oblique reference to Mormons during the summer months, showing more interest in the spread of the Ku Klux Klan into Maine.²⁶

Two months after all of the excitement subsided, Evelyn Lovejoy and Gertrude Laird exchanged correspondence in which they restated their cases (see Fig. 27-28). Lovejoy maintained carbon copies of her correspondence and saved what she received from Laird. Gertrude Laird was a member of the Congregational Church and the Royalton Woman’s Club. Her husband had been a library trustee and was succeeded by Evelyn Lovejoy as treasurer. Her curiosity drew her out to visit the Joseph Smith monument at least twice, but she struggled to accept Mormons into the community.²⁷ Laird’s letters are written in a generalized style in an attempt to suggest that all of her social circle shared the opinions she expressed. Lovejoy on the other hand responded with a remarkable degree of personal commitment. She refutes Laird’s arguments with personal experience and knowledge. Their respective arguments reveal that not all of the information is accurate, but it does provide an unparalleled window into the ways in which people formed opinions about Mormons. In Royalton’s case, the opinions about

²⁵ EML to GL, 6 Oct 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

²⁶ RH 19 Oct, 2 Nov, 9 Nov 1922.

²⁷ GL, 25 Jul 1906, 16 Aug 1906 in “Register of Visitors to Joseph Smith’s Birthplace,” LDS Church Archives.

Joseph Smith and Mormons also illuminate the conflict between residents of the two villages, both sides promoting a different vision of the true meaning of a New England Town.

Arguments against including Joseph Smith's name had a dual emphasis summarized by the resident who demanded "No money from the Church of the Latter Day Saints and no honoring of Joseph Smith." Royalton residents charged that the Church's money was tainted, and its acceptance would be a blight on the Library as well as the town. A farmer on Dairy Hill countered that "if that was the proper attitude they ought not to accept Mormon taxes which they were perfectly willing to do."²⁸ To Royalton's charge, Lovejoy responded, "When our churches refuse tainted money from brewers, saloon keepers, harmful trust magnates, etc., they can talk about taking no money from a Mormon."²⁹

The question of honoring Joseph Smith was more complicated. Royalton residents said that Harvey Smith, the man who first showed Junius F. Wells to the birthplace, "said he remembered the [Smith] family, and Joseph was a bad boy." Harvey was a good source to cite because he was dead and could not be called on to clarify his statement. Indeed, he was born in 1824, eight years after the Smiths moved to New York. Without the luxury of speaking with Harvey, Lovejoy countered with logic and her own experience. "As [Joseph Smith] was only six years old when he left Royalton he could not have been very bad," she began, "in fact, he was only 3 or 4 when they lived on Dairy Hill, and 10 years old when they left Vermont." Furthermore, Lovejoy argued that

²⁸ Joseph Valentine, Papers, LDS Archives.

²⁹ EML to GL, 6 Oct 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

“His father would not have been employed as a teacher, had he been a thieving disreputable man.” Lovejoy’s final counterpoint drew on her experience in preparing her *History of Royalton*, “Mrs. Laird, I have seen, as I suppose, all the early records of Sharon, Tunbridge, and Royalton, and never found anything derogatory to this family.”³⁰

Royalton residents argued that whatever the Smith family had done in Vermont, by the time Joseph Smith reached manhood he was a fraud and a deceiver. The *Book of Mormon*, they argued, was nothing more than a clever rewriting of a romance by Solomon Spaulding. Lovejoy noted that Spaulding “was a relative of my husband, his grandfather Spaulding being a cousin of Solomon.” Solomon “died in 1816, when Smith was 11 years old,” Lovejoy reasoned, and “[t]he affidavits they use to prove the theft are so absurd and contradictory that they do not convince me.” But surely, Royaltonians countered, Smith was a vile and licentious man as evidenced by his practice of polygamy. Lovejoy reasoned, “I never thought so, and am not now convinced that he was the bad character painted by his enemies. It has never been proved that he was a polygamist, on the contrary one of the tenets of the church which he organized forbade polygamy.” Furthermore, it would have been “hard to prove Joseph Smith a licentious criminal. Courts do not condemn on newspaper or cyclopedia evidence.” The courts of Joseph Smith’s day could not prove it, Lovejoy asserted, “When they finally imprisoned him, instead of a trial they murdered him.”³¹ While Lovejoy saw Smith’s assassination as a

³⁰ EML to GL, 6 Oct 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

³¹ EML to GL, 6 Oct 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

failure of the justice system, Gertrude Laird found in it a substantiation of her claim “[w]hy feeling was so strong against him as though the people resort to mob law.”³²

Unable to come to any conclusion about Smith, attention focused on his followers. Emily Wild’s brother visited the Wilds in 1905 when Levi was preparing his letter opposing the monument’s erection. Laird described him as “a man of the world, not particularly religious, who has had large business interests and is in no sense narrow or bigoted,” and said he “was quite disgusted with the narrow views of the Wilds concerning the Mormons, a thrifty prosperous class of people, good citizens, etc.” His opinion changed, however, when he personally visited Boise, Idaho. In the midst of the library crisis, he told Mrs. Wild that “he could take anyone not to one home only but to hundreds of homes in Idaho where polygamy is practiced and that some government officials <in Washington> have plural wives.”³³ But Lovejoy did not have to rely on second-hand perceptions of the Rocky Mountain Mormons because she had lived in the West for twenty years. “When I was in Helena, Mont.,” Lovejoy explained, “I had a visit from a nephew who had been living in Missouri, and boarding in a Mormon family. He spoke in the highest terms of the Mormons there.”³⁴

But the question of Mormon character need not remain in the abstract, as there were Mormons in the township. The Memorial directors and their families had lived in the community for seventeen years. “Their children have been and are in our schools,” Lovejoy reminded Laird, “they used to come to our church and Sunday School until some

³² GL to EML, 17 Oct 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

³³ GL to EML, 17 Oct 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

³⁴ EML to GL, 6 Oct 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

unpleasant remarks were made about it.” The wife of one of the directors “was a member of the ‘Parent-Teacher Association’ and active in it, and used her exceptional talents to further many good enterprises here.”³⁵ As the debate was unfolding, an article appeared on the front page of the local paper making the same point:

If one has never seen a live Mormon and imagines him to be a monster surrounded by a large group of wives, it would really do no harm for this person to call at the Memorial Cottage and make the acquaintance of the gentleman and lady in charge. It may be a rude shock to pre-conceived ideas to find this couple quite normal persons, in fact, very much like other people. They may have all kinds of iniquity bound up in them, but their appearance and their conduct in the community where they have been for the past several seasons do not disclose it.³⁶

It was the threat of the hidden “iniquity bound up in them” that frightened residents of Royalton village the most. Laird concurred that the Mormons “who have been sent to So. Royalton are charming people. The church would never have attained its present power had it not shown more sagacity than to send among Gentiles those who would antagonize.” She compared Mormons to the “Mohammadans” of the mysterious Middle East, “You have read in the last month what a perfect gentleman the Turk is and what winning personalities Turkish people when foreigners have shown.” The daily paper to which Laird referred concluded that it was an “illusion that the Turkish nature in mass is to be judged from the personal characteristics of a few picked Muslims of the higher life,” and she added, “This might have been written of the Mormons.”³⁷

Residents of Royalton village argued that there was no better example of Mormon success at infiltrating a community than the “Mormon” village of South Royalton. Junius

³⁵ EML to GL, 6 Oct 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

³⁶ “At the Mormon Shrine,” *RH*, 13 Jul 1922, 1.

³⁷ GL to EML, 17 Oct 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

Wells had established friendships with many South Royalty residents, including Tarbell and Belknap of the Library Association. Laird explained, "You must then understand when I said South Royalty is largely Mormon, or something to this effect, I did not mean that the residents had joined the Mormon church. Two days before you were here two residents of South Royalty, neither of them church members so far as I know, said I would be astounded if I knew how many and who then <in So. Roy.> were dominated by Mormon influence."³⁸ To which Lovejoy countered, "I do not think it is right to call So. Royalty people Mormons, because they have friendly relations with the Mormons here." In fact, Lovejoy recalled, "I said to Mr. Smith the day he gave me the check, 'You and I could never agree on religious matters, but we can have friendly relations'."³⁹ As evidence of South Royalty's Mormon domination, Laird mentioned Perley Belknap, editor of the local paper who "refused to send the notice of Mrs. Shepard's lecture to the paper."⁴⁰

Lulu Loveland Shepard had been president of the Utah chapter of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) for twelve years. She traveled widely and claimed to have spoken against Mormonism in every state of the union, boasting that she was "more cordially disliked by the [Mormon] sect than any other individual."⁴¹ Many of Shepard's speeches were published in *The Christian Statesman* where she attacked the issues of temperance, divorce, education, and Mormonism. The National Reform

³⁸ GL to EML, 17 Oct 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

³⁹ EML to GL, 6 Oct 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

⁴⁰ GL to EML, 17 Oct 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

⁴¹ "The Campaign Against Mormonism," *The Christian Statesman* 50 (Feb 1916): 83-5, photo on 83; Lulu Loveland Shepard, "Mormonism in Puritan New England," *The Christians Statesman* 55 (Sep 1921): 23.

Association had published several of her speeches in pamphlet form, including “Mormonism Revealed by Government Investigation” and “Ten Reasons Why Christians Cannot Fellowship with Mormons.” One of her pamphlets “Getting their Eyes Open” would have particularly interested the Royalton women. The setting is a fictional conversation at a woman’s club meeting between characters whose names reveal their knowledge of Mormonism—Mrs. Studious, Superficial, Muchtravel, Wideawake, Stillamaid, and Everready. Through the course of the conversation the women discuss everything from secret temple oaths, to polygamy, to the Mormon fortunes amassed by tithing. The women conclude that an anti-polygamy amendment is the only solution because “Mormons are un-American and disloyal.”⁴²

Gertrude Laird was correct in noting that Perley Belknap did not announce Mrs. Shepard’s lecture, but he did report on it the next week. Shepard traveled throughout Vermont speaking only to audiences of women, giving “a series of addresses in which she made an alleged expose of the inside of the Mormon church, from facts of her own knowledge, as she claimed,” he wrote. Belknap (or, more appropriately, his wife Kittie) found many of the claims to be tenuous, such as her assertion that the “Mormon marriage ceremony was an ordeal of some ten hours’ duration.” Belknap concluded his report by questioning Shepard’s motives, “A very important part of the mission of Mrs. Shepard seemed to be the raising of money, either in cash or pledges, for combatting the Mormon church. That she has been highly successful in this direction would appear if as stated she paid taxes on a personal income of \$11,000 last year.”⁴³

⁴² Lulu Loveland Shepard, *Getting their Eyes Open* (Pittsburgh, PA: National Reform Association, n.d.), BYU Special Collections. Other pamphlet titles are advertised on the back cover.

⁴³ *RH*, 13 Jul 1922, 1.

Lovejoy also commented on the newspaper report of the Shepard lecture. "If their view of the Saviour is that which Mrs. Shephard claimed, and this agent as reported in the Herald, nothing could be more revolting." When Lovejoy asked Heber Smith about the matter he "told me he was certain that the book from which Mrs. S. read was never authorized by the church and was repudiated by it in 1850." But Lovejoy also did her own research,

I have lately run over the Mormon Bible, loaned by Mr. Tarbell [who received it as a gift from Junius Wells in 1906]. It traces the history of the Jewish tribe that had the 'tables,' and brings events down to some years after the Christ. It quotes freely from our own Bible, almost whole chapters. It is entirely reverential. I did not find any reference to Joseph Smith.

Evelyn Lovejoy concluded that "Mormons worship the same God and love the same Savior that we do."⁴⁴ Other circuit speakers followed Mrs. Shepard to the Green Mountain State throughout the year.⁴⁵

As Evelyn Lovejoy pared away the religious issues surrounding the crisis, she drove closer to the real concern of Royalton residents: they feared that Mormon presence in their town would subvert their place as a New England Town. "But, be that as it may, and grant for the ease of argument that [Joseph Smith] was an absolutely fair man," Laird reasoned, "it would be a great help to Mormon missionaries who are working for the converts in order to merit the coveted reward, to be able to say that the founder of our religion is publicly memorialized in <Royalton> a Vermont town, and his name found

⁴⁴ EML to GL, 6 Oct 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence. After Tarbell's death, his copy of the Book of Mormon passed to his partner Arthur G. Whitham, upon whose death the book passed to Whitham's son, who donated the book to the Joseph Smith Memorial Library in 1963, where it remains.

⁴⁵ J. M. Tibbets, of Boston, spoke at the congregational church for the National Reform Association on "America's Greatest Peril" and "Womanhood and America," *RH*, 7 Sep 1922, 10.

with those whom that town considers to be its most illustrious and honorable sons.”⁴⁶

Royalton residents felt, though they may not have fully articulated it, that their traditions and view of life were growing out of place in a modern world, and that everything they had done to promote their heritage as “a Vermont town” was threatened by the presence of the Mormon monument and the influence of Mormons.

Such feelings were not out of step with the opinions of other Vermonters. A Burlington newspaper decried Mormon missionaries who traveled from village to village “passing out Godless tracts, and holding their heathen revival meetings.”⁴⁷ The local newspaper had reprinted a warning in 1916 that “this cult is growing in the state.

Speakers from abroad skilled in dialectical sophistry will strive to make their doctrines innocuous and attractive, and lure the unwary by their specious presentations of this insidious American menace. Between their permanent home with its basis of real estate at Sharon, their sporadic conferences at Barre and elsewhere and their peripatetic missionaries going into homes and poisoning the minds of those who listen to them, Mormonism is making some dangerous inroads into the religious life of the state.⁴⁸

In the fall of 1920 one of these “peripatetic missionaries,” future hotel giant, J. Willard Marriott, and his companion were preaching to a group of thirty to forty people in a small town meeting hall over the drug store in Colchester. As the meeting drew to a close, the missionaries heard angry noises in the street and when they went outside they met a crowd of two hundred people. Someone in the crowd yelled “Get the Mormons,” and others responded by calling “Run ‘em out of town” and pelting the pair with rotten apples and tomatoes. Marriott and his companion broke into a sprint as the mob followed

⁴⁶ GL to EML, 17 Oct 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

⁴⁷ *Burlington Free Press*, cited in O’Brien, *Marriott*, 81.

⁴⁸ *RH*, 17 Feb 1916.

yelling “Tar and feather ‘em” and “Get the Mormon rascals.” The missionaries ducked off the main road into the thick Vermont forest. As Marriott later recalled, lying in a ditch they heard the footsteps of the angry men and rifle shots.⁴⁹ Some Vermonters found there were other ways to remove Mormon presence from their native state.

In the midst of Royalton’s library donation crisis, an unsigned article on the front page of the local paper presented a friendly view of Mormon missionaries. The author began by noting that residents of South Royalton have experience with “the Mormons who have been at Memorial cottage either as residents or pilgrims during the past few years.” It was the author’s opinion that while these Mormons “have never tried to hide their zeal in their own faith, they have never justified the fear sometimes expressed that this shrine would be a proselyting center for Mormonism.” Not only have Mormons given no cause for fear, “They have behaved themselves and been respected for their conduct by the people with whom they have come in contact. If they continue to do this the general feeling locally is to allow them to believe what they please, mistaken though it may be.”⁵⁰

The directors of the Library Association agreed that whatever a person thought about Mormon belief, Mormons had a right to believe it. This was the sentiment expressed nearly two decades earlier by Charles P. Tarbell, now president of the Library Association, when he defended the Mormon right to erect a monument.⁵¹ Evelyn Lovejoy said it this way, “Please, Mrs. Laird, if you quote me as praising the teachings of

⁴⁹ O’Brien, *Marriott*, 81-84.

⁵⁰ “At the Mormon Shrine,” *RH*, 13 Jul 1922, 1.

⁵¹ Charles P. Tarbell, “As to that Mormon Monument,” *RH*, 14 Dec 1904, 7.

the Mormons, do not leave it to be inferred that I approve the Mormon doctrine in full or many of its practices, or believe in the revelation of Joseph Smith. I do admire, and said so years ago, their insistence upon abstinence from alcohol as a beverage, tobacco, and profanity, and their practice of thrift and cleanliness.” Perhaps in playful jest toward the Royalton residents’ expressions of personal piety, she added, “This all tends development of a strong people physically, and intellectually, and they will get ahead of us, if we do not practice these virtues.”⁵²

In light of this opinion, there was one argument in the debate that did make Lovejoy think twice about accepting the Mormon money. One of the library donors, when asked her opinion, wrote “I certainly have not more objection to Joseph Smith’s name being placed beside mine <(my mother’s)> than I would to riding in the same trolley car with him. The only side of it to be cause for objection would seem to be the placing of Mormon books upon the library shelves.”⁵³ Lovejoy told Laird that this was “one consideration that has great weight with me.”⁵⁴ Laird replied that that was “a sorrowful consideration in deciding the question.”⁵⁵ It seems that no matter the issue, the Royalton residents would not agree with their upstart neighbors in South Royalton.

Evelyn Lovejoy was caught in a no-win situation. She desperately needed money for the library, and she could not complete the project without the support of local residents. So she came up with a compromise. “I told Mrs. McClellan and Mr. Waterman we should probably have a conference and decide the matter with Mr. Smith

⁵² EML to GL, 6 Oct 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

⁵³ May V. Estabrook, Lunenburg, MA, to EML, 29 Jul 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

⁵⁴ EML to GL, 6 Oct 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

⁵⁵ GL to EML, 17 Oct 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

presenting his case, if he chose.” They thought it was a workable idea, but when Lovejoy approached Levi Wild he “declared he would have nothing whatever to do with them.” Lovejoy was stumped. “We send missionaries to foreign lands,” she reasoned, “If we have so great an evil here, there is the finest chance to show the offenders the evil of their ways and belief.”⁵⁶ Gertrude Laird found the plan overly idealistic, “I cannot see any possible good that would have come from such a meeting. I am sure Mr. Smith could not change Mr. Wild’s views and am equally sure that Mr. Wild could not change Mr. Smith’s views.”⁵⁷

Her back against the wall, Lovejoy invited Heber Smith to call on her and she “told him the situation.” Though Smith “said he would be glad to talk with any of the protestants,” Lovejoy “felt it was not wise to have a conference. Things might be said on both sides that had better not be said.”⁵⁸ Lovejoy recalled that when Smith learned of the opinion of the Royalton residents, “He at once proposed to withdraw the \$200, showed no bitterness of spirit, and wished me to express to the objectors his regret at their attitude.”⁵⁹ Hoping to smooth feelings between Smith and the town, Lovejoy devised a new plan. The Library Association returned the money accompanied by a statement signed by all of the members “except one” (probably John Waterman):

As the Royalton Memorial Library Association solicits subscriptions from no church, and as the invitation of its secretary to Mr. Heber C. Smith, agent for the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-day Saints, to subscribe to the library fund was construed by Mr. Smith as a solicitation from said church, and \$200 was given by said church for the new library building, the said Association, to avoid

⁵⁶ EML to GL, 6 Oct 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

⁵⁷ GL to EML, 17 Oct 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

⁵⁸ EML to GL, 6 Oct 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

⁵⁹ EML to Clara Denison McClellan (CDM), 9 Aug 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

any disharmony among its members and the supporters of the Memorial library, gratefully accepts the proposal of Mr. Heber C. Smith, offered in a truly Christian spirit, to withdraw the \$200, and at the same time the Association expresses its appreciation of the interest shown by the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-day Saints in the cause of education and its promotion in Royalton.⁶⁰

Early in August 1922, Lovejoy returned the money to Heber Smith. The next week she commented in a letter that she had experienced “an unusual amount of labor and anxiety. I have spent considerable time in trying to raise ready money to meet out bills, in fact, I paid the workmen myself last week.”⁶¹

By returning the money, Evelyn Lovejoy hoped to put the protest behind her, but in reality, the most difficult part of the whole ordeal lay ahead. Partly because the feelings of Royalton residents were so entrenched, and partly because Lovejoy had challenged those feelings with her personal experience and beliefs, she became the target of some of their bitterest accusations, and “once more realized how easy it is to lose one’s friends.”⁶² When Lovejoy spoke with Levi Wild “[h]e showed plainly that he blamed me.” She confided to Gertrude Laird that “[t]he simple protest did not hurt me. It was the feeling exhibited along with it, the lack of confidence in our sincerity.” She told Mrs. Laird, “I knew from the first that I should be blamed by one side or the other or by both, and so it proves.”⁶³

⁶⁰ Copy of statement in Lovejoy Library Correspondence; EML to GL, 9 Aug 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

⁶¹ EML to CDM, 9 Aug 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

⁶² EML to GL, 9 Aug 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

⁶³ EML to GL, 6 Oct 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

Wild's accusations were made in private conversation, but another Royalton resident, Clara Denison McClellan, led out in formally blaming Lovejoy. Clara Denison was born in December 1844, the same year Joseph Smith died. Her father, Joseph Adam Denison, was born in 1805, the same year Joseph Smith was born. That year their family became inextricably tied to the Smith family when Clara's grandfather, Jo Adam Denison, delivered the future Mormon founder. When Clara was four years old her father died, and she lived with her grandfather for the next ten years before his death. In 1870 she married a Syracuse, New York, native in Royalton, and nine years later she married Robert H. McClellan in Florida. She followed her second husband to his home state of Illinois, living in Galena for several years. When her husband died, Clara moved to New York to live near her only daughter, but she returned to the old Denison home in Royalton each summer "which had been owned by her grandfather, father, and his heirs for more than a hundred years, and which was very dear to her." Her Royalton village neighbors noted that Clara "was always loyal to the town of her birth." Clara possessed "marked intellectual ability, a strong artistic sense, was a brilliant conversationalist, and had the pen of a ready writer."⁶⁴

Clara Denison McClellan had challenged South Royalton, and what it symbolized, long before the Mormons arrived. The railroad had given rise to the new village in 1848 only months before her father died. Her father, a traveling doctor like his father, was thrown from his wagon and severely injured. The injury proved fatal, and any hope a grieving daughter had of connecting with her father at the place was impossible

⁶⁴ *RH*, 28 Sep 1922, 3.

because “[a] railroad embankment now obliterates the spot,” she wrote coolly in 1911.⁶⁵ In his excitement to verify the events surrounding the Prophet’s birth, Junius Wells discovered that Clara’s grandfather, Jo Adam Denison, had delivered the infant Joseph Smith. In the same issue that described the Monument’s dedication, the local paper announced, “A notable fact confirming the date of the birth came to light when a search of the account books of old Dr. Joseph Denison, of Royalton, father of the late Dudley C. Denison of Randolph, which had been preserved all these years, proved that he was the attending physician at the prophet’s birth a century ago.”⁶⁶ Clara Denison responded to Wells’ published announcement by publishing her own version. While Evelyn Lovejoy was preparing her *History of Royalton* she welcomed submissions from residents and Clara contributed the Denison family history. Of her grandfather, Jo Adam Denison, McClellan wrote, “Tradition says that he was the attending physician at the birth of the so-called prophet, Joseph Smith, but investigation fails to verify the story.”⁶⁷ Perhaps it was Clara, not Dr. Denison, who inserted the comment “If I had known how he was going to turn out I’d have smothered the little cuss” into the margin of Dr. Denison’s medical record book.⁶⁸ Despite her feelings, Clara could not restrain her curiosity and paid a visit to the Joseph Smith Monument during the summer of 1906.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ Lovejoy, *History*, 754.

⁶⁶ *RH*, 28 Dec 1905, 3. The same information had been published eleven years earlier, see Jacob G. Ullery, *Men of Vermont*, 198.

⁶⁷ Lovejoy, *History*, 749-758, quote from 751. The published version says only that the history was contributed, that Clara wrote it is found in the Lovejoy Collection, Royalton Memorial Library.

⁶⁸ Larry C. Porter reported that the original record book had been “thrown away” and quotes the statement from a descendant of Dr. Denison who had only heard the story passed down through family lore, “A Study of the Origins of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the States of New York and Pennsylvania, 1816-1831” (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1971; reprinted Provo, Utah: Joseph Fielding Smith Institute, 2000), 13. Further evidence for my explanation can be deduced from Jacob G. Ullery who in 1894 published Denison as the attending physician. Ullery, who included Smith in the

Writing in August 1922 from the “Old Denison Place, Royalton Vermont, 1815,” Clara McClellan shifted the focus of the debates from general questions about Joseph Smith and Mormonism to personal attacks on the library trustees. In mid August, upon learning that Lovejoy had personally paid the library workers she wrote to Lovejoy, “[t]his seems almost an imposition after all that you have done for the public in the way of hard work.” McClellan offered her own solution. She had come up with two hundred dollars to memorialize her grandfather and brother and offered it to Lovejoy immediately, but “upon condition of a statement signed by the president and secry. of the Library Board that the name of the Founder of the Mormon Church is debarred for ever from the memorial list. Kindly let me hear from you in this matter.”⁷⁰

Evelyn Lovejoy was quite surprised by McClellan’s request. She drafted a response that began “I hardly know how to answer your letter,” but she never sent it. Instead, she conferred with Library Association president Charles Tarbell, a lawyer, who recognized that they could not “forever” bind the association to any position. As publicly elected officials, they could only affirm that they personally would not commit to including Smith’s name in the current tablet.⁷¹

On 21 Aug, Lovejoy prepared a formal letter addressed to “Mrs. McClellan.” She informed McClellan that enclosed she would find “a statement which, I trust, will be

section on “Queer Characters” would certainly have published Denison’s supposed comment had it been in the margin of the record book at that time, *Men of Vermont*, 198.

⁶⁹ CDM, 24 Aug 1906; in “Register of Visitors to Joseph Smith’s Birthplace.”

⁷⁰ CDM to EML, 14 Aug 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

⁷¹ EML to CDM, undated handwritten note in pencil, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

satisfactory to you, though I regret that you deemed it necessary.” The statement, signed by Lovejoy and Tarbell, read:

At the request of Mrs. Clara Denison McClellan, and as a condition of receiving \$200 for memorializing Dr. Joseph A. Denison, Sr., and Dr. Charles Denison, we, the undersigned officers of the Royalton Memorial Library Association, Inc., qualified by the charter of said Association to sign legal papers, hereby state that the name of the Mormon prophet, Joseph Smith, by no act or consent of ours shall ever be inscribed upon the Memorial tablet which said Association is preparing for a permanent place in the Memorial library building, and on which names of the Denison family are to appear.

Lovejoy also requested that McClellan submit “a concise formal statement giving your reason or reasons why you object to the name of Joseph Smith on the tablet” so that it might be filed in their records for future reference. She also suggested that McClellan ask Levi Wild “to send in his formal reasons. You two were the only memorialists who said that names of friends you memorialized could not be on the tablet if Joseph Smith’s was.”⁷²

The next week McClellan responded with a curt handwritten note. “My opinion as to the unfitness of placing Joseph Smith’s name upon a tablet dedicated to the Memory of Citizens worthy of the town, being that of the majority of Royalton People,” she began, made it “unnecessary to make a ‘concise formal statement’ of the same.” As far as the record was concerned she told Evelyn, “I do not need to defend you. You are quite capable of doing so.” She made no mention of the request for Levi Wild to submit a statement.⁷³ She approved of the statement and submitted her two hundred dollar pledge. McClellan knew that she and Wild did not constitute a majority of Royalton village residents, so she plied her friends to submit formal protests.

⁷² EML to CDM, 21 Aug 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

⁷³ CDM to EML, 30 Aug 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

Within weeks, Sarah C. Doubleday, a founding member of the Royalton Woman's Club, expressed her written opposition to including Smith's name and a request for a signed statement before making her donation. By this point, Evelyn Lovejoy took the matter personally. "I judge you must have known the statement we gave Mrs. McClellan, which is all we have the authority to do," she wrote to Doubleday, "and it seems entirely unnecessary to repeat the same thing, unless our integrity is in doubt." Lovejoy wryly suggested to Doubleday that the best way to assure that Smith's name would never appear on the tablet would be to fill the entire tablet with other names. Lovejoy called on Royalton residents to put their money where their mouth was, thus calling their bluff. Lovejoy's exasperation with the Royalton resident's quibbling is also apparent in the suggestion: "If we leave no room for his name, and I make out the list for the engraver, as I expect to do if I live, it is practically certain that the prophet's name will not be on the list."⁷⁴

It seems that by early September Royalton residents sensed Lovejoy's exasperation, and not wanting to offend Lovejoy, the issue was dropped. Gertrude Laird wrote to assure Lovejoy that her "Royalton friends would regret exceedingly any separation" as "[w]e all admire you too much to needlessly hurt you." Laird wanted to personally go on record that she had "never doubted your 'honesty'."⁷⁵ On September 7, Clara McClellan left Royalton to return to her home in New York. Waiting with her

⁷⁴ EML to Miss Doubleday, 13 Sep 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

⁷⁵ GL to EML, 18 Sep 1922 and 6 Oct 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

friends at the Royalton train station, she “spoke of her own vigor and exceptionally good health;” ten days later Clara Denison McClellan died.⁷⁶

The following month Evelyn Lovejoy and Gertrude Laird wrote out their impressions on the whole affair, referred to by Laird as “the library affair” and by Lovejoy as “the Mormon affair.” Lovejoy regretted the fiasco, and in part her participation in it: “I was in a difficult position,” she wrote. “No doubt some one else would have handled the matter more judicially and wisely.”⁷⁷ Laird felt that Lovejoy was “absolutely conscientious in all you did. Your return of the money was most tactfully done.” But Laird was happy that the Royalton opinion had won out, “[s]o long as you feel with us here that the matter was rightly settled I cannot see that this need be any difference in our cordial relations.”⁷⁸

But for Lovejoy, there was a difference. She had witnessed the darker side of the township’s village rivalry, and found inconsistency and small-mindedness. She was hurt that Clara McClellan and Sarah Doubleday openly questioned her integrity, and she feared that others in the Royalton social circle secretly harbored the same feelings. Looking through town records, she noted that George Ellis had signed the petition welcoming the Mormons to Woodard Hall in 1905, but and now opposed Smith’s name on the library tablet.⁷⁹

Laird apologized for the outburst, “I am very sorry that you have had all this unpleasantness when you are working so hard to build a library and that you have found

⁷⁶ *RH*, 7 Sep 1922, 6; 28 Sep 1922, 3, 5.

⁷⁷ EML to GL, 6 Oct 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

⁷⁸ GL to EML, 17 Oct 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

⁷⁹ EML to GL, 6 Oct 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

unchristian bigotry here in Royalton.” But she held firm on the Royalton assertion of moral superiority, adding, “But, dear Mrs. Lovejoy, I want to say to you that the kingdom of God would come much sooner in both Royalton and South Royalton if they had more like Mr. Wild.”⁸⁰

Lovejoy felt that bigotry was too strong a word for describing a protest, “[t]hat was quite right for any one who felt so,” though she “wish[ed] Mr. Wild had done no more than that.” But while Lovejoy considered protesting to be within a person’s rights, “not to give the Mormons credit for any good things, or for acting from any right motive, and saying we should have nothing to do with them is pretty close to bigotry.” Lovejoy assured Laird that her “high regard and affection for Mr. Wild is unchanged” and that her “Royalton friends are too dear to me to let this matter separate us, unless they will it so.” Lovejoy needed money to finish the library. “If those who informed the Pierce daughters about the Mormon gift will be equally zealous in informing them that there is not the least danger of Joseph Smith’s name being on the tablet, the favor will be appreciated,” she wrote, “as we are in need of more money.” Lovejoy could not refrain from prodding Laird a little. The Mormons “are here,” she warned, “and evidently here to stay, and if they are ‘enemies’ and a ‘menace to society and the government’ they are in a position to do much harm, if [they] become offended at what seems to them ill usage.” Lovejoy closed her letter to Laird, and ended her private commentary on the Mormon Affair by simply noting that Clara McClellan, who had passed into the next life, “knows more than any one of us.”⁸¹ The only public reference Lovejoy made to the affair came five months

⁸⁰ GL to EML, 18 Sep 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

⁸¹ EML to GL, 6 Oct 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

later in the annual Town Report where she reported that her monetary report “does not include a subscription of \$200 which was returned.”⁸² For Lovejoy, the Mormon Affair was over, but there still remained much to do to finish the Library.

By early 1923, the Library water and electrical systems were in place and the cement walks nearly completed. Donations trickled in and Lovejoy called for “the hearty cooperation of all in an effort to dedicate the building this year and open it for the public good.”⁸³ The library had employed the services of David Farquhar in Boston for book rebinding, so Lovejoy sent off biographical sketches of the memorialized persons in April.⁸⁴ She contracted with a Boston firm for a bronze memorial tablet and sent the names off in mid May.⁸⁵ Some residents went out of their way to express their appreciation for Lovejoy, one sending a china cup and saucer with a note, “I am overwhelmed with your kindness to us I assure you we do appreciate it.”⁸⁶ But some suspicion remained. Levi Wild submitted a biographical sketch of his father, allowing Lovejoy to reduce it if necessary, but “it is my particular request however that you will not add anything to the sketch which I have not included.”⁸⁷

The completed tablet arrived on 10 August 1923, the same day that Levi Wild led memorial services for Hannah Handy to kick off the annual Old Home Week

⁸² “Report of Royalton Memorial Library Association,” Royalton Town Report, 1922, 38.

⁸³ “Report of Royalton Memorial Library Association,” Royalton Town Report, 1922, 38.

⁸⁴ See “Report of the Royalton Free Library,” Royalton Town Report, 1917, 31; Frank G. Wild to EML, 17 Apr 1923, Lovejoy Collection.

⁸⁵ Lovejoy correspondence with Henry L. Norton, May 19-21 May 1923, Lovejoy Collection.

⁸⁶ Mrs. W and Addie to Evelyn Lovejoy, undated, Lovejoy Collection.

⁸⁷ Levi Wild to EML, 29 May 1923, Lovejoy Collection.

celebration.⁸⁸ The week long festivities culminated in the dedication of the Royalton Memorial Library. On 16 August a crowd gathered outside the nearly completed edifice. The heart of the library was a large brick fireplace highlighted by a pillared archway. Two solid columns demarcated the entry way, a door with sidelights and transom. The Greek exterior also featured corner quoins and twelve over twelve windows.⁸⁹ The day's orator made superficial mention that "[m]any aches and pains, many inconveniences, many self-denials have been at the basis of this excellent endeavor." This veiled reference to the Mormon Affair accompanied a tribute to "the whole-hearted devotion, the uncompromising zeal, of one, Mrs. E. M. Lovejoy." The orator emphasized that the Library with its memorial to the past would exert its greatest influence upon the future, "One of the foremost relations which a library must assume in a community is found in its effects upon youthful life."⁹⁰

After the ceremony the bronze tablet was unveiled and the book of memorial sketches presented for examination. The tablet, still hanging in the Library, provides a telling commentary on town affairs. The tablet lists two columns of corresponding names: the left hand column listing the donor and the right the person memorialized. Evelyn Lovejoy, Charles Tarbell, and Perley Belknap of the Library Committee memorialized a husband, mother, and father respectively. Levi Wild had made a contribution to commemorate his father, and the Lairds and Sarah Doubleday had honored their ancestors. The Royalton Woman's Club made a donation to remember

⁸⁸ *RH*, 16 Aug 1922, 13.

⁸⁹ Belding, *Where the Books Are*, 145-46.

⁹⁰ "Address at the dedication of the Royalton Memorial Library," Lovejoy Collection. The name of the orator is not given.

former club president, Francis Joiner, who had helped initiate the celebration of Royalton's heritage in 1905. The Royalton Historical Association, formed at Joiner's request, memorialized Royalton's first patron, Daniel Wild. Four Denison men were celebrated by their descendants. Clara Denison McClellan, who so adamantly opposed the inclusion of Joseph Smith's name, was memorialized by her daughter. The South Royalton Woman's Club, not content to celebrate one person, memorialized themselves, all club members from 1906 to 1934. Joseph Smith's name, of course, did not appear on the tablet, but neither was the tablet completely filled. In time, though the Prophet's name has not been added, several South Royalton residents who had befriended Junius Wells and aided the Mormon monument project were memorialized: J. O. Belknap and Perley Belknap, Mark J. Sargent, Edgar J. Fish, and John and Jennie Hewitt (see Table 5.1). Lovejoy observed that the event "seemed to give general satisfaction." However, she found the tablet to be a poor piece of craftsmanship, and "[t]he book is rather disappointing to me, but I said nothing, and no one criticised it."⁹¹

In September the Royalton Memorial Library Association (incorporated in South Royalton for the purpose of constructing a library) merged with the Royalton Free Public Library (elected town officers). The Royalton Memorial Library was now supervised jointly by the five public officers and four members of the Royalton Historical Association. In October the completed Library opened to the public, the finishing touches of furniture having been donated by town residents. Patrons could visit two days a week, while a branch opened in Royalton village once a week. Residents flocked to the

⁹¹ Lovejoy questioned the firm: "Mr. Norton, in discussing the quality of the work, said the Company would put their imprint on a first-class piece of work such as finally contracted for, but, if it were of the quality of the Russells, which firm had offered a larger tablet for less money, they would not attach

new Library, and insurance, maintenance, and utilities costs in South Royalton soon sapped three quarters of the Town's annual allocation.⁹² The South Royalton circulation doubled in 1923, giving the new Library three times the holdings of its Royalton counterpart.⁹³

Though the Royalton Memorial Library was dedicated and opened to the public in 1923, the Association was still deeply in debt. Collecting donations had never been easy for Lovejoy. The largest donation that Lovejoy ever received was for five hundred dollars from a former resident who made the pledge "in memory of himself." Six months after pledging, the prospective donor passed away, and Lovejoy spent a third of the expected donation in court fees over the next three years just to secure the remainder.⁹⁴ After the excitement of the dedication, donations virtually ceased. Early in 1924, Lovejoy addressed an open letter to "Friends, Old and New" soliciting additional contributions for "a fine colonial building, about which will center memories of the struggles and aspirations of men and women of the past."⁹⁵ That year, as part of the Old Home Week celebration, Lovejoy sponsored a Library Day to raise money through donations. She also prepared postcards with a sketch of the Library on the front and

their name to it. I observe you did not use your imprint. Was there special reason for this omission?" EML to T. F. McGann & Sons Co, 20 Aug 1923, Lovejoy Collection.

⁹² Royalton Town Report, 1925, 38.

⁹³ The figures previously reported as "Report of Royalton Memorial Library Association" became part of the "Royalton Memorial Library Association Building Account," while the information from the "Report of the Royalton Free Public Library" began to be reported as "Royalton Memorial Library Maintenance Account," Royalton Town Report, 1923, 43-45.

⁹⁴ See a handwritten note dated 29 Oct on the reverse of EML to Assistant Librarian, State Library, 25 Oct 1918, Lovejoy Collection, Royalton Memorial Library. "Report of Royalton Memorial Library Association," Royalton Town Report, 1918, 28; 1919, 26; 1920, 34.

⁹⁵ EML, "Greetings to Friends, Old and New, from the Royalton Memorial Library Association, Inc.," early 1924, Lovejoy Collection.

asked prominent Americans to sign the back (see Fig. 29). Postcards signed by governors of New England States sold for a dollar; those signed by politician William Jennings Bryan, women's activist Margaret Sanger, and Vermont's governor Redfield Proctor for two dollars; while residents could purchase the autographs of author Zane Grey, Hellen Keller, and former first lady Edith Wilson for three. The combined effort netted \$242.69.⁹⁶

During 1924 the Library added a juvenile department and toilet furnishings, as well as a case in which to display relics from Royalton's past. The next year the memorial tablet was filled and a second inaugurated. Levi Wild offered a dedicatory prayer in which he expressed gratitude for "our heritage in this land of liberty." "As we come to give this library again to Thee, with its added equipment," we ask that thy blessing may attend its ministry in this community." Specifically, Wild implored, "Keep the fountain pure, that no poisonous streams may issue forth to defile our youth."⁹⁷ What would he have done had he known that only months after the Library was first dedicated, Evelyn Lovejoy accepted two volumes of Mormon missionary tracts from Heber C. Smith! Obviously, Wild, and the residents of Royalton did not use the new Library, because the books remained in its collection for over half a century.⁹⁸

By 1927, Library Day as a holiday ceased to be celebrated, though the Library debt remained nearly one thousand dollars, having been diminished only by the meager sales of autographed postcards. The following year, Evelyn Lovejoy, now eighty-one

⁹⁶ Royalton Town Report, 1924, 54-56.

⁹⁷ "Prayer of Levi Wild, Library Day," 14 Aug 1925, Lovejoy Collection; Royalton Town Report, 1925, 37.

⁹⁸ Royalton Town Report, 1924, lists simply the acquisition of 288 volumes, 54-56.

years old, passed away. In her will she left a set of encyclopedias to the Library and one thousand dollars to the Association.⁹⁹ Her bequest finally paid off the debt that had accrued over the previous decade. The following year the Town Report closed the building account, thenceforth listing library expenses simply as part of the town's "Library Report." In 1931, the Royalton Historical Association, the organization that had hired Lovejoy and brought her back to Royalton twenty-five years earlier, made a memorial donation to place Lovejoy's name on the Library tablet.¹⁰⁰ Three years later, Charles Tarbell died and left five hundred dollars to the library, giving it a surplus and assuring its continual operation.¹⁰¹ South Royalton's Memorial Library was complete.

The Mormon Affair marked a significant transition in the history in the township of Royalton. By successfully arranging to exclude Joseph Smith's name from the Library tablet, the elite of Royalton village celebrated their last victory in town politics. Levi Wild and his associates continued to sound a voice of moral warning against the "public nuisance" of dance halls and liquor sales, but never again were their efforts sufficient to overrule their upstart counterparts in South Royalton.¹⁰² With the completion of the Library in South Royalton, the new village sealed its supremacy in town affairs. In 1940, Gertrude Laird passed away and the Denison house was sold at auction. Levi Wild lived until 1946, dying two years before construction began on a new high school in South

⁹⁹ A copy of Lovejoy's will is in the Lovejoy Collection.

¹⁰⁰ "Library Report," Royalton Town Report, 1931, 37.

¹⁰¹ "Library Report," Royalton Town Report, 1934, 37.

¹⁰² Wild, Waterman, Roundy and Laird submitted a petition against the public dance hall on 2 Jul 1928, see Royalton Town Records, 1916-1937, 339. At a town meeting on 19 July, the petition was discussed, denied, and dismissed.

Royalton. The completion of the school, with its large gymnasium, provided a new place for town meetings in the new village. In 1957, the Library basement was finally finished and ten years later the Town Clerk's office moved in, completing the transfer of political influence to South Royalton.¹⁰³ In 1959, the Township of Royalton legally recognized The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, granting it the same tax status as the other churches in town.¹⁰⁴

South Royalton became the new cultural center of the township as the Library determined the fate of cultural institutions in both villages. The Royalton Historical Association, founded in 1906, supervised Lovejoy's *History* and the Handy Memorial, and it contributed the largest donation to the Library by a civic organization. In 1923, it merged with the Library Association, and in 1930 it disbanded donating all of its assets to the Library.¹⁰⁵ The second largest collective donation to the Library came from the South Royalton Woman's Club, which continues in existence to this day. The Royalton Woman's Club disbanded in 1936, its last major accomplishment being the 1906 erection of the Indian Raid monument on the Royalton Village green. The Library and High School continue operation to the present. Royalton Academy closed and was eventually rented by the Civic Club.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ Nash, *Royalton Vermont*, 68-9, 76; Royalton Town Records, 1937-1972, 371.

¹⁰⁴ On 27 Feb 1958, site director Nathan Tolman requested tax exemption, Royalton Selectmen's Minutes, Royalton Town Clerk's Office, 63.

¹⁰⁵ "Library Report," Royalton Town Report, 1931, 37; Nash, *Royalton Vermont*, 85. Many of the Historical Association minutes are preserved in the Lovejoy Collection. The Lovejoy Collection contains library treasurer receipts for 1928-1952 and check stubs for 1917-1958.

¹⁰⁶ Royalton Town Records, 1937-1972, 383 (4 Mar 1969).

Evelyn Lovejoy played the central role in the transition from Royalton to South Royalton cultural dominance. By the time she returned to the township in 1906, South Royalton had already secured economic prominence and was gaining a foothold politically. Writing the town history gave Lovejoy, and the Woman's Club she helped found and later lead, the cultural legitimacy required to challenge Royalton's entrenched position. Her appointment to the board of trustees of the Public Library in 1912 made her the first woman in town history to hold public office. In 1922, the year of the Mormon Affair, Madie Stafford was elected town clerk and women have held the position ever since. The next year a woman filled the office of road supervisor.¹⁰⁷

The year before Lovejoy died, a natural disaster punctuated the transition of power in Royalton Township. The Flood of 1927 swelled Vermont's rivers, driving 9,000 Vermonters from their homes and leaving eighty-four dead and over one hundred million dollars worth of damage.¹⁰⁸ The swollen White River ripped through the White River Valley, sweeping away an entire street in Royalton village and washing away the bridge in South Royalton.¹⁰⁹ Political and cultural transition combined with natural disaster to leave Royalton village, in the words of Lovejoy's successor as town historian, "just a string of houses" along the roadside.¹¹⁰

The transition of power from Royalton to South Royalton is really a micro case of the same transition in the United States. The early decades of the twentieth century were

¹⁰⁷ Royalton Town Records, 1920-1930.

¹⁰⁸ Peter S. Jennison, ed., *The 1976-77 Official Vermont Bicentennial Guide* (Taftsville, VT: The Countryman Press, Inc., 1976), 13.

¹⁰⁹ Mary E. Whitney, "Royalton's Flood," *The Vermonter* 34 (Jul 1929): 110-11.

¹¹⁰ Hope Nash, *Royalton Vermont*, 69.

a period of rapid industrialization and urbanization. Historian Robert H. Wiebe argued that the era was “a way station between agrarian and urban America” in which “island communities” became an organized nation.¹¹¹ The village rivalry in Royalton parallels the tensions and transitions in America in general. Residents of the older, more agrarian Royalton village fit the characteristics described by Richard Hofstadter as displaced older elite who faced an “upheaval of status” caused “not through a shrinkage in their means but through the changed pattern in the distribution of deference and power.”¹¹² After a century and a half, the agrarian “island community” village of Royalton gave way to the values of urban America. The designation of South Royalton as “urban” does not refer to size (the population of the entire township in 1920 was only 1469), but to mindset. South Royalton residents considered themselves part of modern America, connected to the nation by railroad, telephone, electric lights, and the automobile. In her *History*, Lovejoy described the entire township as “one of the most progressive, up-to-date towns in the State of Vermont.”¹¹³ South Royalton boasted several businessmen and professionals, the people Wiebe has shown to have benefited from the Progressive era transition to modern America. The different mindsets of the two villages are also apparent in their respective monuments to the 1780 Indian raid. The Royalton monument, erected in 1906, celebrated an agrarian community savagely attacked by merciless external forces. On the other hand, the Handy Monument erected in South Royalton memorialized the efforts of

¹¹¹ Kennedy, David M. “Overview: The Progressive Era.” *The Historian* 37 (May 1975): 453-468. Robert H. Wiebe, *Businessmen and Reform: A Study of the Progressive Movement* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962) vii; “island communities” is from Wiebe *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967) xiii.

¹¹² Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955), 135.

¹¹³ Lovejoy, *History*, iv.

a woman to save local children and the work of Phineas Parkhurst risking his life to reach out to the other villages in the larger community and warn them of the attack. The “island community” monument looked inward, while the “modern” monument looked outward.

If the transition of power from Royalton to South Royalton represents a parallel transition in the United States, the place of the Mormon Affair in Township politics likewise represents a similar transformation in the acceptance of Mormons on a national scale. Some historians look outward from Mormonism to account for the transformation by detailing the ways in which the Mormons relinquished part of their identity—polygamy and isolationism—in order to fit into the “mainstream” of American life.¹¹⁴ However, Jan Shipps has surveyed national literature from 1860 to 1960 to argue for a change in national perception of Mormons “From Satyr to Saint.” Shipps contends that the transition occurred in 1926 when an article by Mormon Apostle/Senator Reed Smoot about his religious beliefs appeared in a respected national journal.¹¹⁵

The events in Royalton confirm historians’ findings both in terms of content as well as in timing. The Mormon Affair provides a working model of how small town America came to accommodate Mormonism. The controversy in Royalton was never between Vermonters and Mormons. Rather it was between two groups of Vermonters—those who did not want to tolerate Mormon presence and those who accepted Mormons

¹¹⁴ Gustive O. Larson, *The “Americanization” of Utah for Statehood* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1971); Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986); Kathleen Flake, “Mr. Smoot Goes to Washington: The Politics of American Religious Identity, 1900-1920” (Ph. D. diss., University of Chicago, 2000).

¹¹⁵ Smoot, “Why I am a Mormon: Confessions of Faith, X,” *Forum* 76 (1926): 562-69; Jan Shipps, “The Public Image of Sen. Reed Smoot, 1902-1932,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 45 (Fall 1977): 380-400; Jan Shipps, “From Satyr to Saint: American Perceptions of the Mormons, 1860-1960,” in Shipps,

as part of a more pluralistic society. While questions of Mormon doctrine and practice were an integral part of the Mormon Affair, the commemorative activities symbolized deeper social issues between the two villages. In a rivalry begun in 1848 with the arrival of the railroad, the Mormon Affair was simply one more point of disagreement between two parties with a history of conflict. The acceptance of Mormon presence in the Township came about primarily because Junius F. Wells had aligned his operation with South Royalton businessmen who ultimately won out in their struggle for village supremacy. Nineteenth century Mormons had collided with powerful interests, forcing them into isolation in the Rocky Mountains. Mormons and their memory of American Prophet entered the twentieth century aligned with the interests that would shape the modern nation, and this alignment accounts for their success. In remembering Joseph Smith as an American Prophet, Mormonism attempted to fit into America, but more importantly, as Royalton's Mormon Affair demonstrates, America made room for Mormons.

CHAPTER SIX

NEW ENGLAND PROPHET, AMERICAN TOWN, 1935-2000

Esteem this monument. Have some personal pride in it. If you do not, I will predict to you that in the providence of God your children after you will. They will esteem it as a good work, they will look to it with pride, and they will welcome the stranger here to view it, even though it is the work of the Latter-day Saints.

Hyrum M. Smith, 23 Dec 1905¹

Coming generations will view with curiosity the Mormon shrine and monument in Royalton and wonder, perhaps, why good people agitated themselves about a mere symbol.

Randolph *Herald and News*, 10 Aug 1905²

In Royalton, Vermont, the competing memories of an American Prophet and a New England Town collided during the Mormon Affair. While Joseph Smith's name was not included on the library tablet, the struggle completed the economic, political, and cultural ascension of South Royalton, bringing in its wake a general tolerance for the Mormon presence in the township. Yet toleration of presence is a far cry from acceptance. Throughout the twentieth century, local residents accommodated the memory of an American Prophet with the memory of their New England Town, resulting

¹ Hyrum M. Smith, *Proceedings*, 19.

² Reprinted from the *Ludlow Tribune* in *RH*, 10 Aug 1905, 2.

in a local tradition that both recognized the separate memories while acknowledging their common pasts and mutual present.

The process of collective accommodation is a broad development that involves various people over a long period of time. As in the case of remembering, there are agents of accommodation, but more often the agents act en masse rather than individually. In this story, Vermont born converts to Mormonism and tourists from Vermont and beyond play a significant role in accommodating the two traditions. The collective process of accommodation developed in two stages: both memory traditions opened to recognize the existence of the other and then both sides incorporated elements of the other into their own tradition. Evidence for the opening of the New England Town tradition appears in the changing opinions published in Vermont travel literature and from the Vermonters who converted to the Mormon religion. During the 1960s' the LDS Church expanded and redesigned the Joseph Smith Birthplace Memorial. The nature of the expansion, the features of the new displays, and the content of the tourist literature demonstrate the continued efforts to emphasize Mormon ties to New England. After opening to acknowledge the other memory tradition, agents of both traditions incorporated elements of the other by changing, emphasizing the virtues of the other, and working together. As a result, Mormons emphasized Joseph Smith's connection to New England while Royalton residents asserted their American ties. In Royalton, both memory traditions continue to be remembered, not as competing traditions, but as mutually supporting traditions in a pluralistic community.

Early twentieth century travel literature provides an indicator of Vermont's growing openness toward Mormonism and acceptance of the Joseph Smith Monument. While the impact of the Mormon Affair settled over Royalton residents, the 1920s and 1930s witnessed a transformation in New England tourism from railroad travel to automobile travel. Instead of great railroad hotels and week long visitor stays, a flood of "unpredictable, vagrant overnight guests" passed through the countryside staying in summer cottages and boardinghouses.³ In 1911, the Vermont legislature took over tourism promotion for the Board of Agriculture and formed the Bureau of Publicity as part of the Department of the State. The new administration emphasized Vermont's mountains, lakes, and fishing and hunting, while private auto tours and tour services sprouted.⁴

While state officials promoted tourism to boost the state economy, Vermonters in general displayed ambivalence toward the tourists.⁵ On one hand, they appreciated the extra cash that lodgers and patrons brought to their pocketbooks. In 1925, one writer predicted that "Vermont will be invaded next summer by 100,000 to 150,000 tourists" and recommended cleaning, painting, placing roadside markers, and printing postcards. Additionally, he challenged every person to memorize directions to five sites to tell

³ Brown, *Inventing New England*, 205-9.

⁴ Andrea Rebek, "The Selling of Vermont: From Agriculture to Tourism, 1860-1910," *Vermont History* 44 (Winter 1976): 14-27; H. H. Chadwick, *Vermont Bureau of Publicity: Its History, Expenditures, and Activities* (Montpelier, VT: Vermont Bureau of Publicity, 1934); Mortimer R. Proctor and Roderic M. Olzendam, *Vermont: The Unspoiled Land* (Rutland, VT: Tuttle Company, 1915); Jarvis Palace Garage, *The Jarvis Auto Tours: Sight-Seeing Journeys to Historical and Picturesque Places in Vermont* (Burlington, VT: The Garage, 1914), sites in Burlington, Lake Champlain, Grand Isle, Rutland, and Montreal.

⁵ Ida H. Washington, "Dorothy Canfield Fisher's *Tourists Accommodated* and Her Other Promotions of Vermont," *Vermont History* 65 (Summer/Fall 1997): 153-164.

querying tourists.⁶ By the 1930s, over a million tourists visited the state each year.⁷ On the other hand, Vermonters were also frequently annoyed by ignorant outsiders. During the Depression, the federal government proposed a piece of New Deal legislation designed to aid struggling Vermonters—the construction of a “Green Mountain Parkway” that would traverse the state from north to south. The massive project promised jobs and prosperity, but Vermonters voted it down. In Royalton, the vote was particularly sharp, 284 against the project to only 43 for it.⁸ Vermonters’ ambivalence toward tourism in general combined with their opinions of Mormonism during the first half of the twentieth century as Vermont travel literature presented the Joseph Smith Monument as part of Vermont’s granite industry and a nice place to visit. Vermonters were becoming increasingly impressed with the Mormons in their midst, but were still reticent to accept responsibility for Joseph Smith.

Vermonters were anxious to present their best front to visitors, and easily boasted of their prized granite industry. Sketches dealing specifically with the granite industry referred to the Joseph Smith Monument, praising its height and the skill of its construction.⁹ Promotional literature describing Vermont in general also mentioned the Mormons. In 1936, Walter and Margaret Hard touted the monument as “the tallest single piece of polished granite in the world.”¹⁰ In 1949, Ralph Nading Hill commented on the

⁶ L. P. Thayer, *The Greater Vermont* (Rutland, VT: Tuttle Company, 1925), 2-5.

⁷ H. H. Chadwick, *Vermont's Tourist Business: A Study Covering Ten Years* (Burlington, VT: Free Press Printing Co., 1944), 12.

⁸ Royalton Town Records, 1916-1937, 511 (3 May 1936).

⁹ Stanley F. Blomfield, “James M. Boutwell—Man and Mayor,” *The Vermonter* 22 (April 1917): 57-67.

¹⁰ Walter and Margaret Hard, *This is Vermont* (Brattleboro, VT: Stephen Daye Press, 1936), 274.

height of the monument and quality of construction, boasting, “Had the Washington monument been built of Barre granite, it could have been half a mile high.”¹¹

In addition to referencing the monument in the context of the granite industry, travel literature also recommended the Memorial as a nice place to visit. In 1922 a local writer described the drive up to the site as “a good steep climb that may make the water boil in the radiator, and owing to hard rains this year the road is not excellent all of the way, but it is not great difficulty to get there.” Once at the top of the hill, the writer promised visitors a “highland park, abounding in bright-colored flowers, green and well-trimmed lawns and graveled walks, with plenty of convenient spots for gathering around the lunch basket.” Additionally, the writer found “good running water, parking space for autos and what is quite as nice, a cheerful greeting from the parties in charge of the property.”¹² Throughout the 1930s and 1940s, travel guides continued to describe the Memorial as having “a neat cottage and well-kept grounds,” or as being “an ideal site” with a view that “is actually breathtaking—especially on a very clear day.... You gasp with exclamations.”¹³ If any complaint was lodged against the monument it was that is

¹¹ Ralph Nading Hill, *The Winooski: Heartway of Vermont* (New York: Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1949), 183.

¹² “At the Mormon Shrine,” *RH*, 13 Jul 1922, 1. The Memorial was not the only place to visit as both the Handy and Royalton Indian raid monuments were also included in travel literature. See *A Booklet of the Green Mountain State* (Rutland, VT: Hotel Association of Vermont, 1916); Alice C. Barrows, “The Royalton Indian Raid, for Motorists,” *The Vermonter* 41 (Oct 1936): 200-2, 205; *Vermont: A Guide to the Green Mountain State* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1937), 233

¹³ Walter and Margaret Hard, *This is Vermont*, 274; Barbara Brainerd, “A Winding Route in Vermont,” *The Vermonter* 47 (Mar 1942): 35-6. See also *A Guide to NewHampshire-Vermont Heartland* (South Royalton, VT: Manning House, 1960) 8; Ray Bearse, ed., *Vermont: A Guide to the Green Mountain State*, third edition revised (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1968), 160.

was too far out of the way: “They had told us it was ‘a little off the road.’ It was all of that vertically and perhaps a mile and a half horizontally.”¹⁴

Site director Angus J. Cannon observed that visitors “usually come to see the Monument rather than to learn of Joseph Smith’s great mission.”¹⁵ But although Vermonters seldom came to “learn of Joseph Smith’s great mission,” the favorable impression visitors took from the Memorial carried over into their opinions about Joseph Smith in particular and the Mormon people in general. Instead of condemning him as a religious fanatic, Charles Edward Crane linked Smith with philosopher John Dewey, both of whom were “of the eccentric pattern which flourished so well in Vermont.”¹⁶ A writer in *The Vermonter* characterized the Memorial as “an ideal site for the sanctuary dedicated to this famed Mormon prophet, a birthplace which must have seemed, literally, close to Heaven.”¹⁷ The WPA guide produced in 1937 called Smith “the prophet” and claimed that “more than any other Vermonter, Joseph Smith spread far-reaching influences, whose impact affected the lives of many thousands.”¹⁸ By the 1950s, a sketch of Joseph Smith was even included in *A Treasury of Vermont Life*.¹⁹ By mid-century Mormons

¹⁴ Walter and Margaret Hard, *This is Vermont*, 274.

¹⁵ Angus J. Cannon, “The Joseph Smith Memorial Farm,” *Improvement Era* 32 (Jan 1929): 197.

¹⁶ Charles Edward Crane, *Let Me Show You Vermont* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1937), 25-6.

¹⁷ Barbara Brainerd, “A Winding Route in Vermont,” *The Vermonter* 47 (March 1942): cover, 33-36.

¹⁸ *Vermont: A Guide to the Green Mountain State* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1937), 233.

¹⁹ Stephen Greene, Arthur W. Peach, Ralph N. Hill, and Walter Hard, Jr., eds., *A Treasury of Vermont Life* (Woodstock, VT: The Countryman Press, 1956), 155.

were being praised in Vermont literature as “one of the nation’s most prosperous and vigorous religious organizations.”²⁰

Though Vermonters recognized and some even praised Mormons, others were still reticent to take responsibility for Joseph Smith. In her 1953 commentary on the state, *Vermont Tradition: The Biography of an Outlook on Life*, author Dorothy Canfield Fisher acknowledged the existence of “some people whose names are well known, who were born here, geographically, but were certainly not produced by Vermont tradition.” First on her list were the Mormons, “Our tradition can claim no credit for the extraordinary Mormon achievement,” she concluded. Rather, Joseph Smith and Brigham Young “shook off that tradition like dust from their feet.”²¹ Instead, as “typical of Vermont,” Fisher favored Vermont Senator Justin Smith Morrill, author of the 1862 land grant act that provided state colleges and education for millions (she made no mention of his role in anti-polygamy legislation). Fisher also included Republican Party founder Horace Greeley who, though born in New Hampshire, “lived happily for five formative years of his youth in Poultney, Vermont.”²²

While travel literature serves as a broad collective register of popular opinion, the increasing number of New England- and Vermont-born converts to Mormonism provides a more individualized indicator of openness in the Green Mountain State. Visitors to the monument and farm from throughout New England left favorable impressions in the

²⁰ Earle Newton, *The Vermont Story: A History of the People of the Green Mountain State, 1749-1949* (Montpelier, VT: The Vermont Historical Society, 1949), 123; Leon D. Latham, “A Vermont Moses,” *The Vermonter* 47 (Apr 1942): 58-9.

²¹ Dorothy Canfield Fisher, *Vermont Tradition: The Biography of an Outlook on Life* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1953), 343-344. Similarly, John Noyes “was connected with Vermont but not in any way produced by the State” (344).

²² Fisher, *Vermont Tradition*, 343-357.

guest register. Some commented on the beauty of the setting, calling it “delightful,” “charming,” or “an ideal spot.” Visiting in mid-autumn 1917, Judd L. Leonard of neighboring Norwich called the memorial “the Garden of Eden of Vermont.” For other visitors, a visit to the memorial influenced their opinions of the Mormon religion. Ethel M. Bates of Boston was “happily surprised” when she visited, and a reverend from Stafford, Vermont felt “Glad I was here.” One Bostonian visitor connected the site specifically with the Mormon people, stating, “everything is typical of the people, thorough in all they do.”²³ Some were impressed enough to join the Mormon ranks.

On 27 Jun 1909 (the sixty-fifth anniversary of Joseph Smith’s martyrdom), Joseph F. Greenough of Concord, NH, was baptized in the lily pond—the first of scores of people to be baptized at the Prophet’s birthplace.²⁴ By 1916, thirty Mormons gathered in Barre, Vermont, for a conference where Apostle James E. Talmage presided. On Sunday afternoon, 16 January, between seventy and eighty people, missionaries from Vermont and New Hampshire, members from Barre and nearby branches, friends, and investigators, gathered in Forester’s Hall for instruction. After the first meeting James Tassie of Barre was ordained an Elder.²⁵ Talmage wrote to his wife that “[t]here are many earnest members of the Church in this historic locality; but among the masses but

²³ Judd L. Leonard, 7 Oct 1917; Ethel M. Bates, 1 Aug 1913; Rev. R. W. Bennett of Strafford, 10 May 1907; Mrs. Irving F. Brown of Boston, 19 Jul 1917, “Register of Visitors to Joseph Smith’s Birthplace, 1906-1922.”

²⁴ Register of Visitor’s to Joseph Smith’s Birthplace, 27 Jun 1909; on 1 Sep 1918 five members of the Thor Steele family of Barre were baptized there. See also “Synoptic Narrative,” 11; Hartman and Connie Rector, *No More Strangers*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1971-1990) 4:122.

²⁵ James E. Talmage, Diary, 16 Jan 1916, James Edward Talmage Collection, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

little interest beyond that of casual curiosity is manifest.”²⁶ During an evening meeting felt a strong impression that opinions would change. Talmage yielded to his impression during the concluding prayer at the meeting by “supplicating the Lord to open the hearts of the people and the doors of their homes, that from this day the elders of the Church shall have freer access, and the Gospel be welcomed in the communities of this region.” He noted in his diary that “[t]o me the blessing invoked was a prophecy of its fulfillment.”²⁷ The *Barre Daily Times* made note of the conference and proudly noted that Dr. Talmage—“one of the best know geologists in the United States...a fellow of the Royal Society of Scientists in Edinburgh, Scotland”—was impressed by Vermont geology and “expressed his purpose to visit the Barre granite belt next summer and study at close range the formations of granite in the vicinity.”²⁸

In Royalton and Sharon the only resident Mormons were the families of the Memorial’s director and caretaker, until 1940 when missionaries were assigned permanently to proselyte as tour guides at the site (not as farmhands).²⁹ During the summertime religious meetings were held at the Cottage. During the winter months the directors commonly returned to Utah, and local members held their own worship services. Edwin Clifford’s daughter Edith had married into the Chadwick family of Randolph and held home Sunday School there for her children. For a while, a small

²⁶ James E. Talmage, Barre, Vermont, to Merry May Booth Talmage, Salt Lake City, 16 Jan 1916, 4. Merry May Booth Talmage Papers, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

²⁷ James E. Talmage, Diary, 16 Jan 1916.

²⁸ “Mormon Conference Held,” *Barre Daily Times*, 17 Jan 1916; *Barre Daily Times*, 18 Jan 1916; clippings in Talmage, Journal, 18 Jan 1916.

²⁹ Frank V. Nelson, “From Out New England: The Homestead of a Prophet in the Hills of Vermont,” *Improvement Era* 44 (May 1941): 314.

group of local Mormons held meetings in a room over the Randolph Post Office. In 1943, Lida Rand became one of the first residents of South Royalton to join the Church, she was baptized in a river north of Bethel. In 1945 a branch (small local congregation) of the Church was organized and the Church purchased a two-story house in South Royalton. Known commonly as the Salter House (because it was previously owned by Lottie Salter), the purchase included outbuildings, a barn, property across the street, and a spring and reservoir with water rights.³⁰ Now director Heber and Lila Smith stayed in Vermont year-round, living upstairs in the Salter House. In the late 1940s, a Relief Society was organized with Edith Chadwick as president. The directors of the Memorial and the daughter of the first Mormon caretaker thus provided the initial leadership for the local Church. With this foundation, other Vermonters residing in the White River Valley (Randolph, Royalton, Sharon, and Norwich) became interested in and joined the Church.³¹

The first decade of the branch's history showed modest growth. The Church does not have a paid clergy so local residents assumed responsibility for Church functions. Clark Davis and Ray Hill cared for the building. Local members painted, installed a speaker system, fan, and warning bell in the meetinghouse.³² As the congregation grew,

³⁰ Royalton Town Land Records, Book 8, page 323.

³¹ Early members included: Lottie Salter, John and Shirley Pease, Moroni and Gertrude Johnson, Clark and Teresa Davis, and Howard and Ruthanne Hoyt. Lida Rand, "For South Royalton Ward History," 8 Sep 1991, Royalton Historical Society; Elaine Chadwick Soule, "Recollections of South Royalton Memorial," Sep 2001, copy in author's possession.

³² The congregation in South Royalton was designated a "branch" in the Vermont "district" until it became a "ward" in 1976 with the formation of the Montpelier "stake." The terms refer generally to size and degree of organization. All records for the congregation are catalogued as South Royalton Ward Records, LDS Church Archives. The records include minutes of weekly meetings, quarterly historical summaries and various reports. Because the material is organized by date, the date is given in the text and the footnote will simply reference the South Royalton Ward Records.

Davis removed partitions one by one from the main floor of the Salter House, until he announced “There are no more partitions that can be removed.” In 1950, local members began serving public dinners in the community as well as to tourists on bus tours to the Memorial to raise money for a new chapel. In May 1960, Esther May George was sustained as District Relief Society President and two months later was appointed as chair of the building committee.³³ Late in 1960, Branch President Claude E. Watson, a local mail carrier in Norwich for eighteen years, passed away, and members contributed nearly one hundred dollars for a “memorial donation” in his name to the building fund. By that time members had obtained enough money to begin construction and on 24 Aug 1961 the groundbreaking was attended by one hundred and fifty people who cheered and enjoyed a picnic.³⁴

After the groundbreaking, members began work on their new building in earnest. On 19 July 1962 the electrical contract was awarded to Brother Spittle, and the contract for heating and plumbing to recent convert Charles W. Hurlburt. By spring 1964 the building was functional and members watched the Church’s General Conference via satellite in April and hosted a dance in May. In November 1964, members hosted their last branch supper to raise money for the building fund, and on 13 December 1964 the last forty seven dollars for the fund were received—“a glorious day for the branch. The climax of a long hard goal.”³⁵ On 27 June 1965 (the anniversary of Joseph Smith’s martyrdom), local members held dedicatory services for their chapel. Nearly three

³³ South Royalton Ward Records; Lida Rand, “For South Royalton Ward History,” 8 Sep 1991, Royalton Historical Society.

³⁴ South Royalton Ward Records.

³⁵ South Royalton Ward Records.

hundred people were present as former directors Heber and Lila Smith shared their memories of the site. New England States Mission president Truman G. Madsen and his wife, Ann, spoke, as did Dr. Russell Nelson a prominent Mormon physician from Boston. Bernard P. Brockbank offered the dedicatory prayer.³⁶ Six months later the Church sold the old Salter House.³⁷

As Vermonters of the mid-twentieth century demonstrated increasing openness toward Mormonism and the Joseph Smith Monument, the Church expanded and redesigned the site in the 1960s and openly emphasized Mormonism's connection to New England and Vermont. In 1955, Junius M. Jackson (no relation to the Monument's designer Junius) became president of the New England mission and believed the Memorial farm needed "more adequate and appropriate facilities."³⁸ First of all, the historic Cottage was falling into disrepair and needed a new roof, porch, heating system and paint. But more than simple repair, it seemed the cottage was becoming increasingly inadequate for the growing number of visitors to the site.³⁹ Additionally, a new generation of aesthetic appropriateness deemed the cottage "so near the monument as to partly hide it from the view of approaching visitors."⁴⁰

³⁶ South Royalton Ward Records.

³⁷ 3 Jan 1966, Royalton Town Land Records, Book 16, page 29.

³⁸ "Dedicatory Services for the Director's Residence and Bureau of Information at the Joseph Smith Birthplace Memorial, 15 Oct 1961," JSM Library, LDS Library.

³⁹ Carter E. Grant, "Epochal Events at the Prophet's Birthplace," *Improvement Era* 64 (May 1961): 301, 326.

⁴⁰ Site director Nathan Tolman quoted in *White River Herald (WRH)*, Randolph, VT, 6 Aug 1959.

In September 1956, Church President David O. McKay visited the Memorial in order to consider Jackson's proposal for installing a formal Bureau of Information at the site. McKay approved the idea and assigned the Church Building Division in Salt Lake City to prepare the plans. Division head Harold W. Burton personally accepted the assignment because, as he phrased it, "This has got to be good, after all, this is where *It* all began!" Burton recommended tearing the old Cottage down and proposed "a building programme of considerable magnitude" intended to completely transform the setting. The entire project would cost an estimated \$300,000. In describing the "Epochal Events" planned, Carter E. Grant asserted that "[s]ince this sacred spot for the Mormons is doing honor to their great modern Prophet—one of the greatest that has ever lived upon this earth—the Church committee spared no means while beautifying the historic place."⁴¹

The plan made the Monument the new "focal point of the grounds."⁴² This would be accomplished by the construction of two mirror image colonial style buildings of Vermont slatestone. Situated down the hill from the monument the buildings would direct visitors' attention toward the impressive granite shaft. Furthermore, a proposed hedge would keep visitors from straying (the hedge ran between the monument and birth site, effectively separating the two). Each building would be roughly 4,000 square feet. The eastern building (on the right when viewing the monument) was to house the Bureau of Information and included a lecture hall, baptismal font, and reception room "with everything finished in early nineteenth century style, representing the period of the Prophet's birth." The western building would have six rooms and serve as the director's

⁴¹ Cited by Irvin T. Nelson, Collection, LDS Church Archives; Carter E. Grant, "Epochal Events at the Prophet's Birthplace," *Improvement Era* 64 (May 1961): 326.

⁴² *WRH*, 6 Aug 1959.

residence.⁴³ Between the buildings and opposite the monument, Burton proposed a large reflecting pool “giving forth fascinating reflections from all sides,” because “the greatest landscape layouts use water, and [he] wanted it here!”⁴⁴

Surrounding the monument, buildings, and reflecting pool would be a landscape described as “an architectural dream come true.”⁴⁵ Church landscape architect Irvin T. Nelson would supervise the development of lawns, cement walks, and stone steps. Beyond the reflecting pool, Nelson arranged for the planting of thirty-eight trees (one for each year of the Prophet’s life) intended as an outdoor amphitheater. Nelson praised Burton as one who “had more landscape common sense and technical knowledge about plants and their relationship to a situation or a building, than any man I have known or worked with.”⁴⁶

Leaders at the Church’s headquarters in Salt Lake City approved Burton’s plan and work began in 1959 as architects, landscapers, contractors, masons, carpenters, and plumbers swarmed to the site. Hall Brothers, a Randolph-based construction company, built the new facilities under the direction of the Church Building Committee. By August 1959, the Cottage had been razed (some of its contents were saved, while the rest were sold at auction or simply discarded) and twenty workers at the site had the project well underway. With the cottage out of the way, workers barricaded the monument and began blasting the granite ledge (and any remains of the Smith family cellar hole) to allow

⁴³ Carter E. Grant, “Epochal Events at the Prophet’s Birthplace.” *Improvement Era*, 64 (May 1961): 326.

⁴⁴ *Church News*, 14 Oct 1961, 10; Irvin T. Nelson, Collection, LDS Church Archives.

⁴⁵ *Church News*, 14 Oct 1961, 10.

⁴⁶ Irvin T. Nelson, Collection, LDS Church Archives.

“extensive grading and terracing.”⁴⁷ Before construction began, mission President Junius Jackson was replaced by John E. Carr. Carr made a last minute addition to the plan by proposing a circular roadway around the monument as well as parking, rest room, and picnic facilities.⁴⁸ Local members, for the most part, stayed out of the way of the construction project, though they did lend a hand planting the thirty-eight trees—two of which Irvin Nelson brought from Utah.

Work on the new facilities continued through 1960 and by summer 1961 it was nearing completion. Church leaders planned the dedication for mid-October and LDS Church and local newspapers announced the event, predicting that thousands would attend.⁴⁹ On 15 October 1961, approximately two thousand people gathered for the dedicatory services, which were broadcast to countless other listeners on fifteen radio stations (see Fig. 16). Vermont district president, William J. Lewis, of Burlington conducted the ceremony and praised local members for the recent groundbreaking for their chapel.⁵⁰ Lewis’ first counselor, Clarke E. Davis of the South Royalton branch heralded the growth of the Church as evidence that though Vermonters are set in their ways “sometimes they change their minds.”⁵¹ Mission President John E. Carr then related the story of Junius Wells and the monument’s construction and read a note by the late Judge Arthur G. Whitham about Wells’ influence on the community. The dedicatory

⁴⁷ *WRH*, 6 Aug 1959.

⁴⁸ “Dedicatory Services for the Director’s Residence and Bureau of Information at the Joseph Smith Birthplace Memorial, 15 Oct 1961,” JSM Library, LDS Library.

⁴⁹ *Church News*, 7 Oct 1961, 4; *WRH*, 12 Oct 1961, 15.

⁵⁰ *Church News*, 21 Oct 1961, 6.

⁵¹ *WRH*, 19 Oct 1961, 1.

prayer was offered by Hugh B. Brown of the First Presidency who reminded listeners that the site commemorated “the birth of a great American, a native Vermonter,” and that while Vermont had given many great men to the nation “there is no Vermonter who has been better known from the standpoint of knowing his name than is Joseph Smith.”⁵² Afterwards, Brown met with primary children in the residence living room, extending the greetings of President McKay.⁵³

The expansion of the Joseph Smith Birthplace initiated a period of increasing institutional interest in developing historic sites into proselytizing places by transforming bureaus of information into visitors’ centers. A Latter-day Saint visitor’s center is different from a traditional roadside museum or roadside welcome center because it presents artifacts intended to promote contemplation and discussion of religious principles. This does not mean that the artifacts on display are different than in other settings, but merely that the interpretation of the object leads into a religious discussion. In contrast to the Bureau of Information that Junius F. Wells had established, visitors’ centers specifically attempt to integrate artifacts, technology, and human interaction.⁵⁴

In June 1967, the *Church News* announced that the “[f]ormal opening of the Joseph Smith Memorial Center marks completion of the first of a score or more of new and refurbished Visitors Centers at historic sites and temples of the Church.”⁵⁵ Heralded

⁵² Brown paraphrased in *Church News*, 21 Oct 1961, 6.

⁵³ *WRH*, 19 Oct 1961, 1.

⁵⁴ Brent L. Top, “The Miracle of the Mormon Pavilion: The Church at the 1964-65 New York World’s Fair,” in *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint History: New York*, eds. Larry C. Porter, Milton V. Backman, Jr., and Susan Easton Black (Provo: Department of Church History and Doctrine, 1992), 235-256; Glen M. Leonard, “Origins of the Museum of Church History and Art,” 1984, copy in author’s possession; Florence Smith Jacobsen, “LDS Museums,” *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 971-3.

⁵⁵ “Center Opening Set at Prophet’s Birthplace,” *Church News*, 3 Jun 1967, 3.

as “A New Way to Tell Story of Mormonism,” the change promised: “For the Mormon tourist there will be much to make Church history stories come alive with new interest and intensity. For the non-member tourist the story of Mormonism will be retold with special emphasis on the historic significance of the place being visited.” To help these tourists find the far-flung historic places, “outdoor painted bulletins and billboards” led the way, while “special brochures” guided them on site. The billboards in Vermont featured a beehive with the large title “Historic Mormon Country,” and a description and sketch of the “World’s Longest Granite Shaft” (see Fig. 31). Arriving at the Memorial, visitors were now greeted by full-time missionaries and shown paintings, backlighted photographs, a seven-foot full color photograph of the Temple Square First Vision diorama, and a full size bronze statue of Joseph Smith. There were also two carrouseles featuring illustrations by Ed Vebell about Christ’s church and paintings by Carl Bloch on the life of the Savior.⁵⁶

In 1982 the Visitors’ Center was upgraded with “[n]ew displays that will give tourists an outline of Church history and basic doctrines.” As reported in the *Church News*, the new display was an attempt “to simplify the message.” One of the buildings was devoted to Joseph Smith’s ancestry, boyhood, and accomplishments. In the second building, visitors encountered visual depictions of “highlights of the teachings of the Prophet...including the nature of deity, priesthood authority, the Second Coming of Christ, obedience to law, and the 13th Article of Faith.” The simplified message was the next phase of the Visitor Center thrust. A virtual explosion of visitors’ centers throughout the country presented disjointed and various messages, which leaders

⁵⁶ Henry A. Smith, “A New Way to Tell Story of Mormonism,” *Church News*, 29 Apr 1967, 3, 5.

believed could be improved. The Exhibits and Visitor's Center Division of the Church's Missionary Department conducted a survey of thirty-nine visitors' centers between April and December 1981. Of the 4.4 million visitors, 51 percent were not Mormon and 4 percent were classified as "golden referrals." A Division representative explained that in simplifying the message, "We have placed the highest priority on the attainment of golden referrals—non-members willing to receive missionaries in their homes. We see the visitors centers as a key element in finding golden referrals."⁵⁷

The messages presented over the years at the new visitors' center continued to present Joseph Smith as an American Prophet, while also emphasizing his ties to Vermont and New England. Whereas Mormons of Junius Wells' generation based their American message on the words of Josiah Quincy and patriotic symbols like the flag and the obelisk Monument, Mormons of the 1960s made the claim through historic geography. The Church now owned property from Vermont to Los Angeles and one way that this message was represented was by including Vermont on the historic Mormon Trail, interpreted now to extend all the way from Vermont to the Pacific. In the Joseph Smith Farm home in Palmyra, New York, a large map graphically displayed the trail with lights at significant Mormon history sites across the nation. Newspaper accounts announced "'Mormon Trail' Opens in Sharon" or "Joseph Smith Memorial on 'The Mormon Trail'."⁵⁸ New England States Mission President Boyd K. Packer declared that

⁵⁷ Arnold Irvine, "New Exhibits Readied for Centers," *Church News*, 20 Mar 1982, 13.

⁵⁸ For example, *Rutland Herald*, 3 Jun 1967; *Lebanon Valley News*, 3 Jun 1967; *Bellows Falls New-Review*, 10 Jun 1967; in NE Mission Scrapbook.

Independently published travel guides by Mormon authors picked up on this theme, guiding travelers through history and across the nation at the same time. One guide directed tourists to "Historic Mormon America" and included patriotic sites as well as religious sites. For example, in addition to the birthplaces of Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, and Heber C. Kimball, this guide also identifies the birthplace of President Coolidge and the Bennington Battle monument. See Alma P. Burton, *Mormon Trail*

the opening of the Visitor Center in Vermont marked “a significant step in the progress of a nation-wide system of historical sites from Vermont to the west coast known as the Mormon Trail.”⁵⁹ In 1971, Mormons nominated the site for the National Register of Historic Places.⁶⁰

As in the time of Junius Wells, the presentation of Joseph Smith as American Prophet continued with significant emphasis on Smith’s role as prophet. The 1967 Visitors’ Center included backlighted photographs of Old and New Testament prophets, a carousel with pictures of Christ and his apostles, and events from the Latter-day Restoration. This display visually presented a common rhetorical strategy used by Mormon missionaries. It first emphasized a full religious picture from Biblical times that included prophets, apostles, and a true Church established by Jesus Christ. Next, a presenter would draw visitors’ attention to the period after Christ when his apostles were killed and various Christian denominations arose—a period described by Mormons as “The Great Apostasy.” The presentation segment concludes with the affirmation that the ancient elements had been restored through Joseph Smith. A presenter would likely paraphrase the words of John Henry Evans affirming that millions of “people now living

from Vermont to Utah: A Guide to Historic Places of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Provo: Brigham Young University, 1952); R. Don Oscarson, with Stanley B. Kimball, *The Traveler’s Guide to Historic Mormon America* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1993), 5-10. Oscarson and Kimball’s *Guide* has been printed in 1965, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1976, 1984, 1993, 1997. Church Almanacs published by the Church-owned *Deseret News* also emphasized the spread of LDS Church history across the United States. The 1975 edition listed 114 sites (including Jerusalem!), and editions in 1977 and 1980 charted the Mormon Trail from Sharon to California, *1977 Church Almanac*, 255-63; *1980 Church Almanac*, 301-13. Travel sections in the *Church News* and *Deseret News* continued to print “Mormon Trail” travel guides into the 1990s, Jack E. Jarrard, “Follow Mormon Trail with Church News,” *Church News*, 10 Jun 1972, 7-10; *Deseret News* Travel Section, 21 Dec 1997, T1; *Church News*, 3 Jul 1999, 8-9.

⁵⁹ Boyd K. Packer, 2 Jun 1967, quoted in “At Prophet Joseph’s Birthplace: Visitors Center Dedicated,” *Church News*, 10 Jun 1967, 3.

⁶⁰ Nomination Form, dated 9 Jun 1971, in Historic Sites Files, LDS Library, Salt Lake City.

look upon Joseph Smith as a greater leader than Moses and a greater prophet than Isaiah.”⁶¹

The messages presented at the Joseph Smith Birthplace also had a new dimension that emphasized his New England heritage by strengthening ties with local press and government officials. When the new visitors’ center opened in 1967, New England Mission President Boyd K. Packer initiated a massive public relations campaign throughout New England.⁶² Packer called on a Boston member, Loren C. Dunn, who was a public relations executive with the New England Council for Economic Development and former president of the Boston Rotary Club. On June 2, two days before the formal opening of the new visitors’ center, Packer hosted a press conference with representatives of major newspapers and TV and radio stations from the region.⁶³ A reporter for the *Laconia* [New Hampshire] *Citizen* described the reception: “We were met at the entrance to the lovely small white chapel with rich red carpets and red the predominant color of the decoration of the altar. Welcoming us was Dr. Boyd K. Packer, assistant to the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles at Salt Lake City who is currently president of the New England Mission. He is connected with the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington and is in charge of the education programs among the Indians.” During the luncheon Packer described the Church and fielded questions. One reporter noted that “It was a surprise to us to learn that members of all Christian churches are Gentiles to the Mormons, so

⁶¹ Evans, *Joseph Smith: An American Prophet*, 7.

⁶² Lucile Tate, *Boyd K. Packer: A Watchman on the Tower* (Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, Inc., 1995).

⁶³ “At Prophet Joseph’s Birthplace: Visitors Center Dedicated,” *Church News*, 10 Jun 1967, 3.

mentioned most politely by Dr. Packer in explaining that there would be no coffee nor tea at the delicious buffet lunch.” After lunch the group toured the new visitors’ center, and on their way out were supplied with information to publish in their respective forums. Packer assigned one of his missionaries to monitor the newspaper reports, and the result is a mission scrapbook with clippings from fifty-five newspapers from northern New England.⁶⁴ The majority of the reports were in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, though reporters from Vermont and Maine also did their job.

Present at the press conference was the Vermont State Commissioner of Development who “conveyed the greetings and praise of Governor Phillip H. Hoff.”⁶⁵ In July, the Governor came in person. The day after Pioneer Day, Governor Hoff, accompanied by Vermont Historical Society director Charles Morrissey and Vermont Council on Arts Head Arthur Williams, toured the new displays. Vermont’s highest public official “pledged the help and cooperation of the State of Vermont in promoting the Joseph Smith Memorial as a tourist attraction.”⁶⁶ President Packer felt “[t]he development of the Joseph Smith Memorial as a missionary tool with the support and cooperation of state leaders is a great step for the Church in New England.”⁶⁷

The emphasis on the Church’s New England connections was also apparent in public relations events and tourist literature. In August 1967 the Mormon Tabernacle Choir performed in Massachusetts, and a Middlebury Vermont newspaper announced

⁶⁴ New England Mission Scrapbook, 1967-1969, LDS Church Archives. The scrapbook is organized by subject: Youth Conferences, Missionaries, Joseph Smith Monument, and so forth. Within each category the clippings are presenting in chronological order.

⁶⁵ *Rochester* [New Hampshire] *Courier*, 8 Jun 1967, NE Mission Scrapbook.

⁶⁶ “Vermont Governor Visits Center,” *Church News*, 12 Aug 1967, 3.

⁶⁷ “Vermont Governor Visits Center,” *Church News*, 12 Aug 1967, 3.

that the Greater Vermont Association was preparing a new tourist map that would include—alongside descriptions of covered bridges, presidential birthplaces, and battle monuments—a description of the Joseph Smith birthplace.⁶⁸ In the fall, the New England mission announced a new color “Joseph Smith Memorial Brochure” that would be distributed through tourist offices and at the Vermont and New Hampshire Vacation Travel Center. As with the opening of the Visitors’ Center, the mission sent press releases about the announcement of the new brochure, and the mission scrapbook secretary tracked their publication in thirty-three newspapers in New England and Canada. The cover of the widely publicized color travel brochure began with Smith’s own words about his birth in Vermont. Inside the two-page half-folded pamphlet, visitors fleeing the cities in search of peaceful country refuge were told that

There are few places left in the United States which reflect the charm and serenity of early America. The Joseph Smith Memorial near Sharon, Vermont, is one of these. Birthplace of the founding Prophet of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, the Memorial has been maintained in its natural beauty and is a welcome contrast to the crowded cities and clamor of a fast moving world.

Also highlighted in the pamphlet were the “a chapel typical of New England architecture,” a “tree-lined lane,” and “a small country graveyard.” “Here,” the pamphlet announced, “is the green mountain state of Vermont at her finest” (see Fig. 32). The second to last page displayed a photograph of the electric Mormon Trail Map.⁶⁹

To close out 1967, press releases about Joseph Smith’s birth appeared in newspapers in five New England States and two Canadian provinces. The release cited Church membership at two and a half million and reviewed the history of the Church

⁶⁸ *Addison County [Vermont] Independent*, 4 Aug 1967, NE Mission Scrapbook, LDS Archives.

⁶⁹ “Joseph Smith Memorial,” LDS Library.

since Smith's birth. No other year since 1905 witnessed so much activity at the Joseph Smith birthplace. The Bureau of Information established by Junius F. Wells was transformed into a Visitors' Center. Local government officials toured the grounds, and newspapers throughout the region publicized the changes as well as commemorated Joseph Smith's birth (see Table 6.1). In 1967, nearly 44,000 visitors passed through the Memorial gates, more than twice the number of the year before (see Table 6.2).

Throughout the 1960s, interpretation of the also site tended toward romanticism and embellishment. For example, when the hearthstone was installed in the new building in 1961 it was placed in front of an extravagant mantle and flanked by velvet seat cushions. Two years later a stone was placed approximately where the hearthstone could have been with a plaque that read "Around this hearthstone and its glowing fireplace, two days before Christmas 1805, the Smith family washed, dressed and cuddled the future organizer of 'God's Kingdom Restored'." During the same time period, romanticized depictions of the birth of Joseph Smith appeared in print and in art. One account began:

Joseph Smith shook hands all around and happily accepted the congratulations of the neighbors who had gathered at the rustic farmhouse to accompany him in that awful vigil that could mean the beginning or the end of life. Another boy! Mrs. Smith is all right. This announcement by the midwife had set off the brief celebration.⁷⁰

Another book included a sketch of Lucy Smith lying gracefully in a flowing nightgown on four-post canopy bed trimmed with tassels and lace. Joseph Sr. stands nearby holding smiling wide-eyed Jr. in his arms while three rambunctious children scramble for a view of the infant.⁷¹ Mormon historian T. Edgar Lyon, historian of the Nauvoo Restoration

⁷⁰ Arnold J. Irvine, "Monument Marks Birthplace of Prophet," *Church News*, 26 Dec 1964, 16.

⁷¹ Illustration by Paul Farber in Lindsay R. Curtis, *The Making of a Prophet* (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book Company, 1967), 2.

project, challenged the hasty examination of historical sites in New England and decried the use of non-period furnishings in presentation of artifacts, but the hearthstone and stone marker continue at the Joseph Smith birthplace until this day.⁷²

The opening of the New England Town and American Prophet memory traditions was followed by mutual incorporation. During the 1960s and 1970s, Royalton's memory tradition developed a new emphasis on pluralism and a place for everyone. In September 1960, the South Royalton Woman's Club announced that it would update Evelyn Lovejoy's 1911 *History*. Six months later (only seven months before the new director's residence was dedicated), the local paper announced that the history committee was in full swing: three women were organizing the collection of genealogies, another supervised thirty people gathering information on town organizations, and another was coordinating the efforts of seven to write up the history of town churches. Yet the project soon lost steam. Three or four families responded to the invitation to submit genealogies, a handful of clubs sent statements, and only the Mormon and Congregational Churches produced historical summaries. When the project leader fell ill, it seemed that nothing would come of it. Again, it was the probate bequest from a Dairy Hill resident, this time Mrs. Amos J. Eaton, that revived the idea. Hope Nash was persuaded to pick up the pieces, and in 1975, fifteen years after the project had begun, the Town of Royalton and the South Royalton Woman's Club published Nash's *Royalton Vermont*.⁷³

⁷² T. Edgar Lyon, "How Authentic Are Mormon Historic Sites in Vermont and New York?" *BYU Studies* 9 (Spring 1963): 341-350; T. Edgar Lyon, Jr., *T. Edgar Lyon: A Teacher in Zion* (Provo, UT: BYU Press, 2002), 280-281.

⁷³ Nash, *Royalton Vermont*, introduction.

The struggle to complete the history was indicative of a larger transformation underway. The second half of Lovejoy's *History* listed the genealogies of 286 Royalton families. Nash added sixteen more, bringing the total to 302 Royalton families in 1910. Yet Nash's history included only 112 families. Of the 302 families listed by Lovejoy, 77 remained in Royalton, and only 35 new families had been added. Thus, in the sixty-five year period between the two histories three of every four families (225) left Royalton. Even with the arrival of new families, the 1975 total was only one third the 1910 total (see Table 6.3).

Why had so many families left Royalton? At first observation, one might point to the Great Depression, but for a community of farmers the depression meant that cash was tighter, but the necessities of life were still available. Most of the established families simply held on, hoping for fairer weather. During the Second World War, however, the younger generation could not hold out. People and supplies were drawn to the cities to support wartime production. After the War, the mechanization boom of the 1950s kept people from returning. This migration left a new generation of Vermonters who had stayed behind.⁷⁴

Royalton residents of the 1950s and 1960s had survived two defining events—one natural and the other social. The combined impact of the great flood of 1927 and the mid-century migration profoundly shaped the memory of local residents. In effect, it reset their historical clock providing a new definition of the past and thus a new conception of the present. Whereas the previous generation had memorialized those

⁷⁴ Nash, *Royalton Vermont*, 53-76; Michael McDermott and Sara Hall, "This New England: Royalton, Vermont," *Yankee* 47 (Mar 1983): 60-67, 140-143.

relics—a barn, furniture, cooking utensils—that had survived the Indian raid of 1780, a new generation admired those relics that had outlasted the flood and the migration. This does not imply that residents forgot about the raid. Commemorations of the Indian Raid continued throughout the first half of the century.⁷⁵

In fact, in 1952 the South Royalton Board of Trade revived the pageant as a fund raiser and the 175th Anniversary was celebrated in 1955 with a band concert, square dancing, and historic tours.⁷⁶ In 1967 the town Historical Society was revived and two years later took over the vacant Town Hall in Royalton village as its headquarters.⁷⁷ In 1976, one year after Nash's history was published, the historical society celebrated its first achievement—South Royalton village was accepted to the National Register of Historic Places. The South Royalton historic district included eighty buildings in South Royalton—the Memorial Library, the South Royalton House, the row of stores on Windsor Street where Tarbell and Whitham had their law office office, the two churches, and Lovejoy's old high school building. Additionally, the green with the bandstand and Handy memorial and the bridge over the White River were listed. Nearly all of the buildings shared a common characteristic: they had survived the 1927 flood.⁷⁸

Yet, one building in the new historic district had not survived the flood for it had been built only one year earlier and served in 1976 as the library of the Vermont Law School. In 1965, Anthony Doria arrived in South Royalton and bought the old

⁷⁵ See John Conger Prince, "The Burning of Royalton, Vermont by Indians, in 1780," *The Vermonter* 35 (Oct 1930): 249-252.

⁷⁶ *175th Anniversary of the Indian Raid of Royalton* (South Royalton, VT: South Royalton Board of Trade, 1955), Vermont Historical Society, Montpelier, Vermont.

⁷⁷ Royalton Town Records, 1937-1972, 383 (4 Mar 1969).

schoolhouse, the South Royalton House, and two stores and opened Royalton College. The college originally catered to foreign students seeking an American education, but after the Vermont State Legislature passed a series of environmental legislation in 1970, the college shifted its emphasis toward law, particularly environmental law. In 1973 the Vermont Law School received official accreditation and since that time has acquired a national reputation in environmental law.⁷⁹ As the law school has expanded, it has purchased more of the buildings in the historic district. Thus, Royalton since the 1970s has thrived on a new memory of its past and a new present identity. One writer described local residents as “generations of townspeople who survived Indian raids and fires, rode out economic booms and busts, and kept their identity in the face of emigration of old families and the arrival of students and newcomers, all of whom find their own niche in today’s town.”⁸⁰

Mormons, too, found their own niche in the town, because, like Royalton residents, Mormons were transforming from Western outsiders to Vermont natives. Hope Nash wrote that “[t]he Mormons made themselves pleasant,” and she quoted a Dairy Hill resident who believed that “[n]ow there is only one person on Dairy Hill who doesn’t like the Mormons.”⁸¹ The completion of the new director’s residence coincided with the centralization of authority (and increase in bureaucracy) in Salt Lake City. Church headquarters now administered the affairs of outlying sites. As part of this

⁷⁸ A copy of the proposal is at the Royalton Memorial Library.

⁷⁹ Nash, *Royalton Vermont*, 75; Peter Lee Miller, *Vermont Law School: The First Twenty-Five Years* (South Royalton, VT: Vermont Law School, 2001).

⁸⁰ McDermott and Hall, “This New England: Royalton, Vermont,” *Yankee* 47 (Mar 1983): 143.

⁸¹ Nash, *Royalton Vermont*, 80.

transformation, directors were now only given a one-and-a-half to two-year assignment in Vermont. This change encouraged directors to focus their attention on the Memorial, so they felt less need to make friends in a community they would leave so soon.

Throughout the last forty years of the twentieth century, a few directors became involved in town affairs, but most kept to themselves. Some never even descended into South Royalton because the interstate could quickly whisk them away to larger towns and shopping facilities. The declining involvement of out-of-state site personnel in local town and church affairs opened the door for increased participation of Mormon Vermonters. These Mormons shaped the way Mormons in general were perceived by other Vermonters.

One of the first local Mormons to influence local affairs was Robert (Bob) McShinsky. The 1967 redefinition of the Memorial by mission president Boyd K. Packer had included the hiring of McShinsky as a full time caretaker. The son of a Polish immigrant, McShinsky was not a Vermonter, but because he was born in New Hampshire he had grown up in the region. He converted to the Mormon faith in 1957, and was serving as the president of a New Hampshire congregation when Packer invited him to Vermont. In the fall of 1967, McShinsky moved his family to South Royalton and a few years later he built a house on Dairy Hill just beyond the Memorial. Within months of his arrival, McShinsky was called as president of the South Royalton Branch.⁸² Almost immediately he became involved in negotiations to pave Dairy Hill.

⁸² The author is a grandson of Robert L. and Virginia H. McShinsky. In addition to oral interviews performed in April 2000, the author has also reviewed diaries, correspondence, and photo albums relating to the Memorial. Much of the information herein documented by other sources was prompted by conversations with the McShinskys.

While Salt Lake architects oversaw local construction work on the expanded site, they had wanted Dairy Hill Road paved. However, town residents did not want to pay the entire expense of a project that would primarily benefit Mormon tourists. The Selectmen's minutes show that from July 1959 to May 1961 they met with a "Mormon Rep." at least three times to consider widening, graveling, or paving the road. For three consecutive years (1960-1962), the Town unsuccessfully applied for state aid, and the idea was dropped.⁸³ In 1968, when McShinsky was installed as president of the South Royalton congregation, the proposition was revived, likely by the site upgrade in 1967, and the selectmen met with the state highway department to explore their options. However, in April the minutes report that "the Mormon Church will make no contribution this year to paving Dairy Hill—maybe next year." Also, "the State has no special money for Dairy Hill this year."⁸⁴

The delays were not particularly bothersome for local residents. The dirt road up Dairy Hill worked well most of the year, except in the spring when melting winter snows made it almost impossible to get through. "Button's mud hole" that Junius Wells surmounted in 1905 continued to be the biggest challenge. McShinsky recalled, "I'd floor the car just as fast as I could go to get across that mud hole, and most the times you're lucky you'd made it. But, I don't know how many people lost their mufflers off their cars trying to get through there." Local residents were well suited to go up the back

⁸³ Royalton Selectmen's Minutes, 1:69-152, Royalton Town Clerk's Office.

⁸⁴ Royalton Selectmen's Minutes, 2:2.

way in order to avoid the mud hole, so the cars that got stuck were primarily Mormon tourists.⁸⁵

McShinsky began talking with the Selectmen in 1969 and reported a strong “possibility of the Mormon Church making a contribution to the Town for surfacing Dairy Hill.”⁸⁶ In October surveyors estimated the nature of the project and the selectmen listed a proposal on the Warning for the 1970 Town Meeting. On March 10, a vote was proposed “to see if the voters will authorize the Selectmen to make an agreement with the Highway Department to use the two years State Aid construction money for road construction on the Dairy Hill Road.” The details of what followed were not recorded, only that the proposal was taken from the table and then followed by a discussion. Town meeting minutes report that the Church (represented by Bob McShinsky) offered to contribute \$15,000 each year and the proposal was accepted.⁸⁷ The Latter-day Saint contribution of \$30,000 was coupled with \$50,000 from the state and the town paid the rest. A brief debate ensued about where to begin the two-year project, with McShinsky successfully arguing for paving the section that included the mud hole. Along the way, the Town also negotiated with Dairy Hill residents, relocating portions of the road around houses and around the mud hole. The contract was awarded in 1970, but after the first year of work the governor redirected the promised state funds toward the ski resorts, so work stalled for a year awaiting additional money.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Robert L. McShinsky, Interview by author and Carolyn Erekson, 21 April 2000, South Royalton, Vermont.

⁸⁶ Royalton Selectmen’s Minutes, 2:9.

⁸⁷ Royalton Town Records, 1937-1972, 392.

⁸⁸ Selectmen’s Minutes, 1970-1975; Royalton Town Records, 1937-1972, 2; *RH*, 12 Sep 1974; Robert McShinsky, Interview by author and Carolyn Erekson, 21 April 2000.

The paved road finally opened in 1975, but it marked more than the completion of a construction project; it signaled a new era of collaboration between state government, town officials, and *local* church members.⁸⁹ Local Mormons were anxious to make their presence known, to share their newfound faith with their friends and neighbors. Beginning in the 1960s, Mormons sponsored a booth the annual Tunbridge “World’s Fair” (where Mormon cattle had performed so well half a century earlier). Mormons grew corn and sugared maple to sell, the women prepared handicrafts. In 1983 they built a permanent booth for themselves. More recently they have shown videos and even connected a computer allowing visitors to trace their genealogy on site. In 1974, members hosted a pioneer day for their friends, they held free pork roasts for town residents. Like other congregations, Mormon Vermonters hosted a Boy Scout program that eventually drew more nonmembers than Mormons.⁹⁰ Additionally, Mormons attend Town Meetings, and in 1974 Branch President Charles Sicard, a convert of five years, gave the invocation at one of them.⁹¹ In this story about memory and symbolic actions it is extremely significant that in 1980—the 200th anniversary of the Indian raid, the 175th anniversary of Joseph Smith’s birth, the 150th anniversary of the founding of the LDS

⁸⁹ The state of Vermont had previously recognized the Mormon efforts. A state representative was present at the 1961 dedication of the new buildings. See “Dedicatory Services for the Director’s Residence and Bureau of Information at the Joseph Smith Birthplace Memorial, 15 Oct 1961;” *Church News*, 28 Dec 1963, 17; *Church News*, 11 Jul 1964, 4

⁹⁰ Branch Records; Virginia McShinsky, interviewed by Keith A. Erekson and Carolyn Erekson, 27 Apr 2000; *Church News*, 3 Aug 1974, 11.

⁹¹ Special Town Meeting called on 5 Dec 1973, Royalton Town Records, 1937-1972, 3.

Church, and the 75th anniversary of the Monument's construction—local women elected Mormon Virginia McShinsky as president of the South Royalton Woman's Club.⁹²

Through the 1980s and 1990s, Mormon presence and influence continued to grow in Royalton as well as throughout the state. South Royalton High School held their baccalaureate service in the Mormon chapel in 1982, and the following year the Memorial director offered the invocation at the town Memorial Day celebration. The Green Mountain Fife and Drum Corps paraded on the memorial grounds on Pioneer day 1982, later that year the Vermont Mormon Choir, a Green Mountain take off on the Mormon Tabernacle Choir, gave its first concert at Burlington Square Mall. The next year local radio station WDEV began broadcasting the the Mormon Tabernacle Choir on Sunday evenings. Late in 1983, a new wing of the South Royalton chapel opened to accommodate the growing congregation.⁹³ Residents who had seen Mormon missionaries in town for over twenty years joined the Church. Charles J. Green and his family decided to visit the Mormon Monument for his thirtieth birthday. Fifteen years later Bishop Green guided the South Royalton Ward, welcoming others who shared a similar conversion experience.⁹⁴

Vermonters drawn to the Church by way of the monument at Joseph Smith's birthplace returned to the site often. Members throughout New England came often for youth conferences and father/son campouts.⁹⁵ Regular district conferences held at the

⁹² South Royalton Woman's Club Minutes, private possession of Beverly Thomas, South Royalton, Vermont.

⁹³ South Royalton Ward Records.

⁹⁴ "Joseph Smith Memorial Serves as Focal Point for the Church," *Church News*, 21 Dec 1991, 9-10, 14.

⁹⁵ *Church News*, 11 Jul 1964, 4; 700 attended a father/son outing on 27-8 May 1967 and 400 on 24-6 May 1968; 10-11 Feb 1967 a winter Youth conference held with hot chocolate and winter games, NE

South Royalton chapel provided semi-annual opportunity for Vermonters to gather.⁹⁶ The minutes of South Royalton Ward sacrament meetings provide a glimpse of the faith these Vermonters held in their religion and in their life. Under the heading of sacrament meeting on July 4, 1982 the clerk recorded “Patriotic fervor in testimony meeting.” The next year during a testimony meeting, one Vermonter summed up the feelings of the rest of the congregation, “I am thankful for the gospel...I am thankful to be a hard headed Vermonter.”⁹⁷ The *Deseret News Church Almanac* declares that “Church Membership today is almost entirely converts and a large percentage of them are natives of Vermont.” For these Mormon Vermonters, “[t]he birthplace of Joseph Smith has become a spiritual center” (see Table 6.4).⁹⁸

Expansion of the Memorial with its new emphasis on New England and growth of the Mormon Church in Vermont and New England in the latter half of the twentieth century increasingly prompted Church leaders to include Vermont in the Church’s memory tradition. Soon after the monument was erected, Church leaders who had the privilege to visit the site commented on their experiences publicly. George Albert Smith and President Joseph F. Smith described the dedication trip in 1906 general conferences.⁹⁹ Mission Presidents reporting in general conference often mentioned the

Mission Scrapbook; “Singles Gather at Memorial,” *Church News*, 24 Aug 1986, 11; “Priesthood Power,” *Church News*, 11 Nov 1989, 16; “Youths Visit Monument,” *Church News*, 16 Dec 1989, 14.

⁹⁶ 4 Jun 1967, Packer presided as Kay M. Nilson succeeded William J. Lewis as district president and Clark Davis sustained as SR branch president; 18-19 Nov 1967, Packer presided; 24-5 Feb, Packer presided; 1-2 Jun 1968, Packer presided Loren C. Dunn in attendance; Sep 1968, Paul H. Dunn present, NE Mission Scrapbook.

⁹⁷ South Royalton Ward Records.

⁹⁸ 1993-1994 *Church Almanac*, 179; 2001-2002 *Church Almanac*, 261.

⁹⁹ George Albert Smith, *CR*, April 1906, 53-5; JFS, *CR* Oct 1906, 4.

monument, and other leaders who simply visited the site often incorporated their experiences into public sermons.¹⁰⁰ Accordingly, references to the monument and site showed up in Church periodicals so that the general membership could also experience the place.¹⁰¹ And of course, missionaries were quite happy to share their experiences in the “Land of the Prophets”—the theme of the New Hampshire Mission for a time.¹⁰²

During the second half of the twentieth century Mormons erected three more monuments near the birthplaces of Vermont Mormons: Brigham Young in Whittingham (1950), Heber C. Kimball in Sheldon (1976), and Oliver Cowdery in Wells (1980).¹⁰³ Joseph Smith’s Vermont birth became integrated into the wider Church heritage as the century progressed. Wards and stakes in Provo and Lindon, Utah were named “Sharon,” “Windsor,” and “Vermont.”¹⁰⁴ In 1927, a new edition of the LDS hymnal included a hymn that specifically mentioned Joseph Smith’s birth.¹⁰⁵ In his 1941 conference

¹⁰⁰ Site directors: JFW *CR*, Apr 1911, 106.

Mission Presidents: John G. McQuarrie, *CR*, Oct 1907, 81; Walter P. Monson, *CR*, Apr 1918, 58; Levi Edgar Young, *CR*, Apr 1956, 32; Marion D. Hanks, *CR* Oct 1962, 103.

Other visitors: Orson F. Whitney, *CR* Oct 1911, 63; Joseph E. Robinson, *CR* Oct 1912, 77; Andrew Jenson, *CR*, Apr 1917, 99; *CR*, Apr 1920, 78; *CR* Apr 1925, 107; *CR* Oct 1925, 52; LeGrand Richards, *CR*, Oct 1955, 30.

¹⁰¹ Angus J. Cannon, “The Joseph Smith Memorial Farm,” *Improvement Era* 32 (Jan 1929): 194; Donna Higgins, “Smiths, Youngs, and Vermont,” *The Improvement Era* 67 (Nov 1964): 930-2.

¹⁰² On the NH Mission theme, *Church News*, 21 Dec 1991, 8. Also, Kenneth J. Braegger, “A Life Change,” *Church News*, 12 Dec 1998, 16.

¹⁰³ On Young see Larry C. Porter, “Brigham Young’s Birthplace in Whittingham, Vermont,” in *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint History: New England*, ed. Donald Q. Cannon (Provo: Department of Church History and Doctrine, 1988), 65-84. On Kimball see “Monument to Apostle,” *Church News*, 10 Jul 1976, 13.

¹⁰⁴ In 1864, Brigham Young named Montpelier, Idaho after its Vermont counterpart. In 1897, Sharon Ward was organized in Bear Lake County, Idaho, followed by Sharon Ward in Provo in 1911 (in the Sharon stake), and Windsor Ward in Lindon in 1915. In 1945 Provo’s Sharon Ward (in the Sharon stake) was divided and the Vermont Ward created. The Los Angeles Stake also has a Vermont Ward, created in 1933, but it is named after Vermont Avenue that forms one of its boundaries. See Andrew Jenson, *Encyclopedic History of the Church*, 528, 789-790, 956; Heber J. Grant, *CR* Oct 1933, 80.

¹⁰⁵ Parley P. Pratt, “Truth Eternal,” *Hymns* (1927), no. 322.

address, Levi Edgar Young referred to Vermont as the “Cradle of Mormonism,” and twenty years later, Elder Spencer W. Kimball delivered a conference address centered on the Prophet’s birth.¹⁰⁶

In addition to strengthening nineteenth century ties to Vermont, twentieth century events also received attention. South Royalton Branch President Bob McShinsky’s picture appeared on the cover of the 10 May 1969 *Church News*. He was shown collecting sap from maple trees with the Monument in the background. The accompanying article described the Branch service project of collecting and selling sap in order to raise money for a trip to the temple. Two decades later the *Church News* featured a story about the entire Vermont Stake, and in 1993 an eleven year old girl from Chelsea was spotlighted in *The Friend* magazine for LDS children.¹⁰⁷

Beyond integrating Vermont events into the broader Church history, Mormons also began to claim a shared Vermont heritage. Paul H. Dunn served as president of the New England States Mission from 1968-1971 (and later as a Seventy, 1976-1989). He wove traditional Vermont folk lore and “road” stories into his general conference addresses to illustrate gospel principles.¹⁰⁸ While serving as New England Mission president, Boyd K. Packer began a BYU devotional address by asking all those in the audience from New England to stand. Packer, a native of Brigham City, Utah, then said “coming as we do now, to represent New England” he invited all standing to “come

¹⁰⁶ Levi Edgar Young, “Cradle of Mormonism,” *CR*, Apr 1941, 79; Spencer W. Kimball, *CR*, Apr 1960, 83-85.

¹⁰⁷ *Church News*, 21 Dec 1991, 8-10; Julie Wardell, “Making Friends: Crystal Russell of Chelsea, Vermont,” *Friend*, Nov 1993, 40-1.

¹⁰⁸ Paul H. Dunn, *CR*, Oct 1969, 127, local VT lore; *Improvement Era*, Jun 1970, 48, visit to monument; *CR*, Oct 1970, 12, a “road” story.

home” because “we need you back there.”¹⁰⁹ In 1973, while speaking to students at Utah State University (Utah’s Morrill land grant college), Packer related an experience he had watching deer at the Memorial. This illustration of a young fawn killed by a hunter was included in his *Teach Ye Diligently*, a book that has become a staple text of the Church Educational System.¹¹⁰ Perhaps no illustration of the weaving of Vermont heritage, an American Prophet, and Mormon heritage is more descriptive than a speech Packer gave in Provo, Utah in 1989. Speaking at the American Freedom Festival to an audience made up almost entirely of Mormons, Packer quoted from Lovejoy’s *History* to relate the story of Hannah Handy as part of his message that Mormons should actively take part in a “Country with a Conscience.”¹¹¹ During the closing decades of the twentieth century it was not uncommon to see photographs of the Monument on the cover of *Church News*, *The Improvement Era* and *Ensign* magazines, or on *BYU Studies*.¹¹² Every December the *Church News* also features something about the Monument or Joseph Smith’s birth.¹¹³

While Mormons went out of their way to emphasize their Vermont heritage and presence, Vermonters of the late twentieth century reciprocated by emphasizing their

¹⁰⁹ Boyd K. Packer, “Shall the Youth of Zion Falter?” 12 Apr 1966, *BYU Speeches of the Year, 1965-1966* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1966), 1-2.

¹¹⁰ Boyd K. Packer, *Teach Ye Diligently* (1975. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book Company, 1991), 220-1; Boyd K. Packer, “*That All May Be Edified*”: *Talks, Sermons, and Commentary by Boyd K. Packer* (Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, Inc., 1982), 164-5. Another reference to Vermont is Boyd K. Packer, *Let Not Your Heart Be Troubled* (Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1991), 55.

¹¹¹ Boyd K. Packer, “The Country with a Conscience,” Address given at the American Freedom Festival, Provo, Utah, 25 Jun 1989, published in Boyd K. Packer, *Let Not Your Heart Be Troubled*, 58-67.

¹¹² See *Church News*, 10 Jun 1967, 10 May 1969, 12 Dec 1992; *Improvement Era* May 1961, Nov 1963; *BYU Studies*, 2001. See also *Ensign*, Jan 1972, 79-80.

pride in their influential, though eccentric, native son. Pride in the Monument as a symbol of the Granite industry continued as photos of the monument appeared twice on the cover of *Barre Life*, an industry journal, and the story was retold in various forums. The scale of the undertaking had increased in memory as one writer described the event as “reminiscent of the building of the pyramids.”¹¹⁴ And the new chapel on the grounds also received recognition as a notable specimen of New England architecture.¹¹⁵

Vermont travel literature of the 1970s and 1980s continued to include directions to the “well-developed Mormon shrine” where “the spacious lawns are ideal for picnicking.”¹¹⁶ One “Adventure Guide” even goes so far as to describe the law school as “South Royalton’s other claim to fame.”¹¹⁷ While not every publication mentions the Memorial, those that do demonstrate an increasing willingness on the part of Vermonters to accept local Mormons.¹¹⁸ One Vermonter even submitted himself to the visitor’s center tour, “but my wife and I didn’t feel that we were being proselytized.” Instead,

¹¹³ “Services Honor Prophet’s Birth,” CN, 9 Jan 1988, 7; “Joseph Remembered at Vermont Birthplace,” *Church News*, 12 Dec 1992, 11, 14.

¹¹⁴ See covers of Spring 1981 and Winter 1997 issues of *Barre Life*; [Author Unidentified], “Creating the Joseph Smith Monument in 1905: A Herculean [sic] Task Even by Today’s Standards,” *Barre Life*, Spring 1981, 2-6; Bert Snow, “Monumental Task: The 100-Ton Joseph Smith Memorial Came from Barre in 1905,” *Country Courier*, 10 Mar 1989, 3, 15-8, 24.

¹¹⁵ “Vermontscapes,” *Vermont Sunday Magazine*, 12 May 1991, 3.

¹¹⁶ Perry H. Merrill, *Vermont Under Four Flags: A History of the Green Mountain State, 1635-1975* (Montpelier, VT: Perry H. Merrill, 1975), 179; *Vermont Travelogue* (Montpelier, VT: Vermont Agency of Development and Community Affairs, 1990), 8. See also *Vermont: A Visitor’s Guide* (1972), 48; Preservation Trust of Vermont, *300 Things to See and Do in Vermont* (Windsor, VT: The Trust, 1982), #14.

¹¹⁷ Elizabeth L. Dugger, *Adventure Guide to Vermont* (Edison, NJ: Hunter Publishing, Inc., 2000), 125.

¹¹⁸ Chittenden Trust Company, *Vermont’s Points of Interest* (Burlington, VT, 1965); Becky Ann Artis and Ann Pierce, *Everybody’s Vermont* (West Newbury, VT: Everybody’s Vermont, 1987); Margaret Bucholt, ed., *An Insider’s Guide to Southern Vermont* (New York: Plume, 1991).

they came away with an impression of “the well-to-do solidity of the church.”¹¹⁹ Another visitor looked beyond the Church to find increased pride in his Vermont heritage, concluding that even though “you have to sit through twenty minutes of amiable proselytizing by a prayerful guide, still you leave this place impressed by the rugged, independent-minded characters these hills have been producing for a long, long time.”¹²⁰

As the century drew to a close, Joseph Smith—once first on a list of “Queer Characters” from Vermont—began to appear to Vermonters as merely eccentric. Ralph Nading Hill declared that “Vermont itself is eccentric,” and wrote a history of the state titled *Contrary Country*. Hill argued that “[e]ccentrics are as indigenous to Vermont as her fillhehand ferns,” and that “Vermont’s special climate of tolerance—some call it indifference—has long nurtured eccentrics.”¹²¹ Lee W. Storrs agreed with Hill, arguing that “[a]nyone can be a Vermonter...but to be a good Vermonter, native or immigrant, he has to have eccentricity; somewhere in his background there is a gentle madness, a persistent fanaticism, an honest idiosyncrasy.”¹²² In a 1985 collection of sketches about *Vermont Saints and Sinners*, Lee Dana Goodman listed Smith with John Humphrey Noyes, William Miller, and Ethan Allen as “a sampler of Vermont eccentrics,” and concluded that “Vermont’s most famous visionary was Joseph Smith.” Of Brigham Young and his wives and children Goodman noted that he “practiced what he preached,” for “[a]ny man who assumed the expense and management of that many wives and

¹¹⁹ Barney Crosier, “Founder of a Faith,” *Rutland Daily Herald*, 9 Oct 1994, 4E.

¹²⁰ Don Mitchell, *Vermont* (New York: Fodor’s Travel Publications, 1999), 265.

¹²¹ Ralph Nading Hill, *Contrary Country*, 73.

¹²² Lee W. Storrs, *The Green Mountains of Vermont* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1965),

children amply qualifies as an eccentric.”¹²³ Eccentricity, claimed as a Vermont trait, was a characterization that Mormons were also comfortable with. A reporter from the local *Herald* paid a visit to the Memorial in 1980 and interviewed director LaVerl Hendrickson and his wife Pearletta. The reporter was surprised that they would volunteer for the position, leave their family behind, and then pay rent to live at the site. The reporter was likewise impressed that Mormons “discourage pre and extra-marital sex, alcohol, cigarettes, and caffeine [sic].” Responding to the reporter’s apparent shock, LaVerl simply replied, “We are considered peculiar people; we know we are.”¹²⁴ Then next year, when Vermont Historical Society Director Charles T. Morrissey announced in his state bicentennial history that “Vermonters live in a peculiar state,” Mormons felt right at home.¹²⁵

Joseph Smith was also gaining recognition in Vermont as an influential American. The *Official Vermont Bicentennial Guide* of 1976 described Sharon as “the birthplace of one of the immortals of American history, Joseph Smith.”¹²⁶ Vermont writings praised Smith’s childhood leg surgery at the hand of Nathan Smith as “innovative.”¹²⁷ And Erik Barnouw, professor of journalism at Columbia University who retired in Vermont,

¹²³ Lee Dana Goodman, *Vermont Saints & Sinners: An Impressive Assortment of Geniuses, Nincompoops, Curmudgeons, Scurvy Knaves, and Characters* (Shelburne, VT: New England Press, 1985), 75-6.

¹²⁴ Dick Dalton, “The Joseph Smith Memorial—Dedicated 75 Years Ago,” *WRH*, 18 Dec 1980, B1.

¹²⁵ Charles T. Morrissey, *Vermont: A Bicentennial History* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1981), xv.

¹²⁶ Peter S. Jennison, ed., *The 1976-77 Official Vermont Bicentennial Guide* (Taftsville, VT: The Countryman Press, Inc., 1976), 77.

¹²⁷ Jerold Wikoff, *The Upper Valley: An Illustrated Tour Along The Connecticut River Before the Twentieth Century* (Chelsea, VT: Chelsea Green Publishing Company, 1985), 85; Ernest H. Taves, *Trouble Enough: Joseph Smith and the Book of Mormon* (Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books, 1984), 1.

purchased an old schoolhouse that turned out to have been a Mormon meeting place in the 1830s. Barnouw wrote a prize-winning article about the Vermont Mormons from another age, and the Vermont Historical Society published his book about his adventure in tracing the mystery history of the old school house.¹²⁸ A writer for the *Rutland Daily Herald* put the new sentiment into words when he wrote, “Vermont is one of the smallest states, and has relatively few native sons who have made history on the national scene.” After mentioning John Deere, Stephen Douglas, and Justin Smith Morrill, the writer reasons that Joseph “Smith was one of those who had not only a national impact, but also a world impact.”¹²⁹

In a departure from attitudes of the first half of the century, Vermonters also began to claim Joseph Smith as a native son. Cora Cheney was convinced that “Mormon founding fathers Joseph Smith and Brigham Young, who were both born in Vermont, were undoubtedly influenced by the religious atmosphere of their childhood.”¹³⁰ In 1987, two writers of a Vermont history acknowledged that “[p]erhaps the old Yankee flair for ingenuity extends beyond the merely material world.” Nevertheless, “[w]hatever revelations there were in the rocky hills, Smith and Young took their inspiration elsewhere.”¹³¹ In contrast to earlier sentiment, Vermont literature of the late twentieth century presents Joseph Smith as a welcome part of Vermont’s varied past. Perhaps the

¹²⁸ Erik Barnouw, “The Benson Exodus of 1833: Mormon Converts and the Westward Movement,” *Vermont History* 54 (Summer 1986): 133-148; Erik Barnouw, *House with a Past* (Montpelier, VT: Vermont Historical Society, 1992).

¹²⁹ Barney Crosier, “Founder of a Faith,” *Rutland Daily Herald*, 9 Oct 1994, 4E.

¹³⁰ Cora Cheney, *Profiles from the Past: An Uncommon History of Vermont* (Taftsville, VT: The Countryman Press, 1973), 153.

¹³¹ George Wuerthner and Mollie Yoneko Matteson, *Vermont: Portrait of the Land and its People* (Helena, MT: American Geographic Publishing, 1987), 84.

most profound evidence of this acceptance does not even come from the comments made about Smith. More often than not, Smith is included—visual sketches, his birthplace indicated on maps, his birth listed in chronologies—as part of the story that is so common that it needs no comment.¹³²

Throughout the twentieth century, collective agents of the memories of an American Prophet and New England Town accommodated the other memory tradition by opening and incorporating elements from the other. Both sides changed and began to boast of the strengths of the other tradition, and three developments of the 1990s demonstrate the degree to which Mormons take pride in Vermont and with which Vermonters generally accept Mormons as part of their past and present. The first event is an ironic twist in this story as it involves a holiday that provided the basis for Mormon connection to Vermont, but was the last to be celebrated—Joseph Smith’s birthday. December 23, 1905 was celebrated in Vermont with the dedication of the Monument, but since that time only occasional gatherings took place, often because for half a century Mormon site directors went home for the winter. Pioneer Day was celebrated from the first tourist season in 1906, and tourists have flocked to the Memorial on June 27 to commemorate Smith’s martyrdom. Local Mormons held conferences in May for Aaronic Priesthood restoration, but very little was done to celebrate Joseph Smith’s birth. In the fall of 1988, Elder M. Russell Ballard visited the birthplace and recommended a display of lights at Christmas time in an attempt to bring the site “out of obscurity.” The practice

¹³² John J. Duffy and H. Nicholas Muller, III, *An Anxious Democracy: Aspects of the 1830s* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1982), 23; John Duffy, *Vermont: An Illustrated History* (Northridge, CA: Windsor Publications, 1985), 91-5, 288.

had produced nice results at temples in Salt Lake City, Arizona, Los Angeles, and New Zealand, so locals decided to give it a try. The display of 50,000 lights in December 1988 has grown to over 130,000 in 1999. The display kicks off each year with one (sometimes two) lighting ceremonies in which state or local officials (or Church officials) turn on the lights while local high school choirs carol. As many as 30,000 visitors pass through the Memorial each December (though few leave the warmth of their cars for the frigid December temperatures), a favorite attraction being a New England covered bridge outlined in the trees Junius Wells planted a century ago that now extend over the roadway. Local Mormons are quick to emphasize that “Christ is very much the focal point of turning on the lights,” a five minute live nativity pageant based on Luke 2 and Matthew 2 draws annual crowds of over a thousand. But they have also begun to consistently celebrate Joseph Smith’s birth by seeing the lights and enjoying refreshments on December 23.¹³³ Vermonters, both Mormons and those not of the faith, now join in celebrating the birth of Joseph Smith in Vermont.

A second development involves the balance of power in the figurative space of Royalton’s memory. The Vermont state department has placed three markers within the borders of Royalton, staking out the major contenders: Joseph Smith’s birthplace, the Vermont Law School (and thus much of the South Royalton historic district), and the Indian Raid of 1780. With the decline of Royalton Village the latter has accepted a third

¹³³ “Prophet’s Birthplace All Aglow as Lights Go On for First Time,” *Church News*, 24 Dec 1988, 11, 13; “Lights Bring Warmth to Chilly Vermont,” *Church News*, 15 Dec 1990, 9, 12; “Joseph Smith Memorial Serves as Focal Point for the Church,” *Church News*, 21 Dec 1991, 9-10; “Christmas Lights in South Royalton,” *Valley News*, 24 Nov 1992, 16; “70,000 Lights Bejeweled Prophet’s Birthplace,” *Church News*, 18 Dec 1993, 6; “Live Nativity Featured at Joseph Smith’s Birthplace,” *Church News*, 23 Dec 1995, 14; “Christmas Lights Symbolize the ‘Light of the World’,” *Church News*, 21 Dec 1996, 8-9; WRH, 4 Dec 1997; *Valley News*, 6 Dec 1997; “Film Focuses on Mormon Founder’s Life,” *Burlington Free Press*, 24 Nov 1999, 1C, 6.

place role in the town's collective memory, but the law school and the birthplace maintain a healthy rivalry for figurative prominence. For example, when the state legislation limited the number of freeway exit advertisement signs to one per exit, both the birthplace and the law school lobbied for their due. Since South Royalton does not have its own exit, two other exits were considered, one in Sharon and the other near the former Royalton village. In traditional Yankee style it was agreed that both contenders would place a counter at their entrance for two years (the duration of time before the law went into effect) and the one counting the most cars would win. Throughout 1993 and 1994 law students drove back and forth over their vehicle counter while Mormons did the same with theirs. In the end, the count was so close that both parties agreed to split the difference—the Mormons got a sign going north at Royalton and south at Sharon and the law school vice versa. Five years later the state legislature voted to remove all freeway advertisement signs.

Two years after the freeway competition, the rivalry became legal when local Mormons proposed construction of a new campground on Church property. In the mid 1990s, local members designed and prepared to construct a campground, "Camp Joseph," on the Church's property (much different than when Salt Lake architects came in to upgrade the site in the 1960s). However, all construction in Vermont must be approved by the regional Act 250 board. In the spring of 1970, at the crest of what historians call the reform environmentalism wave, Vermont passed a series of environmental legislation designed to preserve scenery, recycle bottles and cans, restore backroads, and protect the land. The most influential is the Land Use and Development Law, which is now known by its shorthand name "Act 250." Act 250 created nine local districts designed to

evaluate the environmental impact of construction decisions. Ten criteria were established that examined the impact on water and air pollution and supply, erosion, traffic, educational and municipal services, aesthetic issues, and conformance with regional and local development plans.¹³⁴ Over the past thirty years, the most volatile requirement has been the aesthetic one, as not all involved construction projects share the same definition of what is aesthetically desirable.¹³⁵ Furthermore, debates in South Royalton carry a special significance because of the presence of the law school, one case going all the way to the Vermont Supreme Court.

With these factors at stake, the Mormons filed their proposal and eight property owners (many of whom lived out of state) residents with property adjoining or near the proposed camp site filed complaints against the action, basing their claims on the idea that the construction would violate the venerated Act 250. However, all but one of the complaints cited the ambiguous aesthetic clause. Neighbors simply did not want a campground near their property, but couched their argument in the rhetoric and legal justification of environmental legislation. After some discussion and in order to avoid community conflict, local Church leaders submitted an alternative plan that situated the campground farther from the edges of claimants' property.¹³⁶ Having obtained

¹³⁴ Richard Oliver Brooks, *Toward Community Sustainability*, 2 vols. (South Royalton, VT: Vermont Law School, 1996-1997); *Act 250: A Guide to Vermont's Land Use Law* (Montpelier, VT: State of Vermont Environmental Board, 2000).

¹³⁵ On the controversy of the aesthetic requirement (Criterion 8) see Cindy Corlett Argentine, *Vermont Act 250 Handbook: A Guide to State and Regional Landuse*. Brattleboro, VT: Putney Press, 1993), 127-130.

¹³⁶ Notes on the case of Land Use Permit #3WO673 fill four file folders in the Springfield State Office, Springfield, Vermont. The first file was created 13 May 1991, the fourth on 13 Nov 1998. Robert L. McShinsky, Interview by author and Carolyn Erekson, 21 Aug 2001.

appropriate permission, ground was broken for Camp Joseph on 31 May 1997 and it was dedicated on 27 Jun 1998.¹³⁷ Differences of opinion in Vermont are common (Contrary Country), and local residents of the White River Valley saw the question over the location of Camp Joseph as simply that. The Royalton town report published early in 1997 praised the effort: “Our religious institutions continue to thrive, reflecting diversity and participation to the point that the Church of Latter Day Saints is planning a new campground to further help visiting parishioners from afar.”¹³⁸ That winter, local Church leaders invited Vermont Law School Dean Kinvin Wroth to ceremonially light the Christmas lights. The difference was worked out between local Mormons and their neighbors.¹³⁹

One last case deserves brief mention as a demonstration of the melding of Vermont and Mormon memory traditions. In 1991, the state of Vermont hosted a bicentennial celebration in commemoration of Vermont’s admission to the union. The Vermont Historical Society commissioned a state history, written by Charles Morrissey, who had visited with mission president Boyd K. Packer at the Memorial in 1967. Part of the festivities included a wagon train celebrating the large numbers of emigrants who entered (and left) Vermont throughout its history. One Mormon family in Randolph

¹³⁷ “Ground Broken on Project to Improve Camp Joseph,” *Church News*, 7 Jun 1997, 1; “Camping Facilities Built at Birthplace of Joseph Smith,” *Church News*, 25 Jul 1996, 7.

¹³⁸ Royalton Town Report 1996.

¹³⁹ The construction of Camp Joseph is an interesting case of memory in itself. To date fifteen cabins and a lodge have been constructed, largely by local Mormons, using supplies donated from several local building firms. Yet, in making the campground, local members also saw themselves as hewing a place in history along side Joseph Smith and Junius Wells. The cabins are named after Book of Mormon men—Alma, Aaron, Ammon, Lehi, Benjamin, Jared, Helaman, Abinadi, Nephi, Mosiah, Moroni, Jacob, Enos, Samuel—and one Old Testament woman—Esther. A camping supply store near the lodge was named “Emma’s Emporium,” and when workers found an old tree they named it the “Joseph Tree” and benches have been placed around it as a link to Joseph’s day. In describing the work of members, Stake President James Baldwin said “It has been a monumental effort,” linking their work to that of Wells.

decided to pull a handcart in the wagon train to emphasize Vermont's connection with Mormonism.¹⁴⁰ Six years later the Mormon Church hosted their own wagon train—celebration of the sesquicentennial of Brigham Young's arrival in the Salt Lake Valley. Over two hundred people made the three-month 1,100-mile journey from Iowa to Salt Lake, gaining strength along the way so that seven hundred people in over seventy wagons wound into the city.¹⁴¹ Outside of the main trek, Latter-day Saints around the world adapted the celebration according to their own circumstances. One handcart began in Siberia in February and traveled by rail and ship in order to make it to Salt Lake City. Members in Brazil paraded with handcarts through their towns, and members around the world participated in a world-wide day of service, donation millions of hours in all. In Vermont, Mormons celebrated with a three-day trip that began and ended at the Memorial. Vermonters ranging from nineteen months to sixty-five years old came out for the event that was covered by newspapers throughout the state.¹⁴² The Randolph family who had pulled their handcart at the Vermont bicentennial pulled it out once again to join in the Pioneer sesquicentennial—tangibly linking the two heritages.

As time draws closer to the 2005 bicentennial of Joseph Smith's birth, the story of the New England Prophet from an American Town will continue to be remembered. Proposals for updating the visitors center have been made in the past, but it has not been

¹⁴⁰ *Church News*, 31 Aug 1991, 7.

¹⁴¹ "A Pilgrimage of Faith," *USA Today*, 21 Jul 1997; *Church News*, 26 Jul 1997.

¹⁴² "Handcart Expeditions: Mormons Reenact Trek," *RH*, 24 Jul 1997. An Associated Press Article prepared by Anne Wallace Allen was printed in various local papers: *Valley News*, 25 Jul 1997, A2, A4; *Rutland Herald*, 25 Jul 1997, 1, 14; *Burlington Free Press*, 26 Jul 1997, 3C.

changed since 1982.¹⁴³ New exhibits in Vermont are likely to follow recent trends in Mormon visitors centers in general—an increase in interactive technology with emphasis on Jesus Christ, families, and the scriptures.¹⁴⁴ Quite possibly, local residents in South Royalton will sing “Happy Birthday” to Joseph Smith as Whitingham residents did for Brigham Young at his bicentennial in 2001.¹⁴⁵

Whatever happens at the Joseph Smith Birthplace Memorial, the two hundred year connection between Vermont and Mormonism has demonstrated that some things remain the same. A Randolph-based newspaper continues to serve the White River valley community, while town leaders of Royalton, Sharon, and Bethel continue to coordinate planning activities.¹⁴⁶ The South Royalton Woman’s Club continues to support the Royalton Memorial Library, and the South Royalton House is still a place of gathering, whether for law students or for any needing a free thanksgiving meal.¹⁴⁷

But the story of the memory of Joseph Smith in Vermont also demonstrates that a granite monument can have a profound impact on political, social, and religious events. The birthplace of Joseph Smith, once unknown even to the Sharon Town Clerk, is now listed by the Vermont Chamber of Commerce as one of Vermont’s top ten winter attractions. The Mormon Church, once decried by the Vermont Woman’s Home

¹⁴³ See T. Michael Smith, “A Preliminary Study of the Solomon [sic] Mack/Joseph Smith Sr. Cabin Site at the Joseph Smith Jr. Birthplace Memorial Site, Sharon Township, Vermont,” Feb 1981; “The Joseph Smith Memorial Church Historic Site Investigation: A Proposal for an Archaeological Study of this Sharon, Vermont Area Site,” Sep 1980. Copies of both reports in LDS Historic Sites files.

¹⁴⁴ “Church Visitors’ Centers Put Technology to Work,” *Ensign*, April 2001, 76-7; “LDS Visitors Centers Reopening,” *Deseret News*, 28 Sep 2001.

¹⁴⁵ *Church News*, 9 Jun 2001, 8.

¹⁴⁶ Royalton Town Report 2000, 10.

¹⁴⁷ SRWC to Royalton Town Selectboard, 9 Dec 1993, SRWC Minutes; Royalton Town Report 1999, 70.

Missionary Union as “an insult to the womanhood of Vermont, of our country, and of the world,” is now welcomed as a beacon of virtue, especially in Weathersfield, Windsor County where Mormons cleaned up the neighborhood by building a chapel on a vacant lot formerly used as an X-rated drive in.¹⁴⁸ The J. Willard Marriott foundation (named in honor of the young Mormon missionary who was shot at in Vermont) joined with Vermont Public Television to produce a PBS documentary on the life of Joseph Smith, that television station officials insisted be titled an “American Prophet.” The film premiered at the South Royalton chapel.¹⁴⁹ Latter-day Saints, whose literature was once decried, are now invited to local archives to film genealogical records.¹⁵⁰ In Royalton, Mormons once barred from public monuments are now elected to public office.¹⁵¹ In the White River Valley, bicycle tourists can travel a short tour through South Royalton, Sharon, Stafford and Tunbridge, passing along the way the Vermont Law School, the birthplace of Joseph Smith, and the Justin Smith Morrill Homestead.¹⁵² Winding along the White River and its branches, these tourists will see the beautiful rugged land that, in the words of one Vermont writer, “produced the mind of Joseph Smith and his Mormon

¹⁴⁸ To the disgrace of town fathers, the village of Ascutneyville in Weathersfield township was known during the 1970s as “Smutneyville” due to the films presented at the Midway Drive-in. The LDS Church purchased the lot in 1991 and dedicated a chapel late in 1992, *Rutland Daily Herald*, 6 May 1991, 5; “Mormons plan Church on X-rated theater site,” *Burlington Free Press*, 16 May 1996, 6B; “Notorious Ascutney Lot Rises from Hellish Depths to Heaven,” *Rutland Daily Herald*, 20 Nov 1996, 6.

¹⁴⁹ “Film Focuses on Mormon Founder’s Life,” *Burlington Free Press*, 24 Nov 1999, 1C, 3C. The PBS documentary was prepared by Lee Groberg, see Heidi S. Swinton, *American Prophet: The Story of Joseph Smith, based on the documentary by Lee Groberg*. Salt Lake City, UT: Shadow Mountain, 1999).

¹⁵⁰ “Couple Help build a Lasting Record,” *Burlington Free Press*, 22 Jun 2000, 1B, 5B.

¹⁵¹ Royalton Town Report, 2000, lists three Latter-day Saints in public office: Lister Michele W. Wilson, Constable Moroni S. Johnson, Jr., and Grand Juror G. Lester Corwin, II, 7.

¹⁵² John S. Freidin, *25 Bicycle Tours in Vermont, A Revised and Expanded Edition of 20 Bicycle Tours in Vermont* (Woodstock, VT: Backcountry Publications, 1987), 77-81.

cosmology.”¹⁵³ In the nearly two centuries since Joseph Smith’s birth, his memory as an American Prophet has been accommodated in the New England Town of Royalton.

¹⁵³ Jan Albers, *Hands on the Land: A History of Vermont Landscape* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000), 184.

CONCLUSION

In presenting the history of the Joseph Smith Monument in Vermont, I have argued that the granite shaft erected in 1905 on the centenary of Smith's birth became a central symbol in the formation of the memory of Joseph Smith as an American Prophet. Furthermore, I contend that Royalton's reaction to the monument throughout the twentieth century represents the validation of Mormon efforts to remember Joseph Smith. As Royalton residents debated whether or not their New England Town could properly participate in the commemoration of Joseph Smith, they defined a place for themselves and for Mormons in a more pluralistic American society.

A monument is a symbol, and the story of the Joseph Smith Monument symbolizes the transformation of the opinions of Vermonters over the course of two centuries. Vermonters of the nineteenth century felt ashamed of their connection to the "Mormon menace," and while Vermont senators led efforts to officially punish Mormon activities, local residents and writers did their best to disentangle Mormonism from Vermont's past. At the close of the twentieth century, Vermonters acknowledged and even praised their state's connection with Joseph Smith in the nineteenth century, and with the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument and Mormons in the twentieth century.

I have explored the contours of this transformation through the case study of Royalton, Vermont. The competing interests of the more agrarian village of Royalton

and the urban-minded village of South Royalton are representative of the divided loyalties expressed by Vermonters throughout their history.¹ On the question of Mormonism, the transformation of Vermont opinions is significant because of their overwhelming opposition to Mormonism during the nineteenth century. Events in Royalton have implications for Vermont as well as for America. The question of what it means to be American was at the crux of both the Mormon memory of Joseph Smith as an American Prophet and Royalton memories of their New England Town.

As far as Latter-day Saint historic sites and memory are concerned, the Joseph Smith Birthplace claims several firsts, making it an ideal reference for the study of Latter-day Saint commemoration. It is the place where the first event in the Church's history occurred, and though it was not the first historic site purchased, the erection of a monument in 1905 made it the first historic site outside of Utah to be developed. The dedication of a visitors' center at the site in 1967 was the first of a virtual explosion in such centers. Thus, the history of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument could serve as an outline for twentieth century Latter-day Saint commemoration efforts. Such a study would be significant because historians generally agree that regional or specialized interpretations of the past have given way to commemoration of more unified civil religion.² Yet, the increasingly religious nature of both the design and messages of the

¹ See Charles T. Morrissey, *Vermont: A Bicentennial History* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1981); Nancy Price Graff, ed., *Celebrating Vermont: Myths and Realities* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1991).

² John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992); Wilbur Zelinsky, *Nation into State: The Shifting Symbolic Foundations of American Nationalism* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1988).

Joseph Smith Memorial birthplace provide a counterpoint to prevailing national trends and merits analysis.

Additionally, until the opening of historic restorations in Nauvoo and Independence in the early 1970s, Joseph Smith's birthplace was the most visited Mormon tourist site outside of Salt Lake City. I touched only briefly on tourism in this study, and though comprehensive tourist data does not exist for the entire history of the site, analysis of existing data would yield insight into the reasons Mormons visit historic sites, and the messages visitors take away from the experience.

The history of the Joseph Smith Memorial monument also demonstrates that the individual people involved in the story bring to its study irony, humor, and drama. Junius F. Wells played a decisive role in constructing and interpreting the Joseph Smith monument, just as Evelyn Lovejoy profoundly influenced the social and political events of Royalton's history. These monuments were not the products of committees or faceless organizations, but the fruits of the efforts of individual people. The story of the Joseph Smith Monument makes not only an argument for contingency, but for the agency of ordinary people as well.

It is also significant to observe that gender played a role in commemoration in this story. Mormon men exerted extensive control of institutional memory by virtue of their ecclesiastical positions. Yet Church Presidents Brigham Young, John Taylor, and Joseph F. Smith also brought family or personal interests to their ecclesiastical position.³ And

³ Glen M. Leonard drew my attention to the fact that this connection is particularly apparent at the close of the twentieth century as Church President Gordon B. Hinckley has led out in the Church's restoration of Cove Fort, Utah, settled by his grandparents; and Martin's Cove, Wyoming, where his wife's ancestors endured harsh winter conditions as members of the Martin Handcart company. President Hinckley has also pursued two projects proposed in the early decades of the twentieth century by his father, Bryant S. Hinckley: the erection of a monument to the Mountain Meadows Massacre in southern Utah and the restoration of the Nauvoo, Illinois, Temple.

while the Church historian's office prepared an official account of the Monument's dedication, Edith Smith and Susa Young Gates collaborated on a popular account published for general Church membership. In Royalton, men donated money, and organized and chaired committees, yet Evelyn Lovejoy and members of the local women's clubs carried out the work.

Beyond Latter-day Saint memory and historic sites, this study also suggests that the vastness of Mormon history is virtually untouched. Mormon historians have largely focused on founding events of the nineteenth century and on developments at Church headquarters in the twentieth. This study suggests that in looking beyond Nauvoo and Salt Lake City researchers will find many stories as exciting as the Mormon Affair that will enrich our understanding of the Mormon past.

The story of the Joseph Smith Monument has several implications for the study of American monuments and memory in general. Religious monuments have received short shrift from historians who have preferred civil monuments.⁴ Yet historians have pillaged religious vocabulary by adapting phrases like "sacred ground."⁵ Religion has played a fundamental role throughout American history, and the monuments erected to remember religious pasts merit professional attention. This study could be expanded to compare the Joseph Smith Monument with commemoration of other American religious leaders.

In addition to calling attention to religious monuments, this study also emphasizes the need to consider the construction of monuments and memorials less as "history wars"

⁴ Diane Barthel, *Historic Preservation: Collective Memory and Historical Identity* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1996), chapter six.

⁵ Edward T. Linenthal, *Sacred Ground: Americans and Their Battlefields* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1991).

and more as part of enduring negotiations about the past. I have argued that there is more to a monument's history than events leading up to its dedication. The long period of time in which the memory of Joseph Smith in Vermont has been (and continues to be) formed and validated also demonstrates that the significance of the past.

This study has produced a working model for analyzing the long-term formation, validation, and interaction of memories. Applying this model to other studies will reveal insights unavailable by the application of clash and war models. For example, this model would highlight the significance of France's gift of the Statue of Liberty to the United States as an external validation of American claims as the protector of democracy in the world. A recent study of the memory of the American Civil War demonstrated the formation of two competing memories, the reunion of a divided nation and the struggle for racial equality.⁶ Relying on short term models, the author was forced to end his analysis in 1915, mentioning the Civil Rights movement only briefly in the final pages. Application of this long-term model of memory would illuminate the ways in which the Civil Rights movement validated the struggle for racial equality, while still allowing the continuing accommodation of the two memories.

No act of remembering can ever change the fact that Joseph Smith was born in Vermont or that Indians raided the White River Valley in 1780. Nevertheless, this study has shown that memory is dynamic. The fact that memories are aggregated, concretized and interpreted as well as contested and accommodated demonstrates that their malleability is essential to the enduring adaptive significance and value of the past for

⁶ David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press, 2001).

confronting the developments of the present. Memory is a way of thinking about a past that helps make sense of the present.

In the present, people act in ways that will further their interests and promote their values, and this study shows that monuments can have a direct impact on political, social, and economic developments. Just as this study provides insight into the American transformation from an agrarian society to an urban nation, so the study of other monuments will likewise inform historical questions about politics and the economy. The study of monuments and commemoration are not simply a part of cultural or memory studies, but merit analysis in broader historical inquiry.

ILLUSTRATIONS

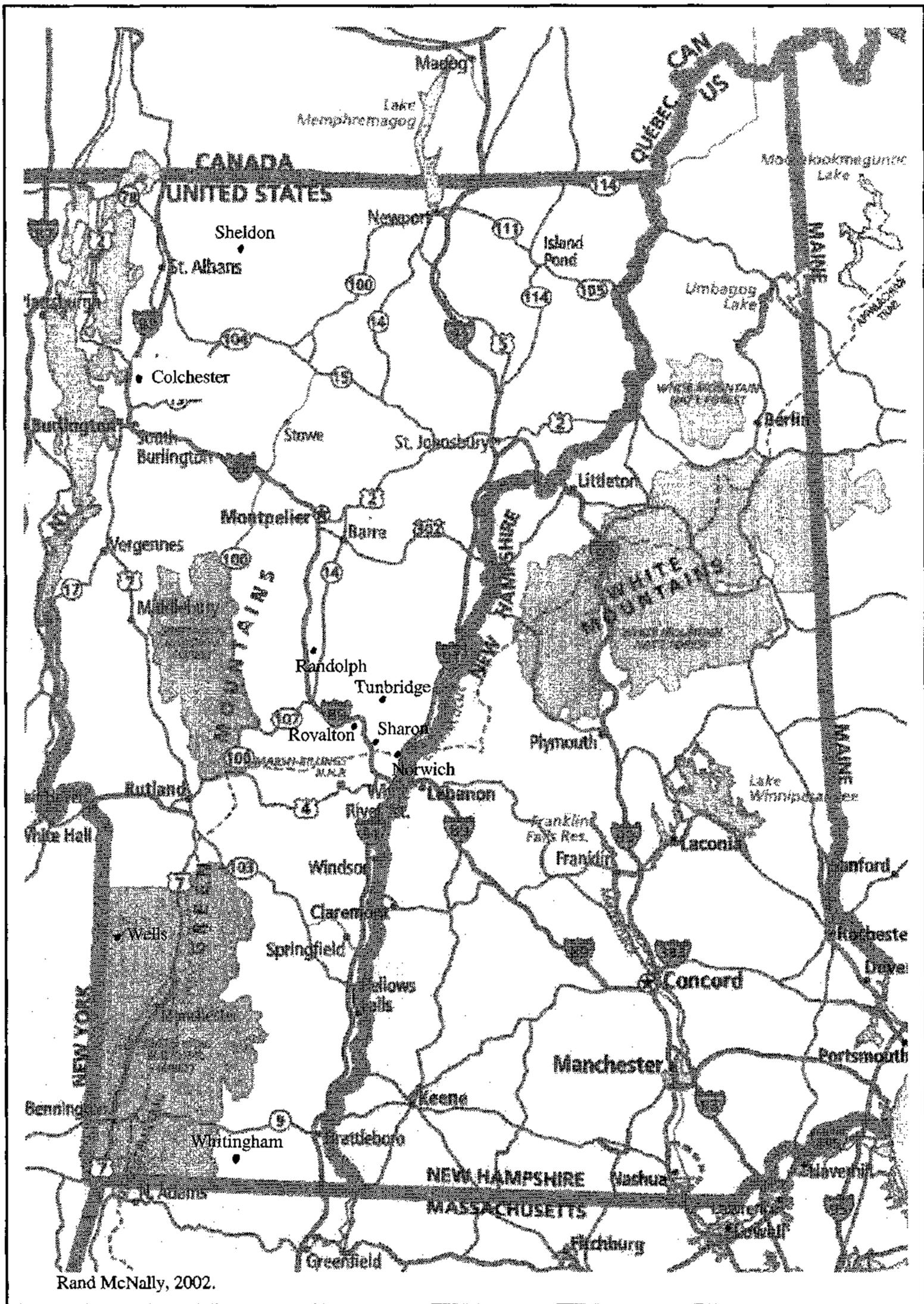


Fig. 1. Vermont.



Fig. 2. Junius F. Wells (1854-1930). *Proceedings*, facing 16.

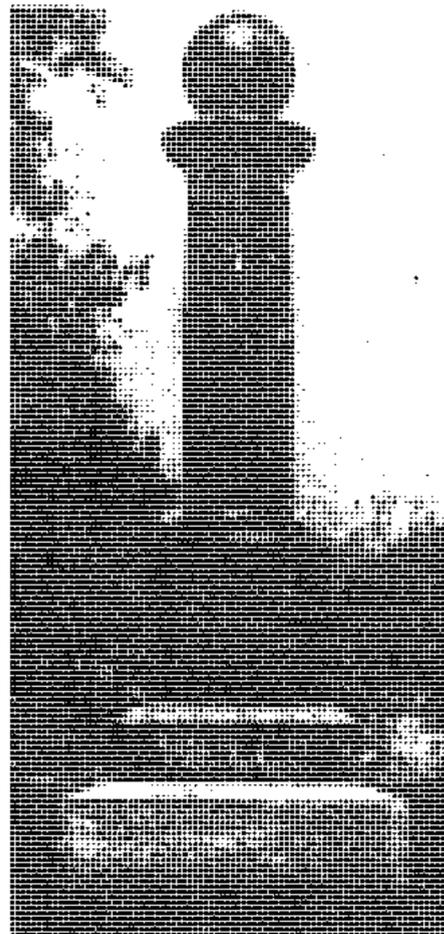


Fig. 3. Monument to Daniel H. Wells, Salt Lake City Cemetery.

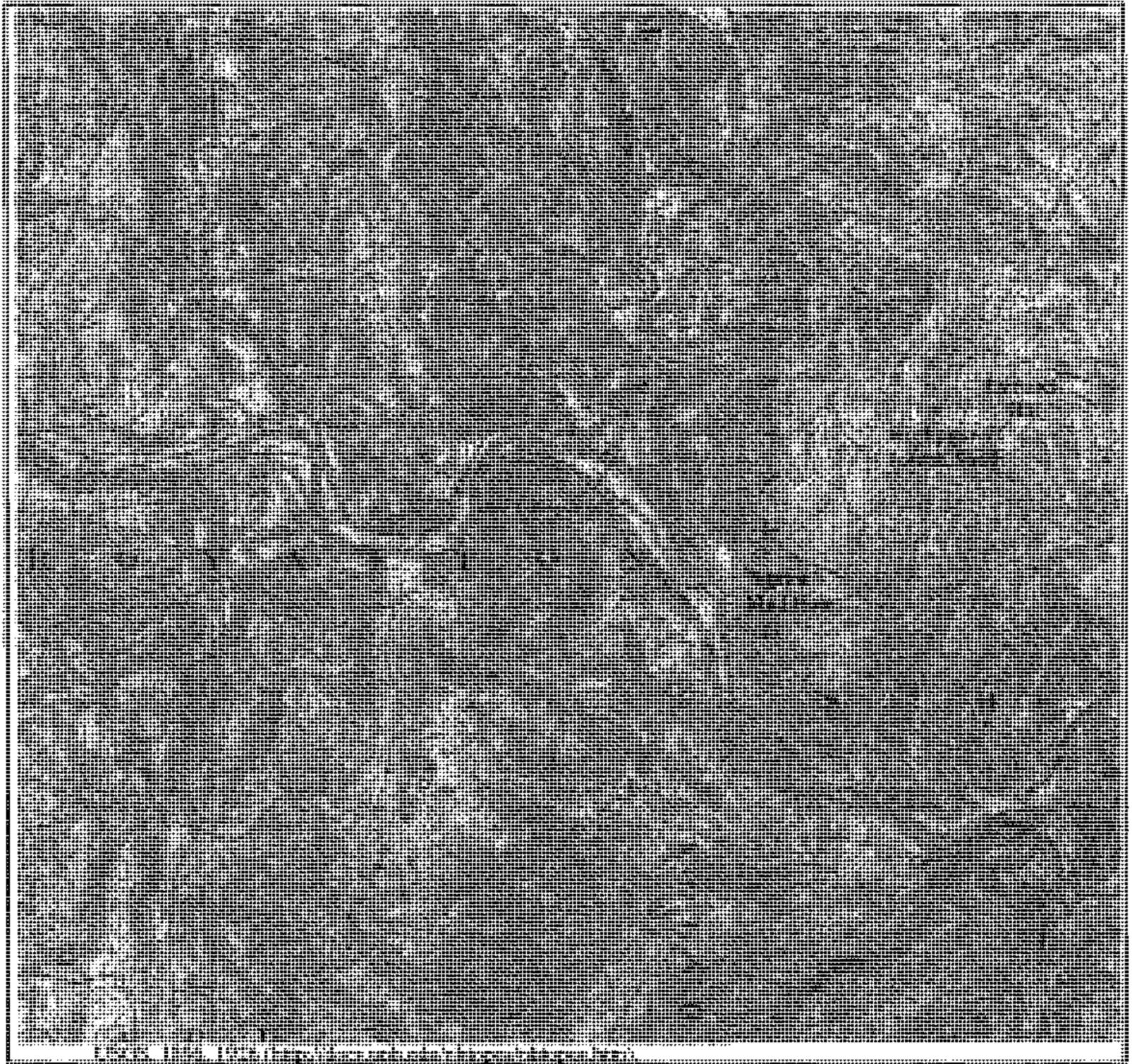


Fig. 4. Royalton Township.



Fig. 5. Covered bridge over the First (or Tunbridge) Branch, South Royalton.
Lovejoy, History, facing 910.

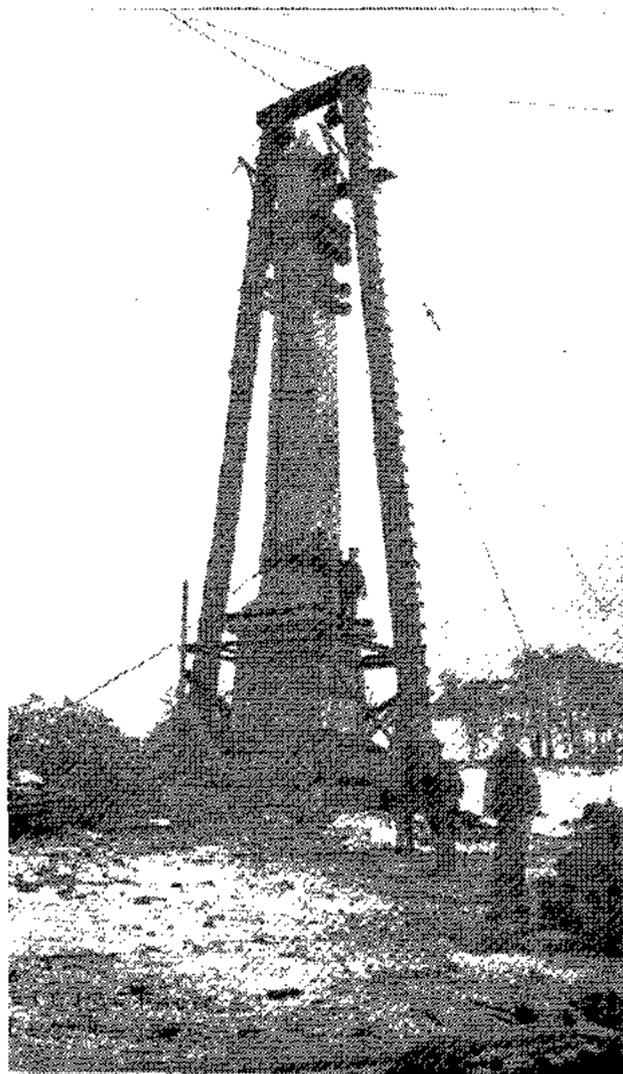


Fig. 6. Setting the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument in Place, 8 Dec 1905.
Proceedings, facing 4.

Figures 7-14 are Vermont friends of Junius F. Wells who supported the erection of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument.



Fig. 7. South Royalton postmaster and merchant Julius Orlando Belknap (1840-1910). Lovejoy, *History*, facing 1040.



Fig. 8. South Royalton businessman and deputy sheriff Marvin H. Hazen (1856-). Lovejoy, *History*, facing 611.

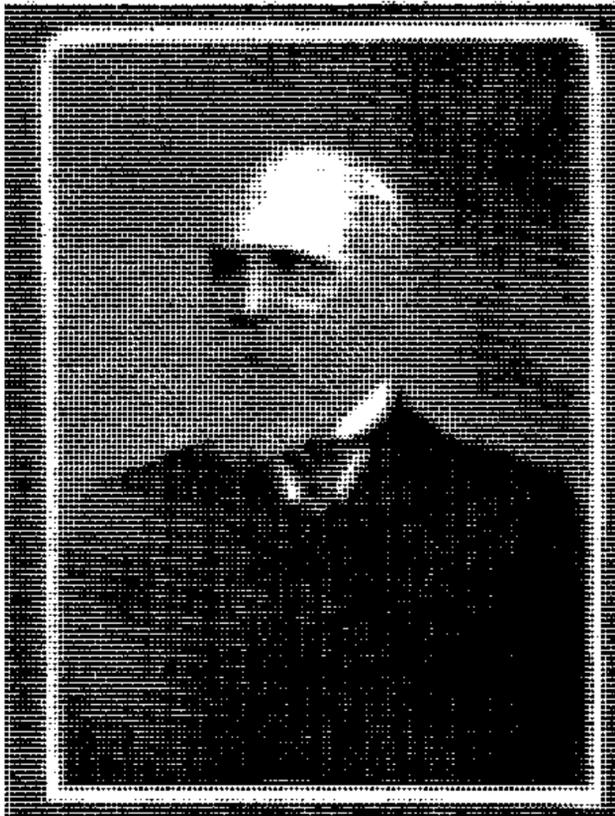


Fig. 9. South Royalton merchant John Henry Hewitt (1846-). Lovejoy, *History*, facing 611.



Fig. 10. South Royalton newspaper editor Mark J. Sargent (1837-). Lovejoy, *History*, facing 610.



Fig. 11. South Royalton lawyer Charles P. Tarbell (1850-1934). Lovejoy, History, facing 567.



Fig. 12. South Royalton lawyer and notary public Arthur G. Whitham (1866-1962). Lovejoy, History, facing 532.



Fig. 13. South Royalton doctor and former state senator Edgar J. Fish (1851-). Lovejoy, History, facing 544.



Fig. 14. South Royalton House proprietor Charles Henry Woodard (1853-). Lovejoy, History, facing 384.



Fig. 15. South Royalton House (Woodard Hall), 1910s.
Lovejoy, *History*, facing 384.

WOODARD'S

SOUTH ROYALTON HOUSE,
SOUTH ROYALTON, VT.

Near Railroad Station, Post-office, Churches, and Business.

STEAM HEAT, ELECTRIC LIGHTS. LIVERY AND
TRANSIENT STABLES CONNECTED.

RATES, \$2.00 PER DAY.

Established in 1851.

C. H. WOODARD, *Proprietor.*

Fig. 16. Advertisement for Woodard Hall, 1906.
Dunklee, *Burning of Royalton*, 91.

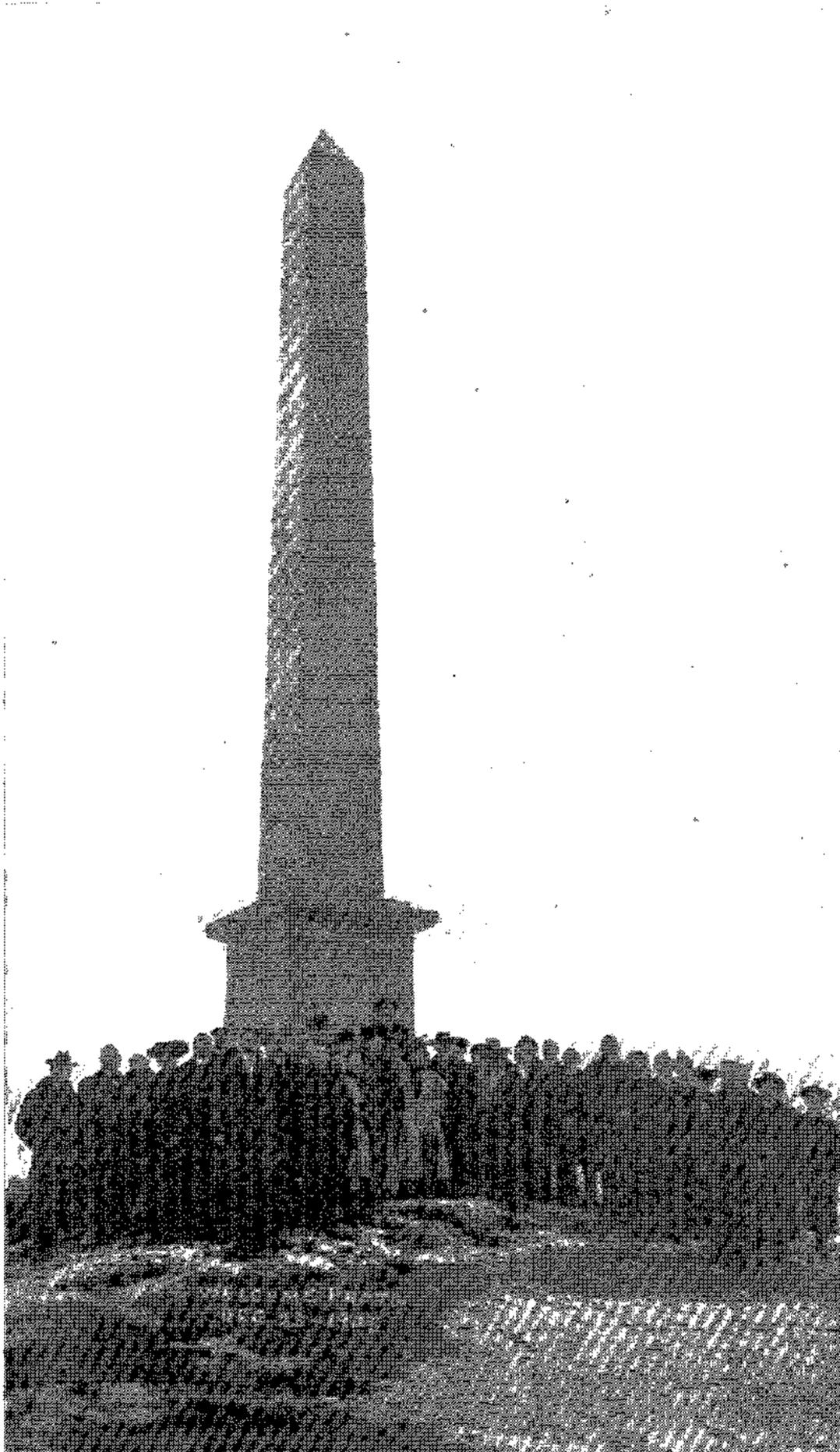


Fig. 17. Guests in front of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument, 23 Dec 1905.
Proceedings, frontispiece.



Fig. 18. The Memorial Cottage, 1920s. Monument to the right of photo.
Private collection of Elaine Soule. Used by permission.



Fig. 19. Daniel G. Wild (1833-1914).
Lovejoy, *History*, facing 179.

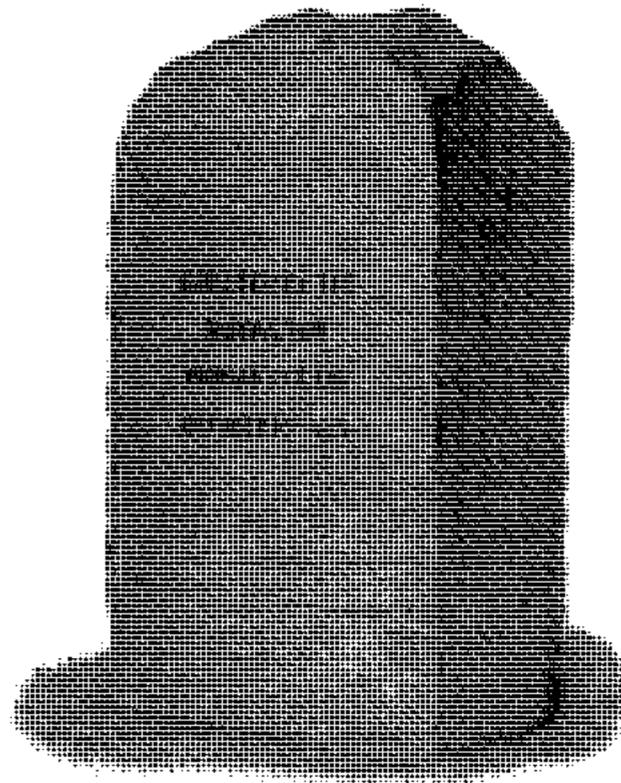


Fig. 20. The Royalton Woman's
Club erected a monument to the
1780 Indian Raid in 1906.
Dunklee, *Burning of Royalton*, 76.



Fig. 21. Proceeds from Evelyn Lovejoy's *History of Royalton* paid for a
monument to Hannah Handy in South Royalton. Author's collection.



Fig. 22. Splitting wood at the Joseph Smith Memorial Farm, 1920s. *Back row, left to right:* Edwin Clifford (standing on woodpile), Frank Clifford, Mabel Clifford, Alice Clifford (in doorway), Olive, Edith Clifford. *Front row, left to right:* Gladys Clifford, Jack Clifford (in carriage), Frank L. Brown, Brother Hanson, Roland McIntosh, Lisle McIntosh, Alf Clifford, neighbor, missionary, Winnifred Brown. Private collection of Elaine Soule. Used by permission.



Fig. 23. Winter at the Joseph Smith Memorial Farm, 1920s. *Left to right:* Edwin Clifford, Alice Clifford, Heber C. Smith, Elder Turley, Edith Clifford, Mabel Clifford, unidentified. Private collection of Elaine Soule. Used by permission.

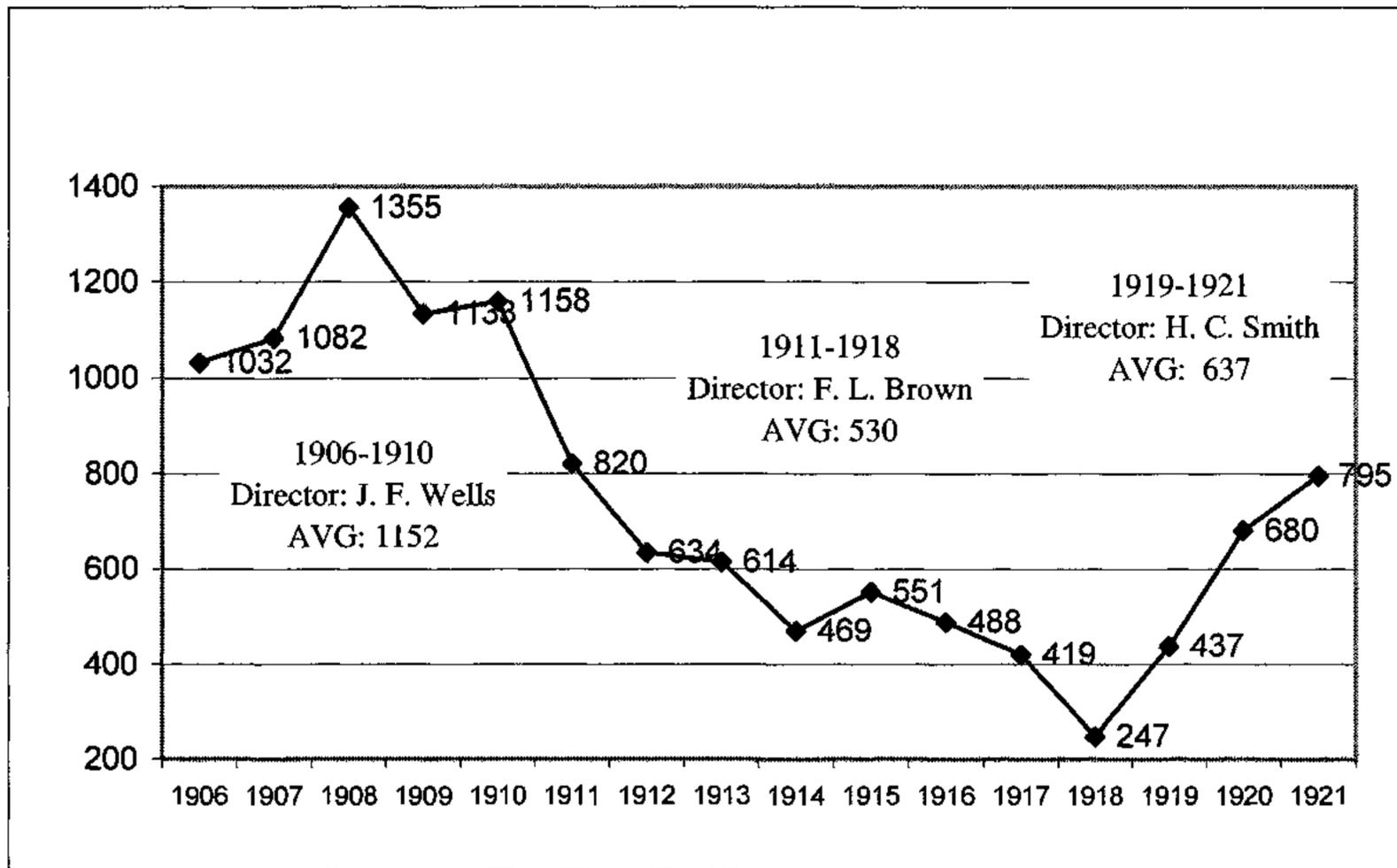


Fig. 24. Guests Signing Register at the Joseph Smith Memorial Birthplace, 1906-1921.
 Source: "Register of Visitor's to Joseph Smith's Birthplace," LDS Archives.

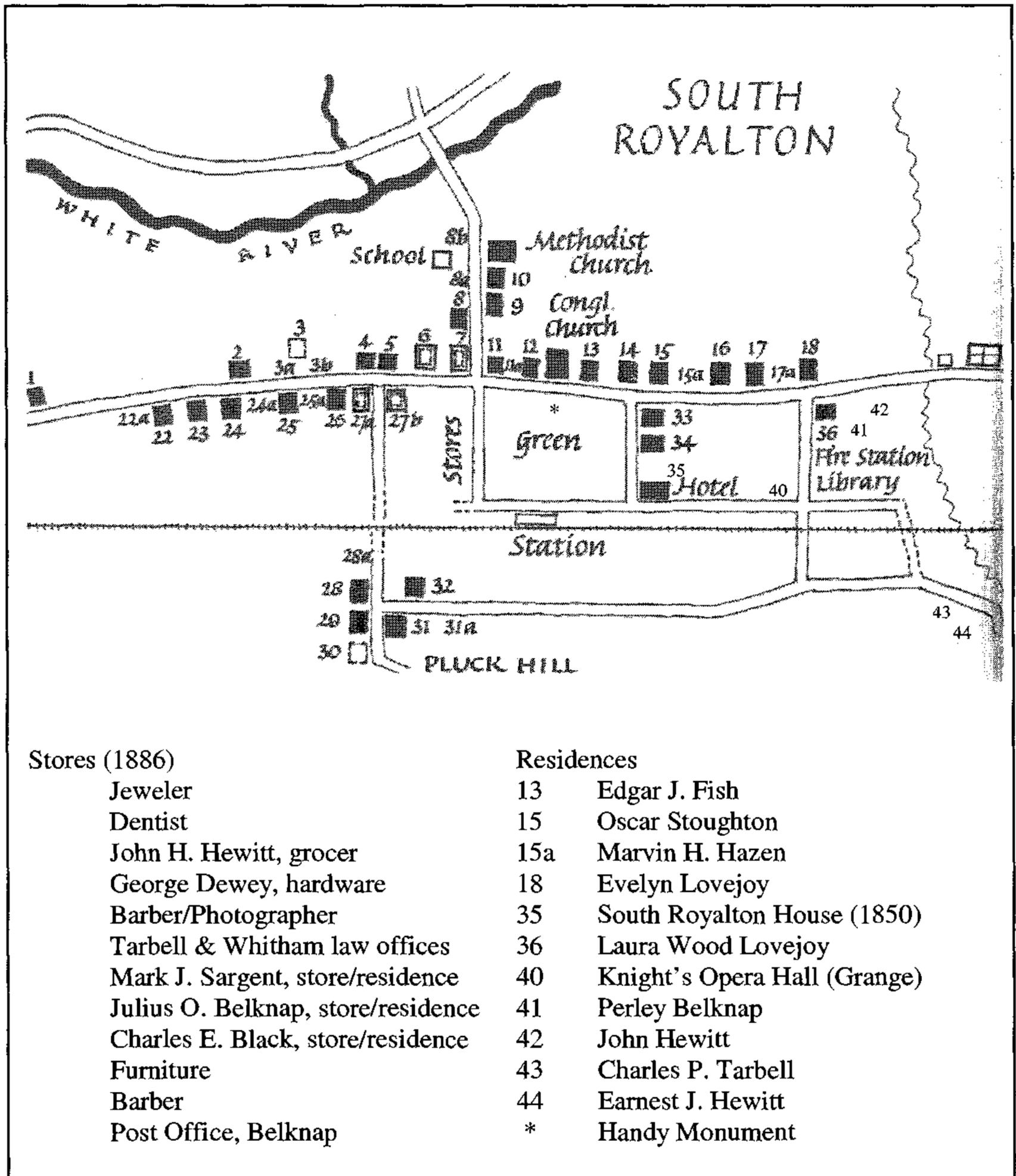


Fig. 25. South Royalton Village, 1920s. Nash, *Royalton Vermont*, 122, 182-7; Lovejoy, *History of Royalton*, facing 576.

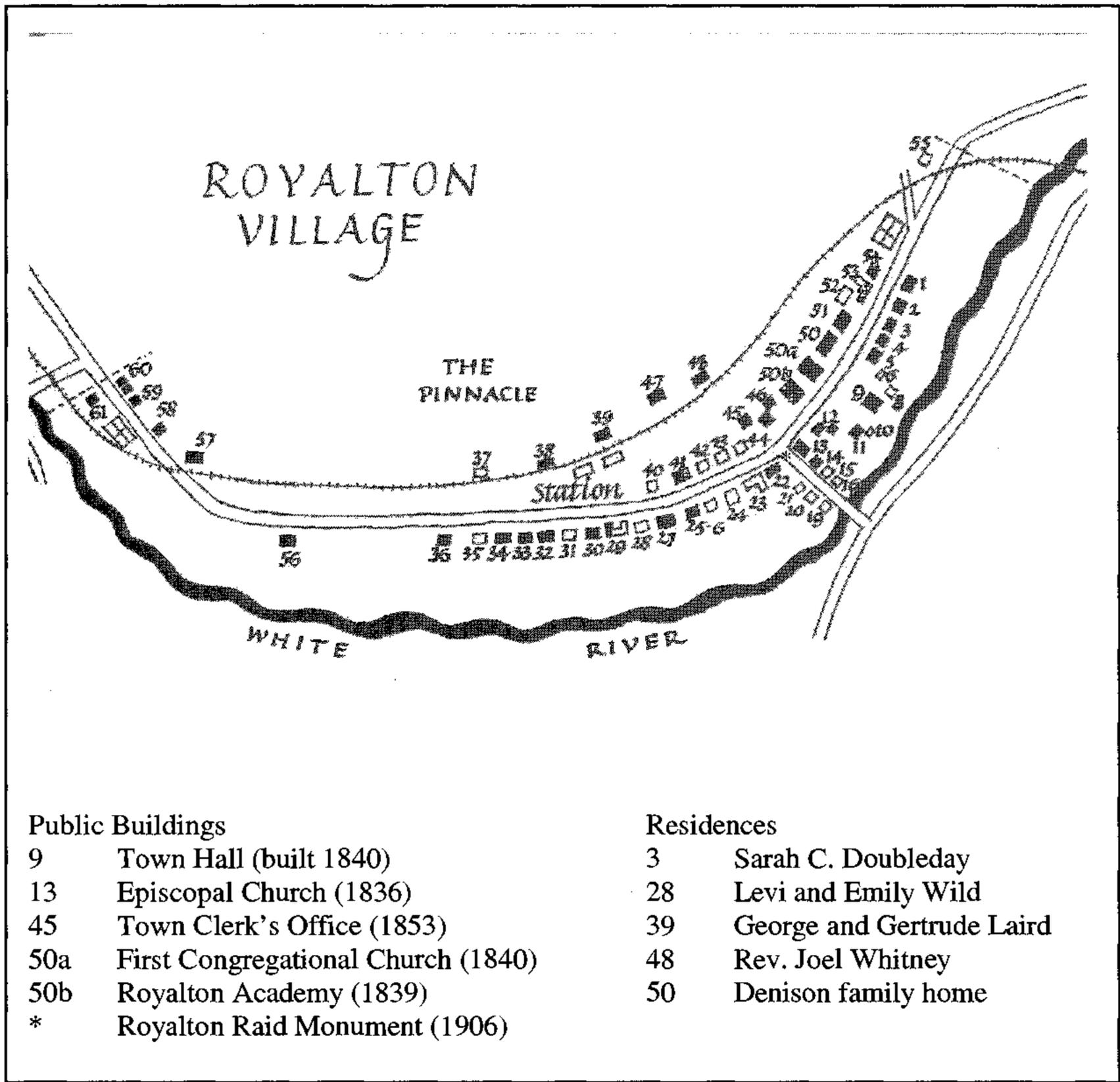


Fig. 26. Royalton Village, 1920s. Nash, *Royalton Vermont*, 119, 170-175; Lovejoy, *History of Royalton*, facing 576.



Fig. 27. Educator, author, South Royalton Woman's Club president Evelyn M. Lovejoy (1847-1928). Lovejoy, *History*, facing 331.



Fig. 28. Royalton Woman's Club president Gertrude Laird (1862-1940). Lovejoy, *History*, facing 603.



Fig. 29. Royalton Memorial Library Postcard, 1924. Author's collection.

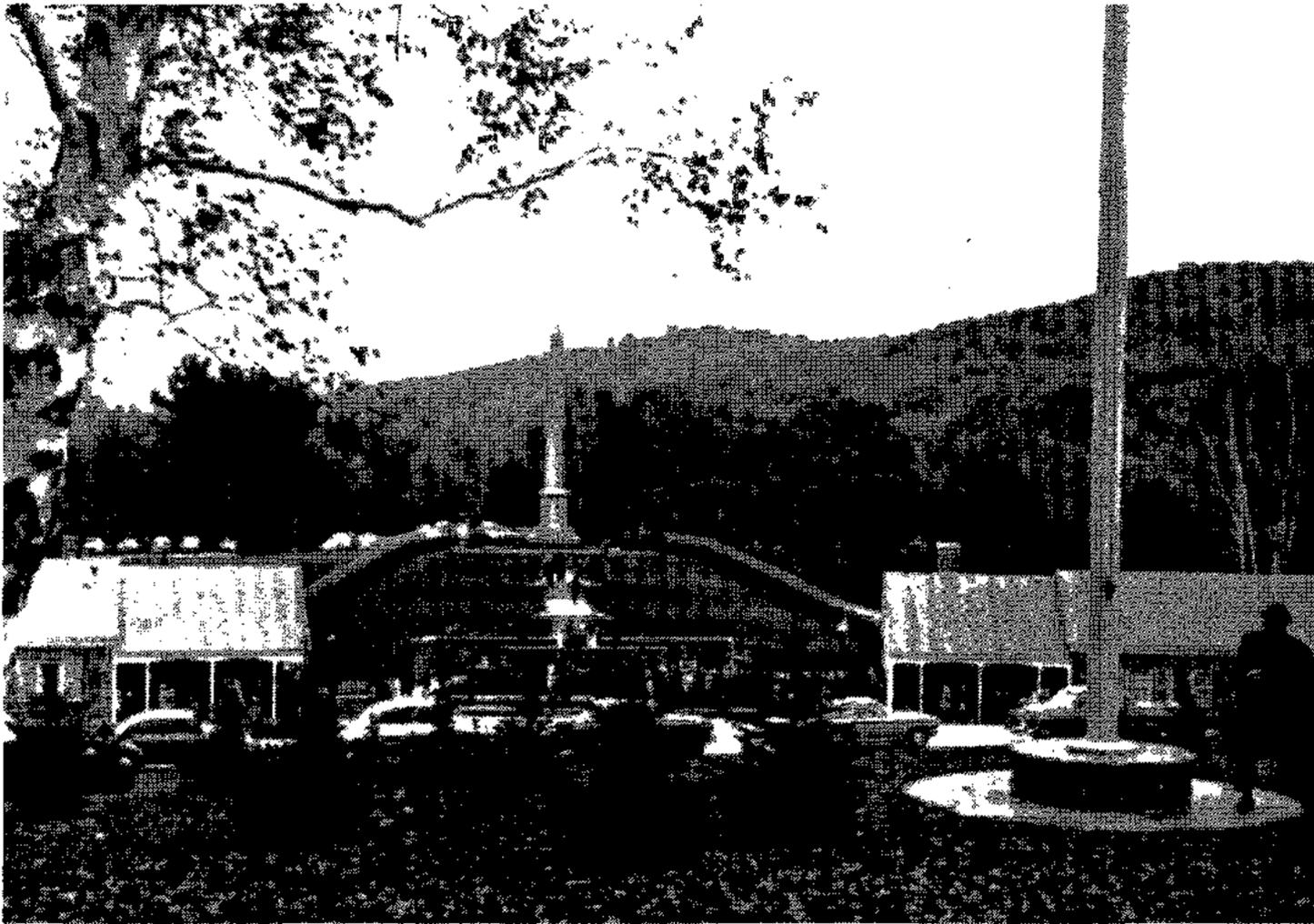


Fig. 30. Dedication of the Director's Residence and Bureau of Information, 15 Oct 1961.
Herald of Randolph (Vermont). Used by permission.

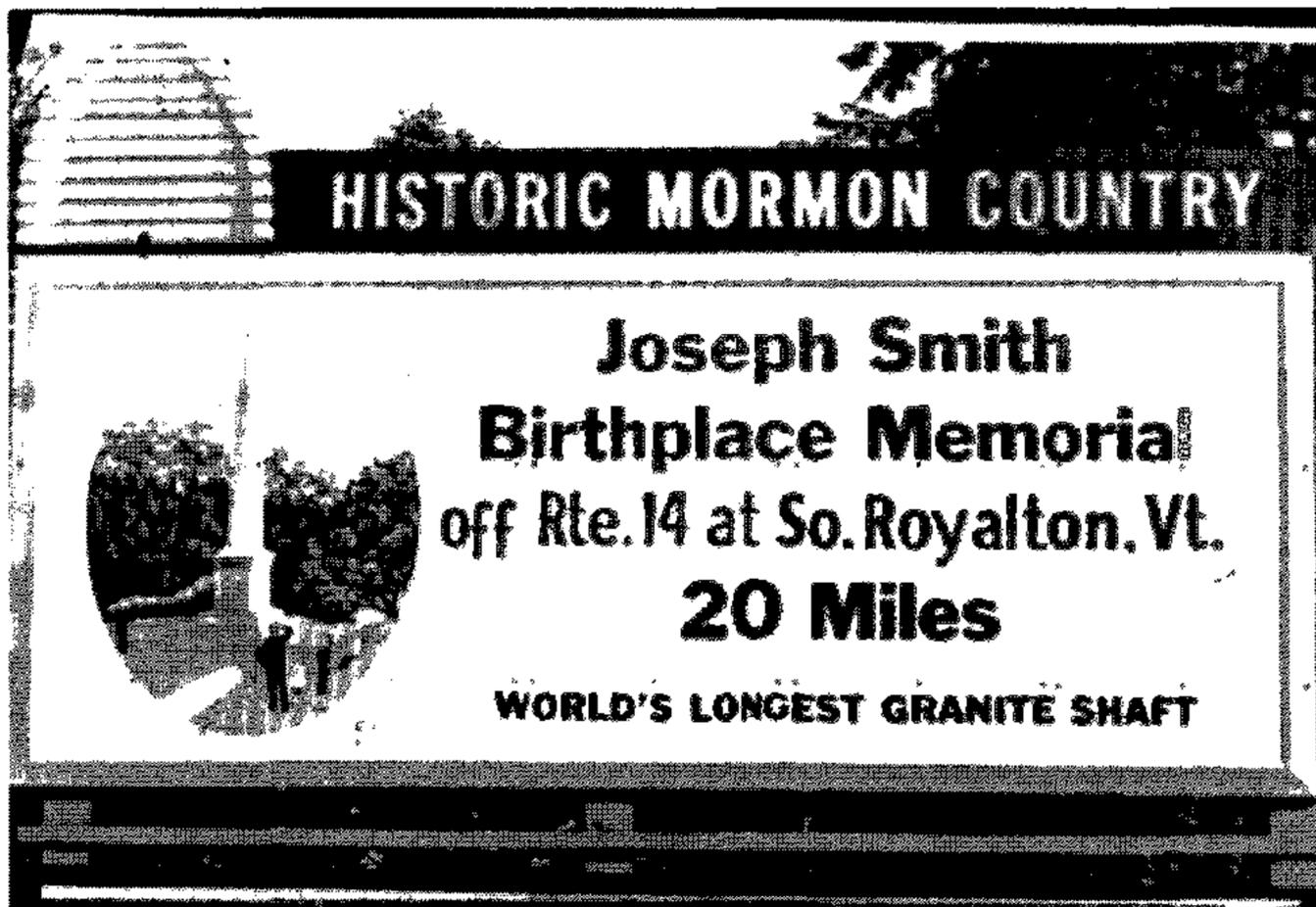


Fig. 31. Billboard directing tourists to Joseph Smith Memorial, 1960s.
Herald of Randolph (Vermont). Used by permission.

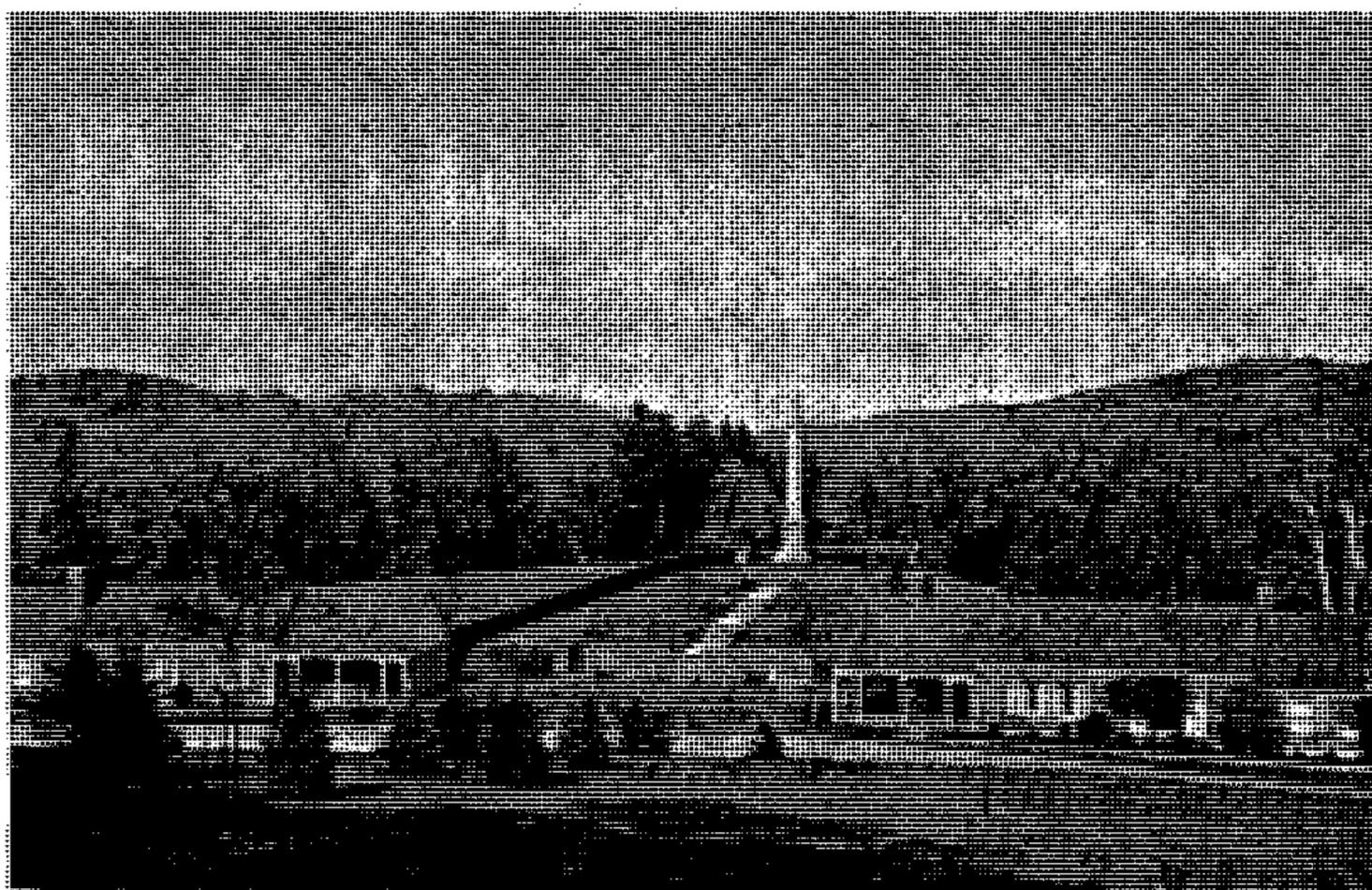


Fig. 32. Autumn at the Joseph Smith Birthplace Memorial, 1960s. Author's collection.

APPENDIX A

TABLES

Table 1.1. Prominent Nineteenth Century Mormons Born in Vermont

Name	Birthdate	Place	Church Office
Joseph Smith	23 Dec 1805	Sharon	Founder, first president
Brigham Young	1 Jun 1801	Whitingham	Second president, 1847-1877
Hyrum Smith Patriarch	9 Feb 1800	Tunbridge	<i>Book of Mormon</i> Witness,
Oliver Cowdery Witness	3 Oct 1806	Wells	Scribe, Book of Mormon
Samuel H. Smith	13 Mar 1808	Tunbridge	<i>Book of Mormon</i> Witness
Hiram Page			<i>Book of Mormon</i> Witness
Heber C. Kimball	14 Jun 1801	Sheldon	Apostle, 1835-1868
Luke S. Johnson	3 Nov 1807	Pomfret	Apostle, 1835-1838
William B. Smith	13 Mar 1811	Royalton	Apostle, 1835-1845
Lyman E. Johnson	24 Oct 1811	Pomfret	Apostle, 1835-1838
Albert Carrington	8 Jan 1813	Royalton	Apostle, 1870-1877
Erastus Snow	9 Nov 1818	St. Johnsbury	Apostle, 1849-1888
Zera Pulsipher	24 Jun 1789	Rockingham	Seventy, 1838-1862
Jacob Gates	9 Mar 1811	St. Johnsbury	Seventy, 1838-1892
Newell K. Whitney	5 Feb 1795	Marlborough	Presiding Bishop

SOURCE: *Deseret News 1999-2000 Church Almanac.*

Table 1.2. Vermonters in Early Mormon History

Group	Total	Vermonters	Percentage
Three Witnesses (1829)	3	1	33%
Eight Witnesses (1829)	8	3	38%
Church Organization (1830)	6	4	67%
Zion's Camp (1834)	207	22	11%
First Quorum of the Twelve (1835)	12	5	42%
LDS Residents in Kirtland	830	102	12%
Mentioned in <i>Doctrine and Covenants</i>	135	27	20%
Pioneer Company (1847)	143	14	10%

SOURCES: Milton V. Backman with Keith Perkins and Susan Easton Black, *A Profile of Latter-day Saints of Kirtland, Ohio, and Members of Zion's Camp, 1830-1839* (Provo, UT: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1983), 93-94, 1-80; Mark Grandstaff, "Pre-Conversion Migration Patterns of Members of the Kirtland, Ohio Branch," in Backman, *Profile of Latter-day Saints*, 85. First on the list was New York (31.8%), followed by Massachusetts (15.1%), Vermont, Connecticut (8.0%) and Maine (8.0%). Susan Easton Black, *Who's Who in the Doctrine and Covenants* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1997).

Table 2.1. Construction of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument

Task	Person/Company	Of
Designer and Superintendent	Junius F. Wells	Salt Lake City
General contractor	Riley C. Bowers	Montpelier
Surveyors	F. A. Walker & Gallison	Montpelier
Quarry – Bases, die, cap	[Charles] Marr & Gordon Mr. Blakeney, foreman	Barre
Quarry – shaft	Boutwell, Milne & Varnum Mr. Farnsworth, foreman	Barre
Stone cutting and polishing	Barclay Brothers	Barre
Railroad Superintendent	F. W. Stanyan, Wells River RR	
Railroad agent	J. P. Galleher, Vermont Central RR	Montpelier
Overland transportation	James F. McNeil H. C. Leonard E. B. Ellis	Syracuse (NY) Barre Northfield
Bridge construction	Joseph Perkins Mr. Slaten Robert Ford	Montpelier Montpelier Bethel
Foundation, contractor	W. F. Jackson	Montpelier
_____, supervisor	Prof. C. C. Brill John Cote	Northfield Northfield
Monument setter	M. F. Howland	Barre
Memorial Cottage	Joseph Perkins	Montpelier
Attorneys	Tarbell & Whitham	S. Royalton
Lodging	Woodard & Culver Harrington, Casadnac Hotel	S. Royalton Royalton
Meals	E. Greene, J. Shintock , Cowan F. Haynes, G. Bingham L. McIntosh, C. H. Robinson	S. Royalton S. Royalton

SOURCES: *Proceedings*, 10-13, 26-29; *White River Herald*, Jul-Dec 1905.

Table 2.2. Dimensions of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument

Piece	Dimensions	Weight	Composition
Foundation	14' x 14' (base) 7' deep		Concrete 45 barrels Portland cement 30 cu. yards sand/gravel 20 cu. yards boulders
First Base	12' x 12' x 20" 5' x 5' (removed)	18 tons	Barre Granite To facilitate handling
Copper Casket	12" x 15" x 9"		Placed in center of first base
Second Base	9' x 9' x 2'	13 tons	Barre Granite
Inscription Die	6' x 6' (base) 5'10" x 5'10" (top) 6'2" high	19 tons	Barre Granite
Moulded Cap	7'4" x 7'4" x 2'6"	10 tons	Barre Granite
Shaft	4' x 4' (base) 3' x 3' (top) 38 ½' high	39 tons	Barre Granite
Cap	3' high		Barre Granite
Totals	50' 10" high	99 tons	

SOURCE: *Proceedings*, 26-27.

Table 2.3 Contents of the Copper Casket

Mormon Tradition	Shared Tradition	Vermont Tradition
<p><i>Book of Mormon</i> <i>Doctrine and Covenants</i> <i>Pearl of Great Price</i> LDS Hymn Book <i>Life of Joseph Smith</i> (Smith) <i>Life of Joseph Smith</i> (Cannon)</p>	<p><i>The Holy Bible</i> 1905 U.S. Coins</p>	<p>Acts and Resolves of the State of Vermont, 1904</p>
<p><i>Church Chronology</i> (Jenson)</p>		<p>Sharon Town Report, 1905 Sharon Chronicle of Events, 1905 Royalton Town Report, 1905 Royalton Chronicle of Events, 1905</p>
<p>Names of current Church Officers</p>	<p>Names of all involved in making, transporting, and erecting the Monument</p>	<p><i>Glimpses of the White River Valley</i> (Cheney)</p>
<p><i>Deseret News</i>, 1 July 1905 <i>Improvement Era</i>, Oct 1905</p>	<p>Title deed to property Testimonies of 3 property witnesses</p>	
<p>Portraits of Church Presidents: Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, Lorenzo Snow, Joseph F. Smith</p>	<p>Portraits of U.S. Presidents: G. Washington, T. Roosevelt</p>	

SOURCES: *Proceedings*, 27-28; Sharon Miscellaneous & Highway Records, 1:53-56.

Table 3.1. Local Residents Offering Woodard Hall to the Latter-day Saints

Name	Description
<i>Residents of South Royalton Village (33):</i>	
Ashley, E. H.	Tonsorial artist (barber)
Ashley, James Gardener (1852-1910)	Tonsorial artist
Belknap, Julius Orlando (1840-1910)	Postmaster, merchant
Belknap, Kittie (Katherine) S. (1872-)	Wife of Perley Belknap
Belknap, Mary E. Black (1842-)	Wife of Julius Belknap
Belknap, Perley Seymour (1870-1960)	Asst. Postmaster
Belknap, William O. (1868-)	Merchant
Black, Charles Ephraim (1847-)	Selectman, 1905-1906
Brooks, Seldon Smith (1846-1935)	Former selectman
Culver, Pearl L. (1886-)	Hotel
Doyle, Elmore Bartlet (1857-1947)	Selectman, 1900-1905
Faneuf, Eugene G. (1881-)	Son of blacksmith
Fish, Edgar J. (1851-)	State Senator, 1904-06
Fish, Eliza Ann Lyman (1848-)	Wife of E. J. Fish
Fielders, A. R.	Tonsorial artist
Hackett, George H. (1841-)	Lumber mill owner
Hazen, Caroline Gile (-)	Wife of Marvin H. Hazen
Hazen, Marvin H. (1856-)	Deputy Sheriff, businessman
Hewitt, John H. (1846-)	Merchant
Jerel, P. A.	
Lobdell, H. G.	
Parkhurst, Edgar S. (1838-)	Painter, paper hanger
Pierce, Arthur W. (1833-)	
Sargent, Mark John (1837-)	Local newspaper editor
Skinner, Leon A. (1877-)	Merchant
Soper, William V. (1848-)	Monument business
Stoughton, Nina F. (1860-)	Wife of Oscar Stoughton
Stoughton, Oscar N. (1840-)	Mill owner, power company
Whitcomb, Henry H. Jr. (1855-1913)	Merchant
Whitham, Arthur G. (1866-1962)	Lawyer, Notary Public
Whitney, James A.	Second Constable, 1905-1908
Woodard, Charles Henry (1853-)	Owner of Woodard Hall
Woodward, John Wellington (1840-)	Painter, house decorator

Table 3.1—*Continued.*

Residents of Royalton Village (7):

Benson, Hiram Carlton (1849-)	Selectman, 1904-1907
Ellis, George (1847-1931)	Overseer of the poor, 1895-1906
Emery, Amos (1820-)	Retired music teacher
Green, Edward A. (1844-)	Teamster, farmer
Skinner, William Jr. (1839-1922)	Town Clerk, 1895-1914
Stoughton, Arthur N. (1876-)	Son of Oscar Stoughton
Winslow, Ebenezer W. (1830-)	Town treasurer, 1874-1909

Other Residents (3):

Button, John A. (1844-1906)	Road commissioner, 1905-1906
Tenney, Curtis	
Woodard, Dennison G.	

SOURCES: Original in Junius F. Wells Collection, LDS Church Archives; Family histories in Lovejoy, *History and Nash, Royalton Vermont.*

Table 3.2. Latter-day Saints Attending Monument Dedication, 23 Dec 1905

Name	Description
<i>General Authorities from Salt Lake City (10):</i>	
Smith, Joseph F. (1838-1918)	Church President, nephew of Joseph Smith
Lund, Anthon H. (1844-1921)	Second Counselor in First Presidency
Lyman, Francis M. (1840-1916)	President of Quorum of Twelve Apostles
Smith, John Henry (1848-1911)	Apostle, rep. George A. Smith family
Smith, Hyrum M. (1872-1918)	Apostle, son of Joseph F. Smith
Smith, George Albert (1870-1951)	Apostle, son of John Henry Smith
Penrose, Charles W. (1832-1925)	Apostle
Smith, John (1832-1911)	Presiding patriarch, nephew of Joseph Smith
Young, Dr. Seymour B. (1837-1924)	Seventy, rep. Joseph Young family
Wells, Rulon S. (1854-1941)	Seventy, rep. Daniel H. Wells family
<i>Other Visitors from Utah (20):</i>	
Cannon, Angus M. (1834-1915)	Rep. George Q. Cannon family
Farr, Lorin C. (1820-1909)	Born in Waterford, lived with Joseph Smith
Gates, Susa Young (1856-1933)	Rep. Brigham Young family
Goddard, Benjamin (1851-1930)	Manager of SLC Bureau of Information
Grant, Brigham F. (1856-1936)	Rep. Jedediah M. Grant family
McDonald, John (1833-1910)	Acquaintance of Joseph Smith
Richards, Alice A. (1864-1946)	Wife of George F. Richards
Richards, George F. (1861-1950)	Rep. Willard/Franklin D. Richards family
Richards, Oliver L. (1904-1980)	Son of George/Alice Richards (19 mos. old)
Romney, George (1831-1920)	Acquaintance of Joseph Smith
Shurtliff, Lewis W. (1835-1922)	Weber, Utah, Stake President
Smith, Edith A. (1861-1954)	Smith Family Historian
Smith, Elias A. (1857-1942)	Rep. Elias Smith family, cousin of JS
Smith, Ida B. (1872-1918)	Wife of Hyrum M. Smith
Smith, Ina	Daughter of Joseph F. Smith
Smith, Jesse M.	Rep. Elias Smith family, cousin of JS
Smith, Joseph F. Jr. (1876-1972)	Son of Joseph F. Smith, Comp. <i>Proceedings</i>
Snow, Ashby (1867-1837)	Rep. Erastus Snow family
Taylor, Frank Y. (1861-)	Rep. John Taylor family
Winter, Arthur	Stenographer, secretary to First Presidency

Table 3.2—*Continued.*

Visitors from New York and Boston (22):

Bean, Orestes U. (1873-1937)	Living in New York City
Clarke, Fred S.	Of Ogden, Utah
Davis, Evelyn (Eva) Young	Daughter of Brigham Young
Easton, Robert C.	Tenor, of Scotland
Easton, Jenette Young	Daughter of B. Young, wife of R. Easton
Gates, [Brigham] Cecil (1887-)	Musician, composer, grandson of B. Young
Gates, Emma Lucy	Opera singer, granddaughter of B. Young
Gudmundsen, M.S.	Violinist of Springville, Utah
Hintze, Ferdinand F. (1854-1928)	Former president of Turkish Mission
Homer, Hyrum	Of Park City, Utah
Jackson, Frederick C.	Of Parker, Idaho
Jacobs, Murray K. (1880-)	Missionary, grandson of B. Young
Larsen, Joseph J.	Of Cleveland, Utah
McQuarrie, John G. (1869-)	Eastern States Mission President, 1901-1908
McQuarrie, Maggie S.	Wife of John McQuarrie
Pack, Fred J. (1875-)	Graduate student at Columbia University
Pack, Sadie Grant (1877-)	New York Relief Society President
Pack, Gene M.	Son of Fred and Sadie Pack
Peterson, Henry	From Salt Lake, living in Cambridge
Porter, Hyrum K.	Eastern States Mission Secretary
Thomas, Ellen	Vocalist
Young, John W. (1844-1924)	Son of B. Young, eastern railroad industry

Latter-day Saints already present in Vermont (3):

Wells, Junius F. (1854-1930)	Designer/superintendent of monument
Wells, Helena Fobes	Wife of Junius Wells
Wells, Abbie H.	Daughter of Junius and Helena Wells

Latter-day Saints Invited but Unable to Attend:

Card, Zina Young	Of the family of Brigham Young
Kimball, J. Golden (1853-1938)	To represent the Heber C. Kimball family
Smith, Bathsheba W. (1822-1910)	Wife of Apostle George A. Smith
Snow, Lucian	To represent the Lorenzo Snow family
Wells, Emmeline B. (1828-1921)	Wife of Daniel H. Wells
Young, Richard W.	Of the family of Brigham Young
Young, Willard	Of the family of Brigham Young

SOURCES: *Proceedings*, 5-6; "Register of Visitors to Joseph Smith's Birthplace;" *Church Almanac*, 1999-2000; Andrew Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*.; Susa Young Gates, "Memorial Monument Dedication," *Improvement Era* 9 (Feb 1906): 308-319.

Table 3.3. Vermonters Signing the Guest Register, 23 Dec 1905

Royalton Residents (4):

Denison, Gertrude M.
Skinner, William Jr.

Galusha, Rufus B.
Galusha, Ora

Sharon Residents (2):

Cheney, G. A.

Smith, Harvey

South Royalton Residents (60):

Adams, Martin Skinner
Adams, Lizzie A.
Belknap, Julius & Mary
Belknap, Perley & Kittie
Belknap, Phillip O.
Benedict, A. L. & wife
Bennett, H. A. & wife
Bingham, G. S. & wife
Bingham, Harry & May
Bingham, Harry Earl
Bingham, Ruth Alma
Bingham, Raymond Thomas
Burnett, Dr. Daniel & Nellie
Chapeele, Frank
Doubleday, E. H.
Doubleday, Mabel
Drew, S. Clement & Helen
Eaton, Amos & Ida
Faneuf, Erle H.
Faneuf, Eugene Gerald
Fish, Dr. Edgar J. & Eliza
Flint, Adelia M. Smith
Goodale, Imogene O.

Goodale, Archie L.
Gould, Lena
Gould, W. B. & wife
Hapgood, Mary
Haynes, Fred E.
Haynes, Mrs. G. H.
Hazen, M. H. & Caroline
Latham, Benjamin & Phoebe
Neff, A. F.
Robinson, Cassius H.
Sargent, Mark John
Sargent, W. H.
Sherlock, Mrs. John
Sherlock, Mary Elizabeth
Southworth, C. C. & Mina
Stoughton, Oscar & Nina
Tarbell, Charles Paine
Truaner, Alma L.
Waterman, Sophia
Whitham, Arthur G.
Whitney, James A.
Woodward, John Wellington

Others (7):

Benson, Riley C., Montpelier
Boutwell, James M., Montpelier
Milne, George B., Barre
Varnum, H. W., Jeffersonville

Barker, Gideon E., Queechee
Martin, Aldus H. & wife

SOURCE: "Register of Visitors to Joseph Smith's Birthplace," 1-5, LDS Archives.

Table 3.4. Joseph Smith Birthplace Property Purchases

Date	Acres	From	Royalton	Sharon
23 May 1905	68 acres	Robinson	Bk. Y, 14	Bk. 18, 524-525
24 May 1906	18 acres	Clifford		Bk. 18, 542
7 Nov 1906	152 acres	Robinson	Bk. Y, 93	Bk. 19, 222
14 Aug 1907	45 acres	Plympton	Bk. Y, 134	Bk. 19, 22
3 Aug 1966	1 acre	Trottier	Bk. 16, 145	
Total: 284 acres				

SOURCE: Royalton Land Records, Book 16, 296-301.

Table 3.5. Vermont Granite in Latter-day Saint Monuments and Temples

Monument	Dedicated	Location
Daniel H. Wells*	29 May 1905	Salt Lake City Cemetery
Joseph Smith Memorial*	23 Dec 1905	Royalton, Vermont
Pioneer Monument	26 Nov 1908	Lehi, Utah
Oliver Cowdery Monument*	22 Nov 1911	Richmond, Missouri
Hyrum Smith*	27 Jun 1918	Salt Lake City Cemetery
Hill Cumorah	21 Jul 1935	Palmyra, New York
Heber C. Kimball Birthplace	5 Jul 1976	Sheldon, Vermont
Mountain Meadows	1990	Utah
Bountiful Temple	8 Jan 1994	Bountiful, Utah
Halifax Temple	14 Nov 1999	Halifax, Nova Scotia
Palmyra Temple	6 Apr 2000	Palmyra, New York
Montreal Temple	4 Jun 2000	Montreal, Quebec

* Indicates involvement of Junius F. Wells.

SOURCES: "Memorial Services and Dedication of Monument at the Grave of Daniel H. Wells," LDS Library; "Pioneer Monument at Lehi," *Improvement Era* 12 (Feb 1909): 326-327; Junius F. Wells, "The Oliver Cowdery Monument at Richmond, Missouri," *Improvement Era* 15 (Jan 1912): 251-272; "The Hyrum Smith Monument," *Improvement Era* 21 (Aug 1918): 846-864; Deseret News 1999-2000 Church Almanac.

Table 3.6. Latter-day Saint Historic Site Purchases

Date	Site	Size	Place
12 Jun 1886	Mt. Pisgah Cemetery	1 acre	Union County, Iowa
5 Nov 1903	Carthage Jail	2 acres	Carthage, Illinois
14 Apr 1904	Zion Temple Lot	20 acres	Independence, Missouri
23 May 1905	Mack Farm	68 acres	Royalton/Sharon, Vermont
10 Jun 1907	Smith Family Farm	100 acres	Manchester, New York
1909	Temple site		Far West, Missouri
26 Sep 1926	Peter Whitmer Farm		Fayette, New York
17 Feb 1928	Hill Cumorah	283 acres	Palmyra, New York

SOURCES: Evans, "Mt. Pisgah Mormon Cemetery," *IE* 40 (Jan 1937):22; Roberts, *Comprehensive History of the Church*, 6:426-430; 525-526.

Table 4.1. Early Vermont Monuments and Markers

Erected	Description (Date of event commemorated)	Location
1799	Birthplace of captive Johnson (1754)	
1848	Birthplace of Silas Wright, NY governor	Weybridge
1857	42-foot Column in Memory of Ticonderoga (1775)	Burlington
1859	Hubbardton Battle Field (1777)	Hubbardton
1861	Statue of Ethan Allen (1775)	Montpelier
1891	Bennington Battle Monument (1777)	Bennington
1895	Thomas Chittendon Monument, first Vermont governor	Williston
1903	Birthplace of U.S. President Chester A. Arthur (1829)	Fairfield
1905 (Jul)	Soldier's Monument (All wars)	Manchester
1905 (Jul)	Ann Story Home, aided Ethan Allen (1777)	
1905 (Aug)	Ethan Allen Memorial Tower (1777)	Burlington
1906	Royalton Indian Raid (1780)	Royalton
1909	Site of Jesuit mission to St. Francis Indians	Swanton
1901-1914	Restoration of Old Constitution House (1777)	Windsor

SOURCES: Edward Connant, *Conant's Vermont: Geography, History, and Civil Government of Vermont*, rev. by Mason O. Stone (Rutland, VT: The Tuttle Company, 1908); Vermont Division for Historic Preservation data.

Table 5.1. Royalton Memorial Library Donors and Persons Memorialized

Donor (relationship to memorialized)	In Memoriam
<i>First Tablet, unveiled 1924 (57 entries, 62 names)</i>	
Latham, Ella C. (daughter)	Latham, Phoebe Durkee (1827-1913)
Galusha, Rufus B. (husband)	Galusha, Myra Wilson*
Lovejoy, Evelyn M. Wood (wife)	Lovejoy, Daniel Webster, M.D. (1838-1880)
Tarbell, Charles P. (son)	Tarbell, Rebekah D. (1813-1885)
Kenney, Asa W.	Kenney, Mr. & Mrs. A. W. (1819-1906)
Blake, Eugene B.	Blake, Horatio K. (1808-1864) & Blake, Rebecca W. (-1896)
Viall, Mary J.	Viall, Charles B. (1836-1906)
Watkins, Lucinda Spaulding Royce (wife)	Watkins, Edgar F. (1833-1905)
Belknap, Perley Seymour (son)	Belknap, Julius Orlando (1840-1910)
Pierce, Ellen A.	Pierce, Phineas (1787-1875)
Goodrich, John B. (husband)	Goodrich, Emma E. (1861-)*
Hewitt, John H. (husband)	Hewitt, Jennie Smith*
Skinner, William C.	Skinner, Calvin, M.D. (1818-)
Skinner, William & Katherine (daughter)	Rix, William (1811-1905) & Rix, Katherine (1814-)
Bosworth, Thomas Johnson	Johnson, Mary Cowdery Blake (1845-1914)
Moore, Hannah Estabrook (wife)	Moore, David Comstock, M.D. (1834-1876)
Moore, James Spencer, M.D.	Moore, Elmer Ellsworth, M.D. (1861-1913)
Safford, Arthur T. & children	Safford, Truman Henry, Ph.D. (1836-1901)
Wild, Rev. Levi (son)	Wild, Dea. John (1824-1917)
Durkee, Arlotta D.	Durkee, Dea. John B. (1826-1904)
Parker, Amelia Day Campbell	Day, Benjamin (1731-1811)
Denison, children	Denison, Dr. Joseph A., Jr. (1805-1848)
Denison, grandchildren	Denison, Dr. Joseph A., Sr. (1774-1855)
Denison, children	Denison, Hon. Dudley Chase (1818-1905)
Denison, Ella Strong (wife)	Denison, Dr. Charles (1845-1909)
Scott, Col. Walter	Parkhurst, Benjamin (1745-1842)
Farr, Shirley (g. daughter)	Parkhurst, Stephen (1789-1874)
Ainsworth, Ellen West	West, George (1819-1904)
Cowdery, Frank D.	Cowdery, David W. (1811-1891)
Royalton Woman's Club	Joiner, Frances Merrill (1853-1907)
Royalton Historical Association	Wild, Daniel G. (1833-1914)
Laird, George A. & Gertrude	Washburn, Rev. Azel (1764-1841)
Kidder, Abbie Dutton	Dutton, David Hazen (1822-1908)
Benson, descendants	Benson, Lyman (1783-1860)
Dutton, Laura A. C. & children	Dutton, Dea. Henry Walbridge (1847-1915)
Lovejoy, Laura J. Wood (wife)	Lovejoy, Charles D. (1824-1901)
Havens, descendants	Havens, Robert (1718-1805)

Table 5.1—*Continued*

Daughters	Martin, William H. (1839-1904)
Estabrook, May V. (daughter)	Estabrook, Emma Tarbell (1838-1917)
Terry, Henry Trask	Lyon, Zebulon (1750-1822)
Francis, Lewis, D.D.	Francis, Gen. John (1785-1843)
Sargent, friend	Sargent, Mark J. (1837-1915)
Lee, Laura Billings	Billings, Frederick (1823-1890)
Public Benefit Society	Goodale, Imogee O. (1848-1918)
South Royalton Woman's Club	The Members, 1906-1934*
Doubleday, children	Doubleday, Chester Powell (1823-1901)
Wheeler, Edwin	Lyman, Sarah Joiner (1811-1885)
Coolidge, Elizabeth Sprague	Sprague, Nancy Atwood (1837-)
McClellan, Louise	McClellan, Clara Denison (1844-1922)
Sprague, Albert A. (son)	Sprague, Lucia Atwood (1849-)
Billings, C. K. G. (son)	Billings, Albert Merritt (1814-1897)
Spaulding, Ira B.	Spaulding, Abbie Bailey*
Rising Sun Lodge	The Faithful, 1826-1846
Stowe, Kate Chamberlin	Chamberlin, Alden (1804-1882) & Chamberlin, Caroline (1810-1889)
Drake, friends*	Drake, Cyrus B., D.D.
 <i>Added to First Tablet</i>	
Dickerman, L. C.*	Dickerman, Lewis (1822-1814)*
Adams, Lizzie A. & Nellie J.*	Adams, Martin S. (1835-1918) & Adams, Ellen A.*
 <i>Second Tablet (24 entries, 32 names)</i>	
Kidder, Lucy Waldo	Waldo, Joseph Warren (1815-1900)
Morse, friend	Morse, Jonathan (1813-1894)
Lamb, Alice M. (dau.)	Lamb, Amos H. (1833-1924) & Lamb, Fannie Lutts
Parker, Amelia Day Campbell	Day, Del Billings (1807-1889)
Lathrop, Clare Freeman	Lathrop, Glenn Edward (1863-)
Bushman, Charles M.	Bushman, Florence Drew (1855-1921)
Lamb, grandson	Lamb, Charles Morris (1803-)
Southgate, Hellen F.	Southgate, Charles C. (1830-1903) & Elenor
Royalton Historical Association	Lovejoy, Evelyn M. Wood (1847-1928)
Estabrook, May V.	Wade, Helen Tarbell (1841-1927)
Fish, Eliza Lyman	Fish, Edgar John, M.D.
Bliss, Max D.	Bliss, Daniel W. (1853-) & Bliss, Jessie M. (1870-)

Table 5.1—*Continued*

Bliss, Pearl B.	Bohonnon, Mary C. (1871-) & Bohonnon, Allen W. (1870-)
Waterman, Bernice F.	Folsom, Charles P. (1869-1943) & Folson, Maud L. (1871-1935)
Bingham, Clarissa A.	Bingham, James G. (1841-1910) & Bingham, Betsy A. (1841-1910)
[None listed]	Herra, Katherine W.
Metcalf, Minnie	Curtis, Oliver S. (1836-1909) & Curtis, Ellen F. (1837-1932)
Belknap, children	Belknap, Perley S. (1870-1960) & Belknap, Katharine S.
Folsom, Irma W.	Folsom, Laurence P., O.D. (1896-1956)
Durkee, Cornelia A.	Durkee, Earle (1898-1958)
Brownell, Ernest G.	Brownell, E. Gladys
Brownell, family	Brownell, Ernest G.
Brownell, family	Spaulding, Earl
Carpenter, sons	Carpenter, Annie L.
[None listed]	Spaulding, Ira B. (1855-1936)

SOURCES: Tablets in Royalton Memorial Library, South Royalton, Vermont. Names listed in order of appearance on tablets. Asterisk (*) indicates name added to tablet after creation, likely to correct errors or to secure a place to memorialize a person later.

Table 6.1. Distribution of 1967 Press Reports

State/Province	Visitors' Center	Travel Brochure	Smith Birthday
Maine	3	5	4
Massachusetts	20	10	15
New Hampshire	16	8	5
Nova Scotia	0	0	2
Prince Edward Island	0	1	1
Rhode Island	0	3	1
Vermont	6	6	5
TOTAL	55	33	33

SOURCE: New England Mission Scrapbook, 1967-1969, LDS Church Archives.

Table 6.2. Visitors to the Joseph Smith Memorial Birthplace, 1906-1998

Year	Total	Year	Total
1906	1,032	1964	6,000
1907	1,082	1965	12,000
1908	1,355	1966	24,000
1909	1,133	1967	43,694
1910	1,158	1968	48,225
1911	820	1969	59,939
1912	634	1970	37,008
1913	614	1971	34,614
1914	469	1972	55,081
1915	551	1973	39,277
1916	488	1974	14,969
1917	419		
1918	247	1982	20,000
1919	437		
1920	680	1988	30,000
1921	795		
		1992	40,000
1940	6,000		
		1995	50,000
1961	750		
1962	1,500	1998	63,000
1963	3,000		

SOURCES: 1906-1921, signatures in "Register of Visitors to Joseph Smith's Birthplace," LDS Archives; 1940, Frank V. Nelson, "From Out New England," *Improvement Era*, May 1941, 314; 1961-66, extrapolated from *Church News* 3 Jun and 12 Aug 1967; 1967-74, *Church Almanac* 1975-76 (alternate 1968 figure of 55,000, *Church News*, 10 May 1969, 15); 1982, Michael McDermott and Sara Hall, "This New England: Royalton, Vermont," *Yankee* 47 (Mar 1983): 140-3; 1988, Bert Snow, "Monumental Task: The 100-Ton Joseph Smith Memorial Came from Barre in 1905," *Country Courier*, 10 Mar 1989, 3A; 1992, S. Kent Brown, Donald Q. Cannon, and Richard H. Jackson, eds., *Historical Atlas of Mormonism* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994), 138; 1995, Director Reed Harding cited in *Burlington Free Press*, 8 Jul 1996, 1; 1998, *Church News*, 20 Feb 1999 reads "almost 63,000" while 3 Jul 1999, 8, reads "more than 63,000." The *Deseret News 1999-2000 Church Almanac* gives two figures for 1998 (30,000 and 70,000) on the same page (258).

Table 6.3. Royalton Families in 1911 and 1975

Royalton families in 1910		302
Families listed by Lovejoy	286	
Period families supplied by Nash	16	
Royalton families in 1975		112
Families continued from Lovejoy	77 (69%)	
New families added since 1910	5 (31%)	
Royalton families who left between 1910 and 1975		225 (75%)
1975 total as a percentage of 1910 total		37%

SOURCES: Evelyn M. Wood Lovejoy, *History of Royalton, Vermont* (Burlington, VT: Free Press Printing Company, 1911), 635-1050; Hope Nash, *Royalton Vermont* (Lunenburg, VT: The Stinehour Press, 1975), 191-252.

Table 6.4. Latter-day Saint Membership in Vermont

Year	VT Population	LDS Population	Ratio of LDS to Vermont Population
1980		2,196	
1989	557,000	2,900	1:192
1990		2,758	
1991	567,000	2,800	1:202
1993	579,000	3,200	1:181
1995	587,000	3,400	1:172
1997	587,000	3,500	1:168
1999	594,000	3,759	1:156

SOURCES: *Deseret News Church Almanac*, 1993-2002.

APPENDIX B

JOSPEH SMITH MEMORIAL BIRTHPLACE SITE PERSONNEL

Years	Manager/Director	Years	Caretakers
1906-1910	Junius F. Wells	1906-1911	Cassius H. Robinson
1911-1918	Frank L. Brown	1913-1917	Edwin Clifford
1919-1924	Heber C. Smith	1919-1923	Edwin Clifford
1924-1929	Angus J. Cannon		
1929-	Heber C. Smith		Howard Eddy
1936-1942	Angus J. Cannon		
1942-	Eugene J. Neff		
1946-1955	Heber C. Smith		
1955-1957	David Butler		Moroni Johnson, Sr.
1957-1959	Brother Schofield		
1959-1960	Nathan Tolman		
1960-1962	R. Burns Crookston	-1967	Reynard George
1962-1964	LeRoy Archibald		
1964-1966			
1966-	Merrill L. Parkin	1967-1988	Robert L. McShinsky
1969	Samuel A. Hendricks		
1971-1973	Brother Kempton		
1973-1975	Brother Anderson		
1975-1977	Lawrence McKay		
1977-1979	Brother Farnsworth		
1979-1980	Sharp Daynes		
980-1981	LaVerl Hendrickson		
1981-1982	Douglas Merrill		
1982-	Brother Blair		
1983-1985	Richard Mendenhall		
1985-1987	Brother Griffin		
1987-1988	Thayne Bateman		
1988-1989	William Ellenberg	1988-	Joseph Mender
1989-1991	Russell Sheffield		
1991-1993	Rulon Cluff		
1993-1995	Robert Mills		
1995-1997	Reed Harding		
1997-1999	Lee R. Beckstead		
1999-2001	Judson H. Flower, Jr.		
2001-2003	Edward Johannesen		

SOURCES: Journal History, LDS Library; *Church News*; Director's Records of Judson H. Flower, Jr., Joseph Smith Memorial Library.

APPENDIX C

TIMELINE

1765		First settler in Sharon, Vermont
1771		First settler in Royalton, Vermont
1780	16 Oct	British-led Indians raid Royalton during Revolutionary War
1791	4 Mar	Vermont enters the Union as the fourteenth State
1791	Jun	Asael Smith and son, Joseph (Sr.), arrive in Tunbridge, Vermont
1796	24 Jan	Joseph Smith marries Lucy Mack in Tunbridge
1802		Joseph and Lucy Smith move to Randolph
1803		Joseph and Lucy Smith return to Tunbridge
		Joseph and Lucy Smith move to Royalton
1804	27 Aug	Solomon Mack purchases 100 acres in Sharon
		Joseph and Lucy Smith move to Sharon
1805	23 Dec	Joseph Smith, Jr., born in Sharon, Vermont
1807		Smith family moves to Tunbridge (Joseph Smith age 1)
1809		Smith family moves to Royalton (age 3)
1811		Smith family moves to West Lebanon, New Hampshire (age 5)
1813		Joseph Smith undergoes surgery on his leg (age 7)
1814		Smith family moves to Norwich, New Hampshire (age 8)
1816		Smith family moves to Palmyra, New York (age 10)
1825	Jun	Marquis de Lafayette visits Royalton
1830	6 Apr	Joseph Smith organizes Church of Jesus Christ
1838		Joseph Smith begins a written history
		Organization of Vermont Historical Society
1844	27 Jun	Joseph Smith and brother, Hyrum, killed in Carthage, Illinois
1845		Lucy Mack Smith writes a history of her family
1847		Brigham Young leads Mormons to Utah Territory
1848		Railroad opens in White River Valley, South Royalton established
1862		Vermont Senator Justin Morrill sponsors Anti-Bigamy Act
1873		George A. Smith erects Massachusetts monument to ancestors
1878		C.C.A. Christensen paintings inspire George Manwaring hymn
1880		Jubilee Year of the Church of Jesus Christ (50 year anniversary)
	Oct	Mormons canonize Joseph Smith's history
	16 Oct	Centenary of Indian Raid celebrated in South Royalton
	23 Dec	Eliza R. Snow reads poetic tribute to Joseph Smith
1882		Vermont Senator George F. Edmunds sponsors anti-polygamy act
1887		Edmunds-Tucker Act strengthens 1882 anti-polygamy legislation

1889	23 Dec	Mormons observe a day of fasting and prayer
1890		President Wilford Woodruff ends plural marriage with Manifesto
1894	Aug	Junius F. Wells visits Joseph Smith birth site with Harvey Smith
	23 Dec	Gathering of 23 living people who personally knew Joseph Smith Jacob Ullery lists Joseph Smith as "Queer Character"
1896	1 Jan	Utah enters the Union as the forty-sixth state
1896	6 Oct	Royalton Woman's Club organized in the home of Alice Parker
1901	Oct	New LDS First Presidency: J. F. Smith, J. R. Winder, A. H. Lund
1903		LDS Apostle Reed Smoot elected Senator from Utah
1904	Apr	John R. Winder proposes monument to martyrs
1905	Mar	South Royalton gains majority of township public offices
	28 Mar	Junius Wells considers a monument with R. C. Bowers
	1 Apr	Junius Wells proposes monument to First Presidency
	15 May	Junius Wells arrives in South Royalton
	19 May	Benjamin C. Latham, former birth site owner, testifies
	20 May	Maria N. Griffith, niece of Ebenezer Dewey IV, testifies
	22 May	Harvey Smith testifies of birth place
	23 May	Junius Wells purchases the birthplace for the Church
	29 May	Wells family dedicates Salt Lake City monument to D. H. Wells
	10 Jun	Wells proposes plans for a monument to the First Presidency
	1 Jul	Wells presents his plans to the public in the <i>Deseret Evening News</i> Frederick M. Smith protests the monument, <i>Salt Lake Tribune</i>
	6 Jul	Junius Wells given power of attorney to execute the approved plan
	Jul	Daniel G. Wild proposes monument to burning of Royalton
	24 Jul	Contract for Monument awarded to R. C. Bowers Granite Co. Marr & Gordon quarrymen begin to search for rough stones
	29 Aug	Contract for Cottage awarded to Joseph Perkins of Montpelier
	28 Sep	Stones begin cut and polished at Barclay sheds in Barre
	Oct	Junius Wells strengthens bridge over Tunbridge Branch
	13 Oct	Two bases shipped from Barre
	14 Oct	Two bases arrive in Royalton via railroad
	15 Oct	Wells drafts but does not send telegram proposing alternate project
	16 Oct	Transportation of two bases begins
	30 Oct	Two bases arrive at birth site (14 days by wagon)
	31 Oct	Inscription die sent from Barre
	1 Nov	Overland transportation of inscription die begins,
	7 Nov	Shaft sent from Barre
	8 Nov	Transportation of shaft begins, transportation of die resumes
	15 Nov	Inscription die arrives at foot of Dairy Hill
	20 Nov	Shaft arrives at site (13 days by wagon)
	21 Nov	Inscription die arrives at site (20 days by wagon)
	25 Nov	Moulded cap sent from Barre Erection rigging set up at site
	26 Nov	Mouled cap arrives at site (6 hours by wagon) Commemorative items placed in copper casket

1905	27 Nov	Copper casket sealed in monument
	4 Dec	Levi Wild and Woman's Home Missionary Union protest
	7 Dec	Protest printed in <i>Randolph Herald</i>
	8 Dec	Joseph Smith Memorial Monument complete
	9 Dec	Charles Tarbell responds to Wild protest
		43 citizens of Royalton offer Woodard Hall for Mormon use
	14 Dec	Tarbell's response published in <i>Randolph Herald</i>
	15 Dec	Wells accepts use of Woodard Hall on behalf of Church leaders
	18 Dec	Joseph F. Smith and memorial party leave Salt Lake City
	22 Dec	Utah party arrives in South Royalton
	23 Dec	Joseph Smith Memorial Monument dedicated in Royalton
	24 Dec	Commemorative services held in Mormon congregations
1906	Mar	Mrs. Frances M. Joiner appeals for money at Town Meeting
	15 Mar	Historical Committee (Royalton Historical Association) organized
	4 Apr	Reverend Levi Wild resigns from Historical Committee
	12 May	Junius Wells and family return to Royalton
	23 May	Royalton Woman's Club dedicates Indian Raid monument
	Jul	Evelyn M. Wood Lovejoy arrives from Helena, Montana
	23 Jul	Junius Wells invites missionaries to Memorial for Pioneer Day
	Sep	Joseph F. Smith visits with Royalton leaders at the birthplace
	Autumn	South Royalton Woman's Club organized
1907	23 Dec	B. H. Roberts address, "Joseph Smith the Prophet-Teacher"
1911		Evelyn Lovejoy publishes <i>History of Royalton, Vermont</i>
1912	Mar	Evelyn Lovejoy elected as Royalton Public Library Trustee
	Summer	Frank L. Brown assumes directorship of birthplace
	24 Jul	55 missionaries celebrate Pioneer Day at the Memorial
1913	21 May	Edwin Clifford and Family arrive at farm from England
1915	18 Aug	Royalton Historical Association dedicates Handy Monument
	Sep	Dairy Hill residents celebrate Brown anniversary
1916	16 Jan	Apostle James E. Talmage attends LDS conference in Barre
1917		Bequest from Ella C. Latham estate for new town library
1919	1 Jan	Memorial director Frank L. Brown dies of influenza
	10 May	Heber C. Smith assumes directorship of Memorial
1921	Fall	Young J. Willard Marriott shot at in Colchester, Vermont
1922	Jul	Heber C. Smith donates \$200 to the Library
	22 Jul	Reverend Levi Wild objects to the inclusion of Smith's name
		Heber Smith offers to accept the returned money
	9 Aug	Clara Denison McClellan demands written statement against Smith
	17 Sep	Clara McClellan passes away
	Oct	Lovejoy and Gertrude Laird exchange library correspondence
1923	16 Aug	Dedication of Royalton Memorial Library in South Royalton
1924	13 May	Angus J. Cannon assumes directorship of Memorial

1927		Great flood in Vermont
1928		Evelyn Lovejoy passes away
1929		Heber C. Smith reassumes directorship of Memorial
1930		Royalton Historical Association merged with Library Association
1936		Royalton Woman's Club disbanded on 40 th anniversary
1945		Organization of LDS branch in South Royalton
	30 Apr	Church purchases Salter House in South Royalton
1950	28 May	Brigham Young Family Association erects Whitingham monument
1956	24 Sep	President David O. McKay visits the Joseph Smith Memorial
1959		Memorial Cottage torn down
		Royalton Town Clerk's Offices moves to Library basement
1960	13 Mar	First LDS baptisms held in new buildings
	3 Sep	S. Royalton Woman's Club announces initiation of updated history
1961	24 Aug	Groundbreaking for South Royalton chapel, 150 attend
1961	14 Oct	Pres. Hugh B. Brown holds missionary conference, Royalton H.S.
1961	15 Oct	Dedication of Bureau of Information and Director's Residence
1963	1 Jun	Dedication of South Royalton Chapel (first in the state)
1965	27 Jun	280 present for S. Royalton Chapel dedication
1967	2 Jun	Press conference with VT newspapers
	4 Jun	Visitors' Center opens at birthplace
	Aug	Mormon Tabernacle choir sings in Vermont
	Dec	New tourist pamphlet for Joseph Smith birthplace
1970	Mar	Church and Town agree to cooperate to pave Dairy Hill Road
1975		Hope Nash's <i>Royalton Vermont</i> published
1982		New visitors' center exhibit simplifies the message
1988	11 Dec	Christmas lights lit for the first time at the Joseph Smith Memorial
1997	31 May	Groundbreaking for Camp Joseph
1998	27 Jun	Camp Joseph dedicated
	15 Oct	Church President Gordon B. Hinckley visits Memorial

APPENDIX D

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

Information concerning the people referenced in this appendix has been compiled from:

- CA *Deseret News Church Almanac, 1999-2000*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret News, 1998.
- Ludlow Daniel H. Ludlow, ed. *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1992.
- Cheney G. A. Cheney, *Glimpses of the White River Valley Vermont: West Hartford, Sharon, South Royalton, Royalton*. Worcester, MA.: The Blanchard Press, 1905.
- Jenson Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia: A Compilation of Biographical Sketches of Prominent Men and Women in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*. 4 vols. Salt Lake City, UT: A. Jenson History Company and Deseret News, 1901-36.
- Lovejoy Evelyn M. Wood Lovejoy, *History of Royalton, Vermont, with Family Genealogies, 1769-1911*. Burlington, VT: Burlington Free Press Printing Company, 1911.
- Nash Hope Nash. *Royalton Vermont*. Lunenburg, VT: The Stinehour Press, 1975.
- Proceedings [Joseph Fielding Smith, comp.] *Proceedings at the Dedication of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument*. Salt Lake City, UT: 1906.
- USC United States Census, 1900-1920.

Abbott, Caspar Philo (1858-1925)

Born in Pomfret, moved to S. Royalton in 1887. Harness manufacturer and retailer, livery stable proprietor, 1887-1903; saw mill, 1903-. Democrat, Mason, Congregationalist. Accompanied Junius F. Wells in 1894, and arranged for photos of the birth site (Cheney 47, Lovejoy 614, 648, Nash 192).

Belknap, Julius Orlando (1840-1910)

Merchant, postmaster, born in East Barnard, moved to S. Royalton in 1875, Methodist, Republican. Town auditor, selectman; Royalton Centennial, 1880; Roosevelt visit, 1902; Close friend of **Junius F. Wells**, witnessed sealing of Joseph Smith Memorial Monument copper casket, signed petition granting Latter-day Saint use of Woodard Hall, attended reception of **Joseph F. Smith**, 1906 (Cheney 37, Lovejoy 612, 675, Nash 198, Proceedings 6, 28).

Belknap, Katherine (Kittie) Shepard (1872-)

Wife of Perley S. Belknap, born in New York, musician. Signed petition granting Latter-day Saint use of Woodard Hall, attended reception of **Joseph F. Smith**, 1906 (Lovejoy 675, Proceedings 6).

Belknap, Mary E. Black (1842-)

Wife of Julius O. Belknap, born in Westminster, VT. Signed petition granting Latter-day Saint use of Woodard Hall, attended reception of **Joseph F. Smith**, 1906 (Lovejoy 675, Proceedings 6).

Belknap, Perley Seymour (1870-1960)

Merchant, asst. postmaster, son of **Julius O. Belknap**, born in East Barnard, VT, moved to S. Royalton in 1875, Mason. Witnessed sealing of Joseph Smith Memorial Monument copper casket, signed petition granting Latter-day Saint use of Woodard Hall, attended reception of **Joseph F. Smith**, 1906 (Cheney 56, Lovejoy 613, 675, Nash 198, Proceedings 6, 28).

Boutwell, James M. (1856-)

Railroad conductor, quarry manager, granite magnate known as "the Green Mountain Granite King of America." Montpelier city council; Vermont State Railroad Commission; Mayor of Montpelier, 4 terms. His firm Boutwell, Milne, & Varnum quarried the 38 ½ foot shaft of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument. Attended the dedication of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument in December 1905.

Brockbank, Bernard P. (1909-)

Assistant to the Quorum of the Twelve, 1962-1976; Seventy 1976-1980. Managing director of New York World's Fair Pavilion, 1962-5. Dedicated South Royalton chapel, 27 Jun 1965 (CA 73).

Brown, Frank L. (1875-1919)

Mission to England with wife, Winnifred Tibbs, 1902-1904; Director of Joseph Smith Memorial Farm, 1911-1918 (Jenson 4:734).

Button, John A. (1844-1906)

Born in Royalton, selectman, 1896-98, 1901; road commissioner, 1905-1906. As road commissioner, assisted with arrangements for transportation of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument, fixed a mud hole at the foot of Haine's hill that **Junius F. Wells**

affectionately named “Mr. Button’s mud hole,” signed petition granting Latter-day Saint use of Woodard Hall. (Lovejoy 712, Proceedings 6, 14).

Cannon, Angus M. (1834-1915)

Brother of George Q. Cannon, farmer, printer, manufacturer; Seventy, 1852; Salt Lake Stake President, 1876. Represented the family of George Q. Cannon at the dedication of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument in December 1905 (Jenson 1:292, Proceedings 5).

Day, Ala May (1869-)

Born in Barre, moved to Royalton in 1876; in 1905 lived with her widowed mother, Mary, in S. Royalton. Dressmaker, cook, Congregationalist. Oversaw production of lunches on the day of the dedication of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument (Lovejoy 749).

Dewey, Ebenezer.

Four generations of Ebenezer Deweys lived on Dairy Hill. The first Ebenezer was one of the original grantees and died in 1794 when 82 years old. He and his son were deacons. The next three lived to be 80, 80, and 82 and died in 1820, 1834, and 1871 respectively.

Dewey, George H. (1870-1956)

Born in Royalton, lived in S. Royalton. Coppersmith, hardware business owner. Made the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument copper casket and witnessed its sealing (Lovejoy 614, 762, Nash 214, Proceedings 27-28).

Doyle, Elmore Bartlet (1857-1947)

Born in Royalton to Irish immigrant, moved to S. Royalton, joint owner of saw mill. Selectman, 1900-1905. Was “particularly nice” to **Junius F. Wells** in assisting transportation of the monument, witnessed sealing of Joseph Smith Memorial Monument copper casket, signed petition granting Latter-day Saint use of Woodard Hall (Lovejoy 768, Nash 215, Proceedings 6, 14, 28).

Ellis, George (1847-1931)

Born in Royalton; overseer of poor, 1895-1906; road commissioner, 1894-99; school director, -1895; state legislature, 1886-7, 1910-11. Signed 1905 petition granting Latter-day Saint use of Woodard Hall. Opposed inclusion of Joseph Smith’s name on Royalton Memorial Library, 1922 (Lovejoy 779, Nash 217).

Farr, Lorin C. (1820-)

Born in Waterford, Caledonia County, Vermont; moved to Charleston, Orleans County, Vermont, 1828. Baptized by **Lyman E. Johnson** in the Clyde River and confirmed by **Orson Pratt**, 1832. Moved to Kirtland, 1837; lived with **Joseph Smith** in Far West, 1838. Weber, Utah, Stake President, 1851-1870; mayor of Ogden, Utah, territorial legislator (Jenson 1:749, Proceedings 5).

Fish, Edgar J. (1851-)

Born in Washington, VT, moved to S. Royalton in 1887. Mason, graduate of UVM, physician, member of various medical societies and fraternal organizations. VT Assembly, 1902-1904, State Senator, 1904-06; Roosevelt, 1902. Witnessed sealing of Joseph Smith Memorial Monument copper casket, signed petition granting Latter-day Saint use of Woodard Hall, spoke at the dedication of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument, attended reception of **Joseph F. Smith**, 1906 (Cheney 39, Lovejoy 557, Proceedings 6, 18, 28).

Fish, Eliza Ann Lyman (1848-)

Born in Washington, VT, wife of Edgar J. Fish. Mason, WCTU. Signed petition granting Latter-day Saint use of Woodard Hall, and attended reception of Joseph F. Smith, 1906 (Cheney 41, Lovejoy 788, Proceedings 28).

Gates, [Brigham] Cecil (1887-)

Son of Susa Young Gates, grandson of Brigham Young. Musician, composer, director of music department at L.D.S. University, director of music at Utah Agricultural college, assistant leader of Tabernacle Choir. Y.M.M.I.A. General Board, 1918-1929. Accompanied congregational singing at the dedication of Joseph Smith Memorial Monument in December 1905 (Jenson 4:238, Proceedings 24).

Gates, Emma Lucy.

Daughter of **Susa Young Gates**, granddaughter of **Brigham Young**. Opera singer, studied at Royal Conservatory of Music in Berlin, debut at Royal Opera House in Berlin, renowned throughout Europe, known as the "Mormon nightingale." Attended dedication of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument in December 1905 (Jenson 3:380).

Gates, Susa Young (1856-1933)

Daughter of **Brigham Young**, public speaker, author, educator, advocate for women's achievements. Y.M.M.I.A. Board, 1889-; Editor of *Young Woman's Journal*, 1889-1901; Relief Society General Board, 1911-1922; editor of *Relief Society Magazine*, 1915-1923. Represented the family of Brigham Young at the dedication of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument in December 1905 (Ludlow 535-36, Jenson 2:626).

Goddard, Benjamin (1851-1930)

President of Temple Square Mission and manager of Bureau of Information, 1902-1929; Y.M.M.I.A. General Board Member, 1903-1929. He attended the dedication of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument in December 1905 and took several pictures (Jenson 4:239,744).

Griffith, Maria N.

Niece of Ebenezer Dewey IV. She lived in Sharon and provided a testimony concerning the site of Joseph Smith's birth to **Junius F. Wells** on 20 May 1905.

Hazen, Marvin Hoyt (1856-)

Born in West Hartford VT, first lived in S. Royalton in 1870, Mason. Central Vermont Railway station agent in Royalton, 1878-1886, and South Royalton, 1886-1899; owner S. Royalton and Chelsea stage line, 1895- telephone line owner, 1886-. Town auditor, county deputy sheriff, Royalton constable, 1902-1909. Witnessed sealing of Joseph Smith Memorial Monument copper casket, with his wife Caroline Gile both petition granting Latter-day Saint use of Woodard Hall and attended 1906 **Joseph F. Smith** reception (Cheney 50, Proceedings 28).

Hewitt, John Harvey (1846-)

Born in Pomfret, married Jennie Smith (1853-) of Sharon, moved to S. Royalton in 1870. Congregationalist, Mason. Merchant, store burned in 1886; undertaker and embalmer. Selectman, 1885-1887, town representative, 1898-1899. Witnessed sealing of Joseph Smith Memorial Monument copper casket, signed petition granting Latter-day Saint use of Woodard Hall, attended 1906 **Joseph F. Smith** reception with his wife (Cheney 53, Lovejoy 611, 819, Proceedings 28).

Hintze, Ferdinand F. (1854-1928)

President of Turkish Mission, 1887-1889, 1899-1900; translated Book of Mormon into Turkish, 1905. Attended dedication of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument in December 1905 (Jenson 4:390).

Latham, Benjamin Cole (1824 -)

Son of Alsop Latham and Sally Cole, he was born on Dairy Hill in 1824, and owned the former Solomon Mack farm from 1868 to 1892. On 19 May 1905 he gave his testimony of the identity of the Prophet's birthplace to **Junius F. Wells**.

Lovejoy, Mary Evelyn Wood (1847-1928)

Born in Pomfret, married Dr. Daniel Webster Lovejoy (1838-1880) of Royalton in 1874. Attended Royalton Academy, 1864; Randolph Normal school, 1867-68; Wellesley; received A.B. from University of Chicago, 1897. Principal of Royalton Academy, 1884-86, 1906-08; superintendent of Royalton schools, 1886; principal of Aberdeen, South Dakota, High School, 1886-91; superintendent of Aberdeen schools, 1891-94; taught at St. Cloud, MN, Normal school, 1897-99; University of Berlin, 1899-1900; taught grammar in Helena, Montana, high schools, 1902-06. Helped organize centennial of Indian Raid, 1880; wrote *History of Royalton*, 1911; supervised Hannah Handy Monument, 1915; secretary of Library Association, 1912-1928; key figure in Royalton Memorial Library project (Nash xiii, 228, Lovejoy 336, 339, 858).

Lund, Anthon H. (1844-1921)

Farmer, teacher, local and territorial politician; Apostle, 7 Oct 1889; church historian; counselor to **Joseph F. Smith**, 1901-1918, and Heber J. Grant, 1918-1921. Attended dedication of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument in December 1905 (CA 51, Jenson 161, Proceedings 24-25).

Lyman, Francis M. (1840-1916)

Businessman and manufacturer, county and territorial politician; ordained an Apostle, 27 Oct 1880; President of Quorum of Twelve, 6 Oct 1903. Member of the committee established in April 1904 to oversee the erection of a building of monument to Joseph Smith in Salt Lake City. Spoke at the dedication of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument in December 1905 (CA 58, Jenson 1:136, Proceedings 17-18).

McClellan, Clara Denison (1844-1922)

Born in Royalton, granddaughter of Jo Adam Denison, attending physician at birth of **Joseph Smith**. Opposed inclusion of Smith's name on Royalton Memorial Library, 1922 (Lovejoy 749).

McDonald, John (1833-1910)

Farmer, public servant; Patriarch, 11 Feb 1901. Attended dedication of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument in December 1905 (Jenson 2:11).

McQuarrie, John G. (1869-)

Eastern States Mission President, 1901-1908. Organized a party of Latter-day Saints from the eastern states to attend the dedication of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument. When Memorial Cottage filled, he spoke to those outside. Attended with his wife, Maggie (Jenson 4:331).

Milne, George B.

His firm Boutwell, Milne, & Varnum quarried the 38 ½ foot shaft of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument. Attended the dedication of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument in December 1905.

Nash, Hope (1907-1995)

Born in Syracuse, NY. Prepared an updated town history for the South Royalton Woman's Club, 1975.

Pack, Frederick James (1875-)

Scientist, writer, professor of Geology at University of Utah, 1907-. He and wife, Sadie Grant, helped open Colorado Mission, 1896-1898; Sunday School General Board, 1930-. Attended dedication of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument in December 1905 (Jenson 4:218).

Pack, Sadie Grant (1877-)

Missionary, 1896-1898; New York and Brooklyn Relief Society President, 1904-1906; Primary General Board, 1918-1930. Attended dedication of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument in December 1905 (Jenson 4:292).

Packer, Boyd K. (1924-)

Supervisor of LDS Church Institutes and Seminaries; Assistant to the Twelve, 1961-1970; Apostle, 1970-; Acting President of Quorum of the Twelve, 1994-. New England

Mission President, 1965-1968; instrumental in establishment of 1967 Visitors center at the Joseph Smith Birthplace Memorial (CA 19).

Parkhurst, Daniel E. (1837-)

Born in Barnard, VT, Civil War veteran, moved to Sharon around 1880. Sharon Town Clerk, assisted **Junius F. Wells** in title deed searches, witness of Joseph Smith Memorial Monument copper casket sealing (Lovejoy 902, Proceedings 28).

Penrose, Charles W. (1832-1925)

Teacher, businessman, local and territorial politician, newspaperman, *Deseret News* editor. Assistant Church historian, 1896-1899; Apostle, 7 Jul 1904; counselor to Joseph F. Smith, 1911-1918; counselor to Heber J. Grant, 1918-1921. Spoke at the dedication of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument in December 1905 (CA 51, Jenson 1:256, Proceedings 20-21).

Preston, William B. (1830-1908)

Presiding Bishop, 1884-1907. Appointed in 1904 to a committee that eventually oversaw the placement of martyr statues on Temple Square in 1911 (CA 85, Jenson 1:232).

Richards, George F. (1861-)

Son of Franklin D. Richards, public official, farmer. Seventy, 3 Feb 1884; Toole, Utah, Stake Presidency, 29 Jan 1890. With his wife, Alice, and nineteen month old son, Oliver, represented his father's family at the dedication of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument in December 1905 (Jenson 1:544, Proceedings 5).

Romney, George (1831-)

Carpenter, businessman, local public servant. Seventy, 1853; Salt Lake Twentieth Ward Bishop, 31 Aug 1888. Appointed in 1904 to a committee that eventually oversaw the placement of martyr statues on Temple Square in 1911. Attended dedication of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument in December 1905 (Jenson 1:678, Proceedings 5).

Sargent, Mark John (1837-1915)

Born in Tunbridge, Civil War veteran, moved to S. Royalton in 1860s, wives died in 1874, 1902. Mason, G.A.R., Congregationalist. Drugstore owner, local newspaper editor, justice of the peace. Witnessed sealing of Joseph Smith Memorial Monument copper casket, signed petition granting Latter-day Saint use of Woodard Hall, attended reception of **Joseph F. Smith**, 1906 (Lovejoy 611-12, 949, Proceedings 6, 28).

Shurtliff, Lewis W. (1835-)

Local and territorial politician, childhood friend of **Joseph F. Smith**. Together with his son-in-law, **Joseph Fielding Smith**, visited Midwestern Church history sites in 1904. Weber, Utah, Stake President, 1883. Attended dedication of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument in December 1905 (Jenson 1:459, Proceedings 5).

Skinner, William Jr. (1839-1922)

Born in Bethel, VT, moved to Royalton before age one. Farmer, carriage and farm implement dealer, Episcopalian. Mason, 1857-, Royalton Town Clerk, 1894-1914, town Republican committee chairman, Roosevelt visit, 1902; Royalton Historical committee, 1906. His wife, Katherine Kendall Rix (1845-), was born in Alabama to a Royalton family, and was known for her literary and musical talents. Skinner assisted **Junius F. Wells** in title deed searches, witness of Joseph Smith Memorial Monument copper casket sealing, signed petition granting Latter-day Saint use of Woodard Hall (Cheney, 68, Lovejoy 963, Proceedings 6, 28).

Smith, Edith A. (1861-1954)

Daughter of **Joseph Smith's** cousin Elias Smith who was born in Royalton, Vermont, 6 Sep 1804; brother of **Elias A. Smith** and **Jesse M. Smith**. Smith family historian. Unveiled the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument on the day of its dedication in 1905 (Proceedings 24).

Smith, Elias (1804-1888)

Born in Royalton, Vermont, 6 Sep 1804; a cousin of Joseph Smith. Probate Judge in Utah Territory; instrumental in presenting laws for the territory, 1852 (Jenson 1:719).

Smith, Elias A. (1857-)

Businessman, county judge, local and territorial politician; son of **Joseph Smith's** cousin Elias Smith who was born in Royalton, Vermont, 6 Sep 1804; brother of **Edith Smith** and **Jesse M. Smith**. Represented his father's family at the dedication of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument in December 1905 (Jenson 1:776, Proceedings 5).

Smith, Frederick M. (1874-1946)

Son of Joseph Smith III, grandson of **Joseph Smith, Jr.** RLDS First Presidency, 1902-1915; RLDS President, 1915-1946. Published an "Open Letter to All People" opposing construction of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument, July 1905.

Smith, George Albert (1870-1951)

Son of **John Henry Smith**, grandson of Joseph Smith's cousin George A. Smith, grandson of **Lorin Farr**, son-in-law of Wilford W. Woodruff. Apostle, 8 Oct 1903; President of Quorum of the Twelve, 1 Jul 1943; President of the Church, 21 May 1945. Attended dedication of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument in December 1905 and took several photos. Purchased Palmyra, New York, Smith Farm in 1907; organized the Utah Pioneer Trails and Landmarks Association, 1937; helped organize This is the Place Monument, 1947 (CA 48, Ludlow 1326-29, Jenson 3:776, Proceedings 5).

Smith, Heber C.

Director of Joseph Smith Memorial, 1919-1924, 1929-1936, 1946-1955. Offered \$200 to Royalton Memorial Library and proposed memorializing Joseph Smith, 1922.

Smith, Hyrum (1800-1844)

Born in Tunbridge, brother of **Joseph Smith, Jr.** Counselor to First Presidency, 1837-1844; Patriarch, 1841-1844. Martyred with his brother in Carthage, Illinois. Early proposals for Joseph Smith Memorial monument included his bronze likeness, mentioned in Monument's inscriptions (CA 49).

Smith, Hyrum Mack (1872-1918)

Son of **Joseph F. Smith**. Apostle, 24 Oct 1901. Spoke at the dedication of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument in December 1905. His wife Ida Bowman also attended the dedication (CA 59, Jenson 1:772, Proceedings 19-20).

Smith, Jesse M.

Son of **Joseph Smith's** cousin Elias Smith who was born in Royalton, Vermont, 6 Sep 1804; brother of **Edith Smith** and **Elias A. Smith**. Davis, Utah, Stake Presidency. Visited the birth site in 1896 or 1897; attended and spoke at the dedication of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument in December 1905 (Proceedings 20).

Smith, John (1832-1911)

Farmer; son of **Hyrum Smith**, nephew of **Joseph Smith**, half brother of **Joseph F. Smith**; Presiding Church patriarch, 1855-1911. Attended dedication of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument in December 1905 (CA 63, Jenson 1:183, Proceedings 5).

Smith, John Henry (1848-1911)

His father, George A. Smith, was a cousin of **Joseph Smith**, son-in-law of **Lorin Farr**. Local and territorial politician; Apostle, 27 Oct 1880; counselor to President **Joseph F. Smith**, 7 Apr 1910. Spoke at the dedication of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument in December 1905. Promoted LDS monuments made of Vermont granite—Pioneer Monument at Lehi, Utah, and Three Witnesses Monument in Richmond, Missouri (CA 53, Jenson 1: 141, Proceedings 18-19).

Smith, Joseph, Jr. (1805-1844)

Born in Sharon. Translated the *Book of Mormon*; organized The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830; President of Church, 1830-1844; martyred in Carthage, Illinois. The Joseph Smith Memorial Monument in Vermont erected on the centenary of his birth (CA 47).

Smith, Joseph F.[ielding] (1838-1918)

Son of **Hyrum Smith**, nephew of the Prophet **Joseph Smith**; ordained an Apostle, 1 Jul 1866; Counselor to Presidents **Young**, Taylor, Woodruff, Snow, 1866-1901; Sixth President of the Church, 1901-1918. Authorized purchase of property and erection of a monument in Vermont. Dedicated the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument on 23 Dec 1905 (CA 47-48, Ludlow 1349-52, Jenson 1:66, Proceedings 22-26).

Smith, Joseph Fielding, Jr. (1876-1972)

Son of **Joseph F. Smith**, writer, historian. Assistant Church historian, 1906-; Apostle, 7 Apr 1910; President of Quorum of Twelve, 9 Apr 1951; Tenth President of the Church,

23 Jan 1970. Attended the dedication in December 1905, and compiled the *Proceedings* (CA 48, Ludlow 1352-55, Jenson 3:784, Proceedings 5).

Smith, Juliana C. (1849-)

Wife of Joseph F. Smith, midwife. Relief Society General Board, 1892-1921. Attended dedication of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument in December 1905 (Jenson 4:69, Proceedings 5).

Smith, Lucy Mack (1775-1856)

Mother of Joseph Smith, Jr. Lived in Vermont, 1796-1816. Wrote a history of the Smith family, 1845.

Tarbell, Charles Paine (1850-1934)

Born in S. Royalton, married Lucia Dickerman (1845-), moved to S. Royalton in 1873. Lawyer, 1872-; state's attorney, 1900-1902. Republican, officer and teacher in Congregational Church. Witnessed sealing of Joseph Smith Memorial Monument copper casket, publicly defended Joseph Smith Memorial Monument, attended 1906 **Joseph F. Smith** reception with his wife (Cheney 53, Lovejoy 541, 992, Nash 99, Proceedings 28).

Taylor, Frank Young (1861-)

Son of **John Taylor**, third President of the Church, civil engineer, architect, businessman. Y.M.M.I.A. General Board, 1899-1912; Granite, Salt Lake City, Stake President, 28 Jan 1900. Represented his father's family at the dedication of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument in December 1905 (Jenson 1:563).

Taylor, John (1808-1887)

Apostle, 1838-1887; Third President of the Church, 1880-1887. Present in Carthage Jail at martyrdom of **Joseph Smith, Jr.**, and **Hyrum Smith**. Author of several hymns to the memory of the martyrs (CA 47)

Varnum, H. V.

His firm Boutwell, Milne, & Varnum quarried the 38 ½ foot shaft of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument. Instrumental in the rail transportation of the granite pieces. Attended the dedication of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument in December 1905.

Walker, F. A.

Architect. Surveyed township line for Junius F. Wells in May 1905. Designed and supervised construction of the Memorial Cottage.

Wells, Daniel Hanmer (1814-1891)

Major-General and Lieutenant-General of the Nauvoo Legion, 1850-1887; counselor to Brigham Young, 1857-1877; Mayor of Salt Lake City, 1866-76; President of Manti Temple, 1888-91.

Father of **Junius F. Wells**. His son organized the placement of a monument of Vermont and Utah granite at his gravesite in May 1905 (Jenson 1:62, CA 53).

Wells, Junius F. (1854-1930)

Seventy, Oct 1875; Superintendent of Y.M.M.I.A., 1876-1880; editor of *The Contributor*, 1879-1899; supervised construction of monuments to **Joseph Smith**, **Oliver Cowdery**, and **Hyrum Smith**; edited *The Millennial Star*, 1919-1921; assistant Church historian, 1921-1930. Wells designed, promoted, and supervised the construction of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument in 1905. He made many friends in Royalton, and throughout Vermont. He and his wife, Helena (-), and daughter, Abbie (-), lived in the Memorial Cottage during the summers, 1906-1910 (CA 95, Ludlow 1560-61, Jenson 714, Proceedings 9-17).

Wells, Rulon S. (1854-1941)

Half brother of **Junius F. Wells**; bookkeeper, businessman, Salt Lake City councilman, state politician. Seventy, 22 Oct 1875; President of Quorum of Seventy, 5 Apr 1893. Attended dedication of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument in December 1905 (CA 66, Jenson 1:212, Proceedings 5).

Whitham, Arthur Gilbert (1866-1962)

Born in England, moved to S. Royalton in 1891, married Mary Brewster (1866-1941). Lawyer, 1894-; notary public; town treasurer, 1919-1949; municipal judge, 1915-1945. Witnessed Joseph Smith Memorial Monument copper casket sealing, signed petition granting Latter-day Saint use of Woodard Hall (Lovejoy 541, Nash 99, 249, Proceedings 6, 28).

Wild, Daniel G. (1833-1814)

Born in Royalton to Elisha (1794-1885) and Lucinda Rix (1798-1885) Wild, uncle of **Levi Rix Wild**. Educated at Royalton Academy and Dartmouth College, 1857. New York City lawyer, 1858-1899. Traveled widely: Canada, South, West, Utah in 1898. Donated \$200 for the Royalton Indian Monument and \$500 for Lovejoy's *History* (Lovejoy 177, 1032).

Wild, Levi Rix (1859-1946)

Born in Royalton to John (1824-1917) and Charlotte (1827-1871) Wild, nephew of **Daniel G. Wild**. Educated at Royalton Academy, Dartmouth College, 1883, Union Theological Seminary, 1886. Held pastorates in Vershire, 1890-1; Ferrisburg, 1891-4; Franklin, 1895-1900; Hartland, 1900-1; Royalton and S. Royalton at various times; farmer. Led opposition to the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument in Dec 1905, stirred anti-Mormon sentiment in 1922 (Lovejoy 1031, Nash 250).

Winder, John R (1821-1910)

Born in England, baptized in 1848, to Utah in 1853, manufacturer. Counselor to **William B. Preston** in presiding bishopric, 1886-1910; First Counselor to **Joseph F. Smith**, 1901-1910. At the April 1904 General Conference read a resolution calling for the erection of a building or monument to the memory of the martyred Prophet and Patriarch. Chaired a committee that eventually oversaw the placement of statues on Temple Square in 1911 (CA 50, Jenson 1:244).

Winter, Arthur

Secretary to the First Presidency. Attended dedication of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument in December 1905.

Woodard, Charles Henry (1853-)

Born in S. Royalton. Owned South Royalton House, known as "Woodard Hall," 1878-
Witnessed sealing of Joseph Smith Memorial Monument copper casket, signed petition granting Latter-day Saint use of Woodard Hall (Cheney 50, Lovejoy 384-85, Proceedings 6, 28).

Young, Brigham (1801-1877)

Born in Whitingham. Apostle, 1835-1877; Second President of the Church, 1847-1877. Close friend of **Joseph Smith, Jr.** (CA 47).

Young, John Willard (1844-1924)

Son of **Brigham Young**. Ordained an Apostle, 4 Feb 1864; sustained as first counselor to Brigham Young, 7 Oct 1876; counselor to Quorum of the Twelve, 6 Oct 1877; released 6 Oct 1891. Involved in Railroad business in the east, attended the dedication of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument in 1905 (CA 50, Jenson 1:42, Proceedings 6).

Young, Seymour B. (1837-1924)

Nephew of **Brigham Young**; Seventy, 18 Feb 1857; President of First Quorum of Seventy, 14 Oct 1882. Attended dedication of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument in December 1905 (CA 66, Jenson 1:200, Proceedings 5).

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