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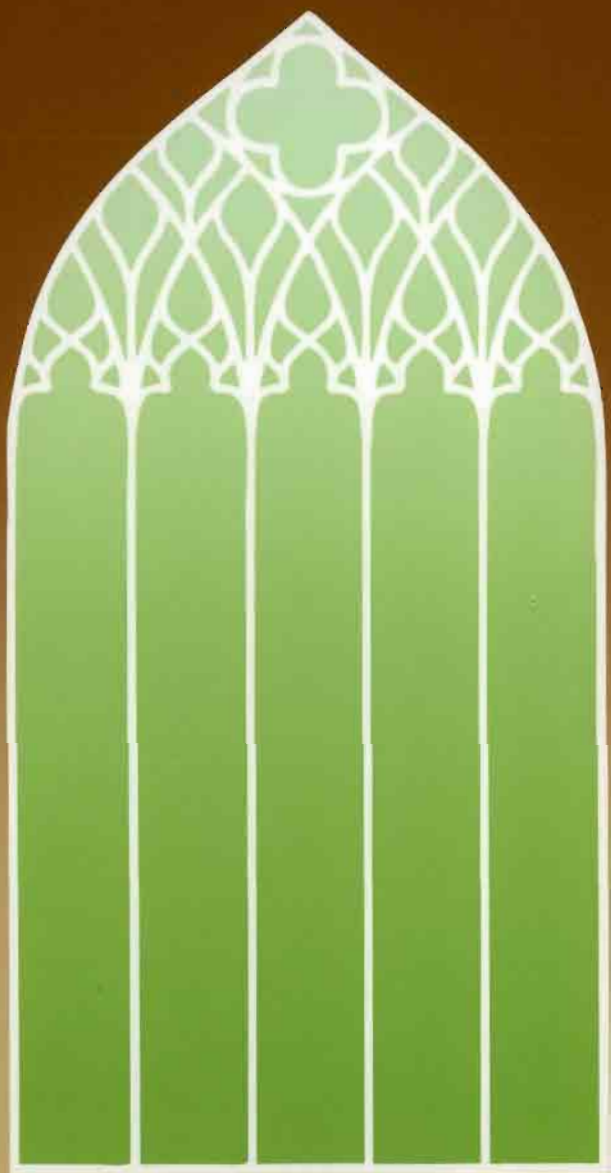
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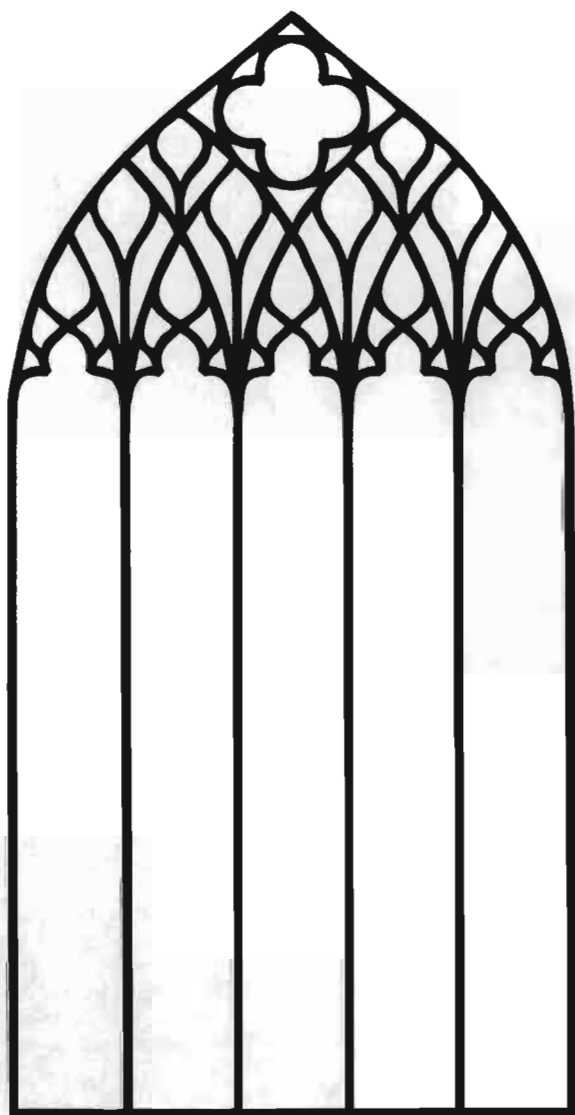
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JOURNAL OF MORMON HISTORY



SPRING 2004

JOURNAL OF MORMON HISTORY



SPRING 2004

CORRECTION: In the Fall 2003 issue, p. 150, Fanny Murray Young is misidentified. The correct form of her name is Fanny Young Murray. Fanny Young, a sister of Brigham Young, married Roswell Gould Murray Sr., the widowed father of Vilate Murray Kimball. Fanny is therefore the step-mother of Vilate Murray Kimball, who is misidentified as Fanny Young's stepmother-in-law.

CORRECTION: The book notice on Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, *A History of Utah County* (Fall, 2003): 262, comments incorrectly that the author failed to note that Clint Larson, a BYU athlete broke track and field records, "went on to teach English at BYU and became one of Mormonism's most prolific and stylistically sophisticated poets." The poet was Clinton F. Larson, son of athlete Clint Larson.

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

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The Mormon History Association is an independent organization dedicated to the study and understanding of all aspects of Mormon history. We welcome all who are interested in the Mormon past, irrespective of religious affiliation, academic training, or world location. We promote our goals through scholarly research, conferences, awards, and publications.

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The *Journal of Mormon History* exists to foster scholarly research and publication in the field of Mormon history. Manuscripts dealing with all aspects of Mormon history are welcome, including twentieth-century history, regional and local history, women's history, and ethnic/minorities history. First consideration will be given to those that make a strong contribution to knowledge through new interpretations and/or new information. The Board of Editors will also consider the paper's general interest, accuracy, level of interpretation, and literary quality. The *Journal* does not consider reprints or simultaneous submissions.

Papers for consideration must be submitted in triplicate, typed and double-spaced throughout, including all quotations. Authors should follow the *Chicago Manual of Style*, 15th edition (see a recent edition of the *Journal*) and be prepared to submit accepted manuscripts on computer diskette, IBM-DOS format preferred. Send manuscripts to the *Journal of Mormon History*, P.O. Box 581068, Salt Lake City, UT 84158-1068.

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Lawrence Foster

A PERSONAL ODYSSEY REVISITED: MY CONTINUING ENCOUNTER WITH MORMON HISTORY

Lawrence Foster

AS MARIO DEPILLIS AND I were having one of our free-wheeling, late-evening discussions in our hotel room during the annual conference of the Mormon History Association in Copenhagen, Denmark, in June 2000, I broached the question of how many other non-Mormon scholars besides ourselves he could think of who had studied Mormon history intensively and had continued interacting regularly with Mormon historians over a period of decades.

LAWRENCE FOSTER {larry.foster@hts.gatech.edu}, a professor of American history at the Georgia Institute of Technology in Atlanta, has published extensively in American religious and social history, especially the nineteenth-century development of Mormon polygamy. His books include *Religion and Sexuality: Three Communal Experiments of the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), which won the MHA Best Book award; *Women, Family, and Utopia: Communal Experiments of the Shakers, the Oneida Community, and the Mormons* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1991); and *Free Love in Utopia: John Humphrey Noyes and the Origin of the Oneida Community* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), a volume he edited, based on original Oneida Community documents compiled by Oneida descendant George Wallingford Noyes. In addition to his Mormon scholarship, Larry is a past president of the Communal Studies Association and the recipient of its Distinguished Scholar Award.

After racking our brains, we could think of only one other such individual in the United States—Jan Shipps.

This raised a further question: Why had so few non-Mormon scholars become professionally and personally involved with a topic that we had both found to be of such continuing fascination? Although non-Mormons had produced some outstanding scholarship in Mormon history over the years, almost invariably their efforts had resulted in one book or one important or provocative contribution before they had moved on to other topics. Perhaps there really was something weird or crazy about us, I quipped. What could possibly have motivated us to sustain such a major engagement with Mormon history over more than three decades, even though we weren't Mormons ourselves nor interested in becoming Mormons?

Some twenty years earlier I had posed a similar set of questions, first at another MHA annual conference and then, in published form, as "A Personal Odyssey: My Encounter with Mormon History" in the Autumn 1983 issue of *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*. In that piece, which this paper draws upon and extends considerably, I began by noting that for nearly a decade, the greater part of my waking hours had been spent in the study of Mormon history. Yet I was not a Mormon. My Mormon friends had been puzzled that anyone could have devoted so many years to studying the Mormons without becoming one, while my non-Mormon friends, had repeatedly asked me, only half jokingly, how anyone could have studied Mormon history so long without becoming anti-Mormon.¹

In this MHA presidential address, as only the third non-Mormon in the thirty-eight-year history of this scholarly yet also more-than-just-scholarly organization,² I want once again to reflect candidly, and I hope with new and greater insight, on two primary

¹ In addition to "A Personal Odyssey: My Encounter with Mormon History," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 16 (Autumn 1983): 87–98, this article also draws upon Lawrence Foster, "New Perspectives on the Mormon Past: Reflections of a Non-Mormon Historian," *Sunstone* 7 (January-February 1982): 41–45.

² I am using "non-Mormon" here to refer to individuals who have had no prior significant connections with any of the restorationist religious movements deriving from the activities and teachings of Joseph Smith Jr. The MHA is a "scholarly yet also more-than-just-scholarly organization" in

topics. The first is the unusual personal and scholarly background that prepared the way for my study of Mormon history. The second is why I have continued to pursue intensive scholarship in Mormon history over so many years and how my distinctive approach to studying Mormonism and Mormon history might prove useful, not only for understanding Mormon development but also for understanding the development of other religious and social movements as well.

Before beginning to address these ambitious topics, either of which could easily be the focus of a major paper or even a book, let me raise three important issues and caveats. The first is the recurrent question of whether a particular religious, ethnic, gender, or national group can ever truly be understood by someone from outside that group. Are attempts at cross-cultural analysis and understanding even desirable or appropriate, especially when they involve sensitive religious issues that are seen as having ultimate significance? In terms of our topic here, can or should non-Mormons study or write Mormon history?

It seems to me that while there certainly are many pitfalls inherent in attempts by outsiders to engage in cross-cultural communication and understanding, those who write from within a tradition also have their own limitations and blind spots. Religious insiders, for example, have a tendency to gloss over awkward but significant issues, as they attempt to present their tradition's best possible face to their own members and to the outside world. They also can suffer at times from profound insularity and ignorance of the rest of the world. Empathic outsiders, by contrast, are sometimes able constructively to tackle hard issues that need to be addressed, but which those within a particular tradition cannot or will not touch. Partly because of their broad comparative perspective, outsiders sometimes may be able to see certain things that those within a tradition may not. To use a non-religious example, it has often been argued that the young French aristocrat Alexis de Toqueville produced one of the most powerful and convincing assessments of both the strengths and weaknesses of

the sense that many of its members feel that the subject matter studied by the organization is of transcendent importance.

democracy in America—in fact, that he may even have understood Americans better than they understood themselves.³

A second necessary caveat is that, just as not all Mormons are alike, neither are all non-Mormons, not even “inside-outsiders.” In particular, my own approach to Mormon history differs in certain significant respects from the approaches of my two esteemed non-Mormon colleagues and friends, Jan Shipps and Mario DePillis. Thus, what I have to say here reflects my own views and not necessarily those of Jan, Mario, or any other non-Mormon scholars of Mormonism, even if they might be prepared, on some points at least, to issue “concurrent opinions.”⁴

A final important caveat is that it has always been with considerable reluctance that I have been willing to discuss directly my most personal and deeply held religious beliefs, even with close friends. As

³ The remarkable enthusiasm that Americans have expressed for *Democracy in America* cuts across the political spectrum, with individuals of all persuasions vying to appropriate Toqueville's work to support their own viewpoints. The book's impact is suggested in the “Editors' Introduction” to Alexis de Toqueville, *Democracy in America*, translated and edited by Harvey C. Mansfield and Delba Winthrop (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), xvii–lxxxvi, which begins with the assertion: “*Democracy in America* is at once the best book ever written on democracy and the best book ever written on America.” Even more striking, despite the severe persecution of Toqueville's own aristocratic family during the French Revolution of 1789, his unfinished book on the French Revolution also remains one of the most dispassionate and revealing studies of that great upheaval. Alexis de Toqueville, “*The European Revolution*” and *Correspondence with Gobineau*, edited and translated by John Lukacs (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1959).

⁴ Jan Shipps has written extensively and insightfully on a wide range of topics relating to Mormonism and Mormon history, but her distinctive melioristic perspective is most accessible in her two books, *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985), and *Sojourner in the Promised Land: Forty Years Among the Mormons* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000). Perhaps the best entrée into Mario DePillis's also distinctive but more skeptical approach to Mormon history still remains his comparative 1960 Yale Ph.D. dissertation, “The Development of Mormon Communitarianism, 1826–1846,” and his foundational articles, “The Quest for Religious Authority and the Rise of Mormonism,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 1 (Spring 1966): 68–88, and “The Social Sources of Mormonism,” *Church History* 37 (March 1968): 50–79.

an example, two months into my first off-campus co-op job as a freshman at Antioch College, I asked my roommate, with whom I felt great empathy, what he thought my religious beliefs were. He turned to me very seriously and said, "Larry, I haven't the slightest idea, but whatever they are, they are absolutely unshakable. I've never seen anybody with such strong religious convictions as you have."

Also during that same co-op job, my employer gave me one of the most insightful criticisms I ever received, when she wrote in her evaluation: "Mr. Foster is a very bright young man, but he is too convinced of the correctness of his own views. When he learns to accept (not agree with) those whose views differ from his, he will come out as the cream of the crop." Although my wife, Julie, certainly could attest that I still have a long way to go in that regard, that goal has nevertheless inspired me as I have critically yet empathically attempted to comprehend religious traditions such as Mormonism that differ greatly from my own. With Spinoza, "I have made a ceaseless effort not to ridicule, not to bewail, nor to scorn human actions, but to understand them."⁵

Despite my best efforts to be constructive and fair, the comments that follow may be seen by some—and perhaps legitimately from their own perspective—as obtuse, dangerous, or even, in the inimitable words to me of one Mormon scholar who shall remain nameless, "absurd." While I certainly don't agree with such a characterization of my work, I am more sympathetic than many scholars to the intellectual and social challenges that independent thought and scholarship, of whatever variety, may pose to those of devout faith. It can be deeply disturbing to realize that the "truth" of Mormonism (or any faith) is far more complex than the sanitized and simplified renditions provided in Sunday School manuals. Yet I believe that in the final analysis a more complex and nuanced account of the past that engages difficult problems candidly, yet with empathy, is far

⁵ It is not coincidental that I have highlighted Spinoza's statement as my own credo at the beginning of my first two books, *Religion and Sexuality: Three American Communal Experiments of the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981) [paperbound reprint under the title *Religion and Sexuality: The Shakers, the Mormons, and the Oneida Community* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984)], and *Women, Family, and Utopia: Communal Experiments of the Shakers, the Oneida Community, and the Mormons* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1991).

more compelling and ultimately less likely to shatter mature religious commitment than demanding belief in one-dimensional stick figure heroes and heroines. Even the Mormon prophet Joseph Smith implicitly acknowledged the role of human imperfection when he observed that “a prophet is a prophet only when he is acting as such.”⁶

I

My unorthodox approach to Mormon history is the product of an equally unorthodox but highly committed religious and social background that has significantly shaped all aspects of my scholarship. During the first seven years of my life until 1954, my parents served as lay Methodist agricultural missionaries in China and the Philippines. They went first to China just six months after my birth in April 1947, staying there during the two utterly chaotic final years of Chiang Kai-shek’s nationalist regime, and leaving hurriedly only three months before the final fall of the mainland to Mao Zedong’s communist forces in 1949. Mercifully, I have no conscious memories of that terrible period, during which, by my mother’s reckoning, we moved more than a dozen times and saw people literally dying in the streets from starvation. I can’t help thinking, however, that my subsequent sense of the fragility of human life and my sympathy with apocalyptic thinking may well owe at least some of its roots to that disordered period.

In the Philippines, where we lived for the next five years and of which I do have vivid memories, my father served as the first nonproselytizing Methodist agricultural missionary in that country. Instead of “saving souls” (or more precisely trying to convert Roman Catholics to Methodism), he sought to help others achieve what he described as a “more abundant life” by engaging in what amounted to pre-Peace Corps, pre-Green Revolution work, including agricultural extension activity in outlying *barrios*, teaching vocational agriculture in high school, and teaching sociology in a local college. Not only were my parents Americans struggling to understand and contribute to a foreign culture while rearing two young children (my younger brother Bob had been born while we were in China), but much of their work was with Philippine Methodists, many of whom

⁶ Joseph Smith Jr. et al., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, edited by B. H. Roberts (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 6 vols. published 1902–12, Vol. 7 published 1932; 1948 printing), 5:265.

held conservative religious views that my parents did not share but with which they did not feel free to differ publicly.

Living conditions in the rural *barrio* where we stayed for nearly two final years before returning to the States in 1954, were primitive by American standards. Initially, we had neither running water nor reliable electricity, for example. Instead, we had to carry water from the artesian well about a block away, and we used kerosene lanterns. Eventually, we did arrange to have a well dug on our property; and when we wanted running water we pumped water by hand into a tower, although we still had to boil the water on the stove before drinking it because it was not artesian. We also made a bathtub out of poured cement (a very rough grade of cement, by my recollection). When we wanted to have a bath, we would pump water up into the tower, run cold water into the tub, heat additional water on the stove, dump it into the tub too, and then experience weird hot and cold convection currents in the prickly cement bathtub.

When we returned to the United States in the mid-1950s, I experienced profound culture shock that has permanently shaped my orientation toward the world and made it virtually impossible for me not to think about history and society in comparative terms. I was astonished, for example, to discover that every American home seemed to have hot and cold running water, with elaborate tiled bathrooms, flush toilets, and a host of other amenities. While I was aware that such things existed, to me they were very special. Yet most Americans appeared to take such things totally for granted and could not imagine that anyone could live in any other way.

As a result of such early cross-cultural experiences, I have always approached American life at its most basic existential level as an outsider, much like an anthropologist entering a foreign culture and trying to make sense of it. Whereas many Americans see themselves as not wealthy enough because of what they want but don't have, for example, I tend instead to feel deeply ambivalent about the enormous wealth and privilege that even my modest middle-class life in this country has provided. Even now as an adult, some fifty years after having first lived overseas, I sometimes find myself almost literally nauseous upon entering large American shopping malls and realizing the astonishing—and to me unreal and profoundly sickening—materialism and preoccupation with naked greed and self-indulgence that have become the rationale

and very *raison d'être* of life for so many people in the United States today.

At least as significant as my cross-cultural exposure in the Philippines was the influence of my mother, who has had a profound impact on my religious attitudes and development. Her experiences during the first sixteen years of her life as the daughter of Methodist educational missionaries in Korea, recounted in her autobiography, *In Pursuit of Justice: Around the World and in the Human Heart*,⁷ highlight the classic tension underlying the missionary enterprise. Her mother, a warm but imposing dowager who went to Korea as a single Presbyterian missionary, was a missionary fundamentalist whose chief goal was saving souls. In later years when she would come to visit, we were strictly instructed never, under any circumstances, to discuss religion with her. Her religious views were so inflexible and literalistic that any attempt to raise or respond to religious issues could only provoke fruitless tension.

At the opposite pole was my missionary-intellectual grandfather, a reflective and thoughtful man who taught history in Korea

⁷ The full citation for this self-published autobiography, which has sold almost all of its 530-copy initial printing, is Portia Billings Foster, *In Pursuit of Justice: Around the World and in the Human Heart—The Life and Work of an Environmental and Social Justice Activist in Korea, Mexico, China, the Philippines, and the U.S.A.* (Eugene, Ore.: Far Horizons Publishing, 2000). Perhaps the best characterization of my mother's approach is suggested by John Espey's sketch of the colorful Miss Cogdal, an unmarried missionary he admired during his boyhood growing up in a China missionary family. Espey wrote that "Miss Cogdal never found the Chinese very puzzling, for she met them all on a basis of complete equality. She had no unctuous condescension in her, none of the superior laughter that shrills through many an Old China Hand's remarks on the quaintness, the oddity, the weirdness (all meaning the inferiority) of the Chinese. . . . To Miss Cogdal nothing was weird, odd, or quaint simply because it was not Kansas. She never confused difference in manner with difference in quality. She was that rarest of human beings who accepted unconsciously the right of the Chinese to think, to act, to be human beings. She accepted everything until Kansas common sense told her something was wrong, and once she was convinced a thing was wrong she flew to remedy it, not with superior cluckings and shakes of the head, but with a clean heart and impassioned spirit." John Espey, *Minor Heresies: A China Mission Boyhood* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 113.

and East Asia for nearly forty years. Mother vividly remembers that, during their vacation trips to the lovely Diamond Mountains in what is now North Korea, the family would stay in Buddhist guest houses and Grandfather would have long serious discussions with the monks. He was visibly impressed by their spirituality and sought to comprehend their faith purely for its own sake, not for any ulterior motives.

These polarities in my mother's background were a source of great anguish to her, anguish that she transmitted to me. Eventually, after great personal struggle she worked her way to a position closer to Grandfather's Christian humanitarianism. Yet the tension still remains. For instance, Mother would state unequivocally that the institutional church is wholly expendable if that be necessary to realize God's deeper goals on earth. On the other hand, my parents tithed their income, a practice rare for Methodists. I received both a thorough grounding in Mother's literary and religious approach to the Bible and full biblical refutations for the arguments of fundamentalist Christians, such that I can make a compelling argument based solely on the Bible itself that biblical literalism is unscriptural.⁸ As a teenager, I participated regularly in church services, Sunday School, choir, and youth groups, yet my propensity for raising uncomfortable questions continually embroiled me in controversy. I was such a disruptive influence in my conservative eighth-grade Sunday School

⁸ The Christian scriptural argument against biblical literalism is readily articulated and, to my mind, compelling: Christians seek to follow the life and teachings of Jesus. Jesus repeatedly criticized all manner of biblical literalism. He is represented as excoriating the Pharisees, the biblical literalists of his day, as a "brood of vipers" (Matt. 12:34, 23:33) who typically missed the underlying point of the religious rules they so slavishly tried to follow as they hypocritically "strained out a gnat, and swallowed a camel" (Matt 23:24). Jesus frequently chose to violate the letter of the law himself, emphasizing its underlying spirit and meaning, as when he healed the sick or allowed his followers to pluck grain on the Sabbath (Mark 3:1-5, 2:23-28). He chastised his own followers for misunderstanding statements he made as literal rather than figurative, as when he warned them to "beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and the Sadducees" (Matt. 16:5-12) and they thought that he meant literal bread rather than their ideas. St. Paul, the other most influential early Christian figure besides Jesus, was even more vigorous in emphasizing that the spirit and not the letter always was most important.

teacher's class, for example, that by mutual agreement I opted to spend my time in the church library reading *The Interpreter's Bible* on the book of Job.

From these experiences growing up in another culture and associating with parents who had a strong but unorthodox religious commitment, I reached two firm conclusions. The first was that religion can and often does play a powerful role in human life. Whether for good or for ill, religion is a force that cannot be ignored. Some scholars might casually dismiss the influence of religion, but I had felt its power and been shaken by it. I became fascinated, much like William James, by the religion that exists not as a dull habit but as an acute fever—religion that is alive.⁹ I read widely in my own and in other religious traditions and meditational writings. During and after college, I developed a hobby of visiting various religious and cult groups, ranging from Guru Maharaji, the Hari Krishnas, and the Moonies to Billy Graham and revivalistic faith healers. My goal was to understand the many different ways in which religion, which had been such an important force in my own life, had influenced the lives of other men and women, as well.

A second conclusion that gradually developed out of my interest in the varieties of religious experience was that no religion has a monopoly on absolute truth. Through personal experience

⁹ I first encountered this reference to William James's powerful statement from *The Varieties of Religious Experience: A Study in Human Nature* (1902; reprinted, New York: New American Library, 1958), 24, in Huston Smith's own insightful study, now entitled *The World's Religions* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1991), 9. While I continue to be deeply influenced by Huston Smith's thoughtful and respectful attempt to comprehend and appreciate the underlying values of the great religious traditions of humanity, over time I have moved to a position almost diametrically opposed to his on one critical matter. I now am firmly convinced that it is a mistake to look only at the best in religion, and not approach—equally candidly and directly—the worst and most destructive aspects of religion as well. In this respect, I find William James's willingness to grapple seriously, like Jacob with the angel, not only with the type of religious approach that he describes as "healthy-mindedness," but also with the horrendous depths experienced by what he calls the "sick soul," ultimately more convincing. For a recent appreciation and critique of James's great work as applied to the present, see Charles Taylor, *Varieties of Religion Today: William James Revisited* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002).

and wide reading, I came to know many wonderful men and women whose beliefs were widely at variance with my own. I could have become cynical at such divergences or have adopted an exclusivist viewpoint as the best way to shore up my own faith. Instead, I concluded that all religions—even the best—are but partial perspectives on a higher truth that is ultimately beyond full human comprehension or institutional realization. We are all like blind men, each convinced that he knows what the elephant really is, yet each perceiving its awesome immensity only in part. It became increasingly clear to me that no specific beliefs and practices are necessarily important in themselves; what really matters is the meaning that they hold for the worshipper. Surely this awesome and wondrous universe could be approached from many different perspectives, any one of which might serve as a vehicle for richer insight and deeper understanding.

This realization did not cause me to give up my faith but instead led me to want to explore it more deeply. Even if there were many possible approaches to truth, I, like other individuals, had grown up within a particular tradition for which I had a special emotional affinity. Though I might intellectually reject a literalistic interpretation of the Christmas story, for example, I would always feel deeply the joy of the Christmas spirit, with its message that God can work through even the lowliest and most unpromising circumstances. Why should I try to convert to another faith if, as I came to believe, the deepest spiritual values could also be found in my own? And conversely, why should I try to convert others to my faith if those deeper spiritual values could also be found in their faiths, as well?

Increasingly I have come to feel my deepest affinity not with lukewarm or naïve believers in my own tradition but with those people of whatever faith who seem to have an appreciation of deeper spiritual values—what I have come to see as true religious consciousness. From these perceptions has developed my distinctive sense of mission. My goal has been not so much to convert across faith lines but to encourage others to appreciate and better understand the universal values within their own heritage—to become better Methodists, Catholics, Jews, Buddhists, Muslims, Mormons, or whatever.

Another life experience that would eventually allow me to have special empathy with Mormons was the result of growing up be-

tween my sixth grade and high school years as a “westerner” in the quiet college town of Corvallis, Oregon, where my father taught sociology at Oregon State University. For the first time in my life, I lived for more than two years in the same residence and began developing ties with congenial friends in a place that I came to consider “home.” Despite the presence of the university, Corvallis was an extraordinarily insular community, aptly identified as a prototypical western American town in Wallace Stegner’s compelling essay, “Born a Square: The Westerner’s Dilemma.”¹⁰ I remember knowing only one nonobservant Jew and not a single African American during all my years in Corvallis. On the other hand, I thrived among an exceptionally talented cohort of friends in a high school where referring to someone as a “brain” was a compliment, not an insult. I also prided myself on being an outspoken liberal—at least until I left for college.

Culture shock again awaited me when I went away to study in Yellow Springs, Ohio, at Antioch College, a distinctive small liberal arts institution that was (and is) most noted for its social and intellectual activism and for its comprehensive liberal arts co-op program. Under that program, which was an integral part of the required edu-

¹⁰ Stegner’s manifesto helped sustain my sense of identity during moments of cultural angst after I went away to avant-garde Antioch College. As Stegner put it: “The fact is, most Western writers don’t feel at home in a literary generation that appears to specialize in despair, hostility, hypersexuality, and disgust. If only because of their youth, the several Wests continue to represent some degree of the traditional American innocence. They breed more meliorists than nihilists, and they encourage booster clubs, culture clubs, and reform movements more commonly than the despair, decadence, masochism, sadism, self-pity, anger, and the hopeless prick of conscience that are compulsive in many contemporary novelists.” He continued, “Any Western writer may ultimately be grateful to his Western upbringing for convincing him, beyond all chance of conversion, that man, even Modern Man, has some dignity if he will assume it, and that most lives are worth living even when they are lives of quiet desperation. The point is to do the best one can in the circumstances, not the worst. From the Western writer’s square, naive point of view, the trouble with Modern Man, as he reads about him in fiction, is that Modern Man has quit.” Wallace Stegner, “Born a Square: The Westerner’s Dilemma,” *Atlantic*, January 1964, 46, 50. Only years later, would I discover that Stegner was another non-Mormon Westerner who had written insightfully about Mormon history and culture.

cational experience, all students during their undergraduate years alternated quarters of on-campus study with off-campus work throughout the country and even the world. Life at Antioch was often intense and anomic. During my five years there, for example, the longest I ever lived in any one residence was four months.

The pervasive ethos at Antioch when I was a student there combined Quaker, Unitarian, and liberal New York Jewish elements, as well reflecting the peak of late 1960s countercultural experimentation with drugs, sex, and much high-profile anti-Vietnam War and other protest activity. Trying to make sense of Antioch's counter-cultural extremes, I temporarily began to wonder if, far from being the flaming liberal I had always thought myself to be, I was actually the last surviving conservative on earth. Such concerns found expression when I helped organize two of the largest counter-demonstrations in Antioch's history, demonstrations that sought to protect the freedom of speech and action of unpopular minorities who happened to have been targeted by campus radicals. Despite the high level of tension at Antioch, I was able to maintain a sense of balance there by assiduously devoting myself to academic studies and by becoming an avid folk dancer, both on and off campus.

Despite my frequent discomfort with Antioch College while a student there, I came away with a deep appreciation of the institution's commitment to integrating educational experiences with the whole of life—an approach that was inspired by the quasi-religious sense of educational mission of the innovative engineer Arthur E. Morgan. When Morgan became president of nearly bankrupt Antioch College in 1920, he began to reorganize it to combine on-campus study, off-campus work, and intensive community involvement, in what would be later characterized by his successor, Algo Henderson, as a “laboratory for democracy.” In a series of successive steps, Antioch College sought to extend the process of education beyond the classroom by means of its comprehensive liberal arts co-op program, beginning in the 1920s; by experiments with “community government” involving the near-equality of faculty members, administrators, and students, beginning in the 1930s; by international education and work abroad, beginning in the 1950s; by educational outreach to economic and racial minorities, beginning in the 1960s; and, in the early 1970s—and before the institution's near-collapse during the mid-1970s—by creating an overextended “network,” and eventually a “university,” of more than thirty noncontiguous but

affiliated educational units in dozens of states coast-to-coast, focusing chiefly on adult and minority education.¹¹

When I first stumbled into Mormon history during the late 1960s as an undergraduate at Antioch College, I was only dimly aware of Mormonism or how I would eventually study the movement. I started with little more than a few basic stereotypes about the Latter-day Saints and a willingness to learn the extent of my ignorance. My impressions then were threefold: Mormonism was an “authoritarian” religion; its members had once practiced polygamy; and the religion discriminated against blacks and women.

In late 1969 I toyed briefly with the idea of writing my history B.A. thesis at Antioch College on the origin of Mormon polygamy. Ironically, it was Fawn Brodie’s *No Man Knows My History* that discouraged me from pursuing the topic then. While the dust jacket of her book touted it as the “definitive” biography of Joseph Smith, a close reading of the first few pages convinced me that Brodie felt Smith was incomprehensible. Putting two and two together, I concluded that, if the definitive biography of Joseph Smith said that he was incomprehensible, then there was little chance that a rank begin-

¹¹ After graduating from Antioch in 1970, I continued to struggle to better understand the college’s remarkable trajectory of development which I had started to conceptualize while a student there. With the aid of a one-year fellowship from the National Endowment for the Humanities in 1981–82, I began the research for my still-unfinished history, tentatively entitled *Antioch: Innovation and Crisis in American Higher Education since 1920*. My extensive research into this remarkable story has now included more than 115 interviews at the central campus (Yellow Springs, Ohio) and six of the then-surviving affiliated external “campuses” (Washington, D.C., Keene, N.H., Philadelphia, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Seattle), resulting in more than eleven ream-sized boxes of notes and photocopies. The completion of this study, which I envision as an educational ethnography influenced by studies such as Martin Duberman’s *Black Mountain: An Exploration in Community* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1973), has regrettably been significantly delayed due to other commitments. I am pleased, nevertheless, that the great sociologist David Riesman sent me a glowing six-page, single-spaced assessment, mailed in two installments, of the initial eighty-page draft chapter of the book. For the best published analysis thus far of Antioch and its distinctive influence, see the three relevant chapters in Burton R. Clark, *The Distinctive College: Antioch, Reed, and Swarthmore* (Chicago: Aldine, 1970), 13–88.

ner like myself could unravel anything as complex as Smith's motives or the origin of polygamy in the six months then available. I would have to gain a larger perspective first.¹²

My real concern, in any case, was not Mormonism per se but whether the turbulence and experimentation of the late 1960s might have had any parallels during other periods in American life, especially the antebellum years. So many Antiochians during the height of the countercultural and protest period of the late 1960s seemed to be at loose ends, searching for a sense of community but often not finding it. In an effort to gain some perspective on this sense of anomie, I wrote an undergraduate thesis comparing and contrasting the marriage and family ideals of two antebellum restorationist religious movements—the Shakers, who set up celibate, essentially monastic, communities across New England, New York, and the Midwest, and the Oneida Perfectionists, who practiced a form of group marriage in their Oneida, New York, community, where all adult members considered themselves heterosexually married to the group. I concluded that, although both groups had rejected the nuclear family and monogamous marriage, their rejection was based on concern for enlarging the “family” to include the entire group, linked together in tighter bonds of unity.

Until 1971 my curiosity about Mormonism was temporarily in abeyance. Then, at an anthropology conference in Chicago, Mel Hammarberg, a non-Mormon scholar, presented a paper on Mormon family ideals. He stressed that polygamy had been viewed as a means of enlarging family and kinship connections. During the question period, I pointed out that the Shakers and Oneida Perfectionists

¹² In my initial reading of Fawn M. Brodie's brilliant and unendingly provocative book, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet* (1945; 2d ed. rev. and enl., New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971), I was chiefly struck by her cynicism about religion generally, not just by her critical tone in dealing with Joseph Smith and Mormonism. I often have wondered whether the intensely negative Mormon reactions to Brodie's controversial study—which like a grain of sand in an oyster may figuratively be said to have produced a pearl—might have been moderated had she had not expressed such sarcasm about Joseph Smith's motives and overemphasized the sexual side of his life in the last half of her biography. Of course, had Brodie moderated her critical tone, her book might not have remained in print in a hardbound edition for four decades following its first publication.

had also sought to enlarge the nuclear family. Why, I asked, were so many people at the same time and place concerned with enlarging the family? He said he didn't know. I decided to find out. My dissertation at the University of Chicago eventually became a comparative analysis of the marriage and family restructuring of these three groups, as seen in their social and intellectual context. Toward that end, in 1973 I spent six months researching and writing a fifty-page seminar paper for my dissertation adviser, Martin Marty. In it, I attempted to develop a new and more convincing analysis of the origin of Mormon polygamy.¹³

That work was an eye opener. I had previously viewed Mormons as hardworking, clean-cut, loyal, thrifty, brave, clean, reverent—and utterly boring. No group ever talked more about free will (“free agency” in Mormon parlance), while seeming to exercise free will less in important matters. I vividly remembered one cartoon. It showed a large, overbearing woman talking with her neighbor while her small, shy husband meekly sat on the couch, his hands folded. The woman was saying: “Hubert has a will of iron; he just seldom gets a chance to use it.” This for me was the epitome of Mormonism.

Popular Mormon writings had merely reinforced the unbelievable stereotype. Mormons throughout history, if one believed the accounts, had always been paragons of virtue, totally dedicated to the faith. They had never had any doubts or problems, except how they could better spread the “gospel” among non-Mormons, who, for wholly inexplicable reasons, were adamantly opposed to accepting the “truth.” Even without actual knowledge of events, I realized that this official, pollyannaish version couldn't possibly be the full story. Surely there must have been more to Mormon history than such naive accounts indicated, especially considering the remarkable success of Mormonism.

Fortunately, my 1973 work with primary Mormon records and what was sometimes then called the New Mormon History helped me to overcome these stereotypes. For the first time, I began to gain a real appreciation of the Mormon past and what Mormonism might

¹³ *Religion and Sexuality*, 125–28. I suggest some additional essential preconditions in *Women, Family, and Utopia*, 127–29. Another possible contributing factor is explored in my article, “The Psychology of Religious Genius: Joseph Smith and the Origins of New Religious Movements,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 26 (Winter 1993): 1–22.

become. Fortuitously, when beginning my research on the origin of Mormon polygamy, I decided to read systematically through all the back issues of *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* to gain a better understanding of the historical and religious concerns of Mormonism. The result was a minor revelation. Latter-day Saints were not a bunch of goody-goody, “brainwashed” zombies but were real people who were struggling with many of the same questions that, in a different religious tradition, had also baffled and challenged me. Perhaps by studying the Mormons I could gain insight, not only into their past, but into my own as well.

Several months after completing the paper on polygamy, I had the good fortune to attend the first meeting of the John Whitmer Historical Association in Nauvoo, Illinois. There I also met Davis Bitton and other Latter-day Saint historians from the newly professionalized LDS Church Historical Department and gave them a copy of my paper for their criticism. To my delight, they said that it rang true to them. They encouraged me to come to Salt Lake City the following summer to research my hypotheses in the LDS Church Archives. The three months that I spent there in the summer of 1974 were among the most exciting and rewarding periods of my life. I had initially feared that it would be impossible to gain access to the Church Archives at all. Instead, all relevant materials were made available to me, and many individuals shared their ideas and helped in any way they could. I made many dear and lasting friends that summer, Mormon and non-Mormon alike.

That Salt Lake City research provided the core of what eventually became my dissertation and then my first book, *Religion and Sexuality*, published in hardbound edition in 1981 by Oxford University Press and subsequently in seven paperbound printings (thus far) by the University of Illinois Press. In that book, I sought to combine both the analytical perspectives of an outsider and the sensitive appreciation of an insider. My goal was to view the origin of Mormon polygamy in a comparative perspective with other social and intellectual experiments of the antebellum years, particularly the Shakers and Oneida Perfectionists. I wanted to explain not only what these groups did, but why, and how successful they were in terms of their own objectives. By seeking sympathetically yet critically to understand these extraordinary experiments in religious and social revitalization, I was trying to come to terms with a broader set of questions

that I believe affect all men and women during times of crisis and transition.

I am delighted that *Religion and Sexuality* received high praise from LDS, non-Mormon, RLDS, and anti-Mormon scholars alike, all of whom apparently felt that the book supported their own point of view about the origin of Mormon polygamy. This was precisely the reaction that I had hoped to get. In writing the book, I had wanted to reconstruct as fully as possible what had actually had happened and then present that evidence so that individuals from widely divergent and seemingly incompatible backgrounds would find the presentation believable and be able to experience once again the full range of reactions that had occurred when the original phenomena had taken place. Beyond that, my deeper objective was to show even the most rampant skeptic how and why religion (in this case, Mormonism) could and did play an important role in human history.

The probable reasons why my book was extremely well received and why individuals from such widely divergent perspectives have liked my book may be briefly stated. Non-Mormons who began with the assumption that Joseph Smith was just oversexed have not found it hard to believe that any man who may have had as many as thirty or more women as wives in a full physical sense presumably had an ample sex drive. Committed Mormons, who believe that Joseph Smith only reluctantly introduced polygamy because of a command from God, could find supporting evidence in my book for a principled interpretation of his actions because he appears to have advocated the idea of polygamy as divinely inspired long before actually practicing it himself. Members of the Community of Christ (formerly Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints), who argued for more than a century that Joseph Smith had nothing to do with the introduction of polygamy, could find in my book evidence supporting the original RLDS position that, even if Joseph Smith did introduce polygamy, it still was wrong. And those who believe that psychopathology was associated with the introduction of polygamy have had no trouble concluding that any man who during the last year of his life could run for President of the United States, secretly be crowned "king," serve as the head of his own private army, and take perhaps a dozen women as additional plural wives, might have been mentally disordered. Unfortunately, it is hard to see how any single approach, taken in isolation, could adequately explain Joseph Smith's introduction of polygamy.

Much of Mormonism's continuing appeal to me has been due to the unparalleled opportunity it has provided to study—at close hand and with extensive primary records—the origin and early development of what I believe Jan Shipps has correctly characterized as a “new religious movement.” Although I have read widely in the literature that seeks to discover “the historical Buddha,” “the historical Muhammad,” and, above all, “the historical Jesus,” among many other great founders of major religious movements,¹⁴ the documentation on none of these leaders and the early development of their movements even begins to approach the extent and depth of the documentation on Joseph Smith and early Mormonism.¹⁵ Much as Perry Miller was fascinated by the self-reflective, geographically

¹⁴ A challenging interpretation of what “the historical Buddha” may have been like is provided in Trevor Ling, *The Buddha* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1973). A good starting point for approaching “the historical Muhammad,” is F. E. Peters, *Muhammad and the Origins of Islam* (Albany: State University of New York, 1994), including his essay, “The Quest of the Historical Muhammad,” 257–68. A massive literature exists on the various quests for the historical Jesus. Perhaps the best overview and contextualization of these quests is Gregory W. Dawes, *The Historical Jesus Question: The Challenge of History to Religious Authority* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001). Ben Witherington III, *The Jesus Quest: The Third Search for the Jew of Nazareth*, exp. ed. (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity, 1997), provides a thoughtful conservative evaluation of the strengths and weaknesses of many important contributors to the current historical Jesus debate, including members of the flamboyant “Jesus Seminar,” which represents only a small part of contemporary historical Jesus studies. Points of scholarly common ground in recent interpretations of the historical Jesus are emphasized in E. P. Sanders, *The Historical Figure of Jesus* (New York: Penguin, 1993). The most influential of the earlier historical Jesus studies remains Albert Schweitzer's classic analysis, first published in 1906, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus: A Critical Study of its Progress from Reimarus to Wrede* (New York: Macmillan, 1968). The scholarly treatment of the historical Jesus that I personally find most accessible and historically compelling is Bart D. Ehrman, *Jesus: Apocalyptic Prophet of the New Millennium* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

¹⁵ By comparison with the historical evidence available on the major founders of worldwide religious movements such as the Buddha, Jesus, and Muhammad, the documentation on Joseph Smith Jr., the Mormon prophet, is simply staggering, even prior to the anticipated completion

self-contained, and well-documented New England Puritans of the seventeenth century, whose communities he described as “an ideal laboratory” through which the actual processes of social change could be explored at both the individual and group levels,¹⁶ so I, too, have been fascinated and challenged by the way in which Mormonism, which Emerson characterized as an “afterclap of Puritanism,”¹⁷ may shed light on many facets of the complex human experience.

within the next few years of an authoritative eleven-volume scholarly edition of virtually all known contemporary documents by or about Joseph Smith by historians of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Salt Lake City. Existing Joseph Smith documentary collections include Dean C. Jessee, comp., *The Papers of Joseph Smith. Vol. 1: The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, rev. ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2002); Scott A. Faulring, ed., *An American Prophet's Record: The Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989); and Dan Vogel, ed., *Early Mormon Documents*, vols. 1–5 (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996–2003).

For major archival resources, see David J. Whittaker, ed., *Mormon Americana: A Guide to Sources and Collections in the United States* (Provo, Utah: BYU Studies, 1995). Major bibliographies of Mormon publications include Chad J. Flake, *A Mormon Bibliography, 1830–1930: Books, Pamphlets, Periodicals, and Broad-sides Relating to the First Century of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1978); and Peter Crawley, *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Mormon Church: Volume 1, 1830–1847* (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1997). An indispensable reference to virtually all scholarly treatments of Joseph Smith and the Mormon movement from the founding of the Mormon Church to shortly before its publication is James B. Allen, Ronald W. Walker, and David J. Whittaker, *Studies in Mormon History, 1830–1997: An Indexed Bibliography* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000).

For varying perspectives on Joseph Smith, see Brodie, *No Man Knows My History*; Donna Hill, *Joseph Smith: The First Mormon* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1977); and Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984). Essays about Joseph Smith are legion, but some of the most diverse and significant are collected in Bryan Waterman, ed., *The Prophet Puzzle: Interpretive Essays on Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1999).

¹⁶ Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: From Colony to Province* (Boston: Beacon, 1961), foreword.

¹⁷ Quoted in William Mulder and A. Russell Mortensen, *Among the*

II

Although the preceding comments may help explain how my initial interest in Mormon history developed, many questions remain about why I—unlike so many non-Mormon scholars who have briefly investigated the Mormon past en route to somewhere else—have remained immersed in and fascinated by the study of Mormon history for more than three decades. Why have so few other non-Mormon historians shown a similar level of interest in and continuing engagement with the study of Mormon history over so many years? Why, in an equally puzzling but gratifying reaction, have so many committed Mormon historians continued to put up with my often controversial and unsettling work for so long, yet still remain close friends? What are the core elements in my empathic yet critical, participant-observer approach to Mormon history? Could that approach be useful for studying other controversial religious and social groups, as well?

At its most basic level, my continuing encounter with Mormon history has grown out of my good fortune at being able, during my dissertation work in the mid-1970s, to make rewarding and supportive scholarly and personal contacts with an unusually wide range of professional Mormon historians. The mid-1970s were a period of maximum Mormon openness to serious historical investigation of their own past, influenced by the low-keyed but extraordinarily effective leadership of Leonard Arrington as LDS Church Historian. Leonard was not only one of the few truly great individuals I have ever known, he was also a man whose impact on Mormon historical scholarship can perhaps best be compared with the impact that Pope John XXIII had in opening up the Roman Catholic church so it could begin to constructively engage the critical challenges it faces in the modern world.¹⁸

In far more ways than any of us could ever know or begin to ap-

Mormons: Historical Accounts by Contemporary Observers (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1973), 384.

¹⁸ In attempting to assess Leonard Arrington's profound impact, one certainly should read his first and most influential book, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830–1900* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958); his insightful scholarly memoir, *Adventures of a Church Historian* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998); the account by his close associate Davis Bitton, "Ten Years in Camelot: A Personal Memoir," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 16 (Autumn 1983):

preciate fully, modern Mormon historical studies and the Mormon History Association itself represent Leonard's lengthened shadow. He was that rarest of individuals who genuinely engaged all of us as complete human beings, and he knew how to inspire and draw out the very best from everyone—especially those, such as women, whose contributions to Mormon history have never received the attention that they deserve. Above all, Leonard appreciated and facilitated multiple approaches to studying the many varieties of Mormon historical experience. Near the very beginning of my explorations into that experience, Leonard helped me to come into contact with and get to know an exceptional group of fine and diverse individuals who were and will remain valued friends and colleagues—even if, to my great regret, some of them, such as Dean May and Stan Kimball, have now passed on.

The Mormon History Association itself has also been a powerful factor attracting me to the continuing study of Mormon history. I love the annual conferences at historic sites we can explore; I love the diversity of people in the MHA, ranging from scholars to buffs to mothers with babies in tow; and I love the diversity of opinions, covering the spectrum from conservative to liberal to non-Mormon to ex-Mormon to anti-Mormon—all, however, united by passionately caring about Mormon history and being convinced of its importance. It is no accident that the only other scholarly organization to which I have been similarly committed over the years—the Communal Studies Association—also holds its annual conferences at important historic sites; attracts a wide range of individuals, including those currently living in close-knit communal groups; and encourages participation from divergent perspectives and scholarly disciplines, welcoming anyone who cares deeply about the quest to find better ways for people to live in cohesive, caring communities.

Yet many other non-Mormon historians who might have bene-

9–33; and the outpouring of memorials upon his death in the *Journal of Mormon History* 25, no. 1 (Spring 1999). A partial listing of Arrington's books and articles bearing primarily on Mormon history numbers 241 items in Allen, Walker, and Whittaker, *Studies in Mormon History*, 23–31; but as the bibliographers note, "Leonard J. Arrington's list of publications (more extensive than that of any other Mormon historian) ranges far beyond Mormon history and into many other aspects of western American economic development" (23).

fitted from opportunities similar to mine during the past several decades have not pursued them. What has made the difference in my case? One obvious reason many non-Mormons have not engaged in serious and continuing study of Mormon history is that Latter-day Saints, like individuals belonging to many other religious movements that are convinced of their special insight into the nature of ultimate truth, remain understandably suspicious of outsiders, concerned about the risk of "casting their pearls before swine," and prone to set up hurdles that make access to deeper levels of information about their past difficult.

This subtle Mormon "Gentile phobia," as I shall characterize it, frequently leads non-Mormon scholars to feel that they are not really welcome as serious students of the Mormon past. As a result, many non-Mormon scholars may never begin to study Mormon history at all, or else they may turn eventually to other topics that do not make them feel so much like cautiously tolerated outsiders. Even when non-Mormon historians do publish significant scholarship in Mormon history—especially if it has a critical edge or deals with controversial topics—they tend to feel they are being given something of a cold shoulder by their Mormon colleagues. Criticisms of their work often seem to them to be based more on polemical considerations than on the strengths or weaknesses of their actual evidence and arguments.

Non-Mormon scholars, of course, also suffer from strong internal distancing mechanisms that can limit their ability to understand and appreciate the Mormon past on its own terms. At least until the past several decades, most professional historians have assumed that the very idea of Mormon history—especially Mormon religious history—was something of a joke. Despite the massive outpouring of dissertations and books in Mormon history since the end of World War II, virtually none have become known or treated seriously outside the ranks of a handful of historians of the American West, social historians, and other enthusiasts with highly specialized interests. Brigham Young University dissertations in Mormon history seemed to provide the classic stereotype of the genre. No matter what the topic, each dissertation typically would begin with a reference to Joseph Smith's first vision and would end with a stirring reaffirmation of the author's faith in the restored Mormon gospel. In between would be sandwiched enormous masses of undigested data with no discernible organizing principle that made sense to non-Mormon scholars. Sober Mormon historians could spend seemingly intermi-

nable amounts of time trying to find evidence that Joseph Smith really had seen an angel—an issue that had about as much resonance for non-Mormon historians as debates among medieval scholastics about how many angels could dance on the head of a pin. Although Mormon history was written in English, it might just as well have appeared in an indecipherable foreign tongue for all the sense that it made to most secular, non-Mormon scholars.

Precisely why I have been able to surmount many of these internal and external barriers that non-Mormon historians inevitably have faced (or created for themselves) still remains somewhat puzzling to me. Several factors, however, have worked to my advantage. Perhaps my most fundamental asset has been my unwavering conviction that even the most baffling and seemingly intractable questions about the Mormon past would ultimately make human sense if only I could investigate them fully enough and develop appropriate analytical frameworks within which to interpret them. Since I have never been concerned to promote the official Mormon “party line” (being a non-Mormon who is quite certain that his own salvation is not dependent upon accepting the beliefs and practices of the Mormon Church), I never have been afraid of what I might find. Thus, I have felt free to investigate controversial questions using any evidence or perspectives that might appear most convincing.

My working assumption throughout has been that, although the Mormon Church’s official version of its past is necessarily and inevitably (in my opinion) partial, oversimplified, and, in some cases, downright wrong, these inherent limitations do not necessarily invalidate the underlying “truth” of Mormonism in some more fundamental sense: “For now I see through a glass darkly, but then face to face” (1 Cor. 13:12). In approaching topics such as polygamy, about which many current Church leaders feel profoundly ambivalent, for example, I act on the assumption that most individuals (unless overwhelming evidence exists to the contrary) seek to act honorably and do their best in dealing with whatever challenges their life and faith may pose for them. Whenever possible, I thus try to be straightforward in my writing and use positive rather than negative word choices or interpretations of evidence. I try to evaluate controversial topics as fully and fairly as possible, letting the chips fall where they may and allowing others to form their own judgments, based on the evidence I have presented.

Underlying all my scholarship is an attempt to identify, investi-

gate thoroughly, and make human sense of what appears to be the most bizarre, controversial, or inexplicable phenomena in the groups I am studying. I am convinced that if only one could make sense of the most baffling and disturbing phenomena, then everything else would easily fall into place, as well. As just one set of examples, which I can only mention but not develop fully here, one of my recent articles addresses the three most puzzling issues that I encountered while studying how the celibate Shakers, "free love" Oneida Perfectionists, and polygamous Mormons attempted to introduce controversial new sexual systems into their groups in America during the antebellum period. Some of the earliest Shakers were described as having engaged in naked flagellant activities and ecstatic dancing to quell their sexual desires and kill their pride; the Oneida Community announced in March 1852 that the community was temporarily discontinuing its controversial group marriage practices in order to focus its full attention on "the abolition of death"; and the Mormon prophet Joseph Smith allegedly took as plural wives in a full physical sense women who were already legally married to other men. Just how I have sought to explain these extraordinary actions that I think actually did happen is beyond the scope of this paper, but those who may be interested will find my arguments summarized in my recent article "Between Two Worlds," and, most fully, in my first book, *Religion and Sexuality*.¹⁹

My doggedness in exploring the widest possible range of evidence and perspectives also has worked in my favor. Like the Little

¹⁹ Lawrence Foster, "Between Two Worlds: Community, Liminality, and the Development of Alternative Marriage Systems," in *Intentional Community: An Anthropological Perspective*, edited by Susan Love Brown (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002), 67–81. For the more detailed documentation and discussion of each episode, see Foster, *Religion and Sexuality*, 41–43, 103–20, 163–66. An exploration of some striking similarities between the early sexual experimentation of the founding prophets of the Oneida Community and the Mormons is found in Lawrence Foster, "Sex and Prophetic Power: A Comparison of John Humphrey Noyes, Founder of the Oneida Community, with Joseph Smith, Jr., the Mormon Prophet," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 31 (Winter 1998): 65–83. Much additional evidence relevant to this comparison is presented in a fascinating documentary narrative account, almost destroyed in the 1940s, that has now been published as *Free Love in Utopia: John Humphrey Noyes and the Origin of the Oneida Community* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001),

Prince in Antoine de Saint-Exupéry's story, once I pose a question I never give it up. I attempt to investigate every possible source and argument before committing myself to any particular position; I solicit comments about and corrections of my work from both Mormon and non-Mormon scholars alike; and, most important, I seek to develop new interpretive frameworks that will allow sophisticated Latter-day Saints to view my findings as compatible with committed Mormon belief—even though the specific form of that belief may differ from that currently espoused by the Mormon Church.

Before briefly tackling the inherently controversial topic of how my own religious framework intersects with that of Mormonism, let me correct one persistent misunderstanding, apparently generated by my original "Personal Odyssey" essay two decades ago. I personally am extremely uncomfortable with religious labels, and I am not currently a member of any particular religious denomination. When forms ask for "religious preference," I squirm and try to come up with something that will not allow me to be fitted into any box. Most recently I described myself as a "non-trinitarian Methodist, with strong Quaker and nineteenth-century Universalist leanings." Another paradoxically impossible way that I have sometimes described myself is as a "Buddhist Christian." Although my personal religious beliefs are probably closest to those of the silent meeting Friends (Quakers), for a variety of reasons—including my sense that silent meeting Friends currently lack the structure and commitment to pass on their heritage effectively to succeeding generations—I probably would not formally become a Quaker myself.²⁰

My own theologically heterodox stance vis à vis orthodox Christianity has led me to be intrigued by—and willing to explore without

compiled by George Wallingford Noyes and edited with an introduction by Lawrence Foster.

²⁰ "A Personal Odyssey," 93–96, suggested some of my differences with Mormonism on the issue of true religious authority by discussing "the approach toward authority used by the group with which I now feel most spiritually akin," the Quakers, noting, in addition, that "Although neither I nor my parents are formally affiliated with the Quakers, our attraction to the group and what it stands for is long and deep." I further argued that the Quakers were an ideal group to use in considering the possibility of an alternative approach towards authority to that used by the Mormons, "since they are so small and do not actively proselytize today" (93). Despite these statements expressing both my affinity with Quaker perspectives and the fact

taking personal offense at—the profound heterodoxy that I believe has also been an integral element in the Mormon movement since its earliest days. The ways in which the Mormon movement has incorporated into itself, at one time or another, so many different and quite unorthodox religious ideas into an amazingly creative synthesis all its own has been a matter of continuing fascination for me.²¹

Much of my interest in early Mormonism and in other new religious movements also may relate to my own proto-prophetic tendencies. These impulses have given me a sense of kinship with many prophetic religious figures, including those whom Len Oakes analyzes in his pathbreaking study *Prophetic Charisma: The Psychology of Revolutionary Religious Personalities*.²² Like many of the creative religious and social leaders I have studied, I possess both a probing intelli-

that I was not a formal member of the group, several otherwise scrupulously accurate Mormon historians have referred to me subsequently as “Lawrence Foster, the Quaker historian.” Perhaps they did not feel comfortable unless my religious views could be placed within some conveniently labeled box—the very error I was trying to warn against in the conclusion to the essay.

²¹ The diversity of the Mormon movement’s theological roots is summarized in Sterling M. McMurrin, *The Theological Foundations of the Mormon Religion* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1965). Additional comparative insights can be found in Thomas F. O’Dea, *The Mormons* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957). Some implications of Mormonism’s theological heterodoxy are discussed in my essay “Apostate Believers: Jerald and Sandra Tanner’s Encounter with Mormon History,” in *Differing Visions: Dissenters in Mormon History*, edited by Roger D. Launius and Linda Thatcher (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 343–65. A sophisticated polemical critique of Mormon heterodoxy when compared to Christian orthodoxy is provided in “The Mormon Puzzle: Understanding and Witnessing to Latter-day Saints,” a proselyting video prepared by the Southern Baptist Convention prior to holding its annual meeting in Salt Lake City in 1998.

²² Len Oakes’s *Prophetic Charisma: The Psychology of Revolutionary Religious Personalities* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1997) presents a compelling analysis of the roots, development, and significance of prophetic creativity. Based on in-depth qualitative and quantitative psychological research into the leaders of twenty contemporary New Zealand religious/communal groups and their followers, Oakes develops a theory of the motivation for and stages of the development of the sense of prophetic

gence and the extraordinary belief that my personal experiences and perception of reality could provide a key for understanding the experiences of others—and even the world as a whole. Ultimately, however, I lack that complete sense of inner certainty, compulsion, and hubris necessary to do what Voltaire suggested anyone must do who wants to found a successful religious movement: namely, be martyred forthwith. Instead of trying to start my own religious movement, therefore, I have focused on the more modest goal of finding out everything I possibly can about precisely how new religious movements actually do what they do and what factors may account for their eventual success or failure.²³

Approaching Mormonism from such a perspective, I do not find its creative syncretism disturbing but, rather, exhilarating. I certainly would not argue that Christianity is *necessarily* wrong because of its radical divergence from its parent roots in Judaism—which Christianity claims, with extraordinary chutzpah, both to complete and to supersede. Similarly, I would not argue that Mormonism's radical divergence from the Christian roots out of which it sprang and from which it resynthesized itself into a movement of truly daunting complexity, either invalidates *or* proves the

vocation. His analysis could help in understanding a wide range of charismatic leaders and their impact on religious, political, social, and intellectual life. My essay, "The Psychology of Prophetic Charisma: New Approaches to Understanding Joseph Smith and the Development of Charismatic Leadership," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, 36 (Winter 2003): 1–14, explores how Oakes's insights could help in approaching Joseph Smith's own prophetic career in new ways. Harvey Mindess, *Makers of Psychology: The Personal Factor* (New York: Insight Books, 1988), provides an intriguing analysis suggesting how seven prominent psychologists—including Freud, Jung, B. F. Skinner, Carl Rogers, and William James—drew upon their own personalities and experiences to create their divergent therapeutic approaches and theories.

²³ I have found this method a fruitful way to try to get inside the mind of figures such as Joseph Smith and understand why they might have acted as they did. For example, assuming that Joseph Smith (for whatever reasons) genuinely believed that he should introduce a form of polygamy among his followers, how might he most effectively have gone about trying to achieve that goal? This approach is used in Charles Shook's lawyer-like analysis, *The True Origin of Mormon Polygamy* (Cincinnati, Ohio: Standard, 1914).

truth of Mormonism. If Mormonism really is, as Jan Shipps has argued, a "new religious tradition," how could it possibly be just "another testimony to Jesus Christ," refitted back into the procrustean bed of that orthodox Pauline Christianity from which it so creatively attempted to escape?²⁴

This underlying sense of kinship with heterodox individuals and movements contributes to my unusual methodological approach. Precisely because I am neither a Mormon nor someone who rejects Mormon claims based on a priori assumptions, I have been freer to look freshly at many difficult topics in Mormon history, without being afraid of what I might find. As a historian, my fundamental goal has always been to discover, to the greatest extent that may be humanly possible, "what actually happened" in the past, so that I can try to bring it alive in the present. Intellectually, at least, I am not afraid of the "truth," wherever it may lead, because I firmly believe truth is better than half truth or comfortable falsehood—if only it can be placed within a proper framework.

At the core of my personal religious and intellectual approach is my conviction that there actually *is* ultimate truth, on the one hand, but that it simply cannot be known, except in the most provisional way, on the other, because of the inherent limitations of our normal human consciousness. Thus, one of the few

²⁴ I have always been puzzled by the heated rhetoric expended on whether Mormons are "Christian" or not. Although Mormon concepts of God, Jesus, and salvation certainly appear widely divergent from orthodox Christian belief, Mormon heterodoxy vis à vis the Christian orthodoxy—that the Mormon movement so strenuously denounced during the nineteenth century does not necessarily determine whether or not Mormon beliefs may or may not be "true." One could argue, in fact, that current Mormon efforts to become more "Christian" (read: "religiously respectable") in order to better attract new members may actually be leading Mormonism away from some of its most distinctive and creative testimonies. Just how far this Mormon move toward Christian orthodoxy can or will eventually go, remains to be seen. On this point, see Armand Mauss, *The Angel and the Beehive: The Mormon Struggle with Assimilation* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994); Richard N. Ostling and Joan K. Ostling, *Mormon America: The Power and the Promise* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1999); or O'Dea's earlier reflections on "Sources of Strain and Conflict" in his *The Mormons*, 222–57.

things about which I am absolutely certain is that those who claim to have unique and complete access to absolute truth, don't.²⁵

On the question of the "truth" of various religious and theological ideas, therefore—issues over which so much ink and blood has been spilled throughout the centuries—I agree with the Buddha that such points of theological dispute are ultimately "questions not tending to edification."²⁶ I further believe that the Quran is right in asserting that each of us will ultimately be judged not by what we believe, so much as by how well we have lived up to the highest ideals we know.²⁷ And I strongly subscribe to similar statements, probably emanating from the historical Jesus himself, that "Not every one who says to me 'Lord, Lord' shall enter the kingdom of heaven, but he who does the will of my Father who is in heaven," and that the final judgment by the "Son of Man" will be based on the extent of our compassion and tangible aid to the hungry and needy rather than on testimonials of belief, since "as you did it to one of the least of these my brethren, you did it to me."²⁸

While disagreeing, on the one hand, with those who stress the importance of specific beliefs as being the heart of the religious imperative, I also strongly disagree, on the other hand, with the meth-

²⁵ On this point, see the incisive analysis by the controversial Roman Catholic priest Hans Kung in *Infallible? An Inquiry* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1983).

²⁶ E. A. Burtt, ed., *The Teachings of the Compassionate Buddha* (New York: New American Library, 1955), 32–36.

²⁷ This is what the Quran maintains, at least with regard to Jews, Christians, and other monotheistic "peoples of the Book." For instance, in the opening chapter of the Quran that follows the basic declaration of faith, comes this statement: "Be they Muslims, Jews, Christians, or Sabians, those who believe in God and the Last Day and who do good have their reward with their Lord. They have nothing to fear, and they will not sorrow." *The Essential Koran: The Heart of Islam*, translated by Thomas Cleary (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1993), 9.

²⁸ Matt. 7:21, 25:31–46, Revised Standard Version. Ehrman, *Jesus*, 136, argues that a striking feature of Matthew 25:31–46, which he believes goes back to Jesus himself, is that it never mentions belief in Jesus's own death and resurrection as requisite for salvation (as later Pauline theology would), but regards salvation as being based instead upon helping those in need.

odological premises of so many secular scholars—ironically including many historians of religion—who personally believe that the material world around us is necessarily the only one that exists. Insofar as scholars claim to be “objective” because they are investigating all the evidence, how can they flatly reject even the possibility that there could be actually existing alternative dimensions of reality, or “spiritual worlds,” to use the religious shorthand? Why do some scholars use complex analytical terminology in order to avoid openly acknowledging their secular presuppositions? I have always tried to state my presuppositions candidly and to the very best of my ability, and then be prepared to investigate, as openly and fairly as possible, the religious claims of believers, even when my investigation may lead me to become convinced that religious events that believers view as profoundly significant really did not happen in precisely the way they think they did.

Unlike some non-Mormon scholars of Mormonism who have carefully avoided explaining the points at which they personally differ with Mormon truth claims or how they themselves would attempt to use naturalistic perspectives to understand certain events that Mormons attribute to Divine intervention, I thus have sought to clarify my own working hypotheses about how certain controversial events may actually have occurred and have consistently been willing to state my views, if I am asked. This approach has not always caused me to “win friends and influence Mormons,” but I nevertheless believe that candor expressed with humility—a recognition that one’s own point of view may be imperfect or even outright wrong—is ultimately more convincing than simply trying to politely sidestep difficult issues. My ambitious goal has been to develop a naturalistic middle ground that could make sense, in very different ways, to both Mormons and non-Mormons alike.

With regard to disputes about the nature of the Book of Mormon, for example, I have argued that the document is best understood neither as a literal history nor as a conscious fraud, but rather as a significant religious document that was received, at least in part, through trance dictation by Joseph Smith. Such an approach, in my opinion, still leaves open the question of the ultimate source of that dictation, whether as a product of Joseph Smith’s remarkable mind or as a direct emanation from the Divine. Utilizing approaches of this sort might allow discussion to progress beyond sterile, back-and-forth name calling to the more intrinsically signifi-

cant questions about the *message* that the Book of Mormon presents. Although I believe that setting aside such true-false dichotomies might eventually encourage more fruitful scholarship, I have no illusions that the Mormon Church itself ever will—or even should—adopt such an approach. Treating the Book of Mormon as a literal history remains a far more effective way of inculcating the deep commitment that the Mormon Church requires from its followers.²⁹

I have never thus far found compelling evidence that any of the diverse visionary phenomena at the core of direct religious experience can most plausibly be explained as anything other than complex projections of the human mind.³⁰ Nevertheless, I believe that if one is trying to be “objective,” one must leave open the possibility

²⁹ For a further exploration of such arguments, see my *Religion and Sexuality*, 294–97, and “New Paradigms for Understanding Mormonism and Mormon History,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 29 (Fall 1996): 55–63. Also suggestive are the analyses in Scott C. Dunn, “Spirit Writing: Another Look at the Book of Mormon,” *Sunstone*, June 1985, 17–26, and Robert M. Price, “Prophecy and Palimpsest,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 35 (Fall 2002): 67–82.

³⁰ Among the studies that have raised important questions about visionary and similar phenomena, but which have ultimately left me with no clear answers—except perhaps a sense of awe at the enormous complexity of the human mind—are: I. M. Lewis, *Ecstatic Religion: An Anthropological Study of Spirit Possession and Shamanism* (Baltimore, Md.: Penguin, 1971); William J. Samarin, *Tongues of Men and Angels: The Religious Language of Pentecostalism* (New York: Macmillan, 1972); Jay Stevens, *Storming Heaven: LSD and the American Dream* (New York: Grove, 1987); Carl Sagan, *The Demon-Haunted World: Science as a Candle in the Dark* (New York: Ballantine, 1997); Mark Pendergrast, *Victims of Memory: Sex Abuse Accusations and Shattered Lives*, 2d. ed. (Hinesburg, Vt.: Upper Access, 1996); Jess Byron Hollenback, *Mysticism: Experience, Response, and Empowerment* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996); Paul Copan and Ronald K. Tacelli, eds., *Jesus’ Resurrection—Fact or Fiction?: A Debate Between William Lane Craig and Gerd Lüdemann* (Downers Grove, Ill: InterVarsity, 2000), and Robert Kastenbaum, *Is There Life After Death: The Latest Evidence Analyzed* (London: Prion, 1995).

The ambiguities inherent in the interpretation of visionary and ecstatic phenomena are suggested in my first scholarly conference paper, eventually published in a much-revised form as “Shaker Spiritualism and

that other dimensions of reality do exist. This is especially the case since so many of the hypotheses of modern physics would appear to strain credulity far more than the most extraordinary ideas that religious movements themselves have postulated about the nature of the universe.³¹ While I may not agree with the specific beliefs that Mormonism or other religious movements may hold about actually existing "spiritual worlds," I find it refreshing to be able to consider such possibilities without having everyone assume that I have taken leave of my senses.

Several other factors have helped me study Mormonism and Mormon history relatively sympathetically and dispassionately. Precisely because I am not a Mormon, have no Mormon relatives, do not live in an area with a high Mormon population, and maintain my primary Mormon contacts with intellectuals and historians, I do not experience many of the day-to-day annoyances and pressures that can cause non-Mormons living in Mormon country—and many Mormon intellectuals, as well—to grit their teeth in frustration. Partly because I am a sympathetic non-Mormon scholar who may have also achieved some credibility among other non-Mormons—however odd my views might appear to Mormons themselves—I have been given far more latitude than those within the fold to say what I actually think. Most Mormons, in fact, would be (and are) harshly criticized for making the types of arguments for which I have sometimes even received

Salem Witchcraft: Social Perspectives on Trance and Possession Phenomena," in Foster, *Women, Family, and Utopia*, 43–56. The essay asks why two sets of trance-like phenomena that initially appeared very similar were interpreted so differently and had such different social consequences in the two groups. The Shakers during the 1830s and 1840s generally viewed the trance and visionary phenomena they experienced as a sign of divine favor and concern, and the phenomena thus contributed to a decade-long religious revival. The Puritans at Salem in 1692, by contrast, viewed such trance phenomena so negatively that terrible witchcraft accusations, trials, and executions resulted on a scale never seen before or subsequently in colonial America. My article suggests a combination of social and psychological factors that, if taken together, could help make sense of both sets of phenomena and why they were understood so differently.

³¹ A convenient summary and evaluation of many of the most important and provocative modern scientific and cosmological theories is presented in John Horgan, *The End of Science: Facing the Limits of Knowledge in the Twilight of the Scientific Age* (New York: Broadway, 1997).

praise from conservative Latter-day Saints. I suspect that there may be more than a few Mormon scholars who are pleased, or even secretly envious, when I am able to address important problems in Mormon history and culture that they could not risk discussing so candidly themselves without facing a potential backlash from family and friends, their neighbors, or the Brethren.

Latter-day Saint scholars, whose lives often are encapsulated in such a variety of ways within the world of Mormon culture and expectations, sometimes face great difficulties in coming to terms with the range of pressures they encounter. These pressures can lead them, on the one hand, to feel constrained not to say what they really think (or sometimes, not even to consider certain issues at all) or, on the other hand, to become frustrated and cynical, rebel verbally or in other ways, and eventually drift away from the faith. Even as a non-Mormon scholar, I was struck by the force of the quiet pressures toward conformity. For example, I found myself unable to begin to write what would become my first published article in Mormon history during the time when I was doing intensive research in the LDS Church Archives in Salt Lake City in the summer of 1974, even though I had clearly formulated the entire article in my mind long before leaving the Mormon heartland.³²

As someone with quite liberal political and social views, especially when compared with most Mormons in the intermountain West, I also have experienced a certain paradoxical freedom as a non-Mormon to directly but judiciously identify important problems in Mormon life and culture. One such essay, for example, discussed the changing role of Mormon women since the beginning

³² My first article appeared as "A Little-Known Defense of Polygamy from the Mormon Press in 1842," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 9, no. 4 (1974): 21–34. For some of the struggles Mormon scholars have faced in coming to terms with their own faith, see Philip L. Barlow, *A Thoughtful Faith: Essays on Belief by Mormon Scholars* (Centerville, Utah: Cannon Press, 1986); James W. Ure, *Leaving the Fold: Candid Conversations with Inactive Mormons* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1999); Launius and Thatcher, eds., *Differing Visions*; and John Sillito and Susan Staker, eds., *Mormon Mavericks: Essays on Dissenters* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2002). A revealing and disturbing account of the pressures placed on Mormon intellectuals, some of whom are my close friends, is Bryan Waterman and Brian Kagel, *The Lord's University: Freedom and Authority at BYU* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1998).

of the Mormon movement and stresses the problems many thoughtful Mormon women today face in realizing their full potential within a church that has become more and more patriarchal and restrictive regarding women's roles.³³ I argued that, although the nineteenth-century stereotypes portrayed Mormon women as extremely oppressed, in actuality they often experienced greater opportunities for independent development than did comparable non-Mormon women of their time. Today, by contrast, despite the generally positive public image of Latter-day Saint family life, Mormon women have seen their relative opportunities eroded by comparison with women in American society because of the patriarchal Mormon hierarchy's vigorous promotion of an essentially neo-Victorian domestic ideal for women. Concerns about the narrowing of opportunities for Latter-day Saint women were perhaps most eloquently expressed by an insightful Mormon woman, who wrote:

I feel that what we're losing in the Church is diversity. There's such a push for uniformity and conformity that all the beautiful little nuances of differences are being swept aside. That's what God really enjoys. Otherwise he wouldn't make every leaf and snowflake different. You should have the freedom to have some time to be yourself, and to have people appreciate that you're different. You should appreciate this in your children and not try to push them into a prescribed mold. . . . I think that in an authoritarian church this is one of the dangers. . . . We have to let some pilot projects develop in individual lives too. Until we do that, how are we going to let a woman make the individual contribution which is particularly her own?³⁴

In conclusion, let me share an approach that I have found especially valuable in pursuing my historical studies of Mormonism and other religious movements. I believe that every good historian of reli-

³³ Lawrence Foster, "From Frontier Activism to Neo-Victorian Domesticity: Mormon Women in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," *Journal of Mormon History* 6 (1979): 3-21. Another essay of mine that sought to address significant problems in the past was "Reluctant Polygamists': The Strains and Challenges of the Transition to Polygamy in a Prominent Mormon Family," in *Religion and Society in the American West: Historical Essays*, edited by Carl Guarneri and David Alvarez (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1987), 131-52.

³⁴ Quoted in Foster, "From Frontier Activism," 21.

gion can be viewed, in some sense at least, as an anthropologist of the past. As L. P. Hartley wrote in *The Go-Between*: "The past is a foreign country; they do things differently there."³⁵ The historian's chief task, as I see it, is to try understand the different ways of looking at and living in the world at different times and places, seeking to translate such experiences into the present so they can have meaning for our own time as well. This is a process of comprehension and synthesis undergone by the religious prophet or any creative figure, who enters the vault of experience and then returns to the everyday world to attempt to convey that deeper and often ineffable experience in terms that can be understood by the lay person. Like the anthropologist, prophet, or creative individual, the historian ultimately will be unsuccessful in comprehending the full richness and complexity of the human experience. But there is, I am convinced, continuing value in the pursuit of an impossible ideal.

³⁵ L. P. Hartley, *The Go-Between* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1954), 1.

“FAITH IN THE RELIGION OF THEIR FATHERS”: PASSING MORMONISM FROM ONE GENERATION TO THE NEXT

Randall Balmer

“IF THERE IS ANYTHING THAT GIVES JOY to the hearts of the fathers in this kingdom, it is the knowledge that their sons seize the holy principles for which they have so long labored in the name of Jesus, and that their children are preparing themselves by faith and good works to bear off the kingdom triumphant and accomplish the work their fathers have commenced.”¹ So wrote Brigham Young to his son Brigham Heber, then on a mission in Zurich, Switzerland, in 1868. “Be prayerful to the Lord continually and humble in His hands,” Young continued, “trust in Him for His holy Spirit and in every circumstance remember how great is the responsibility placed upon you to set an example amongst Saints and strangers worthy to be copied by all men, that the cause of

RANDALL BALMER {rb281@columbia.edu}, the Ann Whitney Olin Professor of American Religion at Barnard College, Columbia University, is the author of ten books, including *Mine Eyes Have Seen the Glory: A Journey into the Evangelical Subculture in America* and, most recently, *Religion in American Life: A Short History* (with Jon Butler and Grant Wacker).

¹ Dean C. Jessee, ed., *Letters of Brigham Young to His Sons* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1974), 135.



Randall Balmer

God may be honored in your life, and His name glorified by your good deeds.”²

THE GENERATION OF FAITH

For people of faith in almost any religious tradition the ultimate challenge lies in passing the faith from one generation to the next. That crisis—especially in the children of clergy—crops up in various manifestations of popular culture, including fiction, memoirs, and motion pictures. Some examples might include *Get Thee Behind Me: My Life as a Preacher's Son*, by Hartzell Spence; *Son of a Preacher Man*, by Jay Bakker; *Father and Son*, by Edmund Goss; Norman Maclean's *A River Runs Through It*; Chaim Potok's *The Chosen*; and the motion picture *The Apostle*, with Robert Duvall. Although the difficulty of passing the faith from one generation to the next represents a challenge to parents of all religious traditions, the challenge intensifies within those traditions that demand a dramatic conversion or extraordinary commitment. The Hasidim come to mind, as do those in the Anabaptist tradition, Mormons, and evangelicals. Evangelical hymnody, for instance, especially that of the nineteenth century, fairly reverberates with the anguished cries of parents longing for their children's salvation or the contrition of wayward sons: “Come Home, Come Home, It's Suppertime,” or, “Tell Mother I'll Be There.”

The challenge of transmitting the faith within Judaism and Christianity has a history that extends all the way back to the book of Genesis, where Adam and Eve witness one of their sons, Cain, commit fratricide and suffer banishment from the fold. There is no more poignant father-son relationship than that of David, king of Israel, and his son Absalom. In the New Testament parable of the Prodigal Son, the younger son demands his inheritance, runs off to a far country, spends the fortune on dissolute living, and descends into poverty; yet his father welcomes him home with open arms, much to the consternation of the prodigal's dutiful brother. The story is a metaphor for God's grace and forgiveness, but it also evokes reminders of broken families and disappointed parents.

In America, the Puritans of seventeenth-century New England faced the problem of spiritual succession within years of their arrival in Massachusetts. For the founding generation, one of the hallmarks

² Ibid., 135–36.

of the faith—as well as the motivation for leaving England—was the desire to establish a pure and undefiled church, a church consisting only of those elected to salvation and who could give testimony to their election. Toward that end, the Puritans required any candidate for full membership in the church to stand before the congregation and offer a narrative of his salvation and spiritual pilgrimage. The founding generation, those who had left family and fortune back in England for the perilous Atlantic voyage and an uncertain plight in the New World, had little difficulty meeting this requirement; they were heroes, after all, for their devotion to the faith.

When it came time for the children of the founding generation to take their place in the meetinghouse, however, they found it difficult to do so. The reasons for this phenomenon are complex and contested among historians even to this day, but the fact remains that a good number among the second generation of Puritans simply could not—or at least would not—conjure the requisite piety to be accepted as full members of the congregation. The first generation's longevity, especially as compared with settlers in the Chesapeake, surely was a contributing factor. When confronted with the challenge of facing down their parents and their parents' peers in the meetinghouse to offer an account of their own spiritual pilgrimages, the second generation blinked. How could their narratives of faith, after all, begin to compare with those of their parents? Increase Mather, son of Richard Mather, lionized his father's generation for "that unparallel'd Undertaking, even to Transport themselves, their Wives and Little ones, over the rudee Waves of the vast Ocean, into a Land which was not sown."³

By the middle of the seventeenth century, the entire Puritan experiment of building a godly commonwealth, one that would be more or less coterminous with a pure church, was imperiled because the second generation refused to take its rightful place as full members of the Puritan community. The issue gathered urgency when the second generation began having children. The Puritans believed in the baptism of infants—the New Testament counterpart to circumcision—as a symbol of the child's inclusion in the covenant, but they also insisted that the child's parents must be full members of the congregation in order for their children to be baptized. But if members

³ Quoted in Michael G. Hall, *The Last American Puritan: The Life of Increase Mather* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1988), 85.

of the second generation were only halfway members (themselves baptized in infancy but never having attained the status of full members), what was to become of the third generation—and, by extension, of Puritanism itself?

No Puritan household, it seems, was untouched by the failure to pass piety to the next generation. Even the grandchildren of Richard Mather, a prominent Puritan divine, would be deprived of baptism if the rules remained unchanged.⁴ Gathering at the old meetinghouse in Boston in 1662, the Puritan ministers decided to adopt the controversial Halfway Covenant, a concession to the spiritual apathy of the second generation. Under the terms of the Halfway Covenant, the children of halfway members (those baptized as infants but not full members) could be baptized.

The compromise provoked howls of protest for years thereafter. "Are these the folk whom from the brittish Isles, / Through the stern billows of the watry main," Michael Wigglesworth asked in verse on behalf of the Almighty, "I safely led so many thousand miles, / As if their journey had been through a plain?"⁵ The Lord demanded—and deserved—repentance from the Puritans for having failed to transmit the faith to succeeding generations. That failure had given rise to fractiousness, which placed the entire Puritan enterprise in jeopardy. "If Christians will break one from another, and churches break one from another," Thomas Shepard Jr. warned in heavy-handed italics in 1672, "have we not cause to fear that God will suffer *some wild boar or beast of the forest* to enter in at the breaches *and lay waste this vineyard, and turn it into a wilderness again?*"⁶

If the Puritans of the seventeenth century had largely failed to transmit their faith to succeeding generations, some evangelical families fared better in the eighteenth century. The sons of William Tennent, founder of a school of theology called the Log College, a precursor to Princeton University, followed their father's footsteps into the ministry. Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen, a Dutch Pietist,

⁴ See *ibid.*, 55. The ensuing ecclesiastical debate over the matter pitted Richard Mather against another son, Increase. *Ibid.*, 58-59.

⁵ Michael Wigglesworth, "God's Controversy with New England," in *The Puritans in America: A Narrative Anthology*, edited by Alan Heimert and Andrew Delbanco (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985), 231.

⁶ Thomas Shepard Jr., "Eye-Salve," in *ibid.*, 257.

was accused of being homosexual by his ecclesiastical enemies in the 1720s. He married, however, and all of his sons became ministers.

One of the storied ecclesiastical families of the nineteenth century was the Beechers, who provide a marvelous case study of the "generation" of faith. Lyman Beecher, a graduate of Yale, was a Congregational minister in New England and later president of Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati. Beecher had eleven children, nine by his first wife, Roxana Foote, and two by Harriet Porter. By all accounts Beecher was a loving and demonstrative father. "I never knew a man exhibit so much—all the tenderness of a mother and the untiring activity and devotedness of a nurse—father and friend," one of his children wrote, "he can find the energy—the heart—to sympathize so entirely with his family and watch over their happiness—in fact I should grow eloquent in praise of my father's domestic character."⁷ The Beecher children attended church twice every Sunday, and their father conducted prayer gatherings twice daily in their home. His sons were ticketed for Yale and careers in the ministry; and when they left for college, Lyman prayed for them daily: "May they become good ministers of our Lord Jesus Christ."⁸

Those prayers apparently paid off, though not without exception. One son died young, apparently a suicide. Several harbored other interests, became indifferent, or lacked the requisite intellectual gifts. Henry Ward Beecher, on the other hand, became a prominent preacher and a spiritual confidant of Abraham Lincoln, although his illustrious career was besmirched by a trial for adultery. His sister, Harriet Beecher Stowe, became one of the century's most famous novelists, the author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Catharine Beecher, the oldest child, became the nineteenth century's best-known apostle of female domesticity.

What Lyman Beecher sought above all was that his children have the same religious conversion that he had experienced while a student at Yale. The world was a perilous place, after all, and anyone who died without such a spiritual transformation would be consigned to perdition. Yet son Thomas Beecher earnestly—but unsuccessfully—sought a conversion, writing to his sister that he was striving "to get light soon," Catharine struggled all of her life to attain the

⁷ Quoted in Marie Caskey, *Chariot of Fire: Religion and the Beecher Family* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1978), 15.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 23.

kind of conversion that her father had prescribed, and even Henry's profession of faith was marred by doubts.⁹

Chastened in part by the experience with his own children, Lyman Beecher and others in the nineteenth century sought to modify somewhat the theology underpinning conversion. For Jonathan Edwards and the Puritans, conversion, in the Calvinist scheme, was reserved only to the elect, those whom God had chosen for salvation. The corollary of this doctrine was not entire passivity—Puritans believed one might take certain steps to prepare the heart for conversion—but it left matters in the hands of God, not the individual, and thereby gave rise to considerable anxiety.¹⁰

Contemporaneous to Joseph Smith and the birth of Mormonism, Beecher, together with Charles Grandison Finney and Nathaniel William Taylor, softened the Calvinist approach by vesting the initiative for conversion in the individual. "I have used my evangelical theology all my lifetime," Beecher wrote, "and relieved people without number out of the sloughs of high Calvinism."¹¹ This shift in theology extended to the entire revival enterprise. Whereas Edwards, a Calvinist, had interpreted the revival in his Northampton, Massachusetts, congregation as a "surprising work of God," Finney famously declared that revival was "the work of man."¹²

Another New England clergyman took matters even further. Horace Bushnell's *Christian Nurture*, first published in 1847, attacked the concept that conversion was even necessary. A child should be reared never to know himself as anything other than a Christian, Bushnell counseled. This approach relieved the individual of having to undergo a dramatic (or contrived) conversion from a

⁹ Quoted in *ibid.*, 26; Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1973), 37–42; Caskey, *Chariot of Fire*, 26.

¹⁰ There is an extensive literature on Calvinist understandings of salvation. See, for example, Norman Petit, *The Heart Prepared: Grace and Conversion in Puritan Spiritual Life* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1966).

¹¹ Quoted in Caskey, *Chariot of Fire*, 26.

¹² Charles Grandison Finney, *Lectures on Revivals of Religion*, edited by William B. McLoughlin (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960), 9.

life of sin to a regenerated life, and it also shifted even more emphasis to child-rearing and passing the faith to the next generation.

Many conservative Protestants regard *Christian Nurture* as a milestone in Protestant theology or (more to the point) the initial step on a slippery slope toward theological liberalism. By emphasizing a kind of socializing in the faith and thereby obviating the need for conversion, the disciples of Bushnell also did away with traditional Protestant notions of human depravity; if a child need only be reared to think of herself as Christian, she really had no sinful nature that needed divine intervention or remedy. The Christian life was shaped not by regeneration, but by morality.

Conservatives rejected such formulations, continuing to look for the conversion of their children. Baptist theologian Augustus H. Strong, for forty years president of Rochester Theological Seminary, mourned the failure of his gifted son, Charles, to appropriate the faith for himself, and Billy Sunday's final years were given over to lamentations about the dissipation of his children.¹³

LEAVING HOME AND MEASURING UP

The story of the early years of the Latter-day Saints provides another excellent case study of the dynamics of transmitting the faith from the founding generation to the second generation. The fact that all members of the first generation of Mormonism were, by definition, converts themselves merely sharpens the issue, for—as evangelicals can attest—there is no greater intergenerational task than replicating the zeal of a convert. Joseph Smith, the progenitor of Mormonism, had a relationship with his sons truncated by his untimely death, his prophetic legacy to them complicated by their rejection of the legitimacy of plural marriage.¹⁴

At age twenty-seven on 6 April 1860, Joseph Smith III accepted

¹³ Grant Wacker, *Augustus H. Strong and the Dilemma of Historical Consciousness* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1985), 130; Robert F. Martin, *Hero of the Heartland: Billy Sunday and the Transformation of American Society, 1862–1935* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 122–24.

¹⁴ His youngest son, born five months after his death, for example, became mentally unstable as an adult and eventually died in an asylum. Although the cause of his mental illness has not been diagnosed, a long-hypothesized cause was his shock, during his mission to Utah, at meeting women who claimed to have been his father's plural wives. Valeen Tippetts

the presidency of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (now Community of Christ), headquartered in Independence, Missouri. His brothers, sons, and grandsons continued the Smith leadership dynasty until 1996 when Church leadership passed for the first time, to a non-Smith, W. Grant McMurray, who is the current president.¹⁵

Joseph III had three brothers who survived into adulthood: The first, Frederick Granger William Smith, who was about two and a half years younger, died two years after the RLDS Church was organized and hence had little opportunity to play an active role in it. The next brother, Alexander Hale Smith, about six years Joseph's junior, worked devotedly with Joseph III to build the RLDS Church, and served as presiding patriarch, apostle, and as counselor in the First Presidency. The third surviving brother, David Hyrum, also labored diligently to build the RLDS Church and was serving as a counselor in the First Presidency to his brother Joseph when he became mentally unbalanced and had to be institutionalized. All three of these brothers predeceased Joseph III.

Joseph III had seventeen children by three monogamous marriages. Not all of the children survived infancy; but after his own death in 1914, RLDS leadership passed successively to three of Joseph III's sons. The second RLDS Church president was Frederick Madison Smith (1915–46), the third was Israel Alexander Smith (1946–58), and the fourth was William Wallace (1958–78). The fifth president was Wallace's son, Wallace Bunnell Smith (1978–96), the final Smith president of the RLDS Church/Community of Christ. Although space precludes an analysis of each presidency, they seem to have exhibited remarkable loyalty and devotion to a religious movement that was also very much a family tradition.¹⁶

The succession of Brigham Young as leader of the largest group

Avery, *From Mission to Madness: Last Son of the Mormon Prophet* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1998).

¹⁵ See the more complete descendance in Mary Audentia Smith Anderson, comp., *Ancestry and Posterity of Joseph Smith and Emma Hale* (Independence: Herald Publishing House, 1929), 578. I express my appreciation to Ronald E. Romig, Archivist, Community of Christ, for supplying me with this material.

¹⁶ Given Joseph III's youthfulness at the time of his father's death (he

of Mormons following Smith's death offers still another wrinkle: the challenge of passing along the faith from father to son within, not one, but several households.¹⁷ The rich correspondence between this father and the seventeen sons who grew to adulthood reveals the complicated intergenerational dynamics of passing along the faith within the Mormon subculture.

When his sons reached maturity, Young sent them out into the world, believing that such forays were essential to their development. "You went out as a child," he wrote to Joseph [Angell?] in 1855. "We trust you will return a flaming Elder of salvation" (16). As the patriarch dispatched his sons to venues beyond the Wasatch Mountains, he did so with the confidence that he had trained them well, and he did not shy away from holding himself up as an example. "Joseph, this has been your privilege, to grow as the Church has grown," Young wrote Joseph Angell in Manchester, England. He recalled his son's nurture: "You were dandled on the knees of a tender mother and received the caresses of an affectionate father, and as you have grown to years of understanding you have had continually the instructions of one who has been appointed to stand at the head of God's kingdom on the earth, the front of the battle" (7). To Brigham Heber, Young wrote: "You know the truth sufficiently to be capable of teaching it" (130).

The best witness to the faith, Young believed, was that of example. "By exhibiting your character and the principles you profess in your daily walk and conversation," he declared, "and by refraining

was eleven), it is obvious that an underexplored area in this paper must be the role of mothers in transmitting religious faith.

¹⁷ This peculiar circumstance lends a certain poignancy (if not humor) to Brigham Young's closing of his letter to Brigham Jr. and John Willard on 21 May 1867. "I am your father," he writes. The circumstances of plural marriage also figure into John Willard's letter of 30 August 1875, offering condolences to his father upon hearing of the death of his brother: "You, dear father, have other sons, and many to comfort you, but poor Mother so wrapt [*sic*] up in her children." On yet another occasion, when Brigham Young was in St. George, Utah, he wrote to John Willard back in Salt Lake City with instructions to convey his respects "to all my wives and children." Jessee, *Letters of Brigham Young to His Sons*, 88, 112, 124. Further quotations from this compilation appear parenthetically in the text. John Willard Young, son of Mary Ann Angell Young, should not be confused with Willard Young, son of Clarissa Ogden Chase Young.

from every appearance of evil, you will not only be admired by the good and the upright, but you will command that respect that even the most unvirtuous are willing to accord to those who truly deserve it" (170–71).

FATHER'S FOOTSTEPS

Like many fathers, Young was especially anxious that his sons follow in his footsteps, and he expressed gratitude when they chose to do so. "It gratifies me to see my sons desire to magnify the holy priesthood," Young wrote to Oscar Brigham in 1867 (145). "It is a great joy to me to see my sons bearing the holy priesthood and seeking to magnify the same among the nations of the earth," he wrote to John Willard, serving a mission in Liverpool, England (106). When this same son served an earlier mission in New York City, Young had invoked heavenly protection upon him: "Pray continually that you will be able to do good on this mission," he wrote, "Glorify your Father in heaven, and you shall have power over your enemies inwardly and outwardly and no accident shall befall you" (96). "Be faithful in discharging the duties of your calling," Young instructed Brigham Jr., "and keep your heart so clean and pure that the Lord can write His mind and will upon it" (62).

For the sons of Brigham Young, however, and for sons of clergy everywhere, following in the footsteps of their father entailed additional burdens and responsibilities. "You have now entered upon a new sphere of action," Young counseled Brigham Heber in 1867, "the responsibilities and cares of manhood, and especially those which pertain to the priesthood, are resting upon you, and much more is expected from you now than ever before" (130). "Personally, I feel no desire to make a show," John Willard wrote to his father from St. Louis, "but when the eyes of many are directed towards me and it is said, 'there is a son of Brigham Young,' I feel that to look and act respectable is my duty."¹⁸ Brigham Jr., on a mission in England, feared that he could not measure up to the expectations of being his father's son, especially the expectations of other Mormons. "I have been afraid that more is expected of me than I can do," he wrote in 1863.

¹⁸ Ibid., 101. The context of this letter suggests that John Willard may have been using his lineage to justify his taste for expensive hotels and fine clothing.

"They consider that such a father had ought to have a smart son. I can't help it if they are disappointed in their expectations" (34).

As is frequently the case in clerical households, the eldest son bore the brunt of the father's expectations. "Remember you are my oldest son, the arc of the family," Young wrote to Joseph Angell, then on a mission to England, in 1854. "I want you to be faithful that you may [be] worthe of your stashon in my Kingdom" (12). The following year, he added: "I look upon this mission as a sort of probation—a kind of middle period between boyhood and manhood—a time which as you improve or neglect, will make or mar your future career" (13). Young did not hesitate to proffer what modern psychologists call conditional love. "As you progress in doing good," he told this same son, "so will my love and affection increase for you" (15).

Brigham Young's correspondence with his sons fairly reverberates not only with spiritual exhortations but also with practical advice. "Experience will teach you that the greatest success does not attend the over-studious," Young wrote to Willard, who had just been accepted into the U.S. Military Academy. "A proper regard must be had to physical as well as intellectual exercise, else the intellectual powers become impaired" (164). Young apparently entertained precisely the opposite concerns about his son Joseph Angell, then in Manchester, England. "I now wish to say to you," he concluded his letter of 31 August 1854, "proceed with your studies, and apply your heart diligently to the study of the gospel wherein is true wisdom" (8).

Despite the multiplicity of his charges, Brigham Young emerges from the correspondence as a caring and sensitive parent, an impression confirmed by the sons' response: "My father met me with every expression of love and kindness," Brigham Young Jr. declared upon his return to Salt Lake City.¹⁹ After receiving an encouraging letter from his father, Willard, exclaimed, "Thank God for such a father. You have satisfied me in every way" (202). Another time he enthused: "I esteem it the greatest possible honor to call you father, and the greatest privilege to be directed by your counsel" (183). Occasionally, the letters verge on the sycophantic, as when Brigham Jr. declared that "I thank God from my very *soul* that he has given me such a father. . . . If I gave the Lord sufficient thanks for all his blessings

¹⁹ Ibid., 83. Leonard J. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), also characterizes Young's relationship to his children as affectionate.

poured out upon me through you," he continued, "it would take an eternity" (45). Willard's affection bordered on idolatry. "Every time I look at your picture, which I always keep handy," he declared in 1873, "I seem to be running over with love and gratitude" (180). John Willard spoke about his "confidence, esteem, and love" and "the warmest affection that burns within my heart for a beloved father" (121).

THE SAFETY OF THE SUBCULTURE

Throughout American history various religious groups have sought to construct subcultures as a means of keeping children from the dangers and temptations of the larger world. The Puritans tried to make the entire colony of Massachusetts into a subculture, but by the end of the seventeenth century the walls had become too porous. German groups, especially in Pennsylvania—Moravians, Schwenckfelders, and others—enjoyed more success, abetted by the barriers of language, while the Amish remain something of a subculture into the twenty-first century. The largest and most successful subculture in American history emerged after the Scopes trial of 1925, when evangelicals constructed an elaborate network of institutions—churches, denominations, Bible institutes, colleges, seminaries, Bible camps, publishing houses, and missionary societies—all intended to provide a refuge from a larger world they regarded as both corrupt and corrupting. The evangelical subculture flourished in the middle decades of the twentieth century, offering a kind of alternative universe quite apart from the broader society.²⁰

The Latter-day Saints, especially Brigham Young, recognized the strategic importance of constructing a Mormon subculture along the Wasatch Range, as witness the flourishing of Mormon institutional life, beginning in the mid-nineteenth century. All religious subcultures acknowledge the utility of education for keeping children in the fold. From the establishment of the Dutch school in New Amsterdam and the Latin School in Boston to the present, various religious groups in American history have looked to education as a means for transmitting the faith from one generation to the next.

Brigham Young, who especially feared the pernicious influence of Darwin and Huxley, also seized on this strategy. On 19 October

²⁰ On the dynamics of the evangelical subculture, see Randall Balmer, *Mine Eyes Have Seen the Glory: A Journey into the Evangelical Subculture in America*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

1876, Young apprised Willard of plans to build an academy in Salt Lake City, requesting that he serve as a trustee. "It will be open to the children of the Latter-day Saints only," Young explained. "In it the Bible, the Book of Mormon, the Doctrine and Covenants, and other works of the Church will be the standard textbooks, and the preceptors will be especially enjoined to instill into the minds of our youth a faith in the religion of their fathers" (199). Willard, reflecting on his own childhood, thought it was a splendid idea. "The education of our youth is a thing in which no pains should be spared," the West Point cadet replied. "How many times have I had occasion to regret the want of proper instructions amongst even the few playmates of my school days at home. Amongst them there are not a few who take a kind of pride in rejecting the religion of their parents, and believing themselves infidels" (202).

Brigham Young also recognized, however, that life outside of the subculture could be instructive to young men at a certain point in their development, provided they retained their religious bearings. "This experience, if properly appreciated by you, will be of great benefit to you through your future life," Young wrote to Oscar Brigham, then on a mission in Liverpool (146). To his son Ernest Irving, Brigham Young described the larger world as "the great school of mortal experience" (153). The patriarch believed in the salutary effects of life beyond the Wasatch Mountains; indeed, he seemed to regard it as essential to his sons' development. "Amongst the pleasure of my life at the present time," he wrote in 1875, "is the thought that so many of my sons are acquiring experimental and practical knowledge that will fit them for lives of great usefulness" (190). Young repeated his convictions about the benefits of forays into the larger world outside of Mormonism to several of his sons. "You are surrounded by influences from which you can learn lessons that will be of increasing influence in after years," Young wrote to Ernest Irving and Arta De Christa, his sons by Lucy Decker Young, in England, "and by comparing things as you meet them today with what they will be when the truth holds the sway, you will create within you a becoming respect for the dignity and honor of our sacred religion, and of the responsibilities of your holy calling" (158). Several sons seemed to acknowledge the spiritual value of seeing the world outside of the Mormon subculture. "I hope By the time I get home," John Willard wrote from New York City, "your Sun [*sic*] will Be a better Boy than when he left it" (96).

Young's sons sometimes found life apart from the Mormon sub-

culture lonely and alien. "My associations and intercourse here sadly lack that feeling of confidence, of congeniality, and love, that is so marked at home," Willard wrote from afar in 1877. "I almost feel a barrier that is hard to describe, a kind of ostracism in my associations here, that is entirely wanting at home" (207).

Although Young seized on the benefits of forays into the wider world, he also recognized that the perils that lay outside of the Mormon subculture could be overwhelming. His letters are laced with warnings about worldly "trials and temptations" (164). He enjoined Joseph Angell in England "to wage war successfully with the powers of darkness, superstition, priestcraft, and ignorance" (7). He cautioned another son against "the society of the unvirtuous and the intemperate" and especially against liquor (165). "Be faithful to your religion. Remember your covenants," Young abjured Brigham Heber in 1868. "Eschew all impure thoughts and feelings and live humbly and prayerfully before the Lord, and that you may be greatly blessed and prospered in the ministry and return unspotted from the world, is the earnest prayer of your father" (135). Echoing the warnings in Proverbs, Young counseled his sons against ungodly friends. "You will meet with those of your companions who will try every means to induce you to deviate from the path of virtue," he wrote to Willard at West Point, "but with a firm front, you can easily parry every such effort and still be kind and courteous." This approach, he continued, would win his son "far greater respect" than would be the case "were you to fall in with the dissolute habits of the day" (168).

Young acknowledged with relief that John Willard's letters had contained "evidence that the sight-seeings and temptations of the lower world have not weaned your affections from your religion and your home" (97). After recounting the vices he witnessed in Bologna, Brigham Jr. wrote, "Such things as these make me disgusted with society as it exists at the present time, and long more earnestly for the society of virtuous men and women, which are only to be found as a community in my own loved home" (47).

Young seemed especially concerned about sexual temptation for Willard at West Point, demanding particulars about "the regulations . . . about visitors, whether ladies have access to the cadets and under what restrictions, if any." He continued his warnings. "I understand you cadets are exceedingly popular with the fairer sex. And some of them are very, very dangerous when so disposed," Young wrote. "Shun such as you would the very gates of hell! They are the en-

emy's strongest tools, and should be resisted as strongly. Beware of them!" (170)

Recreational sex represented one set of perils; the choice of a wife (about which Young had some experience) was even more crucial. Young also counseled Willard to "be aware of the risk that you run if you take unto yourself a wife who does not believe the gospel, and whom you have no idea will make a good Mormon, one who probably would oppose you in faith and feeling all the days of your life and teach your children to despise the religion of their father" (201).

Willard's mother had evidently been preaching the same message, for Willard quoted her in responding to his father: "Whenever speaking of the subject, mother has always said, 'Whatever you do, get a good Mormon for a wife,' and I have grown to regard it as a duty to make this the first essential requisite." Besides, he added, "amongst our own girls, my experience leads me to believe, I can suit myself just as well as elsewhere" (202).

Brigham Jr. also professed revulsion at the wiles of women. "I find that the greatest trial the brethren have to meet," he wrote from Milan, "is to keep their skirts clear of women, who keep an open shop day and night. If I ever felt sick and tired of the filth and corruption," he added, "it is now, and my desire increases daily to gather out the honest, that the Lord may burn up the rotten masses" (48).

TRANSMITTING THE FAITH

Brigham Young declared in 1867: "I am desirous of seeing my sons honor the holy priesthood, and be faithful and reliable servants of God" (147). Indeed, the Mormon leader had the satisfaction of seeing most of his sons remain within Mormonism; at one point, for instance, five of the seven trustees of Brigham Young Academy in Provo were his sons (199). Not all of the transitions from adolescence to adulthood were seamless, however. Willard seems to have suffered repeated bouts of homesickness at West Point, and Young worried that John Willard was working too hard off in New York City as an executive for the Utah Western Railroad.²¹ Some flirted with spiritual danger, but then returned gratifyingly to the fold: "I long for the time to come when I can prove to you and mother how much I value

²¹ Jessee, *Letters of Brigham Young to His Sons*, 117. When John Willard died on 11 February 1924 he left behind a string of failed business ventures. *Ibid.*, 91–95.

your kindness and long suffering towards me," wrote Brigham Jr. to his father in November 1864, nine months after Brigham Sr. had ordained his namesake son an apostle at age twenty-seven. Thoroughly chastened, he continued: "I realize to some extent how wild I've been—and perhaps wicked in many instances—and how patiently ye both have waited for me to change. My constant prayer is that I may never cause you another pang of sorrow, or that you may ever have cause to blush through any act of mine hereafter" (45).

In passing the faith to his sons, Brigham Young succeeded where many of his contemporaries failed. Throughout history various religious groups have devised different strategies for keeping children in the faith. Most schemes center around education (or, less charitably, indoctrination) and the construction of a subculture to protect children from the depredations and distractions of the larger world. Brigham Young and the Mormons followed this pattern as well, but Young also recognized the value of time away from the subculture, a time to explore the broader world apart from the cocoon of familiar religious institutions and like-minded believers. "There is no position a young man can be placed in that is better adapted to give him a knowledge of God and His holy Spirit than to be sent on a mission," Young declared in 1867 (130). Admittedly, these missionary sorties took place in relatively controlled circumstances with an elaborate support network in the form of older, more seasoned Mormons nearby; but the experience away from the Wasatch Range seemed to intensify the appreciation of Brigham Young's sons for the faith of their father. "I am happy to tell you that your promises to me when I left are being fulfilled," Willard reported to his father in 1872. "I never enjoyed more the spirit of our religion" (172). This strategy of sampling life outside of the subculture, which finds its counterpart in Mormon missionary work to the present day, helped considerably in the transmission of faith from the founding generation to the succeeding generation.

How successful were Brigham Young's strategies?²² As measured by missions, priesthood positions in the Church, and espousal of plural marriage, it is an impressive record. Ten of Brigham's seven-

²² I am indebted to Jeffery O. Johnson, an expert on Brigham Young's families who is currently researching a group biography of Brigham Young's wives, for providing information on these sons, unless otherwise noted.

teen sons served full-time missions for the Church: Joseph Angell, Brigham Jr., John Willard, Brigham Heber, Oscar Brigham, Morris, Artá de Christa, Don Carlos, Lorenzo, and Feramorz.

Brigham Young apparently hoped that one of his sons by Mary Ann Angell might become a Church president, since he ordained three of them apostles—Brigham Jr., Joseph Angell, and John Willard—in all three cases, before there was a corresponding vacancy in the Quorum of the Twelve and “without the knowledge of the other general authorities.”²³ Four other sons had significant priesthood positions on the local level or worked for the Church in some capacity.

Not all of Brigham Young’s sons were of an age to marry when federal pressure against polygamy intensified drastically, beginning in 1882. Still, they seem to have had limited enthusiasm for polygamy, since eleven of the seventeen either died unmarried or married monogamously. Five apparently disaffiliated from the Church, although in different degrees and for various reasons, ranging from ill health to indifference.

In the parable of the sower, recorded in the Gospel of Matthew, Jesus seems to suggest that a “retention rate” of 25 percent—those who respond to the gospel and bear fruit—is about average. In confronting the challenge of transmitting Mormonism from the founding generation to the succeeding generation, Brigham Young, at least seems to have fared even better.

“I will acknowledge that I have much happiness in the thought of how well my boys are doing at the present time,” Young wrote in 1876, the year before his death (193). On the whole, the Mormon leader had every reason to be pleased.

²³ Todd Compton, “John Willard Young, Brigham Young, and the Development of Presidential Succession in the LDS Church,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 35, no. 4 (Winter 2002; delivered 12 July 2003): 113. These three were John Willard Young, endowed and ordained 22 November 1855 at age eleven; Joseph Angell Young, ordained 4 February 1864, at age twenty-nine; and Brigham Jr., age twenty-seven, on the same date. In the same ceremony on the same date, he also “set each of them apart as assistant Counselors to the First Presidency.” Brigham Young Jr., Statement, quoted in *ibid.*, 112. Compton notes that Andrew Jenson states that Brigham Young Jr. was also ordained an apostle on 22 November 1855, but Compton thinks that Jenson confused Brigham Jr.’s ordination with that of John Willard. *Ibid.*, 113 note 4. See Appendix for details.

APPENDIX

Ordained apostles: Brigham Jr., age forty at his father's death, served a mission in Great Britain (1862–63) and Mexico (1884–89), was ordained an apostle by his father at age twenty-seven (1864), presided over the European Mission (1865–67, 1890–93), presided over Cache Valley and southern Idaho settlements (1869); served a mission to Mexico, 1884–1889; president of the European Mission (1890–93); married six wives, fathered thirty-one children, and was president of the Quorum of the Twelve (1901–03). Thus, he was one step away from the presidency during the last two years of his life.

Brigham Young ordained John Willard Young to the apostleship at age eleven, as noted; but from 1863 on, John apparently preferred to live in New York where he lived lavishly when he could and fended off creditors when he could not. Although he was an assistant counselor to the First Presidency (1864) and sustained as an assistant counselor to Brigham Young at April 1873 conference, he lived in Utah only briefly. During another of John's visits to Utah in February and March 1876, Brigham Young promised to pay his debts (again) and promised to make him his first counselor. John Willard accepted the offer, settled his affairs, returned to Utah in October 1876, and was sustained as his father's first counselor. At this point, John Willard was only thirty-two; but when his father died the next August, he was shifted to the more ambiguous position of counselor to the Twelve Apostles, a newly created office. He held this office, despite returning to New York and despite a series of censures by the Quorum of the Twelve, until he resigned in October 1891. He remained an apostle but without a calling until his death in poverty in New York City in 1924.²⁴ Although he actively attended church meetings, four of his five wives, by whom he had eighteen children, had divorced him, and the branch president made a point of warning new members not to loan John Willard money. In a final scandal, his son, Hooper, also living in New York, was sent to Sing Sing for possibly murdering, but certainly trying to cover up the death of, a "disreputable woman" who died of a drug overdose during a "tryst" with him.²⁵

Joseph Angell Young, the second of the three sons ordained an apostle and made assistant counselor in the First Presidency, served a mission in England (1854–56), presided over the Sevier Stake from 1872 until his death in 1875, and had three wives and nineteen children.

Church Service and Marriages of Other Sons: Oscar Brigham Young (1846–1910), served a mission in England (1866–67), was on the Board of Trustees for Brigham Young Academy (1890–1910), married twice (the first marriage ended in divorce), and fathered thirteen children. Willard Young

²⁴ Ibid., 121–26

²⁵ Compton, "John Willard Young," 129–30.

(1852–1936), who received such epistolary attention from his father during his education at West Point, had an extensive military career, but also served as president of Young University (1891–94) and Latter-day Saint University (1906–15), both in Salt Lake City, and as head of the Church Building Department (1919–36). Brigham Morris Young (1854–1931), organized Young Men's Mutual Improvement Associations on the ward level, served missions in Hawaii (1873–74, 1883–84) and the central and eastern states (1876–78), and was employed at the Salt Lake Temple (1893–1931).

Joseph Don Carlos Young (1855–1938) was employed as Church Architect (1889–93), finishing the Salt Lake Temple; served a mission to the Southern States (1895–97); taught at Brigham Young Academy and was a member of its board of trustees, and constructed many Church buildings (1900–38). He had two wives and fifteen children. Alonzo Young (1858–1918) served on the Ensign Stake High Council in Salt Lake City (1906–18) and was apparently active in other capacities.

Oscar Brigham (two marriages, one divorce), Brigham Heber (one marriage, three children), Alonzo (one wife, seven children), Ernest Irving (one wife and five children, but he died before age thirty), Arta de Christa Young (married Apostle Erastus Snow's daughter, five children), Willard (one wife, six children), Alfales (one wife, four children), Phineas Howe Young (one wife, two children), and Brigham Morris Young (married a daughter of Apostle Lorenzo Snow, ten children). Lorenzo Dow Young (1856–1905), served a British mission (1876–78), divorced his first wife because she attended a non-Mormon church, and had no children by his second wife. Feramor Little Young (1858–81) died of typhoid, unmarried, when he was returning from a mission to Mexico (1880–81).

Disaffiliation of Five Sons: (1) Mahonri Moriancumer Young (1852–84) never served in a Church position, but this may have been because of poor health. He had inflammatory rheumatism and died at age thirty-two. (2) Phineas Howe Young (1862–1903), age fifteen at his father's death, also had health problems and had become addicted to drugs during an illness. Although he seldom attended meetings and died at age forty-one, he reportedly "diligently led his family in devotion to their religion."²⁵ (3) Hyrum Smith Young (1851–1925), age twenty-six at his father's death, married into another prominent Mormon family and fathered ten children. His obituary half-apologized, "Although not as active in Church affairs as some others in the eminent family from which he sprung, he had a[n] abiding faith in the gospel."²⁶ His funeral, however, was held in the Salt Lake Eighteenth Ward with Church leaders speaking. (4) Ernest Irving (1851–79) was called to the Salt Lake Stake High Council at age twenty-two (1873) and served a British

²⁶ Jessee, *Brigham Young's Letter to His Sons*, 319.

²⁷ Obituary, *Deseret News*, 3 March 1925, 4.

mission (1874–76), but was one of the heirs who brought suit against the administrators of his father's estate. Since his own death followed in 1879, it is difficult to know what decisions he would have made later in his life. (5) Alfales Young (1853–1920), age twenty-three at his father's death, never served in a Church position although he worked for many years at the Church-owned *Deseret News*, married an Episcopalian schoolteacher at St. Marks, was one of the litigants in the suit over his father's estate, and was excommunicated because of the conflict.²⁷

²⁷ According to Leonard J. Arrington, "The Settlement of the Brigham Young Estate, 1877–1879," *Pacific Historical Review* 21 (February 1952): 16, Alfales and Ernest Young were granted a temporary injunction staying the executors from transferring any of Brigham Young's properties to the Church in 1878. Within the week, five children of Brigham Young including Alfales, but not Ernest, filed a complaint. A year later, seven children, this time including Ernest but not Alfales, again sued. (The children involved in either or both actions were Alfales Young, Hyrum S. Young, Louisa Y. Ferguson, Elizabeth Y. Ellsworth, Vilate Y. Decker, Emeline A. Young, Ernest I. Young, Dora Young, and Marinda H. Y. Conrad.) I appreciate Jeff Johnson's research on this point.



W. Grant McMurray

A “GOODLY HERITAGE” IN A TIME OF TRANSFORMATION: HISTORY AND IDENTITY IN THE COMMUNITY OF CHRIST

W. Grant McMurray

A FEW YEARS AGO I WAS INVITED by Lee Groberg, the documentary film producer, to come to Salt Lake City and be interviewed for a program he was creating for public television titled *American Prophet: The Story of Joseph Smith* (Groberg Communications, 1999.) Underwritten by a grant from the Marriott Foundation and narrated by Gregory Peck, this film was to be an objective and dispassionate study of the founder of the Latter Day Saint move-

W. GRANT MCMURRAY {gmcmurray@cofChrist.org} has served since 15 April 1996 as president of the Community of Christ with world headquarters in Independence. In addition to service on the *Journal of Mormon History* board of editors, on the MHA council, and as past president of the John Whitmer Historical Association, he has been a counselor in the First Presidency (1992–96), World Church secretary and executive assistant to the First Presidency (1982–92), assistant commissioner of history (1976–82), Church archivist (1973–76), historical research assistant (1972–73), and assistant to the director of the Division of Program Planning (1971–72). He also serves on the board of trustees of the State Historical Society of Missouri. This essay is based on the keynote address given at the Mormon History Association conference in Kirtland, Ohio, on 22 May 2003, augmented by additional remarks from his commentary on the session about “Joseph Smith for the Twenty-first Century.”

ment. He invited me to participate because he felt it was important to include the perspective of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, now Community of Christ.¹

After determining that Mr. Groberg was sincerely seeking to craft a sound historical understanding of Joseph Smith, I agreed to make the trip and be interviewed on camera. We had a delightful time. I was graciously hosted, received the opportunity to review the script and make suggestions, and then participated in an interview that was thoughtfully conceived and executed.

I even had one of those mountaintop experiences during the filming. Mr. Groberg is very particular in his production values. He eschews studio filming where possible, preferring more natural settings. He had acquired the use of a lovely home owned by a prominent Mormon family in Salt Lake City; the extended family and friends stood around watching with interest as the filming unfolded. We shot in a beautiful study where Lee had covered the windows with black cloth, fastening it to the frame with duct tape, so that he could control the lighting with his high-tech equipment.

Just as I was making a compelling and forceful point about the superior interpretation of Joseph Smith held by the Community of Christ, the duct tape gave way and I was suddenly washed in the rays of the sun. I said, to the shock of the devoted onlookers, "I believe that's the closest I've come to experiencing a shaft of light." I'm sure the entire scene will show up in the outtakes of my life someday.

Some months later I received in the mail a copy of the completed video, along with a letter from Mr. Groberg thanking me for my involvement in the project. He then expressed his regret that most of my interview, and all references to my Church, had not made the final edit because it was deemed to be too "confusing" to talk about the other movements that emerged from the Church established by Joseph Smith.

My point is not to disparage Mr. Groberg, his editing deci-

¹ I suppose we will eventually work out an appropriate protocol, but for the balance of this paper I will use "Community of Christ" to refer to the movement begun in 1852, formally organized in 1860, and known for most of its history until 6 April 2001 as the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. Whether technically accurate or not, it will at least give me the luxury of not having to dance around the naming question at every reference.

sions, or that of his film's underwriters. He produced a fine documentary and supplemental book that provides the average viewer with a worthy exposure to the life of Joseph Smith. However, the exclusion of a 143-year-old Church with a quarter-million members in fifty nations of the world, let alone the scores and scores of other movements that trace their existence to the founding prophet, fails to capture the complexity of the man whose life was being chronicled. I am willing for my movement to be thought confusing, perhaps even confused. But to be ignored tends to create in us a bit of an identity crisis.

We are, of course, long used to it. Sort of like the Avis car rental of Latter Day Saints, our movement has often described ourselves in terms of who we are not. We all have our "I was confused with the Mormons" stories. In former days I used to kiddingly say that the full name of our Church was actually "The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints We're Not the Mormons." We sometimes laugh at ourselves and declare we're the Mormons who couldn't make it across Nebraska.

But beneath the usually good-natured kidding is a more serious question that pertains in part to identity and in part to the uses of history in a faith movement engaged in significant transformation and change. It has to do with the meaning of heritage and goes to its capacity and its limitations to inform the present and serve as a foundation for the future. It is not a question for historians alone, although they have an important contribution to make. But it is also an issue for theologians and sociologists and psychologists and anthropologists, and even for Church leaders. At the end of the day, it is a question to be finally decided by the believer as he or she shapes their personal faith journey.

I hope you will understand my remarks for what they are and what they are not. I have some modest training and experience in the field of history, but I will not attempt a scholarly thesis and pretend to compete with the gifted historians who will be presenting the fruits of their research throughout this conference. I am a Church leader, but I do not choose to make some formal, carefully crafted, "official" presentation to the Mormon History Association, although I understand better than most how difficult it is to be seen as doing anything but that.

Instead, I would ask your indulgence that I might offer some thoughts, often somewhat personal in nature, that reflect upon the

uses of history in the shaping of a religious movement. It is understandable, I trust, that my remarks will center around my experience in the Community of Christ but will hopefully be broad enough to be applicable elsewhere. The framework in which I speak is as a lifelong member (my sons are fifth-generation members of our Church), as a staff person in the History Department for a decade, as a Church administrative officer for another ten years, and as now having served eleven years in the First Presidency, seven of them as president. All of that background informs my thoughts, as do many other things—such as that I like baseball, drink buttermilk, and have two sons who regularly deflate any pretensions my lofty-sounding title might lure me into believing. We are products of many things, and we speak out of the totality of our life experience.

In Psalms 16:6, the Psalmist writes, “The boundary lines have fallen for me in pleasant places; I have a goodly heritage.” I always felt that way as a child growing up; but as I became more familiar with historical literature, I discovered that my naïve sense of heritage wasn’t so easy to understand after all. I found myself in a movement that Robert Bruce Flanders called a “dissenting sect” and that Alma Blair described as “moderate Mormonism.”² Joseph Smith III, son of the founder, one who Roger Launius labeled a “pragmatic prophet,”³ led the Church for fifty-four years. I heard tags like “Josephites” and, more recently, “prairie Mormons.” Soon I realized that the Church of my youth seemed always to be characterized by adjectives like “dissenting,” “moderate,” “pragmatic,” or “prairie.” It was as if we needed to be explained.

Jan Shipps recently presented a provocative and intriguing paper to the John Whitmer Historical Association entitled, “How Mor-

² Robert Bruce Flanders, “The Mormons Who Did Not Go West,” (M.A. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1954); Alma R. Blair, “Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints: Moderate Mormonism,” in *The Restoration Movement: Essays in Mormon History*, edited by F. Mark McKiernan, Alma R. Blair, and Paul M. Edwards (Lawrence Kans.: Coronado Press, 1973), 207–30.

³ Roger D. Launius, *Joseph Smith III: Pragmatic Prophet* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988).

mon is the Community of Christ?"⁴ I found that it broke some valuable new ground in understanding the phenomenon of the various movements emanating from the Church established by Joseph Smith Jr. Using the metaphor of fission versus cell division, she sees what Leonard Arrington once described as the "centrifugal tendency of Mormonism" as truly creating something new, not just a clone of the original. Fission, she points out, is "the turning of an original into a mass of constituent elements that must be recombined in order to reproduce approximations of the original." "In a very real sense," she adds, "these approximations are new creations."⁵

Perhaps it is understandable that Mr. Groberg, and others, find the Community of Christ and other expressions of Latter Day Saintism confusing. Perhaps we are, after all, something entirely new.

As I began my own historical exploration, I soon found that an identity crisis truly was at the heart of our movement, both historically and in the present day. In some of my own work, I began to explore what that meant. I found myself resonating with Tom Morain's description of the condition of the Community of Christ in the nineteenth century as one of "anomie"—an uncertain sense of self.⁶ That came in part from the basic issues of the Mormon boundary—our dispute with the "mountain Mormons" over succession in Church presidency and acceptance of polygamy. But I suspect it also came from a broader range of issues pertaining to our legitimacy within American society. Joseph Smith III clearly found it very important to be deemed acceptable in the culture where he lived. He teetered on the cusp of being at once a Gilded Age American and an inheritor of the cosmology and Church structure envisioned by his father, who was assassinated in 1844 when young Joseph was eleven years old.

I cannot imagine the internal struggles that Joseph III must have gone through. He was assailed on all sides by those who wanted him to be defined by a certain historical configuration of his father—the faithful husband described to him by his mother, the polyg-

⁴ Jan Shippo, "How Mormon Is the Community of Christ?" *John Whitmer Historical Association 2002 Nauvoo Conference Special Edition*, edited by Joni Wilson, 195–204.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 197.

⁶ Thomas J. Morain, "Mormons and Nineteenth Century Iowa Historians," *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 1 (1981): 41.

amous visionary depicted by his Utah cousins, the virtuous prophet detailed by the Nauvoo veterans who had not gone west.

Here was a man who became the steward of a tradition with a controversial history he did not really know. He was surely a boy playing pick-up-sticks in the dusty streets of Nauvoo when the issues of baptism for the dead, celestial marriage, premortal existence, and the glories of the sun, moon, and stars were being wrestled out in the private councils and public meetings of this upstart religious movement on the frontier of America. But now he was the leader of one group of claimants to truth and certainty, and those claims rested on the veracity of his father and the testimony of a cloud of conflicting witnesses.

"No man knows my history," said Joseph Smith Jr. in a phrase popularized by the first accessible biography of the Church leader, written by a woman nurtured in the bosom of Mormonism who then used the tools of history to depart from it.⁷ But Fawn Brodie was right, at least in using the phrase as the descriptor of both her book and Joseph's life. The history of this complex man is not known, not really. And yet, entire religious movements have been based on one interpretation or another of that history.

Therein, I believe, lies the kernel of my own movement's identity crisis. It is rooted in an inadequate view of history and an improper use of what history offers us by way of understanding. For a very long time, we functioned by using history as a cudgel, believing that our authenticity as a movement depended on proving certain historical points by the weight of testimony, matching affidavit for affidavit.

The early years were times of debate. Our missionaries went out on the circuit, preaching in tent meetings, and challenging Methodists and Baptists and, where possible, Mormons, to a debate on the principles of the gospel. An unscientific survey of the numerous reports of those debates appearing throughout the nineteenth century in the *Saints Herald*, the official organ of the Community of Christ, reveals that RLDS never lost a single debate—not one. This is a record that my sons, both high school debaters (as if they needed classes in how to argue), would aspire to. We have not checked the periodicals

⁷ Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946).

of the churches on the other side to see if the results were reported differently. I really don't want to know.

It reminds me of the scurrilous attacks on the Mormon Church appearing throughout much of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Those books, like William Alexander Linn's *The Story of the Mormons from the Date of their Origin to the Year 1901* (New York: Macmillan, 1902) were centered on disproving nineteenth-century claims about Mormon origins, failing to acknowledge that by then Mormonism was an important religious movement in its own right, no matter what tawdry tales could be unearthed. That same sad methodology has continued to the present day through the efforts of the Tanners and various other anti-Mormon organizations that seem to feel they are just one historical document away from bringing down an entire movement.

But if the tools of the dissenters have been inadequate, so have the proselyting tools of those of us who claim allegiance to the founding experiences of the Church. Members of my own Church tenaciously tried to defend Joseph from allegations that he practiced polygamy, demanding that we write to whatever encyclopedia publisher painted him with that brush. It was as if our authenticity as a movement hung on our particular historical perspective and that all would be undone if we could not hold that ground.

Apologists have been guilty of the same shortcomings as the critics, using history not as a marvelous mosaic of exploration and searching, but as an absolute pathway to eternal truth. In other words, our history became our theology, and therein lies great peril, at least for the Community of Christ. And that is the reason our people always seemed just one diary entry or sworn affidavit or conflicting account away, not from historical revision, but from a faith crisis.

A large portrait of Joseph Smith Jr. hangs in my office. Every day I look into his face and understand that I carry his legacy in my heart and have responsibility to our people to be faithful to it. What I am not sure about is what faithfulness means in such a context. I have studied the life of this complex man. I believe he was brilliant and visionary, probably a religious genius, certainly the founder of the most significant indigenous religious movement to be birthed on American soil. I also believe he was deeply flawed, with profound human weaknesses, inconsistencies, and shortcomings. And yet I lead a movement that declares him to be a prophet, and indeed I am the inheritor of that same office, at least as the Community of Christ un-

derstands it. So the question to me as a twenty-first century Church leader must be this: What does history reveal about the prophetic role, and how can I understand it now by studying Joseph Smith Jr. over 150 years ago?

When I was ordained to my present responsibilities, I spoke words in my inaugural address that have caused no small measure of discomfort and misunderstanding, not one aspect of which I regret. In my inaugural statement I said to the World Conference, "We need to talk, my friends, about the way we have begun to move from our identity as a people with a prophet to our calling as a prophetic people."⁸ Some recoiled, declaring that I wanted the title and not the job (wherein, in truth, I wanted the job but not the title). The *Salt Lake Tribune* reported that I was "uncomfortable"⁹ about assuming the responsibility, as indeed I was. The point of my statement was to suggest that any group of people who believe in "prophetic leadership" ought to be very questioning and judicious about it. My point was to say that this is not about what appears on one's business card; it is about seeking to discern God's will for us in our own time. And that is a shared task of religious inquiry, not a duty for one person locked alone in a closet.

But Joseph Smith Jr. institutionalized the prophetic role, and it is for us in the twenty-first century to interpret and understand it in a way that makes sense for us in our culture and time. Here history will either serve us with fresh understandings or imprison us with outmoded concepts that no longer work. Even worse, it's possible they never did.

On 27 June 2002, the anniversary of the assassination of Joseph Smith Jr., President Gordon B. Hinckley and I shared in a lovely worship service in Nauvoo at the gravesite of Joseph, his brother Hyrum, and Emma. Our Church routinely has such a service each summer; but because this particular day coincided with the dedication of the newly reconstructed Nauvoo Temple, we had the opportunity to participate together. My primary desire was to demonstrate that the then fifty-four-year-old president of the Community of Christ was at least as agile as the ninety-two-year-old president of the Church of Je-

⁸ W. Grant McMurray, "A Prophetic People," 1996 World Conference Sermon, *Saints Herald* 143, no. [6] (June 1996): 226.

⁹ Peggy Fletcher Stack, "RLDS Head Downplays His Role as Prophet," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 29 June 1996.

sus Christ of Latter-day Saints. In retrospect, I'd say it was at best a draw.

We had a delightful time together. Many members of the Mormon Church gathered for the midday service, having arrived in Nauvoo for the temple dedication that night. I arrived about fifteen minutes before the service and had to make my way through the crowd to get to the podium at the front. "Excuse me," I would say "May I get through?" People snarled at the interloper a bit and reluctantly let me squeeze my way to the front. Shortly thereafter President Hinckley arrived. It was as if Moses was parting the Red Sea! The crowd opened up and afforded President Hinckley their respect and recognition—as well they should. From my perspective, though, I thought my two sons had arranged the choreography.

But the heart of this matter has nothing to do with President Hinckley, or with myself, or with any others who struggle to define what it means to be a part of a prophetic tradition. The real issue has to do with what history has to tell us and with the places where it must yield to other disciplines and to the particulars of faith. The discomfort of some to my discussion about being a "prophetic people" was not because the idea is theologically incongruent. It is because we had an altogether too limiting and narrow a view of what a prophetic tradition was about, and because our historical view had fixated on Joseph Smith as "oracle of heaven," rather than engaging with the deeper and more rewarding study of religious visionaries, mystics, and explorers. Here history, which could be a way toward rich and meaningful ideas, was being used to reinforce outmoded and inadequate understandings.

The temple built by the Community of Christ in Independence is another example. All my life I heard, particularly from my grandmother and her contemporaries, about the dream of building the temple. Although I was a fairly active member of the Church in my youth, I couldn't for the life of me figure out what the dream was about. Why would we build such a temple? When Mormons build temples, they at least have a reason to do so. Our worldview does not include temple rituals to seal marriages for time and eternity or proxy baptisms for those who have passed. If we built a temple, it seemed, it would be nothing more than a place of worship. That might be nice, but we have quite a few of those. It is hardly the stuff of which dreams are made. And so when I heard periodically about the

tradition of building the temple, I received the notion with indifference.

That remained true on 1 April 1968 when President W. Wallace Smith declared by revelation that a start should be made on building the temple (D&C 149:6, Community of Christ edition). I was a Graceland student at the time and remember that call being forcefully debated, both pro and con. In the years that followed, efforts were made by Church leadership to instill that call with meaningful content. The Independence Temple, like the Kirtland Temple, would have educational purposes, it would be a place to train priesthood, it would be a house of special worship. All fine ideas, but none of them required a temple, and none of them really inspired much enthusiasm.

But in 1984 President Wallace B. Smith linked past and future with direction to the Church that was truly visionary. Nested in a revelation to the Church that provided for the ordination of women—something sure to divide the membership—was also instruction to now begin to build the long-awaited temple—something designed to provide a unifying symbol. Split us apart. Bring us together. God, or someone, surely has a mischievous sense of humor.

But something new was knit into the fabric, something that allowed the historic dream to become a viable symbol for the future. "The temple," he said, "shall be dedicated to the pursuit of peace" (D&C 156:5, 3 April 1984). In one short phrase, a historical concept devoid of meaning for the contemporary Church was suddenly transformed into a life-instilling vision of hope. I will never forget the moment I read the words for the first time on a sheet of foolscap where President Smith had written under whatever spirit compelled the words. A relatively new staff executive in the First Presidency's office, I was charged with confidentially typing the document so it could be prepared for World Conference. My heart was pounding because I knew the troubles that would come over the call to ordain women. I knew that this was a historic moment. But I also knew that those ten words linking the temple and peace would change the Church forever.

I am sure the temple, with its unusual design, looks nothing like what Joseph Smith envisioned when, in 1831, he parted the branches of a tree on the frontiers of America and marked the spot where it would be built. Indeed, it probably looks nothing like what most members of the Community of Christ envisioned when they em-

braced the call to build in 1984. But its defiant design is itself a marvelous expression of how a new generation can rebirth an old symbol, instilling it with new understandings while retaining a core that connects it to the past in ways that do not constrict.

I believe the Community of Christ has been about that kind of reconstruction for most of its history, but something powerfully new has happened in the past forty years. Our historical claims to truth were once based on replicating what we believed was originally there—true succession, true doctrines, true revelations—and on dissenting from those who led without authority, interpreted wrongly, and embraced false scripture. History was the only tool by which one could fight those battles, and fighting them was our only reason for being. We fought them reasonably well at times. We learned how to answer all the questions that came to us about how we're different from the Mormons, and from everyone else.

But in the early 1960s, the questions began to change. The decision to expand the Church outside North America suddenly posed a whole new set of issues. Conditioned to answer how we were different from other Christian denominations, including Mormonism, we now found Buddhists and Hindus asking us what, at our foundation, did we really believe? They seemed to have little interest in how our views of atonement differed from that of Presbyterians. And some of our leaders listened to those questions and realized that we did not have good answers to give.

And so a process of examination began. The general officers of the Church began to have seminars on our history and theology just about the time the Mormon History Association was born. Some of our historians began to participate in that exciting time of investigation and searching, the so-called "Camelot" of Mormon history. What the historians found in this new era, with open and accessible archives and teams of scholars cranking out monographs, was passed on to Church leaders who listened and pondered. The exploration and search for identity began.

It led to conflict and dissension. A new curriculum was released—life-centered instead of doctrine-centered. We baptized members in the polygamous Sora tribes of India, an ironic accommodation to culture for a Church that had unyielding opposition to polygamy as one of its cardinal principles. We began to talk about expanded roles for women, and we investigated ecumenical relationships with other religious bodies. The diverse worldviews of Commu-

nity of Christ members, long ignored in a fairly homogenous environment, suddenly burst into open conflict. It became increasingly evident that our confusion between history and theology was slowly coming home to roost.

It came to an ultimate head over ordination of women in 1984. The elements of faith rooted in our history all came into play. A revelation from the one designated as prophet and authorized to present such guidance to the Church. Debates about historical precedents ("If Jesus didn't ordain women, why should we?" "Wasn't Emma Smith kind of ordained to lead the Relief Society?"). There was little substantive discussion on such issues as changing roles of women, the nature of calling and priesthood, the principle in Restoration thought that "all are called," or what it is about ministry that commends men but not women to service. Instead, many people made their decision to support because they wanted to trust the prophet or to oppose because history offered no clear rationale for this major change.

And so we split apart. Again. Families were divided and friends alienated. Cherished relationships became broken because we seemed ill equipped to cope with the tension between our view of history and the challenges facing the contemporary Church.

Following the major division of 1984–85, there came new challenges to historical issues. The Church that made lineal succession a major cornerstone of its identity faced the call to broaden the base from which the leader of the Church would be chosen.¹⁰ And then came an increasing interest in finding a new name that would define more clearly our emerging identity and mission, finally beginning to take shape after years of struggle. For some those were clear indications that the Church had now departed fully from its heritage. But for others, it was not seen as a departure but as a new lens through which history could be viewed and a new way to incorporate its understandings in the twenty-first century.

General Authorities of the Mormon Church visited me on one occasion, assuming that we had taken on a new identity that cut connections with our tradition. They said we were now a peace and justice Church, a community Church, and wished us well on our journey. And, oh by the way, they said, if we would want to dispose of our

¹⁰ Wallace B. Smith, "A Pastoral Letter," *Saints Herald* 142, no. 11 (November 1995): 3–4.

historic properties, including the majestic Kirtland Temple, they would be happy to negotiate generous terms with us.

I was perplexed by such perceptions, although I now understand them, because I had forgotten how differently we are viewing history—at least as it has been emerging in recent decades. Never for one moment did I assume we were parting from our past. We were just using it in a different way, drawing a different set of meanings from what it offers us. We were liberating ourselves from some of its strictures so that we could truly value the remarkable religious journey of Latter Day Saints across the generations.

Our new name a departure from our history? Not at all, in my view. What were the two most foundational elements of our Restoration heritage? We were centered in Jesus Christ and we were builders of community. The first name of the Church was Church of Christ; the Book of Mormon was brought forth as a second witness to Jesus Christ. We engaged in community building from the earliest communal endeavors of Sidney Rigdon, through the violence and uprooting of the Missouri period, to the magisterial experiment at Nauvoo. Both mountain and prairie Mormons continued with that experimentation in new geographical settings and in new eras. If we were called to sectarian, exclusive community in the nineteenth century and to global, inclusive community in the twenty-first century, so be it. But to Christ-centered community we are called nonetheless. What better name to honor that heritage than Community of Christ?

There are a variety of other historical events or images that have the potential to be dangerous or limiting for the contemporary Church; but properly refocused, those concepts can also be useful pathways to new understanding, not because we have fresh information but because we view them through a different lens. Historians have shown that the traditional account of Joseph Smith's First Vision, for example, is supplemented with at least five other accounts containing imagery that seems contradictory in places.¹¹ So the question is whether the specific content of the experience is its primary value, or whether the real point is that a teenage boy put his knee to the ground in a search for truth and had some kind of spiri-

¹¹ See, for example, Richard P. Howard, "An Analysis of Six Contemporary Accounts Touching Joseph Smith's First Vision," *Restoration Studies I*, edited by Maurice L. Draper and Clare D. Vlahos (Independence: Herald House, 1980), 95–117.

tual encounter that changed his life and led to the formation of a major religious movement. Perhaps that is a far more important awareness than the number of personages remembered by Joseph two decades later, or the precise words spoken by them.

Or how about the rejection of creeds and the claim to exclusive authority? For years we spoke of “the one true Church.” The danger of this claim is that the Church becomes exclusivist in its worldview and denies itself the opportunity to sit at the table of world religions, all of whom, if we accept the premise, are devoid of truth. But the creeds were originally rejected because they had seemingly limited the self-revelment of God and locked truth into creedal formulas. It is that spirit of openness to new understandings that we must preserve. We dare not allow ourselves to become guilty of the very limitations on God that the Restoration movement rejected in the beginning.

Similarly, our view of scripture must be examined in terms of what an “open canon” of scripture truly means. If the Book of Mormon is to have importance as a scripture, it must be because of its redemptive message, not because mere possession of it somehow validates the truth of the Church. By being receptive to new revelation, we run the risk of replacing a stifling biblical fundamentalism commonly found in our society with one of our own only somewhat expanded variety. In the process, the Church loses the key point, which is that God continues to be revealed in fresh and sometimes challenging ways.

Even the concept of “restoration” is pertinent here. If restoration is perceived as the restoring of a set of doctrines in their pure and undefiled form, we have already lost the principle at the heart of the concept. That provides us doctrinal rigidity instead of the principle that the gospel is now understood in the culture and time in which it is expressed—central truths restored, if you will, in a new era of human history.

One of my favorite possessions is a stone on which are etched the words, “Nothing is etched in stone.” That creative tension between the truths and insights of the past and the questions and perspectives of the present ought to be the signal contribution of the Restoration movement. Instead, we often succumb to our own creeds, our own literalism, and our own historical traditions, rather than embracing the vibrant and dynamic possibilities of a gospel made ever new.

Is it revisionism? Of course it is. We live in a new era asking profoundly new questions. The question is no longer, "What did Joseph do?" but rather, "Where might Joseph's dream take us?" The question is no longer, "What slice of nineteenth-century scripture can we use to tell us exactly how to be in our own time?" but rather "How can we understand those scriptures as emerging from a real journey of real people in real circumstances, illuminating but not defining our contemporary journey?"

And most importantly, the question is no longer whether we have the letters and diaries and daguerreotypes and minute books that prove our authority or our authenticity. The question is whether our contemporary witness of Jesus Christ is authoritative and authentic in this time and in this place. If it is not, no historic document can redeem it. If it is, no historic revisionism can betray it.

And so I drill down deeply into my "goodly heritage" in search of concepts and understandings that speak to our time. And I discover great treasures there. Not just the call to sacred community, although that is urgently needed in this world of ethnic cleansings, weapons of mass destruction (whether phantom or real), and horrific excesses on the part of a corporate America so obsessed with riches as to shred any semblance of honor, integrity, and justice.

But there are other things as well. If we can resist the temptation toward stifling literalism, the notion that God continues to be known to us in new ways is a stunningly powerful principle of hope.

If we can avoid sappy sentimentality and truly incorporate the idea of the "worth of persons," we have a message that speaks to a world that devalues and marginalizes people because of race, gender, lifestyle, language, religion, and various other qualities that separate us from one another instead of embracing the marvelous diversity of the human family.

If we can escape from the legalisms of the law of consecration and stewardship, we discover a principle of sharing and generosity that is urgently needed in a world where millions starve while a select few live in obscene luxury and self-indulgence.

If we can internalize what it means to have been driven from place to place, tarred and feathered for our beliefs, had the type from our presses scattered in the streets, been ordered out of the state on threat of extermination, and had our founding leader assassinated, we can perhaps turn to the world the other cheek—one of peace and reconciliation, and healing.

This week historians of many persuasions and beliefs will once again carefully craft a reconstruction of one slice of time, one human life, one significant locale in our collective past. Some will criticize and challenge, as well they should. Some will seek affirmation of their faith, and others will put their faith at risk. In the interplay between past and present, many mysteries will remain. If we are true to ourselves none of us will depart from our discussions with unvarnished certainty and hopefully none with unredeemable despair. Instead, we will reason together in search of those understandings that we choose to make authoritative for our lives. It is not an irreversible decision. Next year we may learn something new.

Like the Psalmist, I have a goodly heritage. I have sometimes wrestled with it and often found it lacking. At other times, it has filled me with wonder and with hope for the future. I keep returning to the dusty pathways of Nauvoo to see what it can offer up to me as I listen to its sounds echoing over the decades. I walk Graceland's hill because I left a piece of me there, and sometimes I have to go back to Lamoni to find it. I look each day at the swirling temple spire from my office in Independence. I think about the dreams that led to its construction, dreams that include all of us from our various faith traditions. And I think about where those dreams will lead us in the years to come.

And I come back to this sacred temple in Kirtland, Ohio, its exterior glistening with the crushed china of hope, its lettered pulpits pointing to an imaginative ordering of the things of this world, its stately steeple declaring it to be the House of the Lord. We can research it, dig around and under it, follow its archaeological and documentary clues wherever they take us. Its past will never be fully grasped by us, but its present-day meanings will be lived by us inasmuch as we empower it to speak.

We have come such a long way, separately at times, but still converging here and there to reminisce. And so we journey on, we people of the Restoration, often a diverse and perplexing community. But this we know. We are each of us in our respective ways inheritors of a goodly heritage, called to new frontiers of a faith that gives persistent hope for the future and thereby perpetually redeems and consecrates the past we once knew so well.

And yet here it is again, speaking with a new voice. Is it a new past or an old, familiar friend? Perhaps, if we listen attentively and watch discerningly, it will be both.



Joseph F. Smith (bearded), and probably his counselors, Anthon H. Lund and Francis M. Lyman, president of the Quorum of the Twelve, visit the Kirtland Temple in late December 1905, en route to Salt Lake City after dedicating the Joseph Smith Monument in Vermont. According to Joseph Fielding Smith's Life of Joseph F. Smith, Sixth President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1938): "They were treated very courteously by Ulysses W. Green, John H. Lake, and Albert E. Stone, officers in the 'Reorganized' Church." Photograph courtesy of Community of Christ Library-Archives.

THE HYMNS OF KIRTLAND: A FESTIVAL OF HYMNS AND HISTORY

Richard Clothier

Editorial note: A hymn festival was presented in the Kirtland Temple on Sunday, 25 May 2003, as the closing session of the Mormon History Association annual conference. Ten hymns from the 1835 Kirtland hymnal were sung, including the six hymns used at the dedication service in 1836, with their original tunes. Twelve instrumentalists, readers, and a ninety-voice choir drawn from the conferees, and seated in the four corners of the temple, as at the dedication service, assisted in the service. Before each hymn was sung, its background information was read by a member of the assembly.

Opening Remarks (Richard Clothier): We welcome you to the House of the Lord, and we pray that the Spirit which has uplifted and empowered Saints within these walls for 167 years will bless that which we do this morning. We invite you to unite your hearts and your voices in this hour, as we join in the singing of ten hymns chosen from the first hymnal of the church, compiled by Emma Hale Smith according to divine mandate and published in the Kirtland print shop only a few weeks before the dedication of this building.¹ Some of these hymns are well known to us today and are set to well-loved tunes; others will not be so familiar. This will be particularly true when, in the latter part of our service, we will sing the six hymns

¹ The preface to this 1835 hymnal reads: "In order to sing by the Spirit and with the understanding, it is necessary that the church of the Latter Day Saints should have a collection of 'Sacred Hymns,' adapted to their faith and belief in the gospel and, as far as can be, holding forth the promises made to the fathers who died in the precious faith of a glorious resurrection, and a thousand years' reign on earth with the Son of Man in his glory. Notwithstanding the church, as it were, is still in its infancy, yet, as the song of the righteous is a prayer unto God, it is sincerely hoped that the fol-

that were actually sung at the service of dedication here on 27 March 1836. For those hymns, we will sing the tunes that were originally used at that service, some of which will be unfamiliar to us. But regardless of whether a hymn is familiar or not, we urge every person here to sing with the same enthusiasm and passion that graced these songs when they were first sung by a rejoicing people gathered in this place. May the Lord bless us as we worship together in spirit and in truth.

“Redeemer of Israel”

When the Latter Day Saint movement was little more than a year old, William Wines Phelps read the Book of Mormon and moved his family to Kirtland to learn more about this new church. In a revelation dated June 1831, he was told that he should be baptized and ordained an elder (D&C 55). Phelps’s background in political affairs and journalism would be put to good use by the movement. Emma’s first hymnal was not yet ready; and as Phelps worked to set up the printing press in Independence, one of the tasks he was given was to “correct” the hymns she had been selecting and begin printing them in the *Evening and the Morning Star*.² When the first issue came off the press in June 1832, the back page contained six hymns—two by Phelps, one by Parley P. Pratt, and three borrowed from other denominations and “corrected” (modified to better express Latter Day Saint theology) by Phelps.³

In one of these hymns, Phelps was able to capture in a particularly moving way both the excitement and the struggles of the new

lowing collection, selected with an eye single to his glory, may answer every purpose till more are composed, or till we are blessed with a copious variety of the songs of Zion.”

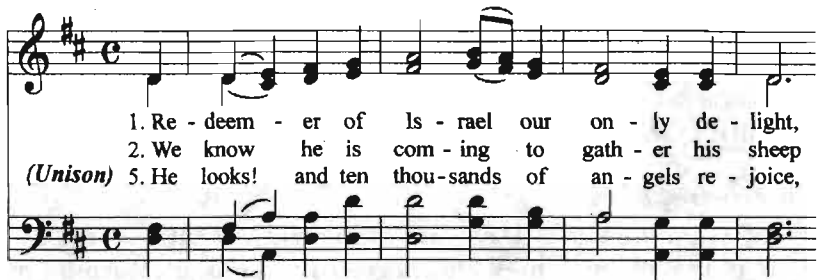
² Joseph Smith Jr. et al., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, edited by B. H. Roberts (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 6 vols. published 1902-12, Vol. 7 published 1932; reprinted by Deseret Book Company, 1959 printing), 1:270.

³The six hymns were: “What Fair One Is This” (Phelps); “Glorious Things of Thee Are Spoken” (John Newton, adapted by Phelps); “The Time Is Nigh, That Happy Time” (Parley P. Pratt); “Redeemer of Israel” (arranged by Phelps from Joseph Swain); “On Mountain Tops, the Mount of God” (Michael Bruce, adapted by Phelps); and “He Died! The Great Redeemer Died” (Isaac Watts, altered by Phelps). The Watts hymn was reassigned to the August 1832 issue in the Kirtland reprint of the paper.

Redeemer of Israel

W. W. Phelps (1792-1872)

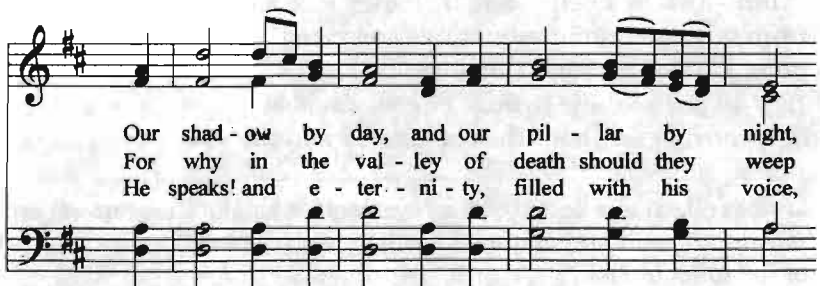
Freeman Lewis (1780-1859)




1. Re - deem - er of Is - rael our on - ly de - light,
 2. We know he is com - ing to gath - er his sheep
 (Unison) 5. He looks! and ten thou - sands of an - gels re - joice,



On whom for a bless - ing we call,
 And lead them to Zi - on in love,
 And my - ri - ads wait for his word;



Our shad - ow by day, and our pil - lar by night,
 For why in the val - ley of death should they weep
 He speaks! and e - ter - ni - ty, filled with his voice,



Our King, our De - liv - 'rer, our all!
 Or in the lone wil - der - ness rove? →
 Re - e - choes the praise of the Lord.

(Pause) 3. How long we have wan - dered as strang - ers in sin,
4. As chil - dren of Zi - on, good tid - ings for us.

And cried in the des - ert for thee!
The to - kens al - read - y ap - pear.

Our foes have re - joiced when our sor - rows they've seen,
Fear not, and be just, for the king - dom is ours,

But Is - rael will short - ly be free.
And the hour of re - demp - tion is near. (Pause)

O Thou in Whose Presence

Traditionally all parts are sung at one dynamic level throughout, loudly and with full voice

Tune: Davis

Musical score for the first system of the hymn. It consists of three staves: a treble staff, a vocal melody staff, and a bass staff. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is common time (C). The melody staff is marked with the instruction "Melody - to be sung by both men and women an octave apart". The lyrics are: "O Thou in whose pre-sense my soul takes de-light, On".

Musical score for the second system of the hymn. It consists of three staves: a treble staff, a vocal melody staff, and a bass staff. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is common time (C). The lyrics are: "whom in af-flic-tion I call, My com-fort by day and my".

Musical score for the third system of the hymn. It consists of three staves: a treble staff, a vocal melody staff, and a bass staff. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is common time (C). The lyrics are: "song in the night, My hope, my sal-va-tion, my all." The system concludes with a double bar line.

movement. He had experienced firsthand the trials of the early Saints and likened them, in these verses, to the tribulation of the children of Israel. "Redeemer of Israel" is one of the important musical expressions of the young Restoration movement.⁴

The Inspiration for "Redeemer of Israel"

In writing "Redeemer of Israel," W. W. Phelps was no doubt indebted to a hymn published in 1813 in Wyeth's *Repository of Sacred Music, Part Second* (Harrisburg, Pa.), with a text by Joseph Swain. Swain's hymn, "O Thou in Whose Presence," reproduced here, not only has the same tune, but the words of several of the stanzas are strikingly similar to the hymn by Phelps. While verses 4 through 9 of the hymn seem to have been inspired by portions of the Song of Solomon, it is the first three verses, containing imagery from the Twenty-third Psalm, that were no doubt the source and inspiration for "Redeemer of Israel." The tune can be found in the middle of the three staves, in old "shape-note" notation.⁵ Here is a bit of history that offers a unique insight into the creativity of the early Saints as they endeavored to bring forth a body of hymnody that expressed their distinctive faith and belief.

⁴ The tune as it appears in *Hymns of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1985) is used for stanzas 1, 2, and 5, while the version in the Community of Christ's *Hymns of the Saints* (Independence: Herald House, 1981) is used for stanzas 3 and 4. The text for stanza 5, which appears in the LDS edition, is the last stanza of Joseph Swain's "O Thou in Whose Presence." Phelps's own final stanza read: "The secret of heaven, the mys'try below, / that many have sought for so long; / We know that we know, for the Spirit of Christ / tells his servants they cannot be wrong."

⁵ "Shape-note notation" was an early attempt to help singers learn to read music by making the notes different shapes. For example, since this is in the key of G, the Gs and Cs appear as triangles, the Bs and Es as squares, etc. The text is a love song, apparently addressed to God in Jesus Christ, originally entitled "A Description of Christ by His Graces and Power." This text appeared in 1791 in Swain's *Experimental Essays on Divine Subject in Verse*, and was paired with this tune in Wyeth's *Repository of Sacred Music, Part Second* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1813). The typeset version presented here is courtesy of Lynn Carson. The other verses are:

(2) Where dost thou at noontide resort with thy sheep / To feed on the pastures of love, / For why in the valley of death should I weep, / Alone in the wilderness rove.

"Glorious Things of Thee Are Spoken"

Our next hymn, "Glorious Things of Thee Are Spoken," was not written by a Latter Day Saint, but it concerned one of the movement's most important concepts—Zion. And, particularly after Phelps's "fine-tuning" of the text, it was one that spoke deeply to the hearts of the early Saints.⁶ In fact, the minutes of the first three conferences to name the hymns sung all mention this same hymn. It was among the six hymns printed in the first issue of the *Evening and the Morning Star*; and like all of our hymns in this celebration, Emma included it in her first hymnal.

Written by the Englishman John Newton, who also authored

(3) O why should I wander an alien from thee, / Or cry in the desert for bread, / My foes would rejoice when my sorrows they see, / And smile at the tears I have shed.

(4) Ye daughters of Zion declare, have you seen / The star that on Israel shone, / Say if in your tents my beloved hath been, / And where with his flocks he has gone.

(5) This is my beloved, his form is divine, / His vestments shed odours around, / The locks on his head are as grapes on the vine / When autumn with plenty is crown'd.

(6) The roses of Sharon, the lilies that grow, / In vales, on the banks of the streams, / His cheeks in the beauty of excellence blow / His eyes all invitingly beams.

(7) His voice as the sound of a dulcimer sweet, / Is heard thro' the shadows of death, / The cedars of Lebanon bow at his feet, / The air is perfum'd with his breath.

(8) His lips as a fountain of righteousness flow, / That waters the garden of grace, / From which their salvation the Gentiles shall know, / And bask in the smiles of his face.

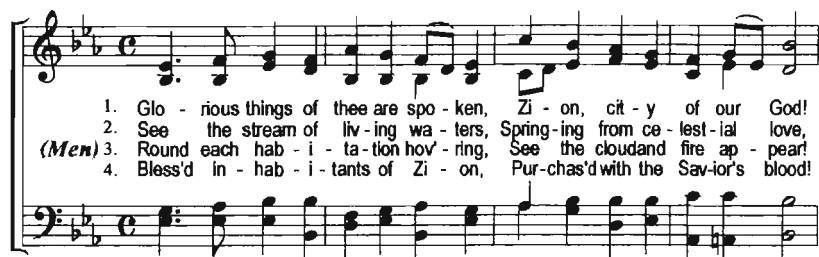
(9) Love sits in his eyelids and scatters delight / Thro all the bright mansions on high, / Their faces the cherubims veil in his sight, / And tremble with fullness of joy.

⁶ Phelps's "corrections" to Newton's text included changing "formed thee" to "chose thee" and "rock of Ages" to "rock of Enoch" in stanza 1, and changing "eternal love" to "celestial love" in stanza 2. In stanza 3, Phelps changed "Safe they feed upon the manna" to "Sweetly they enjoy the Spirit." Stanza 4 alterations included changing "their hopes rely on" to "their souls rely on" and "Over self to reign as King" to read "With himself to reign as kings."

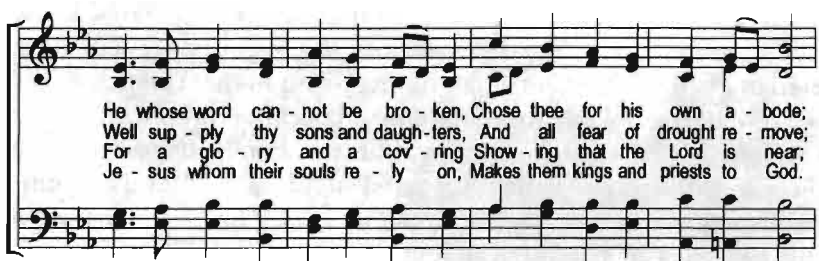
Glorious Things of Thee Are Spoken

John Newton (1725-1807)

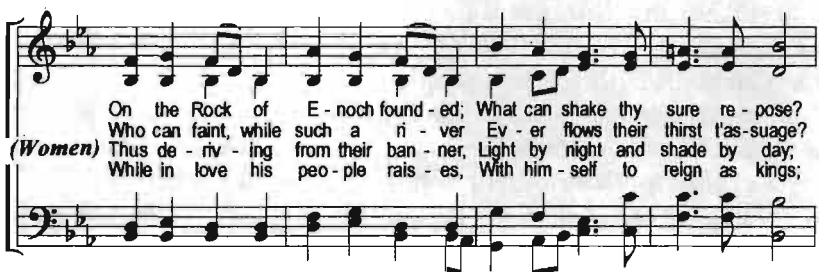
Franz Joseph Haydn (1732-1809)



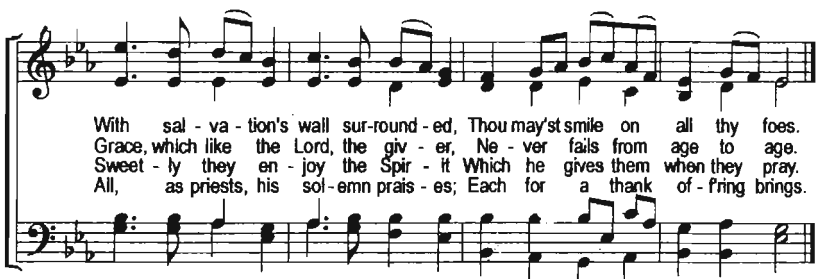
1. Glo - rious things of thee are spo - ken, Zi - on, cit - y of our God!
 2. See the stream of liv - ing wa - ters, Spring - ing from ce - lest - ial love,
 (Men) 3. Round each hab - i - ta - tion hov - ring, See the cloud and fire ap - pear!
 4. Bless'd in - hab - i - tants of Zi - on, Pur - chas'd with the Sav - ior's blood!



He whose word can - not be bro - ken, Chose thee for his own a - bode;
 Well sup - ply thy sons and daugh - ters, And all fear of drougth re - move;
 For a glo - ry and a cov - ring Show - ing that the Lord is near;
 Je - sus whom their souls re - ly on, Makes them kings and priests to God.



On the Rock of E - noch found - ed, What can shake thy sure re - pose?
 Who can faint, while such a ri - ver Ev - er flows their thirst l'as - suage?
 (Women) Thus de - riv - ing from their ban - ner, Light by night and shade by day;
 While in love his peo - ple rais - es, With him - self to reign as kings;



With sal - va - tion's wall sur - round - ed, Thou may'st smile on all thy foes.
 Grace, which like the Lord, the giv - er, Ne - ver fails from age to age.
 Sweet - ly they en - joy the Spir - it Which he gives them when they pray.
 All, as priests, his sol - emn prais - es; Each for a thank of - f'ring brings.

"Amazing Grace," the text is based on ideas from Isaiah and the Psalms. The tune most often associated with it was written by Franz Joseph Haydn for the birthday of the Austrian Emperor Francis II. In more recent times, it has been used as the music for the German national anthem.

Newton's hymn must surely have resonated deeply with the early Saints as they pursued their untiring quest for a community of which "glorious things" would be spoken: "Zion, the city of our God!"

"How Firm a Foundation"

W. W. Phelps was a giant among the early hymn writers. Of the ninety hymns in Emma's Kirtland hymnal, about forty can be identified as having Latter Day Saint authors, the majority of them attributed to Phelps.⁷ The remainder of the hymns in that collection were borrowed from various hymnals of that day, often without alteration. One of the best examples of hymns in this latter category is "How Firm a Foundation." It first appeared in 1787 in a Baptist hymnal published in London, England,⁸ and by 1820 it had found its way to this continent in an American edition printed in Philadelphia.

Like many hymns, this text is really a sermon in verse. In the first stanza, the Word of God is established as the sure foundation of the Christian faith. Then, the question is asked, "What more can God say than that which God has already said?" The answer to this question should be dear to the heart of every Latter Day Saint, as the verses which follow represent none other than the additional revelation of God's own self, in the first person. In these verses, many precious promises of God are given, such as: "Fear not, I am with thee, be not dismayed, / for I am thy God, I will still give thee aid," and "I

⁷ Michael Hicks, *Mormonism and Music: A History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 20.

⁸ John Rippon, *A Selection of Hymns from the Best Authors* (London, Eng.: n.pub., 1787), hymn 128. The author of the text is identified only as "K," although later reprints bear the name, "Keen," presumably Robert Keene, the choir director at Rippon's church. The first tune was attributed to J. Ellis, ca. 1889, in *Hymns of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1985). The second tune was arranged from an early American melody by Rosalee Elser, in the Community of Christ *Hymns of the Saints* (Independence: Herald House, 1981). Used by permission.

will be with thee, thy troubles to bless,/ and sanctify to thee thy deepest distress."

"Guide Us, O Thou Great Jehovah"

The next hymn illustrates how easily the young Church adapted existing hymns to express its own beliefs, through, for example, images of a latter-day promised land and the imminent second coming of Christ. Compare the words of the hymn, "Guide Us, O Thou Great Jehovah," with the original hymn. The first stanza of the original read as follows (emphasis mine):

Guide *me*, O thou great Jehovah;
Pilgrim through this barren land;
 I am weak, but thou art *mighty*;
 Hold *me* with thy powerful hand;
Bread of heaven, Bread of heaven,
 Feed *me* till I want no more.
 Feed *me* till I want no more.


The version of this hymn that appears in the current LDS hymnal (1985) is a collective, rather than an individual plea for Jehovah's help on the journey: "Guide us *to* the promised land"; "Guard us *to* this holy home." The version included here is the text so well beloved by the early church, which refers instead to "*Saints upon* the promised land," and asks that God "guard us *in* this holy home." They had already arrived!

The original hymn was written in the Welsh language by a man named William Williams, and it is best sung to a famous Welsh tune. The name of this stirring tune, "Cwm Rhondda," is a reference to the coal-mining Rhondda valley in Wales, a country known for its rousing tunes, and for singing at the top of one's voice as well as from the bottom of one's heart. The first verse was translated by Peter Williams. (The version here is the music from the 1985 LDS hymnal with the 1835 words.)


"O Happy Souls Who Pray"

We turn now to the hymns that were actually sung by the congregation assembled in this place on 27 March 1836, for the service of dedication of the House of the Lord, the sacred temple they had built with their untiring devotion and selfless sacrifice. As we sing these historic hymns, we will also learn the tunes to which the Saints sang these hymns on that occasion. The early hymnals did not con-


How Firm a Foundation




1. How firm a foun - da - tion, ye Saints of the Lord,
 2. In ev - 'ry con - di - tion—in sick - ness, in health,
 3. Fear not, I am with thee; oh, be not dis - mayed,




Is laid for your faith in his ex - cel - lent word!
 In pov - er - ty's vale or a - bound - ing in wealth,
 For I am thy God and will still give thee aid.

What more can he say than to you he hath said, —
 At home or a - broad, on the land or the sea— As
 I'll strength - en thee, help thee, and cause thee to stand, —



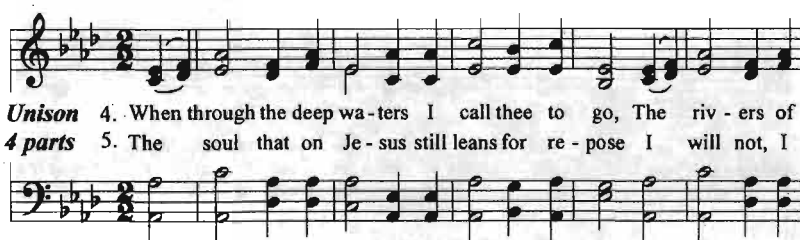

Who un - to the Sav - ior, who un - to the Sav - ior,
 thy days may de - mand, as thy days may de - mand, As
 Up - held by my righ - teous, up - held by my righ - teous,



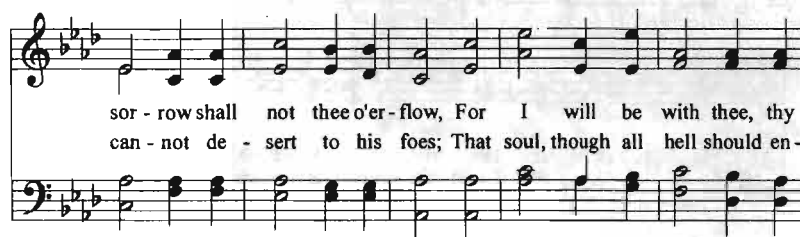


Who un - to the Sav - ior for ref - uge have fled?
thy days may de - mand, so thy suc - cor shall be.
Up - held by my righ - teous, om - nip - o - tent hand.

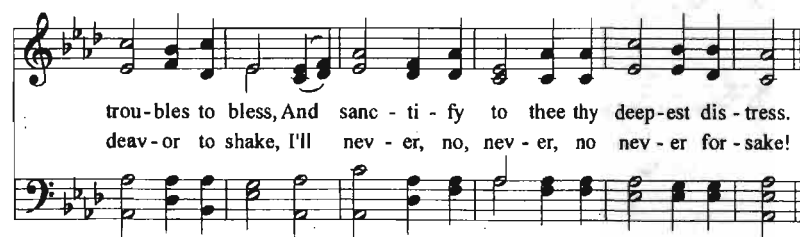
Verses 4 and 5



Unison 4. When through the deep wa - ters I call thee to go, The riv - ers of
4 parts 5. The soul that on Je - sus still leans for re - pose I will not, I



sor - row shall not thee o'er - flow, For I will be with thee, thy
can - not de - sert to his foes; That soul, though all hell should en -

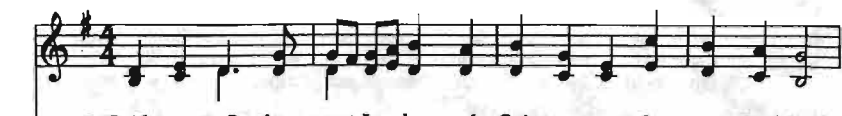


trou - bles to bless, And sanc - ti - fy to thee thy deep - est dis - tress.
deav - or to shake, I'll nev - er, no, nev - er, no nev - er for - sake!

Guide Us, O Thou Great Jehovah

William Williams (1717-1791)

John Hughes (1873-1932)



1. Guide us, O thou great Je - ho - vah, Saints up-on the prom-ised land.
Women 2. O - pen, Je - sus, Zi-on's foun-tains; Let her rich-est bless-ings come.
 3. When the earth be - gins to trem - ble, Bid our fear-ful thoughts be still;



We are weak, but thou art a - ble; Hold us with thy pow'r-ful hand.
Men Let the fi - ery, cloud - y pil - lar Guard us in this ho - ly home.
 When thy judg-ments spread de-struc-tion, Keep us safe on Zi - on's hill,



Ho - ly Spir - it, Ho - ly Spir - it, Feed us till the Sav - ior
All Great Re-deem - er, Great Re-deem - er, Bring oh, bring the wel-come
 Sing - ing prais - es, Sing - ing prais - es, Songs of glo - ry un - to



tain music, nor was there any reference to suggested tunes, but the minutes of the dedication service did name the tunes used for the six hymns sung in that service,⁹ and most of these have been located in tunebooks of the period.

The Conference Choir sings now a text adapted by W. W. Phelps from a hymn called "Lord of the Worlds Above," a setting of Psalm 84 by Isaac Watts.¹⁰ Phelps's revision, which began "O Happy Souls Who Pray," was sung to the tune, "Weymouth," found in a collection of tunes compiled in Boston in 1822 by the great American musician and educator, Lowell Mason.¹¹ Both the tune and text the choir now sings are faithful to the 1836 service of dedication held in this room.

"How Pleased and Blest Was I"

Immediately before Joseph Smith stood to offer the dedicatory prayer on this temple, another hymn by Isaac Watts was sung. This time the text remained true to the original poem by Watts, the man often referred to as "the father of English hymnody." Watts wrote more than six hundred hymns which, with their elegant and powerful simplicity, departed from the long tradition of English psalm-singing and ushered in what has been called the "golden age" of English hymnody. We will sing Watts's hymn, "How Pleased and Blest Was I," to the same tune that was used at the dedication service. Called "Dalston," it is another tune found in Lowell Mason's collection of 1822; this particular harmonization is from *The Hymnal* (Independence: Herald House, 1956).

It would be difficult to find a more appropriate text to be sung within these sacred walls. For this is Isaac Watts's poetic setting of Psalm 122, which begins, "I was glad when they said unto me, let us go to the house of the Lord."

"This Earth Was Once a Garden Place"

Our next hymn is another one that, according to meeting min-

⁹ "Kirtland, Ohio, March 27th, 1836," *Messenger and Advocate* 2, no. 6 (March 1836): 274-281. See also Hicks, *Mormonism and Music*, 23.

¹⁰ Earlier studies list this text as being authored by Phelps, but stanzas 1 and 3 were actually adapted from stanzas 3 and 6 of Isaac Watts's 1719 hymn, "Lord of the Worlds Above."

¹¹ Lowell Mason, *The Boston Handel and Haydn Society Collection of Church Music* (Boston: n.pub., 1822).

O Happy Souls Who Pray

Isaac Watts (1674-1748)

Ralph Harrison (1748-1810) ("Weymouth")

arr. W. W. Phelps

1. O hap - py souls who pray ——— Where
2. No burn - ing heats by day, ——— Nor
3. God is our on - ly Lord, ——— Our

God a points to hear! ——— O
blasts of eve - ning air; ——— Shall
shield and our de - fence; ——— With

hap - py saints ——— who pay ——— Their
take ——— our health ——— a - way, ——— If
gifts ——— his hand ——— is stor'ed: ——— We

con - stant ser - vice there! We praise him
God be with us there. He is our
draw our bles - sings thence. He will be -

still; sun, stow And hap - py we; And he our shade, To On Ja - cob's race, Pe -

love the way to Zi - on's hill, guard the head by night or noon. cul - iar grace, And glo - ry too.

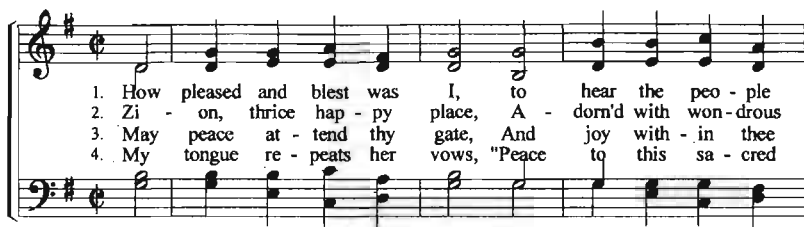
We praise him still; And hap - py we; We He is our sun, And he our shade, To He will be - stow On Ja - cob's race, Pe -

love guard the way to - Zi - on's hill. guard the head by night or noon. cul - iar grace, And glo - ry too.

How Pleased and Blest Was I

Isaac Watts (1674-1748)

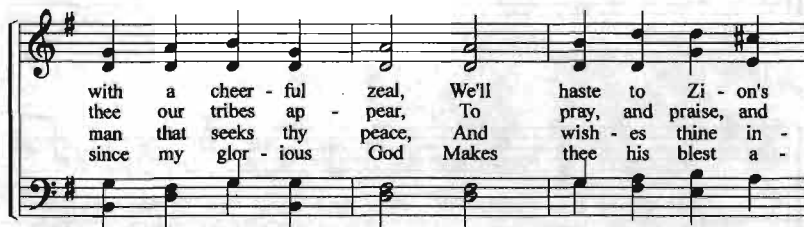
Aaron Williams (1731-1776) ("Dalston")



1. How pleased and blest was I, to hear the peo - ple
 2. Zi - on, thrice hap - py place, A - dorn'd with won - drous
 3. May peace at - tend thy gate, And joy with - in thee
 4. My tongue re - peats her vows, "Peace to this sa - cred



cry, "Come, let us seek our God to - day!" Yes,
 grace, And walls of strength em - brace thee round! In
 wait, To bless the soul of ev - ery guest; The
 house! For here my friends and kin - dred dwell:" And



with a cheer - ful zeal, We'll haste to Zi - on's
 thee our tribes ap - pear, To pray, and praise, and
 man that seeks thy peace, And wish - es thine in -
 since my glor - ious God Makes thee his blest a -



hill, And there our vows and ho - nors pay,
 hear The sa - cred gos - pel's joy - ful sound.
 crease, A thous - and bles - sings on him rest!
 bode, My soul shall e - ver love thee well.

This Earth Was Once a Garden Place

W. W. Phelps (1792–1872) Tune: "Adam-ondi-Ahman" (Prospect of Heaven)

arr. RC)

The musical score is written for a four-part vocal choir (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and piano accompaniment. It is in the key of B-flat major (two flats) and 8/8 time. The melody is primarily in the soprano part, with the piano providing a harmonic accompaniment. The lyrics are arranged in four lines, corresponding to the four parts of the choir.

1. This earth was once a gar - den place, with all her glo - ries common, And men did
 2. We read that En - och walked with God, A - bove the pow'r of Mammon; While Zi - on
 3. Her land was good and great - ly blest, Be - yond old Is - rael's Ca - nann; Her lamewas
 4. Ho - san - nah to such days to come, the Sav - ior's sec - ond com - in' While all the

live a ho - ly race, And wor - ship Je - sus face to face In Ad - am - on - di - Ah - man.
 spread her - self a - broad, And saints and an - gels sung a - loud In Ad - am - on - di - Ah - man.
 known from east to west; Her peace was great, and pure the rest Of Ad - am - on - di - Ah - man.
 earth in glor - ious bloom Af - fords the saints a ho - ly home Like Ad - am - on - di - Ah - man.

utes, was one of the most frequently sung of all the hymns in the early years, in addition to being used at the dedication of this building. It is yet another of the hymns written by W. W. Phelps, and it concerns the unique concept of Adam-ondi-Ahman. Although it was written before any location had been so designated, Emma included it in all her hymnals, including her Reorganization hymnal of 1861.

Although the early official hymnals of the Church contained words only, several collections of hymns were published privately. In 1844 a small hymnal titled *A Collection of Sacred Hymns for the Use of the Latter Day Saints* (Bellows Falls, Vt.: J. C. Little and C. B. Gardner, 1844) appeared. It contained forty-eight hymns, thirty-one of them with both a melody and a bass line of music. Although not an official hymnal, it is valuable in that it gives us a glimpse of the tunes that were suggested for use with a few of the early hymns, at least in that one region of the church.

So, we sing now another of the hymns that were best loved by the Saints who lifted their voices in praise in this place so many years

ago, and we will learn the tune to which they sang these words. Referred to by the Saints simply as “Adam-ondi-Ahman,” “This Earth Was Once a Garden Place” was set to an early American tune, “Prospect of Heaven,” which has been traced to the 1835 publication called *Southern Harmony*.¹² It has the distinct flavor and charm of the American folksong.

“E’er Long the Veil Will Rend in Twain”

The story of Parley P. Pratt is well-known to all in this assembly. At age nineteen, this self-educated, rugged outdoorsman traveled from New York to Ohio to clear some land west of Cleveland and build a log cabin for himself and his wife. After reading a copy of the Book of Mormon he became converted to the Church; and it was ultimately his conversion of his friend, Sidney Rigdon, along with Rigdon’s Disciples of Christ followers, that began the work of the church in the Kirtland area.

A decade later, in 1840, Parley Pratt, Brigham Young, and John Taylor were laboring as missionary apostles in England and found their work hindered by a lack of Latter Day Saint hymnals in that country. Emma Smith was still working on her second hymnal, which was eventually printed in Nauvoo—but not until 1841—so they took matters into their own hands and promptly published their own collection, referred to today as the Manchester hymnal. No fewer than 47 of the 271 hymns in that 1840 collection were authored by Parley P. Pratt, who became to that hymnal what W. W. Phelps was to the Kirtland hymnal. It is interesting to note that Emma’s forthcoming Nauvoo hymnal went on to become the basis for her 1861 hymnal for the Reorganization and the collections that followed it, while the Manchester hymnal is the work from which the hymnals of the Utah-based Church flow.

“E’er Long the Veil Will Rend In Twain” is an eloquent expression of a fervent belief in the glory, and imminence, of Christ’s second coming. Set to the tune, “Sterling” (found in Lowell Mason’s 1822 collection), this text was Parley P. Pratt’s robust contribution to the body of hymns that inspired the Saints at the dedication of this building.

“Now Let Us Rejoice”

The tune used for our next hymn has been a subject of debate

¹² William Walker, *The Southern Harmony, and Musical Companion* (New York: Hastings House, 1835).

E'er Long the Veil Will Rend

Parley P. Pratt (1807-1857)

Ralph Harrison (1748-1810) ("Sterling")

arr. R. C.

1. Ere long the veil will rend in twain,
 2. Lift up your heads ye saints in peace,
 3. Ho - san - na now the trump shall sound,
 4. Our hearts and tongues all join'd in one,

The King de - scend with all his train;
 The Sav - ior comes for your re - lease;
 Pro - claim the joys of heav'n a - round,
 A loud ho - san - na to pro - claim,

The earth shall shake with aw - ful fright,
 The day of the re - deem'd has come,
 When all the saints to - geth - er join,
 While all the heav'n's shall shout a - gain,

And all cre - a - tion feel his might.
 The saints shall all be wel - com'd home.
 In songs of love, and all di - vine.
 And all cre - a - tion say, A - men!

over the years. The report of the dedication service in the March 1836 *Messenger and Advocate* indicates that "Now Let Us Rejoice" was sung to the same tune as "The Spirit of God Like a Fire is Burning," a tune referred to only as "Hosannah." No tune by that name, with the correct meter, has ever been found. When "The Spirit of God" first appeared in the *Messenger and Advocate* shortly before the dedication of the temple, the intended tune was evidently one associated with a patriotic poem, "The American Star."¹³ Exactly what tune that might have been and whether it was the same as the "Hosannah" tune used at the dedication, remains unclear.¹⁴ Recent scholarship has suggested that the tune the early Saints called "Hosannah" was probably the same tune we continue to use today for "The Spirit of God Like a Fire Is Burning."¹⁵ It is this tune to which "The Spirit of God" is set in the 1844 Little and Gardner hymnal, and, I believe, it is the tune to which we can also correctly sing "Now Let Us Rejoice."

In her dissertation titled, "The Singing Saints," Helen Macaré comments on the hymn, "Now Let Us Rejoice," which was popularly referred to as "Home":

This hymn must be read literally, bearing in mind that it was written at Zion, Jackson County, Missouri, and that it was printed [in the *Evening and the Morning Star*] just prior to the eruption of mob violence. . . . This little but continuously expanding band, no longer strangers, had come home to Zion. . . . They went about rejoicing (Gentiles called it bragging) about their new-found delight in being saints and were quite sure that the earth would be theirs when it was renewed to its Eden-like glory. . . . The hymn also recognizes that days of trouble and scourging will come and immediately goes on to proclaim, "We'll rise with the just when the Savior doth come." At this period in his life, Phelps did not plan to rise with the just after he had been dead and

¹³ "Hosanna to God and the Lamb," *Messenger and Advocate* 2, no. 4 (January 1836): 256.

¹⁴ Mary Poulter, *The First Ten Years of Latter Day Saint Hymnody: A Study of Emma Smith's 1835 and Little and Gardner's 1844 Hymnals* (M.A. thesis, University of Massachusetts, Lowell, 1995), 34. Additionally, I have found "The American Star" associated with an Irish tune called "The Humours of Glen," as well as with a later tune by D. P. White published in his tune collection, *The Sacred Harp* (Philadelphia: S. C. Collins, 1844).

¹⁵ Hicks, *Mormonism and Music*, 23; Poulter, *The First Ten Years*, 33–34.

long buried. He meant that Christ was coming, very soon; and that he himself need not fear and tremble. He was in Zion.¹⁶

"The Spirit of God like a Fire Is Burning"

It is fitting that we bring our experience to a close with a hymn that is dear to the heart of every Latter Day Saint—a hymn that grew out of the Pentecostal experiences here in Kirtland prior to the completion and dedication of the temple. Tongues, visions, and prophecies were enjoyed on several occasions; in one particular quorum session, those attending reported "a great flow of the Holy Spirit . . . like fire in their bones, so that they could not hold their peace, but were constrained to cry hosanna to God and the Lamb."¹⁷ With his poetic gifts, W. W. Phelps formulated the words of a hymn that caught up the powerful spirit of this remarkable period. Immediately after its publication in the *Messenger and Advocate*,¹⁸ the new hymn was printed as the last entry in Emma's hymnal, which actually came off the presses only a few weeks before the temple dedication in March.

Set to a stirring English tune, now called "Assembly" by the Utah church and "Paraclete" by the Community of Christ, the new hymn was sung at the dedication service by a large choir situated in the pews at all four corners of the temple, just as we are blessed to have this morning. Surely it was a moving and memorable moment for all who attended, for it is recorded that the benedictory prayer by Sidney Rigdon was "ended with loud acclamations of Hosanna! Hosanna! Hosanna to God and the Lamb, Amen, Amen, and Amen."¹⁹

Now, following the prayer of benediction upon this service by President W. Grant McMurray of the Community of Christ, the choir will begin this great hymn, and the assembly will join as directed.

Benediction by W. Grant McMurray, President, Community of Christ:

O God of the past and Lord of the future.

From the four corners we have come, we people and fellow travelers of the Restoration. We have come to remember and to reflect, to

¹⁶ Helen Hanks Macaré, *The Singing Saints: A Study of the Mormon Hymnal, 1835–1950* (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Los Angeles, 1961), 99–101.

¹⁷ *History of the Church*, 2:392.


¹⁸ "Hosanna to God and the Lamb," *Messenger and Advocate* 2, no. 4 (January 1836): 256.

¹⁹ "Kirtland, Ohio, March 27th, 1836," 281.



Now Let Us Rejoice

W. W. Phelps (1792-1872)



English Tune ("Hosanna", "Assembly",
"Paraclete")





1. Now let us re - joice in the day of sal - va - tion,
Women 2. We'll love one a - noth - er and ne - ver dis - sem - ble,
3. In faith we'll re - ly on the arm of Je - ho - vah,




No lon - ger as stran - gers on earth need we roam;
But cease to do e - vil and ev - er be one;
To guide through these last days of trou - ble and gloom;



Good tid - ings are sound - ing to us and each na - tion,
Men And while the un - god - ly are fear - ing and trem - ble,
And af - ter the scour - ges and har - vest are o - ver,



And short - ly the hour of re - demp - tion will come:
We'll watch for the day when the Sa - vior shall come:
We'll rise with the just, when the Sa - vior doth come:



When all that was pro - mis'd the saints will be gi - ven,
 When all that was pro - mis'd the saints will be gi - ven,
 Then all that was pro - mis'd the saints will be gi - ven,

And none will mo - lest them from morn un - til ev'n,
 And none will mo - lest them from morn un - til ev'n,
 And they will be crown'd as the an - gels in heav'n:

And earth will ap - pear as the gar - den of E - den,
 And earth will ap - pear as the gar - den of E - den,
 And earth will ap - pear as the gar - den of E - den,

And Je - sus will say to all Is - rael: Come home!
 And Je - sus will say to all Is - rael: Come home!
 And Christ and his peo - ple will e - ver be one.

ponder and to learn. We have shared together in the fellowship of the table; we have gathered in quiet corners and visited from out of the journeys of our lives. We have renewed old acquaintanceships and made new friends. We have pondered deep and serious and probing questions. We have laughed with one another in exuberance and joy. We have cried as we have remembered those who have departed from our midst, and also as we have been touched by the significance and meaning of those things that we have done together. In all of these things, O Lord, your Spirit has poured out upon us in great abundance and has blessed us.

And now this morning we have come to this sacred space. It is a privilege, and it is a joy, to gather in the place once occupied by those who have gone before us and who are therefore a part of us even now on this day.

As we prepare to depart to those places we call home, may we be reminded by this "house of learning" that we are called to be reflective and thoughtful, to ponder deeply upon the things that rest on our hearts, and to be a people committed to learning from one another.

As we depart from this "house of worship," may we carry in our hearts the spirit of worship that is inherent in those things that we proclaim and that will always be a part of our faith.

As we depart from this "house of prayer," may we do so in a prayerful spirit, carrying with us wherever we go an awareness of the One who calls us into renewal each and every day of our lives.

As we depart from this "house of the Lord," may we remember who we are, and whose we are, and may we be rededicated once again to our relationship with the God of history and of the future, who calls us in our own time to create communities of equity and justice, communities of peace and reconciliation and healing.

May we, this pilgrim people on *this* frontier of human history, rededicate ourselves to the spirit of the Restoration in our own time. May we, on this 25th day of May in the year of our Lord 2003, pronounce a benediction upon this service in the same spirit as those who gathered in this place on the 27th day of March in 1836. May we go forth, committed once again to the call to this people to build those communities of peace and justice that the world urgently seeks, and for which the people of the earth are yearning.

May we affirm the diverse paths on which each of us walks, and yet embrace the unity inherent in the calling we sense in this beautiful and most sacred place.

May we pronounce upon this conference, and upon this service, the benediction of Thy Spirit, and proclaim even now with those who went before, "Hosanna, Hosanna, Hosanna to God and the Lamb; Amen, Amen, and Amen."

*Singing of "The Spirit of God like a Fire is Burning"*²⁰

APPENDIX

The order of service for the Kirtland Temple Dedication on 27 March 1836, 9:00 A.M.–4:00 P.M. as reconstructed from the Messenger and Advocate report, 2, no. 6 (March 1936)

Psalms 96 and 24: Sidney Rigdon

Choir (led by M. C. Davis, all hymns from Emma Smith's 1835 hymnal):

"Ere Long the Veil Will Rend in Twain." Tune: "Sterling."

Opening prayer: Sidney Rigdon

Hymn: "O Happy Souls Who Pray." Tune: "Weymouth."

Scripture and discourse: Sidney Rigdon on Matthew 8:18–20 (2½ hours)

Sustaining of Joseph as Prophet and Seer: Sidney Rigdon

Hymn: "Now Let Us Rejoice in the Day of Salvation." Tune: "Hosannah."

Intermission: 15 minutes ("few left the pews")

Hymn: "This Earth Was Once a Garden Place." Tune: "Adam-ondi-Ahman"

Sustaining of Quorums: Joseph Smith

Hymn: "How Pleased and Blest Was I." Tune: "Dalston."

Dedication prayer: Joseph Smith

Vote to accept the prayer

Hymn: "The Spirit of God like a Fire Is Burning." Tune: "Hosannah."

The sacrament, blessed by Don Carlos Smith

Testimonies: Joseph Smith, Don Carlos Smith, Oliver Cowdery, Frederick G. Williams, Hyrum Smith

Closing remarks and prayer: Sidney Rigdon, followed by a "Hosannah Shout" from the congregation

Addresses in tongues by Brigham Young and David Patten

Blessing of the Congregation: Joseph Smith


For the MHA service, instrumentalists were Kerry Norman, piano/key-board; Doug White and Gary Bramwell, trumpet; Ron Romig and Valerie Norman, trombone; Carol Larsen and René Romig, violin; Sterling Larsen, viola; Lindsay Jaynes, cello; Annie Blam, oboe; and Valerie Norman, harp. Readers were Bill Hartley, Alma Blair, Marti Bradley, Bill Shepard, Eric Rogers, Barb Walden, Neal Chandler, Mark Scherer, Keith Norman, Pat Spillman, Lavina Fielding Anderson, and Richard Clothier.

²⁰ In this special chorale concertato arrangement of "The Spirit of God like a Fire Is Burning," by Richard and Louita Clothier, the ninety-voice choir was joined by organ, violins, and brass and the congregation. Musicians interested in copies of the music may contact the composers at clothier@grm.net.



The Spirit of God like a Fire Is Burning

W. W. Phelps (1792-1872)



English Tune ("Hosanna", "Assembly",
"Paraclete")





Choir 1. The Spir - it of God like a fire is burn - ing,
Choir 2. The Lord is ex - tend - ing his saints' un - der - stand - ing,
All 3. We call in our sol - emn as - sem - blies, in spir - it,




The lat - ter - day glo - ry be - gins to come forth;
Re - stor - ing their judg - es and all as at first;
To spread forth the king - dom of heav - en a - broad,



The vi - sions and bless - ings of old are re - turn - ing;
The knowl - edge and pow - er of God are ex - pand - ing;
That we through our faith may be - gin to in - her - it



The an - gels are com - ing to vis - it the earth.
The veil o'er the earth is be - gin - ning to burst.
The vi - sions and bless - ings and glo - ries of God.



We'll sing, we'll shout! We'll sing, we'll shout,
We'll sing and we'll shout with the ar - mies of heav - en,

"Ho san - nah, ho - san - nah to God and the Lamb!"
"Ho - san - nah, ho - san - nah to God and the Lamb!"

Glo - ry, glo - ry, glo - ry, ho - san - nah
Let glo - ry to them in the high - est be giv - en

molto rit. last stanza
Hence forth and for - ev - er! A - men, and a - men!
Hence - forth and for - ev - er! A - men, and a - men!



D. Todd Christofferson

“LEST WE FORGET:” THE MEANING OF KIRTLAND’S HISTORY IN THE PRESENT

D. Todd Christofferson

IT IS AN HONOR TO BE WITH YOU, and I am gratified to see many familiar faces. I hope that during the course of this conference I may have opportunity to become acquainted with many more of you. One face I had fully expected to see and that, with you, I deeply miss is that of Dean May. We are all beneficiaries of his life and service. His contribution to the Mormon History Association as president and in other critical capacities has been invaluable, and that was but one facet of his life’s work. From our vantage point, his death seems most untimely. I trust, however, that we will yet learn of some urgent projects on the other side that required his attention and talents, and that represent an even more pressing need for him there than we had for him here. And in these sentiments, I include Stan Kimball, also a former MHA

D. TODD CHRISTOFFERSON {christoffersondt@ldschurch.org} is a graduate of Brigham Young University and Duke University Law School. He became a member of the First Quorum of the Seventy of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in 1993 and in 1998 was named to the Presidency of the Seventy. He serves as executive director of the Church’s Family and Church History Department and as chairman of its Historic Sites Committee. This address was given at the Mormon History Association annual meeting, May 2003, at Kirtland, Ohio.

president. I'm sure I speak for all of us in simply stating that we admired these men and will miss them greatly.

I am particularly pleased to be with you in the *Kirtland* conference of the Mormon History Association. It is of the Kirtland legacy that I wish to speak. It would be difficult to overstate the significance of the 1831–38 period in Church history when this region of Ohio was the residence of the Prophet Joseph Smith and the headquarters of the Church. Key foundational elements came into being in the Kirtland era. More than half of the revelations now published as the Doctrine and Covenants (LDS) were received during this period. These revelations vouchsafed what will ever be core doctrines and commandments. Their publication originated in Kirtland. The essential elements of priesthood and Church government were revealed and put in place. The first stake was organized. The worldwide missionary effort began here with the missions to the eastern states, Canada, and Great Britain. Principles of learning and education were implemented on a small scale that has since grown very large. The people developed a basic understanding of and began to apply principles of welfare as we know them: stewardship, work, consecration, and so forth. The first temple was built; and the place of the temple in our faith as the House of the Lord, the locus of ultimate worship and holiest rites, the link between heaven and earth, was established. Most importantly, the overarching latter-day witness of Jesus Christ was clearly and forcefully proclaimed.

Certainly this brief review does not exhaust the list of what can be attributed to the Ohio period of Church history. To contemplate all that occurred here and the rapidity with which it happened—one thing upon the heels of another—is breathtaking. It was, as one of my colleagues in the Seventy observed, as if the Lord had taken up residence in Kirtland, so continual was the flow of revelation and foundational events. Nevertheless, I am confident that even my incomplete summary establishes the thesis that what came in this time and place provided the foundation on which the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is built today. Kirtland deserves to be studied and remembered.

I would like to cite as examples just three of many activities or aspects of the Church today that rely upon this Kirtland foundation. The first is the matter of recording Church history, the second relates to Church government, and the third is a rather unique application of welfare principles.

CHURCH HISTORY

Revelations given to the Prophet Joseph Smith in Kirtland reinforced and amplified the instruction received at the formal organization of the Church on 6 April 1830 that “there shall be a record kept” (D&C 21:1). In Doctrine and Covenants 47, received on 8 March 1831, John Whitmer was commissioned to “write and keep a regular history” replacing Oliver Cowdery in that assignment (D&C 47:1, 3). Eight months later that calling was reaffirmed with these words, “He [John Whitmer] shall continue in writing and making a history of all the important things which he shall observe and know concerning my church” (D&C 69:3). Indeed, he was to travel from place to place and church to church “that he may the more easily obtain knowledge—preaching and expounding, writing, copying, selecting, and obtaining all things which shall be for the good of the church, and for the rising generations” (D&C 69:7–8). In these words we find not only the instruction to keep a history but two of the central purposes of such history: the good of the Church and the benefit of the rising generations. It is my understanding that the manuscript narrative prepared by John Whitmer in response to these commandments is preserved in the historical archives of the Community of Christ.

There are further references in the revelations to the need for historical records such as it being “the duty of the Lord’s clerk . . . to keep a history and a general church record” including accounts of the Saints’ “manner of life, their faith, and works” (D&C 85:1–2). With these and other scriptural injunctions in mind, I salute the Mormon History Association for the attention it focuses on Church history and the impetus it provides for publications that recount and preserve many portions of that history.

In the Family and Church History Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, we are striving to do our part to build on this aspect of the divine foundation laid in Kirtland. We have been gratified at the positive response to the *Selected Collections* on DVD, some 400,000 pages of manuscripts from the Church Archives published in December as previewed by Richard E. Turley Jr. at last year’s MHA conference. On the Internet, we are developing a Church history section, still in its infancy, at the “lds.org” website. We sense that it has great potential for making our historical collection much more widely accessible than ever before.

An ambitious project to publish the papers of Joseph Smith is well under way in collaboration with the Joseph Fielding Smith In-



Joseph William Billy Johnson, a Ghanaian convert, heard the June 1978 announcement that all worthy LDS men could be ordained to the priesthood, on this short-wave radio. Photo courtesy of Museum of Church History and Art.

stitute for Latter-day Saint History at BYU. Dean Jessee, Richard L. Bushman, Ronald K. Esplin, and Richard E. Turley Jr. are among those leading teams of accomplished historians too numerous to mention by name but well-known to most of you who are devoting uncounted hours to this mammoth undertaking. The papers are being grouped in four series of multiple volumes each: a Journal Series of the Prophet's personal journals; a Papers Series with perhaps seven volumes of documents, correspondence, and other papers; a History Series based on the *History of the Church* with expanded notes, sources, and manuscripts; and a series covering legal and business papers. We hope that, starting next year, we will be able to publish two volumes per year beginning with the Journal Series. I am confident that it will be a first-rate and essential contribution both to recording and understanding the history of the Prophet who stands at the head of this gospel dispensation.



Patty Barlett Sessions, an 1830s convert in Ohio, used this baby basket as a midwife, delivering more than 4,000 babies during her career. Photo courtesy of Museum of Church History and Art.

The history stewardship that began in Kirtland has grown to include the acquisition and preservation of historical artifacts as well as writings. I brought along today, as examples, two recent acquisitions of the Museum of Church History and Art that I find interesting. They illustrate the great variety of artifacts that are, in a sense, the seasoning and spice of our history. The first is the short-wave radio on which Joseph William Billy Johnson, an early convert to the Church in Ghana, heard the BBC announcement of President Spencer W. Kimball's revelation on priesthood in 1978. The second is a baby basket used by Patty Bartlett Sessions as she assisted as a midwife in the delivery of more than 4,000 babies in pioneer Ohio, Illinois, and Utah.

A further, critical piece of the historical record is the preservation, restoration, and, in some cases, reconstruction of buildings and sites of particular significance in the establishment and progress of the Church and in the experience and faith of its people. A week ago, as you know, President Gordon B. Hinckley dedicated the restoration now in place on the historic Kirtland Flats that you have visited

or will be touring during this conference. The Whitney home and store, the old red school, the sawmill and ashery, the Johnson Inn, all provide a visible, tangible tie to what occurred in Kirtland and help us not only to know but to feel and to better understand and remember what it means. This project, which will be discussed in some detail by Steve Olsen, Don Enders, Jenny Lund, and Mark Staker (see presentations in this issue) is a superb piece of work, and I congratulate all who had a hand in it. It makes a suitable complement to the Kirtland Temple, and I salute the Community of Christ on its restoration and preservation of the temple, and thank its officers for the visitor access they continue to provide in such a gracious manner. Taken together, the temple and the flats speak of the miracle of Kirtland with an eloquence beyond the power of words.

Some other less extensive, though significant, projects have been completed in the fairly recent past. You may remember that restoration of the historic Johnson Home in Hiram, Ohio, which I know some of you had opportunity to tour, was completed almost two years ago. It was honored by the Akron Region of the American Institute of Architects in 2002 with that association's Design Award. The Jacob Hamblin Home in Santa Clara, Utah, underwent extensive seismic upgrade last year. The quality and sensitivity of this project were recognized earlier this year by the National Society of Engineering Companies, Utah Chapter, with its Grand Award. The Brigham Young Winter Home in St. George, Utah, reopened in May 2003 after several months of seismic upgrade work. In addition to the extensive structural reinforcing of this adobe home, several historic upgrades have been added. These include original paint colors inside and out and furnishings that originally belonged to Brigham Young. Visitors to this building should find it quite interesting.

In summary, we are making a diligent effort to honor the responsibility placed upon the Church in Kirtland to record its history. It becomes increasingly challenging as time passes and as the Church expands across the world; but we are committed to the task and hope that, with your contributions also taken into account, we shall not be found wanting.

CHURCH GOVERNMENT

For the structure of Church government today, we also look to Kirtland. The Doctrine and Covenants, particularly section 107 (LDS edition; section 104, Community of Christ edition), describes three priesthood quorums that preside and serve at the general level

in the Church. Each of these—the First Presidency, the Quorum of the Twelve, and the First Quorum of the Seventy—were initially constituted during the Kirtland era. It is of particular interest that the Seventy in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints have been put in order over the last thirty years as contemplated by these revelations.

Doctrine and Covenants 107:22 states: “Of the Melchizedek Priesthood, three Presiding High Priests, chosen by the body, appointed and ordained to that office, and upheld by the confidence, faith, and prayer of the church, form a quorum of the Presidency of the Church.”

This quorum is, of course, commonly referred to today as the First Presidency. The succeeding two verses read:

The twelve traveling councilors are called to be the Twelve Apostles, or special witnesses of the name of Christ in all the world—thus differing from other officers in the church in the duties of their calling.

And they form a quorum, equal in authority and power to the three presidents previously mentioned. (D&C 107:23–24)

Here we learn that members of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles have a particular duty, inherent in their ordination, to bear witness of Jesus Christ “in all the world,” and that this quorum possesses the same power and authority as the First Presidency when acting as their delegates or in their absence. Finally, I quote verses 25 and 26:

The Seventy are also called to preach the gospel, and to be special witnesses unto the Gentiles and in all the world—thus differing from other officers in the church in the duties of their calling.

And they form a quorum equal in authority to that of the Twelve special witnesses or Apostles just named.

The Seventy, then, also have a right and duty by ordination to preach and bear witness of the Savior, and can act for and in place of the Twelve as authorized. I note that, at least at present, the Seventy are not given the priesthood keys held by members of the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve.

In succeeding verses, these presiding quorums are directed to make their decisions “by the unanimous voice of the same” (D&C 107:27–29). Then follow the godly qualities quorum members are to possess in order that “they shall not be unfruitful in the knowledge of

the Lord" (D&C 107:30–31). The working relationship of these quorums is then described:

The Twelve are a Traveling Presiding High Council, to officiate in the name of the Lord, under the direction of the Presidency of the Church, agreeable to the institution of heaven; to build up the church, and regulate all the affairs of the same in all nations, first unto the Gentiles and secondly unto the Jews.

The Seventy are to act in the name of the Lord, under the direction of the Twelve or the traveling high council, in building up the church and regulating all the affairs of the same in all nations, first unto the Gentiles and then to the Jews;

The Twelve being sent out, holding the keys, to open the door by the proclamation of the gospel of Jesus Christ, and first unto the Gentiles and then unto the Jews. . . .

It is the duty of the traveling high council to call upon the Seventy, when they need assistance, to fill the several calls for preaching and administering the gospel, instead of any others. (D&C 107:33–35, 38)

The Twelve, then, act under the direction of the First Presidency, and the Seventy under the direction of the Twelve and First Presidency. The work of the Twelve Apostles is described as building up the Church and regulating all of its affairs in all nations. The same words are used to describe the service of the Seventy, "building up the church and regulating all the affairs of the same in all nations" (D&C 107:34). And the Twelve are directed to look first to the Seventy for needed assistance to fulfill the assignments that the Twelve cannot attend to directly or in person. Thus, the Seventy as called upon become an extension of the Twelve; and in this manner, the First Presidency and the Twelve, though limited in their own number, may extend their oversight of the Church across the world. This role and service are consistent with, and were prefigured by, the call of seventy elders to assist Moses:

And the Lord said unto Moses, Gather unto me seventy men of the elders of Israel, . . . and bring them unto the tabernacle of the congregation, that they may stand there with thee.

And I will come down and talk with thee there: and I will take of the spirit which is upon thee, and will put it upon them; and they shall bear the burden of the people with thee, that thou bear it not thyself alone. (Num. 11:16–17)

The number of Seventies may grow as the Church grows and

needs dictate. At the present moment in the Church, there are 292 Seventies called, ordained, and organized in five quorums. As you can appreciate, with releases and new callings, that number is constantly changing, but overall it is growing as the Church grows. Members of the First and Second Quorums of the Seventy have been designated General Authority Seventies and those in the remaining quorums are termed Area Authority Seventies. The principal difference is that the General Authorities serve on a full-time basis and are available for assignment anywhere in the world that the Twelve may choose to send or post them. The Area Authority Seventies, on the other hand, provide part-time service much like bishops and stake presidents while maintaining their own residences and occupations. With the limitations of time, the assignments of the Seventies serving part-time are typically within a particular geographic area, hence the "Area Authority" designation. However, the work performed by Seventies, whether near or far and whether full or part time, is the same.

As the quorums are configured today, Seventies who reside and serve in the Areas of the Eastern Hemisphere: Africa, Europe, and Asia, comprise the Third Quorum of the Seventy. Those in Mexico, Central America, and South America are members of the Fourth Quorum. And those in North America are members of the Fifth Quorum. One would expect that as the Church grows in the years ahead, additional quorums of Area Authority Seventies would be formed, in a sense subdividing the existing quorums.

Section 107 of the Doctrine and Covenants, speaking of the Presidency of the Seventy, contemplates the need for multiple quorums:

And it is according to the vision showing the order of the Seventy, that they should have seven presidents to preside over them, chosen out of the number of the seventy;

And the seventh president of these presidents is to preside over the six;

And these seven presidents are to choose other seventy besides the first seventy to whom they belong, and are to preside over them;

And also other seventy, until seven times seventy, if the labor in the vineyard of necessity requires it. (D&C 107:93-96)

The phrase "until seven times seventy" is interpreted not as specifying a precise number but as indicating that whatever number of quorums may be needed can be created. This unique presidency

of seven, that comes from the First Quorum but that serves as the presidency for all of the quorums together, devotes significant time to searching out and recommending men for call as Seventies as verse 95 suggests. This duty is dictated both by the need for increasing numbers of Seventies and by the periodic release of those serving. Under the policy in effect today, members of the First Quorum of the Seventy are typically granted emeritus status in the year that they reach age seventy. Members of the other quorums serve for a period of years and are then honorably released. At that point, they join a high priests quorum in the stake of their residence.

The Twelve, besides inviting Seventies to accompany them or sending the Seventy to preside or teach in settings where the Twelve themselves cannot be present, “call upon the Seventy” by appointing them to oversee stakes and missions of the Church in geographic regions. The First Presidency and Twelve have divided the world into thirty geographic areas at present and have appointed three of the Seventy as a presidency in each of these areas. Generally speaking, outside of North America, members of Area Presidencies are sent to reside in the area they are to supervise. These presidencies may be a combination of Seventies from any of the various quorums. The assignment to an Area Presidency is temporary—that is, assignments change at the pleasure of the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve. The Area Presidencies are assisted by Area Authority Seventies living in the respective geographic regions.

A particular circumstance that illustrates the role of the Seventy in relation to the Twelve Apostles is that, at the moment, two of the Area Presidents are members of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles: Elder Dallin H. Oaks is the Philippines Area President, and Elder Jeffrey R. Holland serves as the Chile Area President. Both have Seventies as first and second counselors with various Area Authority Seventies to assist them. This is a current example of the fact that the Twelve may either act directly in any duty or delegate such duty to the Seventy whenever they deem it necessary or appropriate.

It is interesting to me that the Quorum of the Twelve and quorums of the Seventy are repeatedly referred to as *traveling* elders or ministers. Throughout Doctrine and Covenants 107, the Twelve are referred to as a “traveling high council”; and in verses 97 and 98, we read:

And these seventy are to be traveling ministers, unto the Gentiles first and also unto the Jews.

Whereas other officers of the church, who belong not unto the Twelve, neither to the Seventy, are not under the responsibility to travel among all nations, but are to travel as their circumstances shall allow, notwithstanding they may hold as high and responsible offices in the church.

In a revelation naming the Seven Presidents of Seventy, with Joseph Young as the senior President, the Lord states: "Which quorum is instituted for traveling elders to bear record of my name in all the world, wherever the traveling high council, mine apostles, shall send them to prepare a way before my face" (D&C 124:139). This statement reiterates the relationship of the Seventy to the Twelve as representatives of and assistants to the Twelve, with an obligation on the part of both to travel. In the next verse of Section 124, we read: "The difference between this quorum [the Seventy] and the quorum of elders is that one is to travel continually, and the other is to preside over the churches from time to time" (D&C 124:140).

Earlier in this same section, the president and counselors of the high priests quorum are named (D&C 124:133–36) and referred to as "*standing presidents* or servants over different stakes scattered abroad" (D&C 124:134; emphasis mine). "They may travel also if they choose, but rather be ordained for standing presidents" (D&C 124:135). Next, an elders quorum presidency is named, "which quorum is instituted for *standing ministers*; nevertheless they may travel, yet they are ordained to be standing ministers to my church, saith the Lord" (D&C 124:137; emphasis mine).

The combination of traveling and standing ministers in the Church, first revealed and put in place in Kirtland, provides a pattern of ministration and administration remarkable in its simplicity and efficacy. The traveling ministers range across the earth, bearing witness of Christ, opening the doors of nations, building up the Church, and regulating its affairs in all nations. (See D&C 107:23, 25, 33–35.) They maintain the integrity of the Church and the purity of its doctrine. While they set in place its many stakes, they insure that it remains one Church. At the same time, all members of the Church have shepherds close at hand, ministers who live and serve among them and who are readily and continually available. These pastors, the high priests (some of whom are also ordained bishops) and the elders, assisted by the priests, teachers, and deacons of the Aaronic Priesthood, are "on the scene," so to speak, and attend to the needs of the flock day to day where they live. Thus, no matter where the

Church grows or how large it becomes, it will have adequate oversight at the general level from those who are assigned to travel, and its individual members and families will have constant ministration from those who are called to stand and serve in place. It is a perfect pattern for feeding and watching over the flock, however large and dispersed it may become.

WELFARE PRINCIPLES

The essential principles of temporal welfare were revealed through the Prophet Joseph Smith in Kirtland. As is typical, these revelations came in response to specific questions arising from specific needs. As the members of the Church gathered to Kirtland in growing numbers, the land and occupations needed to accommodate them became an issue. The Saints were directed to pool their resources to purchase lands that could be apportioned according to capacity and need (D&C 48). The first bishops and bishop's agent were called (D&C 41, 53, 72) with instructions to appoint portions and stewardships and maintain a storehouse for the benefit of the poor (D&C 51, 72, 78). The rich were directed to impart of their substance to the poor, and the poor were counseled not to be greedy (D&C 56). The law of tithing, the precursor and cornerstone of consecration, was restored (D&C 64, 97) and then confirmed after the move to Missouri (D&C 119).

The Lord explained that his "own way" for dealing with poverty is "that the poor shall be exalted, in that the rich are made low" (D&C 104:16). "The earth," he said, "is full, and there is enough and to spare" (D&C 104:17). Each person is accountable as a steward for that portion he or she may draw from the Lord's earthly creation, His "very handiwork" (D&C 104:12-14, 17). Voluntary contributions or consecrations from one's portion of this "abundance" will provide the means to lift up the poor and the needy and will spare the donor from condemnation and torment (D&C 104:18). These principles have formed the basis for Church welfare efforts in behalf of the poor and needy for over 150 years so that the extensive welfare-related undertakings of the present all hearken back to the revelations given at Kirtland.

A current and intriguing example of the application of these welfare principles is the Perpetual Education Fund initiated under the direction of President Gordon B. Hinckley in April 2001. The Perpetual Education Fund, or PEF, draws upon some important precedents beginning at Kirtland and continuing with the gathering to

the Great Basin. In the mid-1800s, many European converts faced a daunting challenge in financing voyages and overland travel to gather with the Saints. In 1848, the First Presidency established the Perpetual Emigrating Fund to loan emigrants the needed money. With their later repayment of these loans replenishing the fund, new loans could be extended to others in need. In this way, earlier beneficiaries assisted others onto the platform of opportunity to which they had been lifted. President Hinckley referred to this precedent and drew from its name in announcing the Perpetual Education Fund:

From the earnings of this fund, loans will be made to ambitious young men and women, for the most part returned missionaries, so that they may borrow money to attend school. Then when they qualify for employment, it is anticipated that they will return that which they have borrowed together with a small amount of interest designed as an incentive to repay the loan.

It is expected that they will attend school in their own communities. They can live at home. We have an excellent institute program established in these countries where they can be kept close to the Church. The directors of these institutes are familiar with the educational opportunities in their own cities. Initially, most of these students will attend technical schools where they will learn such things as computer science, refrigeration engineering, and other skills which are in demand and for which they can become qualified. The plan may later be extended to training for the professions. . . .

Where there is widespread poverty among our people, we must do all we can to help them to lift themselves, to establish their lives upon a foundation of self-reliance that can come of training. Education is the key to opportunity. This training must be done in the areas where they live. It will then be suited to the opportunities of those areas.¹

The "rich" as referred to in the Kirtland-era revelations, meaning those with a surplus, be it large or small, have generously contributed to the Perpetual Education Fund to establish a substantial corpus. The investment income from these combined contributions is used to finance vocational training and other courses for those who would not otherwise have access to such opportunities. In the initial two years of operation, approximately 8,600 loans have been made to young men and women in the countries of South America, Central

¹ Gordon B. Hinckley, "The Perpetual Education Fund," *Ensign*, May 2001, 52–53.

America, and Mexico, the Caribbean, the southern half of Africa, and the Philippines. Expansion into West Africa, Eastern Europe, and Asia is likely to come soon. The average loan amount in U.S. dollars has been about \$800 per year with the typical training or educational program being two years. Already, we are seeing some dramatic results. Monthly earnings for the initial loan recipients have, on average, increased some 400 percent. If that experience continues, the percentage of income needed to repay PEF loans, expected to be about 5 percent of income over five years, may be even less. Repayment of some of the first loans has begun; and a few have, in fact, already been repaid in full.

It is not difficult to envision the longer-term benefits. The current generation of youth in many nations now beginning to form families and initiate their careers and full-time employment will have economic opportunities beyond anything known or contemplated in their families' prior generations. They will be able to contribute time and resources to their own families, their communities, and the Church as never before. The odds in favor of family and financial stability will have been greatly increased. We may expect that, as the current generation improves its prospects, the next generation will begin with a higher vision and, in many cases, add significantly to their parents' achievements, and so on through succeeding generations.

The Kirtland revelations and other scriptures, including King Benjamin's oft-quoted statement from the Book of Mormon, teach that caring for the poor is a requisite duty for retaining a remission of our sins and that neglecting this duty places an entire people in spiritual jeopardy (Mosiah 4:26; D&C 104:17–18; 105:2–6). The Perpetual Education Fund is caring for the needy in the best sense, not simply in a way that brings periodic relief, but in a manner that helps recipients to leave their poverty behind altogether, breaking free of a cycle that has often bound families as far back as memory runs. They and their descendants will instead become ministers to those whose needs are as yet unmet.

These are but a few examples of the flowering of seeds planted in Kirtland. They and the many others that could be cited are a testament to the goodness of God and the faith of the small band that was the Church in the 1830s. They are also a form of homage to the remarkable young man who was at the center of it all, the Prophet Joseph Smith. Without him and his unfailing link to the divine head of

the Church, Jesus Christ, there would have been nothing special about this time and place. Joseph Smith and his role must not be forgotten. May we ever appreciate the fruits we gather today across the world from the seeds planted long ago in Kirtland.

THE RESTORATION OF HISTORIC KIRTLAND: A PANEL

A History of Restoring Historic Kirtland

Steven L. Olsen

THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST of Latter-day Saints is not in the business of historic preservation per se. It is in the business of saving souls, in accordance with its particular understanding of the gospel of Jesus Christ. Yet when the work of redemption involves restoring historic sites, producing interpretive exhibits and films, developing historical collections, and publishing historical research, the Church is committed to the highest professional standards and best possible products.

STEVEN L. OLSEN {olsensl@ldschurch.org} is the Associate Managing Director for Church History in the Family and Church History Department and served as co-chair of the Historic Kirtland restoration project. This paper is his own work and does not necessarily represent the views of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. This paper, and those which follow by Donald L. Enders, Jennifer L. Lund, and Mark Staker, were originally presented as a plenary session at the May 2003 annual meeting of the Mormon History Association in Kirtland, Ohio. All photographs accompanying this panel presentation are provided courtesy of the Museum of Church History and Art.

So, what does historical consciousness have to do with a religious identity? In many contemporary academic and religious circles, these two interests are diametrically opposed or in perpetual tension. For the Latter-day Saints, however, the two are inextricably linked. Core doctrines are grounded in particular historical experiences. Church members trace sacred covenants and priesthood authorities back to ancient times. Latter-day Saints attempt to establish bonds with their ancestors as the social foundation to the family and kingdom of God. And in the Church's most frequently repeated public ritual—the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in which members renew their covenants of baptism—the central promises made with God on that sacred occasion are expressed in the verbs “remember” and “witness” (D&C 20:77, 79).

By restoring Historic Kirtland, the Church is officially remembering the works of the Lord that were accomplished there through Joseph Smith and others nearly one and three-quarter centuries ago. The Church is also witnessing to the truthfulness of these experiences to its members and to the world.

The buildings that have been restored or rebuilt, the furnishings that have been installed, the events and personalities that are featured in the interpretive tours, the site improvements, and visitor experiences on site combine to testify to the eyes, ears, hands, hearts, and souls of visitors that what happened here in the 1830s has great significance for a religion that now nearly spans the globe.

What is the essence of the institutional memory embedded in this setting? In a word, it is this: While the Church of Jesus Christ was *founded* in western New York from 1820–30, it was *organized* in northeastern Ohio in the 1830s. Much of the Church's doctrinal foundations, ecclesiastical order, social programming, and sacred worldview was defined by revelation through the Prophet Joseph Smith from 1831 to 1838 while the Church was headquartered in Kirtland. The rest of this paper provides an overview of the project of restoring Historic Kirtland.

GOVERNANCE

Governance of the Church's Historic Sites program occurs at several administrative levels, each of which integrates the complementary perspectives of Church History, Missionary, and Physical Facilities departments. That is, Church Historic sites present to the public key events in the Church's history that are shared with the public at the actual places where those events occurred.

At the most general level, the First Presidency directs the sites program through the Church History advisors (two members of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles), the Missionary Executive Council, and the Presiding Bishopric, which oversees the Church's temporal affairs.¹

Direction from these councils is coordinated through the Church's Historic Sites Committee, which consists of Executive Directors from Family and Church History and Missionary Departments who serve as chair and co-chair, respectively,² and director-level staff from Church History, Missionary, and Physical Facilities departments.³ The Historic Sites Committee appoints restoration project teams, recommends approval of project budgets and schedules, establishes restoration processes and guidelines, and provides other leadership support for the Church's two dozen or so historic sites in North America.

Restoration project teams consist of professional-level staff from Church History, Missionary, and Physical Facilities departments. Teams identify a site's overall purpose and key messages, define the project's physical scope, develop interpretive, restoration, and maintenance plans, propose project budgets and schedules, and coordinate the multifaceted work of the project with a myriad of outside specialists.

DOCUMENTATION

A series of documents guide and control major decisions of the project team. The major documents include:

1. *The Purpose and Key Message Statement* that identifies the main reasons why the Church chose to restore a particular site. This document for Historic Kirtland is included in its entirety below.

¹ During the Historic Kirtland project, the advisors from the Twelve were Elders Neal A. Maxwell and Russell M. Nelson. The Missionary Executive Council was comprised of Elders Richard G. Scott, M. Russell Ballard, and Charles Didier, and Bishop Richard C. Edgley, while the Presiding Bishopric was Bishop H. David Burton and his counselors, Richard C. Edgley and Keith B. McMullin.

² Elders D. Todd Christofferson and Quenten L. Cook.

³ Richard E. Turley Jr., Steven L. Olsen, Glenn N. Rowe, Grant A. Anderson, Stephen B. Allen, Richard Heaton, Mark Luskardi, Keith Stepan, Randy Hulbert, and Tim Bawden.

Purpose Statement and Key Messages for Ohio Historic Sites

Purpose Statement:

During the Kirtland era, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints developed an institutional structure defined by revelation, priesthood order, essential programs, temple worship, and membership in order to fulfill the Church's divine purpose to bring all humankind to Christ. Visitors who experience Kirtland sites will feel the significance of the Church's divine role in helping all people return to God and will desire to more fully embrace and share gospel truths.

Key Messages:

1. *Revelations:* In Kirtland, Joseph Smith received additional revelations and corrected or restored ancient scripture. These modern revelations and ancient writings were recorded and accepted as scripture and, along with other important information, were published and used to guide the Church.

2. *Priesthood:* Much of the priesthood order found in the Church today was revealed and organized in Kirtland including Church councils, quorums, offices and authorities, and stakes. Revelations were also received regarding the authority and keys of priesthood power.

3. *Programs:* Essential Church programs, such as welfare, missionary, Church education, and ecclesiastical procedures were organized and implemented in Kirtland. These programs worked as vehicles in helping the Saints apply revealed truths as a united body.

4. *Temple worship:* The first temple of this dispensation was planned and constructed in Kirtland. There the Church received divine instruction and authority regarding the gathering of Israel, the establishment of Zion, and the salvation of God's children.

5. *People:* The Lord identified Ohio as a gathering place for the Saints and prepared the early residents of Kirtland to receive the restored gospel.

This document served as a general constitution for all major decisions connected with the restoration project and governed the development of a master plan, guided all research activities, served as the justification for budgetary and other resource requests, and focused all interpretive programming. In addition, specific Key Message documents were generated for each historic structure so that all aspects of the restoration project would complement one another and support the mission of the Church.

2. *Design Master Plan,* a summary of the historical significance of each structure and feature at the site, along with an evaluation of their potential for restoration.

3. *Documentary History* of the events and personalities connected with each structure and feature to be restored or preserved.

4. *Archaeological Report* of each excavation or mitigation, whether or not the facility is to be reconstructed.

5. *Historic Structures Report*, a detailed architectural analysis of each building considered for restoration.

6. *Message Design Plan* for the entire site and for each toured feature or facility. This document outlines the tour and maps the key messages to their most effective places for presentation.

7. *Exhibit Guides*, which include tour scripts, pedagogical suggestions, training hints, and furnishing inventories for each toured site.

8. *Furnishing Plans*, which detail not only the specific contents of each restored setting but also their proper placement within the different rooms.

9. *Construction Documents and "As Built" Drawings* for each structure that is restored, reconstructed, or remodeled.

10. *Design Documents* for the various kinds of exhibits at the visitors' center.

The project team creates most of these documents itself. However, because each restoration project tends to be quite different from all previous projects, teams must rely as well on a variety of consulting specialists, who help immeasurably in the production of some of these documents and the execution of the overall restoration plan. A partial list of specialists for Historic Kirtland includes historians, architects, archaeologists, film producers, exhibit designers, educators, historic craftsmen, material culture specialists, dendrochronologists, engineers, contractors, security and maintenance specialists, and civic and religious leaders.

TIME LINE

The following time line provides a sequence of some of the major achievements in the restoration of Historic Kirtland.

November 1998. The Historic Sites Committee constitutes the project team.

February 1999. The Historic Sites Committee reviews the initial draft of the Purpose and Key Messages Document. Because of unforeseen structural problems at the Historic Johnson Home, President Gordon B. Hinckley directs that it be the first building restored in the project.

March 1999. The project team selects a team of principal con-



The John Johnson Inn

sultants (historic architect, architectural historian, architect, historic contractors) to undertake most of the on-site work.

June 1999. The First Presidency reviews the restoration Master Plan for Historic Kirtland.

September 1999. The Historic Structures Report for the Johnson Home is completed.

November 1999. The project budget for Historic Kirtland is approved.

January 2000. The project completion schedule is approved, with site dedication anticipated for spring 2003.

April 2000. The Historic Kirtland Restoration master plan is presented to the Kirtland City Council.

During the remainder of 2000 and the first part of 2001, the restoration of the Historic Johnson Home and refinements to the master plan continued. Changes to the master plan were necessitated by archaeological and architectural research which located the foundations of the historic ashery, sawmill, and schoolhouse. Researchers also determined that the surviving schoolhouse on the property dated to the 1850s instead of the 1830s and that it had been so drastically remodeled over the years that it was not worth preserving. These changes were subsequently reviewed and approved by Church and Kirtland civic leaders.

October 2001. The Historic Johnson Home is dedicated by President Hinckley.

January 2002. Buffer property is purchased surrounding the Kirtland site. Additional buffer properties were purchased later.

June 2002. The Visitors' Center, Johnson Inn, and Historic Whitney Home at Historic Kirtland were all opened to the public. The formal dedication of these sites was delayed until the entire site is finished.

November 2002. The Historic Johnson Home received a design award from the American Institute of Architects, Akron Chapter.

May 2003. The schoolhouse, ashery, and sawmill at Historic Kirtland are completed. The entire site is dedicated by President Hinckley on 18 May. This event is recognized as a formal part of the Ohio statehood bicentennial celebration.

October 2003. Historic Kirtland receives a Design Award from the American Institute of Architects, Ohio Chapter, one of only seven architectural projects so recognized in the state in 2003.

PROCESS

The smooth-looking time line above hides an unavoidable characteristic of the restoration process: it was frequently messy, uncertain, intense, and time consuming—a lot like life. Complicating factors included: (1) path-breaking research that led the team in a different direction than it had initially anticipated, (2) project teams whose members intentionally represent essential, but quite different, interests in and perspectives of the site, whose members changed all too frequently, and several of whose members had never worked on a historic site restoration before, (3) project teams in Salt Lake City and Kirtland having to collaborate across a distance of two thousand miles, and (4) some of the worst weather in the history of northeast Ohio.

Decisions of the team were made, ideally, by consensus. This most difficult of all decision-making strategies was intentional: If the team members could not come a meeting of the minds about the myriad of issues facing the project, how could they expect visitors to have a seamless and inspiring experience on site? Furthermore, how could they presume to act in the name of Christ if they did not give their best to the project, at the same time working toward a unity of the whole? To achieve this end, each team member had to recognize that everyone had a vital part to play and that each professional specialty must receive its due. Simultaneously, the whole was far greater than any one specialist could achieve alone. To the extent that a restoration project like Historic Kirtland achieves a balance between individual excellence and overall integration of each profession dedicated to the service of the Lord, we trust that the Spirit of God will be able to influence visitors in ways that go far beyond the human efforts involved in the project.

In addition to professional competence, Church historic site restorations require another central principle: personal worthiness of the team members. Because Historic Kirtland is ultimately about spiritual realities, team members needed to understand the truthfulness of these messages from the perspective of both analysis *and* experience; otherwise, the power that comes from the interplay of the human, physical, and narrative witnesses at the site would not be achieved. If this team did its job well—to realize the potential of Historic Kirtland to preserve and interpret the enduring significance of the gospel's restoration in 1831–38—visitors to the site will gain a meaningful perspective on this period of Church history that they can acquire in no other way.

Beyond the interest of Latter-day Saints in Historic Kirtland, the project was undertaken to preserve other important aspects of Kirtland's heritage. To this end, we acknowledge that Historic Kirtland contains reconstructions of the first school house built in the Kirtland area in 1819, the first ashery ever to be part of any historic site in North America, and a sawmill that is as accurate as any found at a historic site in the United States; a general store whose restoration was recognized by President Ronald Reagan's Council on Historic Preservation as being one of the finest completed during the 1980s, an automated family history resource that will help countless thousands of local residents trace their ancestors, and an inviting setting that will stimulate the local economy, increase community

pride, and create productive relationships with other religious, cultural, historical, educational, and environmental organizations in the area for many years to come.

Recreating Kirtland's Physical Past: How Well Did We Do?

Donald L. Enders

A RESPECTED HISTORIC BUILDING SPECIALIST said that accurately restoring a structure from a past century is akin to learning a foreign language.¹ As one who bombed out of high school Latin, I perhaps appreciate nuances in the analogy hidden from others. I'm going to say something about the challenges the Historic Kirtland project team faced in attempting to recreate a portion of Kirtland's 1830s physical setting.

By way of preface, I believe that most people come to the sites of the restoration of the gospel as pilgrims, seeking to experience the significant events of the restoration in the setting in which they occurred. The more historically accurate the setting, the greater the opportunity for the visitor to vicariously experience the event. Squarely on the shoulders of the Historic Kirtland development team rests the responsibility for the re-creation and interpretation of this historic site.

Members of the Family and Church History, Missionary, and Physical Facilities departments comprised the development team. At any given meeting through the last three years, some fifteen employees of these departments met together to give input about how the site should unfold. Thinking of these three departments working to-

DONALD L. ENDERS {endersdl@ldschurch.org} is senior curator of historic sites at the Museum of Church History and Art, Salt Lake City.

¹Henry Glassie, *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1975).



Don Enders conducting an archaeological investigation of the Whitney Store site in the 1980s for its initial restoration.

gether perhaps creates a mental picture of three chefs, clothed in white aprons and tall white hats, each with meat-fork and butcher knife in hand waiting to tackle the same roast. It's true that committees can be like that—credited with creating wildebeests, moose, and aardvarks—but they are also capable of designing and creating graceful and beautiful animals like gazelles and cheetahs! The impressions visitors take away from “restored Kirtland” are witnesses to which kind of committee the Kirtland team has been.

Let me state an absolute truism, but one that is also absolutely true: We are only as good as our research. Our ability to accurately recreate the past depends on how much we know about the past. The professional wisdom in the field of historic site restoration dictates that, at a minimum, the input of three research professionals is critical in gathering the information needed to create an accurate restoration. These professionals are the historian, the archaeologist, and the architectural historian.

Initially, it is information provided by the historian that sets the focus for a historic sites project. Through many months, Mark Staker, the project historian, sought out and sifted through countless sources



Excavating on the site of the sawmill are Tom Smith (left), Mark Staker (left rear), Garth Norman (standing center), and Don Enders (right). Photograph by T. Michael Smith.

about Kirtland in the 1830s. What he found and digested clarified the organizational, doctrinal, and physical development achieved by the Church during its residency in northern Ohio. Some of that material gave the archaeologist and architectural historian the data to move ahead with their work.

Documentation about Kirtland's Mormon buildings was limited, and the archaeologist's and architectural historian's studies provided most of the information for restoring, furnishing, and interpreting them. T. Michael Smith of the Family and Church History Department, directed the archaeological "salvage" digs at all of the Kirtland building sites recently restored. Limited time, restrictive budgets, and Mother Nature combined to hamper the archaeological study. Nonetheless, the excavation teams found the remains of the sawmill, ashery, and schoolhouse. These discoveries made it possible to define the footprints and sizes of these three historic structures. Artifacts associated with specific buildings, such as a lengthy fragment of saw blade, helped clarify what the buildings were like, how they functioned in the old days, and how they should be restored or recreated.



The parlor in the restored Whitney home where Joseph Smith healed Elsa Johnson's arm.

Designs of automobiles, buildings, and furniture, trends in hair styles, and fashions in clothing evolve within a single decade, as well we know; but it is also true of window glass, nails, flooring, baseboard, doors and windows, bricks, siding, paint, and hardware throughout all of America's history. A knowledgeable and skillful historic architect keys in on these elements as he or she studies an old building. From an assessment of these items and features come the clues that help professionals determine when the structure was built, its appearance and completeness at a given time, the functions of the various spaces within it, and the finishes used on and in it. The studies Elwin Robinson and Littleton Kirkpatrick did of the Johnson and

Whitney homes were detailed and informative, determining the significant fact that most of the historic fabric of the Johnson home survived. Their charge of the restoration of the Johnson Home from start to finish makes it one of the “gems” of the Church’s historic sites program.

The Whitney Home was different. It has been repeatedly remodeled, creating a different set of challenges. When the major portion of research focused on Kirtland’s historic buildings was compiled, the Church hired a local architectural firm to draw plans based on this information. The architectural firm played a big role in the “spiritual creation” of the Kirtland site, defining on paper what would physically come to pass. It had the added task of hiding within the historic fabric of the buildings and landscaping such nonhistoric elements as modern heating, cooling, and plumbing systems. Understandably, we sought to hire an architectural firm that was well versed in building methods and materials of the Western Reserve for the 1830s. We hoped the architects would know glass, nails, brick, mortar, heavy timber framing, hardware, etc., of that era and locality. Obviously, the greater their command of Northern Ohio’s material culture for the time period of interest, the better they would help us achieve an accurate historical setting.

The Church was fortunate to obtain the services of a competent and sensitive general contractor and Church construction representative. Darrin Sweeney of Keller-Carlisle Construction, and Jim and Norma Goff, representing the Church, oversaw the physical creation. They daily orchestrated the labor of the subcontractors, those who actually built the site anew. If we could, the “subs” would have been resurrected beings from the historic Kirtland era, for it was they who felled the trees and hewed the timbers; hammered out the hinges; created the wood window sash and glazed the period glass panes; mixed the lime-based mortar; laid the stone and brick; sawed the pieces for the mill wheel and power train and assembled them; built ash hoppers; made aprons of cloth and leather; cut out and sewed the hot pads to handle hot iron tools; constructed the lathe, tables, and wheelbarrows; coopered with period hand-tools the wood-staved reservoirs and barrels; created the historic barrel scale; made the patterns and cast in iron the large heavy ash kettles; and replicated a myriad of other historic furnishings.

The contribution of Steve and Ben Pratt of Cove Fort, Utah, cannot be overemphasized. They built many of the features and repli-



Ron Fedor, historic mason (left) and Dave Fedor (right), laying stone chimney caps on ashery.

cated most of the tools for the sawmill and ashery. They and Dixon Hyde of the general contractors' firm, came to the site, placed the mill wheel and power train in the sawmill, and sawed the first lumber to pass through the mill's saw blade.

As a team we wanted the entire site to come together well historically. It was important to us that the ashery measure up, since this is, to our knowledge, the only ashery restored in North America. We wanted everyone, including historians of industry, to feel "right" about it. When we commenced, we knew nothing about asheries. Who does? At the beginning we were advised to contact Frank White, director of Old Sturbridge Village, at Sturbridge, Massachusetts. He knows a great deal about life in the early nineteenth century. His input was, "Good luck. Our prayers will be with you!" No one, to his knowledge, had much data about how village asheries were set up or how they functioned. He was able to provide some verbal and written input and suggested people who might be able to assist.

Victor Rolando, an industrial archaeologist at Bennington, Vermont, was very interested and helpful in our effort to restore the ashery. This kindly professional supplied us with insights about how



Dixon Hyde (left), Ben Pratt, and Steve Pratt, positioning the water-driven wheel at the sawmill.

masonry furnaces and ovens were built and functioned. These furnaces are key features of asheries. In them black salts or “potash” was processed into pearl ash.

It was particularly important to have the masonry work done to historic specifications. A number of historic building people recommended Ron Fedor, a second-generation historic mason, but said, “He’s too busy. You won’t get him.” It was a blessing that he and his crew agreed to join the project. They built the furnaces, oven, flues, and paving in the ashery, in addition to laying all of the project’s stonework. They used brick salvaged from an early nineteenth-century building and a correct lime mortar mix. They also did a considerable portion of the work during one of Ohio’s coldest and snowiest winters in a hundred years, and Ohio already had a reputation for disagreeable weather.

Asheries were generally very hot and dirty places to work. So reminisced President James A. Garfield about his boyhood labor in an ashery not too far away.² Most of our buildings are clean and spotless—which is not historically correct—but it presented us with a challenge on how to achieve a correct historic ambiance in the ashery.

² William M. Thayer, *From Log Cabin to White House: Life of James A. Garfield*. (Boston: James H. Earle, 1881) chap. 10.



Interior of the reconstructed ashery.

Darrin Sweeney and Reuel Reeder, the Church Building representatives, made heroic efforts to be correct in the details. They arranged for members of the Kirtland Fire Department to come to the ashery and really smoke up the place, according to a carefully detailed and thorough plan. The day came, and the firemen went to work. They closed up the ashery and lighted smudge pots with such heavy-duty pollutants as wood, oil, tar paper, and even old tires. In only minutes, heavy black smoke filled the interior and began curling up through cracks in the plank walls and through the shingles of the roof. The smell was horrendous. The sootiness of the smoke was undeniable. "Wow," we thought. "This is great. This should really do a job on the ashery!"

After four solid hours of good effort when the smudge pots had burned out, we opened the doors and let the smoke clear away. Eagerly we looked inside for that authentic, "aged" coating. The walls,

ceiling timbers, and undersides of the roofing shingles were as bright and clean as ever. We hope to try the “smoke-up” again, perhaps increasing the humidity to see if we can get the gunk to stick.

I’ve said a few things about some of the positive aspects of the project. It should not surprise you that some things did not meet our hopes and expectations. The challenges were enormous. We are removed from the historic setting by nearly two hundred years. It was a project of large and complex parameters. Many people of varied knowledge and experience were involved. For example, in early May 2003 when President Gordon B. Hinckley visited the Kirtland site, he paused in the Whitney Home and viewed, with his perceptive eye, the brickwork of one of the fireplaces. He asked whether the brick was historic. Sheepishly, we had to admit, “It’s not.” The brick company the Church contracted with to replicate bricks found during the archaeological excavation of the site were ultimately unable to reproduce the size, color, and texture of the original. Because we could not alter the schedule to search further afield for an alternative source, we ended up using brick that looked less than historic.

Furnishing a historic structure as accurately as the research suggests also poses challenges. Four criteria govern selecting furniture for restored buildings:

1. Is the piece, whether antique or replica, correct for the period in design and finish?
2. Is it geographically correct; meaning, is it something that was obtainable in the 1830s from the local market or via the Great Lakes and Erie Canal trade?
3. Does the historic value, design and finish of the piece fit the economic level of the family who owned and furnished the building?
4. What do we know about the “taste” and attitude of the family about furnishings?

The Johnson home was different to furnish than the Whitney home. The homes differed historically in size, floor plan, and finish. The Johnson place must have been John and Elsa’s dream home, undoubtedly where they intended to live out their lives. It is a home that needs to match the profile of a gentleman farmer and wife. This Federal-style two-story residence with rear ell is large even for a successful farm family of the time. The construction and decoration were done by competent craftsmen. Unlike many rural homes of the time, its exterior was painted. The interior woodwork is detailed with elaborate painting and grained. The furnishings placed in the home are

compatible with the handsomely crafted and painted woodwork. The interiors and furnishings work together to communicate the family's respectability and acceptance in "polite society."

In contrast, N. K. and Ann Whitney's home is modest, even for the 1830s. The woodwork and paint finishes are simple. This may seem a little surprising as the Whitneys were as affluent as the Johnsons. However, obviously their personal and family styles made them comfortable with a considerably more restrained home in its size and furnishings.

Even when we have a relatively clear idea about what the furnishings should be, finding and acquiring them is a great challenge. The American Bicentennial in 1976 created an enthusiasm for country furniture of earlier centuries that has not subsided in almost thirty years. As a result, the "right pieces" are difficult to find and purchase. Furthermore, the television program *Antiques Road Show* has spawned unrealistic furniture values. For the Kirtland project, we shopped the equivalent of about six hundred antique shops and used about thirty-five crafts people to produce other pieces placed in the newly restored buildings. Since reproduced furniture is generally more costly than antiques, this part of the project accounted for a significant portion of both the time and the budget of the project.

Another problem is accommodating visitors. Thirty to 50 percent of a restored building's space is given to visitor flow. Perhaps we have yet to appreciate what the absence of furniture and ambiance from that amount of space does to a visitor's understanding of a site and the events which occurred there.

As a third aspect, cleanliness has a well-deserved reputation for being next to godliness, and our historic sites are cleaned and sanitized according to thoroughly modern standards. The unwashed pungent world of the early nineteenth century is nowhere fully enjoyed at a historic site, whether at Kirtland, Sturbridge Village, Mount Vernon, or Plymouth Plantation. Common sense and regard for health and safety do not permit pigs wandering about the yard or slops being thrown on a garbage heap.

Even members of the Historic Kirtland project team demonstrated dramatically different perspectives about history. When the study of the Johnson home revealed interior colors that were vibrant by any standard (the front bedroom floorboards were painted in a dazzling checkerboard bright colors, while the paint-graining was bold swirls and curlicues of color, more than one person,



Elaborate paint-graining in the restored Johnson Home.

shocked, murmured, “We’d better not restore *these* colors. The Spirit of the Lord could never manifest itself in that setting.” Well, the Spirit of the Lord *did* manifest itself in the Johnson home amid those colors—and remarkably so, for some of the most sublime of all revelations were given there. Ultimately the team as a whole came together in approving the reapplication of the historic paint.

To sum up, then, the objective of the Kirtland development team was to recreate the historic setting that came into focus as a result of painstaking research. The purpose for both the research and the re-creation is so that the significant events associated with a given historic structure may be best interpreted and understood.

Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr. once remarked: “The silent joy of the thinker is to know that a hundred years hence men and women he has not met will be moving to the cadence of his thoughts.” I paraphrase that to say: It should be sobering to those of us who write history or replicate it in physical form to know that, for multitudes of people, their thoughts about and their commitment to the Restored Gospel, may very well be based on what we research, write, and re-create.

Interpreting Kirtland’s Historic Sites

Jennifer L. Lund

AT FIRST GLANCE, THE ASSIGNMENT to interpret Kirtland’s historic sites appears a daunting challenge. Kirtland’s story is complex, comprising dozens of topics that might be explored. To complicate matters, there is no single storyline that defines Kirtland in the public mem-

JENNIFER L. LUND {lundjl@ldschurch.org} is senior educator at the Museum of Church History and Art in Salt Lake City where she has worked on several LDS Church historic site projects. She notes: “The interpretive principles I describe in this article were defined in my mind through long association and discussion with my colleagues working on the Kirtland development team, particularly, Steven L. Olsen, the team leader, and Mark L. Staker, Donald L. Enders, Reed D. Miller, W. Tracy Watson, Mervyn B. Arnold, T. Michael Smith, Evan Nelson, Norm Albiston, and numerous advisors, consultants, and specialists.”

ory.¹ Joseph Smith did not compose a first-person, prophetic narrative account of his Kirtland experience, unlike the narrative that exists for sites in upstate New York. However, we do have the historic sites themselves: the home occupied by Newel K. Whitney and Elizabeth Ann Smith Whitney, the Whitney Store, the sawmill, the ashery, and the schoolhouse, each of which, when interpreted, opens a lens of understanding. My purpose today is to explain the philosophical foundations of our interpretive plan for Historic Kirtland.

Developing an interpretive program for a historic site is fundamentally different from other types of historic interpretation. Rather than exploring the possibilities, interpreting a historic site begins by defining the limitations. Such constraints may seem confining, but they are not. They are, in reality, liberating, for they focus a project on its most essential elements. Let me illustrate this concept with five guiding principles of historic interpretation and their relationship to our interpretive plan for Historic Kirtland. These five principles are certainly not comprehensive, but each is significant for the Kirtland sites.

1. Interpretation Should Be Site Specific. The stories communicated at a historic site are determined, first and foremost, by the sites themselves. Historic Kirtland focuses on the major themes that are directly linked to the restored buildings. For instance, N. K. and Ann Whitney were members of Sidney Rigdon's Campbellite congregation that was seeking a return to the practices and gifts of the New Testament church. The Whitneys are representative of several hundred people who seemed uniquely prepared to accept the message of the first Latter-day Saint missionaries to that region. They were further prepared by a vision that they received while praying to know how they might receive the gift of the Holy Ghost. Ann recalled that as they knelt in their elegant little home: "The spirit rested upon us

¹ Joseph Smith's 1832 history concludes with Oliver Cowdery's arrival in Harmony, Pennsylvania, to assist with the translation of the Book of Mormon. Similarly, the 1839 history provides only a brief chronicle of events in 1831 and 1832. Joseph did keep a journal during part of the Kirtland period, and the volume that covers 1834 to 1836 was called a "History"; but it was kept by Joseph's scribes and is more of a daybook or journal. It does not communicate Joseph's own attempts to interpret his Kirtland experience. See Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Papers of Joseph Smith. Vol. 1: Autobiographical and Historical Writings* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989).



The modest Whitney Home in Kirtland.

and a cloud overshadowed the house. . . . A solemn awe pervaded us. We saw the cloud and felt the spirit of the Lord. Then we heard a voice out of the cloud saying: 'Prepare to receive the word of the Lord, for it is coming.'²

When visitors pause in the kitchen of the Whitney home and listen to Ann's words, they learn about the conversion of people prepared in advance to accept the restored gospel—a story which is all the more real because it is related in the very place where it occurred more than 170 years ago. The other restored and reconstructed

² Elizabeth Ann Whitney as quoted in *The Women of Mormondom*, edited by Edward W. Tullidge (New York: Tullidge & Crandall, 1877), 41–42.



Exterior of the restored Whitney Store.

structures in Historic Kirtland are similarly interpreted in very specific ways. The sawmill focuses on construction of the temple. The ashery teaches the principle of consecration. The schoolhouse emphasizes the eternal value of education. The Whitney Store, as Church headquarters, testifies to themes of revelation, the development of ecclesiastical structure, the origins of the missionary, educational, and welfare programs, and the building of the temple.

If this first principle demands that interpretation be site specific, then the LDS Church or any institution cannot successfully interpret historic sites that it does not own (or have responsibility for) and has not preserved, restored, or replicated.

2. *Interpretation Should Be Guided by Historical Integrity.* Every-



Interior of the restored Whitney Store.

thing that we do to preserve, restore, reconstruct, and interpret a historic site should be done with the highest regard for historical integrity. That is the ideal of the development team's various disciplines, and we labor to make that ideal a reality in the restored and reconstructed structures, while at the same time providing for the safety and access of visitors and the preservation of the site. That devotion to accuracy becomes a mandate when we recognize that the public expects no less. In a major study of how Americans relate to the past, researchers discovered that museums and historic sites are widely considered the most trustworthy venues for learning about the past. Nearly 80 percent of the people surveyed gave the highest trustworthiness ratings to museums and historic sites. In compari-

son, only 54 percent gave similarly high ratings to college history professors and less than half, 32 percent, ranked nonfiction history books in the same range.³

The study further revealed some of the reasons behind this remarkable perception. Visitors to historic sites feel an immediacy, involving multiple senses, that creates a connection to the past. In fact, they often describe the experience as being “transported back in time.” They view visiting a historic place as an opportunity to interact with primary evidence, the sites themselves being eyewitnesses to the past. A visit is, therefore, an effort to encounter truth. As one respondent put it, “The bones don’t lie.”⁴

In addition, survey participants viewed interpretation at historic sites as highly trustworthy because of the collaborative effort required of curators, historians, archeologists, historic architects, and other experts to pool their independent research and to review each other’s work from various perspectives and disciplines.

Recognizing the trust that the public places in historic sites, it is crucial that we accurately restore and interpret Historic Kirtland to the best of our abilities. Historical integrity is essential to communicating effectively with our audience.

3. Interpretation Should Be Designed for the Audience. Although there is value in preserving the sites of the Restoration as an end in itself, the reality is that the sites are restored and reconstructed in order to teach people. We must, therefore, understand our audience well enough to create an interpretive plan that will fit their needs. So, what do we know about our audience at Historic Kirtland? We know that the great majority of the visitors to these sites are members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, the Community of Christ, or other Restoration branches, who come seeking a greater understanding of the roots of their own faiths. They come with some basic perceptions about the Kirtland experience. However, when it comes to knowledge of the details of the historical story and individual learning styles, they are actually very similar to visitors of other faiths or no faith at all.

Fortunately, many visitors are in an ideal situation to learn be-

³ Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen, *The Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 91, 235.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 106.

cause they choose to visit the sites—or at least the decision maker in the group chooses to come. That means that they are motivated learners. They have invested effort, time, and money in their pursuit of an encounter with the past. Their ability to learn from their visit is further enhanced by the emotional connection that people have with the sites themselves. The restored buildings and room settings engage the senses and the imagination, creating a memorable experience that is so emotionally powerful that many describe visits to even secular sites in religious terminology.⁵

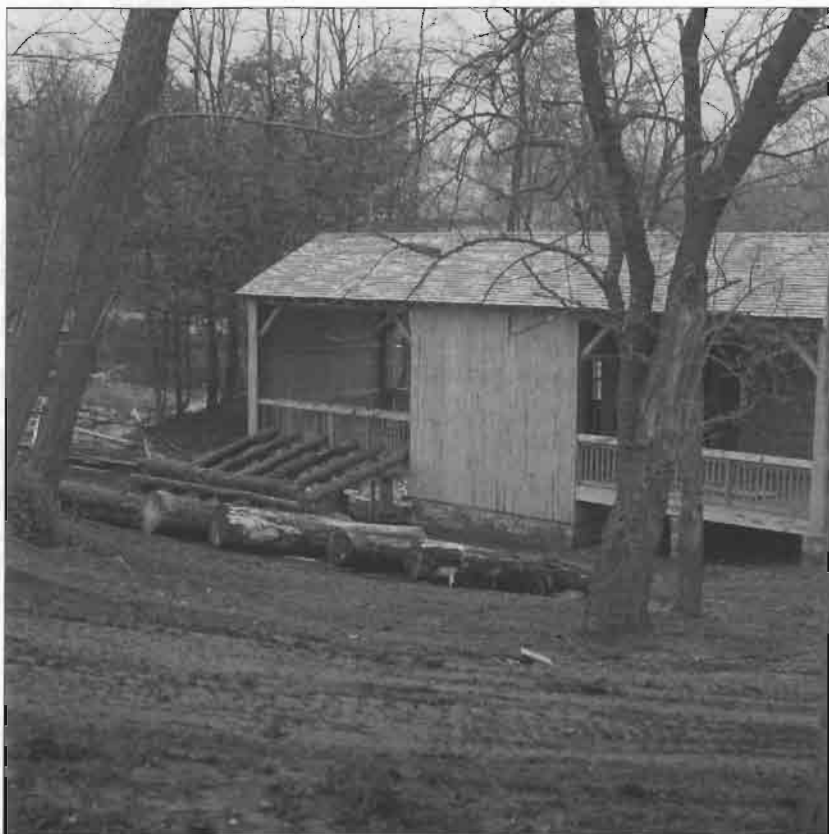
There are, however, many challenges to effective learning at historic sites. We know that the highest priority for most visitors is social. They come to the sites to share time and experiences with family and friends. Thus, the interpretive plan needs to provide avenues for social interaction.

The distractions during a tour can be many. Unfamiliar places, new people, unusual artifacts, moving from one location to another, noise from other groups, and the inevitable onset of what we call “museum fatigue” can divert attention from the central messages.

We can mitigate some of these challenges to learning by providing a variety of types of experiences. At Historic Kirtland, visitors can watch films, tour restored and replicated structures, talk to missionary guides, view artwork, study models, interact with audio/visual kiosks, and read historic markers. Even more significant, however, is our recognition that, even though visitors will long remember how they feel at Kirtland, they will be able to remember only a few main interpretive concepts. Thus, we try to create settings that will help visitors be transported back in time to “feel” Kirtland, while at the same time communicating messages that are both simple and significant.

4. Interpretation Should Be Relevant. To help visitors learn from historic sites, the messages which we present should be relevant to their lives. Interpretation should not only make some connection to

⁵ For examples of the emotional impact of visiting historic sites and the intriguing phenomenon of describing those experiences in religious terminology, see articles by James C. Cobb, Robert W. Johannsen, Michael Kammen, James M. McPherson, and Joel Williamson in *American Places: Encounters with History*, edited by William E. Leuchtenburg (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000). For a partial explanation see Rachel P. Maines and James J. Glynn, “Numinous Objects,” *Public Historian* 15, no. 1 (Winter 1993): 9–25.



The reconstructed sawmill, exterior.

them personally, but it ought to answer the larger questions about what the sites mean for them today.

Even though the sites at Historic Kirtland are filled with artifacts representing the material culture of the 1830s, the objects should not be the focus of interpretation. If Historic Kirtland were a decorative arts museum, a guide could well fill hours talking about the furnishings of the structures. One simple Windsor chair could evoke discussions of design elements, construction methods and materials, development over time, marketing and migration patterns, economic status, and daily use. These are all fascinating topics to the furniture connoisseur, but they do not answer the questions of significance for the majority of our visitors who come seeking an understanding of the roots of Mormonism. Here relevancy means provid-

ing an environment in which visitors can imagine and explore the roots of a religious faith.

5. Interpretation Should Be Appropriate. Interpretation should be appropriate to the audience, to the message, and to the sponsoring institution. A blatant example of a violation of this principle can be illustrated with the following scenario: a portrayal of Joseph Smith's experience in the Sacred Grove to include lights, smoke machines, surround sound, and holographic projections reenacting the First Vision every twenty minutes. The example is, of course, absurd, but it illustrates the principle. Such an interpretation would only invite offense or ridicule from the audience, detract from the central message, and profane the sacred.

A more practical and realistic example comes from Kirtland. There are two wonderfully intriguing industrial sites in Historic Kirtland—the reconstructed ashery and sawmill. Living history museums would jump at the chance to put such sites into operation with furnaces fired and saws at work. However, such fascinating demonstrations would overpower the messages about the religious significance of each structure. Thus, they, for the most part, sit idle—fully replicated as if they could shift into activity at any moment, but static and quiet, allowing for the discussion of the sites' roles in the law of consecration and the construction of the temple.⁶

The five principles of interpretation that I have enumerated are just the beginning. The list could be expanded to include several

⁶ This principle of appropriateness is not reserved for religious sites alone. All museums and historic sites must wrestle with the issue. There is often tension and sometimes protest when interpretation crosses the somewhat nebulous line of appropriateness. The Holocaust Museum in Washington, D.C., carefully weighed the feelings of victims and victims' families as it planned exhibits and created an interpretive plan that is emotionally draining, yet generally not offensive. Colonial Williamsburg, however, crossed the line of appropriateness in the eyes of some of its patrons when it reenacted a slave auction in 1994, attracting a small group of protestors from the NAACP and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. The National Air and Space Museum provoked widespread public outcry with its revisionist interpretation in the proposed 1994 exhibit "Crossroads: The End of World War II, The Atomic Bomb, and the Origins of the Cold War." For discussions of the challenges of appropriateness that these institutions faced see: Jeshajahu Weinberg and Rina Elieli, *The Holocaust Museum in Washington* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1995); Donald

more core principles that guide the design of an interpretive program. For instance, the focus of the interpretive message should drive the methods. If a message centers on a series of historical events or story, then the method of presentation should follow a narrative format. Similarly, whenever possible, messages should be delivered in the location where they occurred. The sawmill, not the ashery, is the place for messages about the construction of the temple because that is where lumber for the building was cut and finished. Further, interpretation should allow for as many choices by the visitor as possible. People learn best when they are in control and can choose to follow their curiosity and select activities that fit their personal learning styles. The list could go on and on, but the five core principles cited above are those that explain the central interpretive decisions at Historic Kirtland.⁷

All of these principles of interpretation are focused on one ultimate goal: that visitors to Historic Kirtland and the Kirtland Temple⁸ will learn about the early foundations of the Restoration movement. We hope that, through immersion in the physical setting, they will begin to see, feel, taste, smell, and in some way sense the essence of the people and places of significance in early Kirtland. We hope that the events that occurred here and are related on tours and in exhibits will challenge perceptions, provoke thought, generate understanding, and inspire faith. Most of all, we hope that visitors will walk away wanting to know more—for a visit to Historic Kirtland is really only part of a lifelong process of reading, exploring, studying, discovering, and learning.

Garfield, "Too Real for Comfort," *Museum News*, January/February 1995, 8–10; Mike Wallace, "The Battle of the Enola Gay," *Museum News*, July/August 1995, 40–45.

⁷ Although all of these principles can be found in the professional literature on the interpretation of historic sites, I have never seen them articulated in a concrete list. I have followed the format of Freeman Tilden in his classic book *Interpreting Our Heritage*, 3rd ed. rev. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977), which lays out six principles of interpretation for interpreters.

⁸ Visits to Historic Kirtland, developed by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and to the Kirtland Temple, owned and operated by the Community of Christ, are complementary. Both are essential to understanding the Kirtland experience.

Documenting Historic Site Restorations: Some Brief Examples from Kirtland

Mark L. Staker

POPULAR HISTORY PROFESSORS James Davidson and Mark Lytle argue:

Good historians share with magicians a talent for elegant sleight of hand. In both professions, the manner of execution conceals much of the work that makes the performance possible. Like the magician's trapdoors, mirrors, and other hidden props, historians' primary sources are essential to their task. But the better historians are at their craft, the more likely they will focus their readers' attention on the historical scene itself and not on the supporting documents.¹

But even when a riveting narrative diverts readers' attention from the tough job of nailing together small fragments of information into a unified stage, good historians still differ from magicians in that they still document their research. In a sense, behind-stage tours are always available for the interested.

Despite this long-standing tradition in writing history, these same tours have not typically been available for historic site restorations. Although our mirrors may be large, our smoke abundant, and our trapdoors many, visitors to historic sites are rarely invited backstage to explore the process that created the setting they are visiting, and they are therefore unable to appreciate the effort and understanding put into a major restoration. It all just seems like magic.

Those who have watched from the sidelines the efforts to keep the smoke bellows pumping and the levers and doors working coordinately know it takes a lot of effort to pull together the sources that make the show possible. Such was the case in Kirtland, where restoring historic sites required a deeper and broader search in the data than would typically be necessary in answering other significant

MARK L. STAKER {stakerm1@ldschurch.org} is curator at the Museum of Church History and Art. He has a Ph.D. from the University of Florida in anthropology. ©Mark L. Staker. Published by permission.

¹ James West Davidson and Mark Hamilton Lytle, *After the Fact: The Art of Historical Detection*, 3rd ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1992), 47.

historical questions because a careful restoration cannot just quietly skim over the unknowns. When *writing* history, if we don't know a detail we simply leave that information out and focus on what the historic record has to say. In contrast, if in a restored setting we were to leave a room unpainted because of uncertainty about a color, some visitors would go away thinking people in 1836 didn't paint their rooms. We could potentially give wrong information instead of no information.

Finding the best sources took the skills of many people. Elwin Robison, a professor of architecture and environmental design at Kent State University, carefully looked at surviving structures to determine the period and manner of construction, the age of tree rings on some datable supporting timbers, and original floor patterns. T. Michael Smith of the Museum of Church History and Art directed salvage archeology that helped uncover foundations, garbage pits, and associated artifacts, and, yes, even original paint colors. Church Service Missionary Lyle Briggs spent years of effort searching through property deeds to recover original land boundaries. Church Service Missionary Max Parkin helped search through property deeds and other documents to aid in understanding how the community fit together. And I spent thousands of hours searching through journals, reminiscences, newspapers, letters, property deeds, probate records, tax records, and numerous other documentary sources trying to find any and every hint of the history, use, and nature of each structure. Many others also contributed their time and talents toward an attempt to restore portions of Kirtland in 1836.

The history of the Kirtland Flats where we focused restoration efforts was long and complex. Many people lived on the prairie in the lowlands over the years, coming from a wide variety of backgrounds and bringing a wide variety of skills to the community. These settlers came and went regularly. They built, tore down, and moved structures from one place to another like so much living-room furniture. Buildings were also remodeled or reused in different contexts such as the three distinct Whitney stores. This could potentially make the story confusing or at the very least complex and uninviting.

Finding the right materials such as the color of an original coat of paint or dimensions of a foundation was sometimes as easy as looking at what remained stuck to a wall or buried in the ground, but more often it was a challenging process of piecing together data from a number of different places to understand the whole structure.

Typically, finding the right information required a lot of searching and reading. Documents played an important role in understanding the history of the Flats and its buildings. Usually these documents were available in archives, libraries, or other record depositories, but sometimes they were found in unexpected places. When Littleton Kirkpatrick, a general contractor, was scraping off paint from a door in the Revelation Room of the Johnson home, he uncovered text written in pencil but partially removed and too faded to read. We used infrared photography to recover the writing, which turned out to be instructions to the builders, placed where they could look at them while they worked.²

Occasionally other unusual document sources also played a role in the project. The 1837 Book of Mormon now on exhibit in the Johnson Inn was handed down through Parley P. Pratt's descendants and had strange characters in the flyleaf and on several pages. It turned out to be handwritten Hebrew characters transliterating words from Hebrew, English, and Swedish. You can imagine the effort it took to learn this and work the writing from one language into another. There was nothing dramatically significant in the text, but it did help us build provenance and tie that Book of Mormon to Parley P. Pratt who printed it in Kirtland with John Goodson.³

A combination of carefully looking at buildings and comparing documents helped us understand that what was, at the time, identified as the Milliken home had actually been built a decade after Nathaniel Milliken owned the property. The builder was Christopher

² What remained on the door was:

Grant me ye Lower wind. sill . . .
above ye fire Place Girder . . .
of verticals Lowe in same where . . .
glue same at where it . . .

³ The 1837 Book of Mormon donated by Irving Llewellyn Pratt Jr. had numerous phrases written on several pages. Michael Rhodes of Brigham Young University identified the characters as Hebrew and transliterated them. Jeff Svare of the Family and Church History Department of the LDS Church then worked the Swedish material into English which identified the writer as a Brother Gustaveson who was asked in the Salt Lake Valley in 1850-52 to write something for "Brother Pratt" (either Parley P. Pratt or his son Moroni).

were trying to learn about the buildings we planned to restore. Because we determined from the beginning that we would rebuild the Whitney ashery, I dug through whole libraries of materials trying to learn what was possible about the original Whitney industrial complex. Along the way, I uncovered four nineteenth-century maps of Kirtland that clearly showed an ashery building on the south side of the brook near the elbow in the stream. Based on these maps, early property records, and other occasional references, we were able to narrow the location of the ashery complex down to about a third of an acre, and a small archeological team was given two weeks to excavate and uncover the original main ashery foundations to provide information needed for a proper restoration.

As we worked on site for a day, we noticed a slight depression in the earth that suggested a building and began to concentrate our efforts there. We quickly found a partial wall, joists, and wooden flooring. We then worked feverishly, trying to uncover what we could of the structure. Not quite knowing what we should expect to find at an ashery site, we knew that another building had existed near the ashery. After we found woodworking tools, it was clear we were excavating the sawmill site. With only two days left to work, we moved east of the first building and uncovered most of the main ashery building foundation. We could not finish excavating the first site, so we quickly covered it in plastic sheeting and reburied it, presumably for future generations to consider.⁶

After we covered up the site and went home, we continued our digging but this time in documentary sources which made it clear

⁶ I participated in three digs of the ashery site and assisted with work on the Mormon Sawmill and Whitney Home sites. Archaeological excavations on the main ashery buildings were under the direction of T. Michael Smith, who was principal investigator, in June and September 2000, April 2001, and July 2001. Benjamin Pykles served as crew chief during the June session. Aerial and ground reconnaissance occurred in April 2000, and Thomas Smith did ground penetrating radar work in June 2000. Other archaeological work done near the ashery included work at the sawmill, tannery, Johnson Inn, store/school building, Martindale home, Old School House, and the Whitney Home. V. Garth Norman of ARCON assisted the project by digging several of these sites. Don Enders, senior curator of historic sites for the Museum of Church History and Art, also gave valuable assistance. Preliminary reports have been completed on most of these investigations, and final reports are in preparation.



The excavated flooring of the original sawmill.

that the sawmill played a significant role in Kirtland's early history. It was erected to help construct the Kirtland Temple and build up the city of Kirtland. It turned out that the layer of iron slag we found over much of the sawmill site was from Almon Babbitt's tenure as stake president when he converted the sawmill into an iron foundry in 1842 to provide work for the English Saints he was trying to attract to the city.⁷ We returned to the site two more times and finished the excavation, subsequently uncovering, among other things, the entire millrace, the wheelbox, a doorjamb, flooring, portions of walls, and part of a saw blade. These objects had all survived a fire and the ravages of time. Property deeds mentioned the lathes in the building. Stacks of window panes, caught in the fire and melted together, let us know that window glazing was done on location. Small turned pieces of wood, like a small medallion apparently intended for one of the temple pulpits, had jumped off the lathe and survived, trapped away from oxygen deep in the mud of the millrace. Such items helped sug-

⁷ Almon Babbitt, Letter to Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith, and William Law, 19 October 1841, Archives, Family and Church History Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City; hereafter LDS Church Archives.



Iron objects unearthed during the archaeological excavation of the sawmill site.

gest some of the things made at the site. An iron lathe tool found in the mud still held a sharp edge.

The sawmill is also an example of the occasional conflict we encountered between completely restoring a building on its original site or adjusting something slightly to meet requirements of the Army Corp of Engineers, the needs of the disabled, or reasonable safety. For example, although we uncovered the surviving threshold to an access door to the mechanical room underneath the mill and found evidence for a stairway that went down to the door, as we considered contemporary safety requirements it became clear we would have to include an obtrusive retaining wall and safety railing for something that was incidental to the entire operation. These additions would disrupt access to the entire site and hamper interpretation and understanding of the sawmill process. In response, we decided it was better to not restore the sawmill mechanical room door and keep the integrity of the rest of the site. Although we restored this sawmill in its entirety as it probably looked in 1836 before it was outfitted with a steam engine, we didn't search for or restore the lumber kiln associated with the sawmill site. As a result, the exhibit there should be considered only part of the whole operation.

Some of the buildings we restored were much easier projects than others. Our challenges with the Johnson home were largely interpretive rather than structural. After Jude Stevens purchased the home from the Johnsons, his family owned it for many generations. Because the Stevens family made only conservative changes to the home, it survived virtually intact. The family was also glad to talk with reporters, tourists, and others about their home and its significance. One of these visitors was B. H. Roberts, who visited the home in 1900, photographed it, and interviewed the family. He identified among other places the room where Joseph translated and received revelations.⁸ The Roberts visit and other sources dramatically raised our confidence that we could accurately tell the proper stories in their proper locations. We will continue to work at incorporating his information into the site interpretation.

Because the Whitney home had undergone significant remodeling over the years, it was much more challenging to restore. Heavy remodeling forced us to guess, when Samuel Whitney mentioned he whitewashed his brother's home, whether he was talking about the interior or exterior. We did not have to guess when it came to wall locations since the surviving original flooring showed where walls had been and indicated room use.

Subsequent interaction between the data on the building and historical documents helped shed significant light on various details about the Whitney family. One example of this is an improved understanding of a disagreement between Kirtland Stake President Almon Babbitt and Samuel F. Whitney, N. K.'s brother. When N. K. Whitney left Kirtland, he rented his home to Babbitt. Samuel later wrote N. K. in Nauvoo complaining that Babbitt had taken a "big cupboard" out of the home.⁹ I puzzled over why the Whitneys would have left a valuable cabinet behind in Kirtland. But as Elwin Robinson carefully looked at the original flooring, it was clear that the Whitneys had a built-in cabinet permanently attached to their parlor floor. Babbitt damaged the home when he took the cabinet out.

Besides a number of incidentals, some significant understanding also came out of the restoration of the home. A pregnant Emma

⁸ B. H. Roberts, Letter, *Deseret Evening News*, 27 September 1902, 1.

⁹ Samuel F. Whitney, Letter to N. K. Whitney, 13 January 1843, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

Smith, following her husband's instructions, had tried to stay at the Whitney home briefly while he and N. K. were out of town, only to be turned away by Ann's Aunt Sarah Smith.¹⁰ Before the home restoration, it was easy for historians to assume Aunt Sarah was motivated by religious bigotry in her insistence that Emma not stay at the home. The building actually suggests that she was motivated by concern for her own comfort. The whole Whitney family slept in one large half-story room upstairs while Aunt Sarah slept in the nine by twelve foot room on the main level. If Aunt Sarah had allowed Emma in the home, she would have been forced to share her own small bed with the pregnant woman and Emma's adopted infant daughter, Julia, an arrangement that seems uncomfortable for all concerned.

Restoration of the Whitney home also forces us to reconsider the common practice of claiming that Joseph Smith received his first revelations in Ohio in the Whitney home. At least twelve other individuals were with Joseph when he received the Law of the Lord in February 1831. However, the parlor, which was the largest space where visitors could gather, would have been so cramped for twelve people that it seems more likely that they held meetings elsewhere. The village had several large, convenient places nearby where a group of Saints could meet more comfortably, for example, the ballroom of the Peter French Inn.

We also learned new information during the restoration of the main ashery building on the Whitney property. Perhaps the most significant was that, when N. K. Whitney consecrated his ashery to the United Firm, he was contributing not a minor cottage industry but a major chemical plant. Only a small portion of the original operation was restored. Large areas of brick flooring were reburied for later restoration. The size and scope of the Whitney ashery suggests that it would have produced significant amounts of alkali and was therefore financially critical to the Church.

These incidents are just a few of the many things we learned during the restoration process. It is not possible to catalog all of the historic sources which yielded details for the restoration or code a particular item to let visitors know where we had solid data, where we

¹⁰ Elizabeth Ann Whitney, "Leaf from an Autobiography, Continued," *Woman's Exponent* 7 (1 September 1878): 51; Lavina Fielding Anderson, *Lucy's Book: A Critical Edition of Lucy Mack Smith's Family Memoir* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2001), 565.

made plausible deductions, and where we made slight adjustments for a variety of reasons; but I hope I have suggested that we made a major effort to do careful research as part of the restoration process. If we have been successful, true magic can occur when visitors feel that, for a brief moment, they understand what part of a location or historic setting may really have been like in 1836, appreciate the events that occurred on that site during the 1830s, and feel the same spirit that motivated the men and women who participated in those events.

GRANDISON NEWELL'S OBSESSION

Dale W Adams

DURING HIS TRUNCATED LIFE, Joseph Smith Jr. attracted numerous detractors. Some of the most vociferous were ministers who felt they were defending their religion from heresy or apostates who concluded that Smith misled them. Still other critics were politicians threatened by the votes of Smith's followers, newspaper editors who pandered to their readers, or individuals who lost money in business dealings with Smith or his supporters. Most of these detractors had an episodic bout with Smith, vented their anger, and then went on with their lives. Grandison Newell of Mentor, Ohio, however, was unique among early critics because he had no apparent reason for going after Smith and his followers and he continued to do so for nearly thirty years. Two decades after Smith fled from Kirtland, Newell was still trying to capture the few assets that Smith's estate in Kirtland still owned. This unfounded but apparently unshakable dislike seems to have moved beyond antipathy to what might be termed an obsession.

Numerous historians have mentioned Newell in describing events in Kirtland during the 1830s, but no one has documented his primary and obsessive role in driving Smith and many of his follow-

DALE W ADAMS {dwadams@burgoyne.com} is a lay historian in Park City, Utah. He expresses appreciation to Michele Adams and several anonymous reviewers for valuable editorial suggestions. He presented an earlier version of this paper at the Mormon History Association conference in Kirtland, Ohio, in May 2003.

ers from the Kirtland area in 1838.¹ Obsession is typically tinged with irrationality, but Newell was not otherwise known by that characteristic. Aside from his campaign against Smith and his followers, he was a hardworking, influential, and, for a time, successful entrepreneur in Kirtland and nearby Mentor. Explaining this anomaly in his character and understanding why he spent so much time and money on his obsession is problematical from a distance of 170 years. A careful examination of his actions and those of his allies, however, narrows the range of explanations for his attacks and also clarifies several curious events in the exodus of many Latter-day Saints from Kirtland.

NEWELL'S LIFE

Grandison Newell was born 2 May 1785 in Barkhamstead, Connecticut.² In 1807, at age twenty-one, he married Elizabeth (Betsy) Smith, and they lived in Winstead, Connecticut, for a dozen years where they had four children. Newell operated a foundry and bellows in Winstead where he made cast-iron bells for clocks manufactured by Riley Whiting. He was also a peddler who sold clocks and other items such as tin and pig iron. One family historian called him a born trader. On one of his peddling trips, he traveled through northern Ohio and traded goods for land in Mentor.

In 1819, at age thirty-four, Newell and his family, accompanied by two of his brothers (Theodore and Justus) and their families,

¹ Three representative examples are Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Sidney Rigdon: A Portrait of Religious Excess* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994); Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith*, 2nd ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1975); and Milton V. Backman, Jr., *The Heavens Resound: A History of the Latter-day Saints in Ohio, 1830-1838* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1983).

² Elizabeth G. Hitchcock, "Grandison Newell, A Born Trader," *Historical Society Quarterly: Lake County, Ohio* 10 (May 1968), 179-82; Mary A. Newell Hall, "Thomas Newell and His Descendants," 1878, Western Reserve Historical Society Library, Cleveland. A four-page abstract prepared by Elizabeth G. Hitchcock on Grandison Newell from this manuscript (pp. 132-38) is on file in the Lake County Historical Library, Lake County, Ohio. This and subsequent quotations from the Hall reference draw on this abstract, p. 1.

moved to northern Ohio with modest means.³ The trip took them thirty days. Newell's family stayed in Concord for four months with the Simeon Winchell family, also from Barkhamstead, while Newell built a home in nearby Mentor.⁴ Sixty years later in a letter to the editor, C. C. Bronson quotes one of the Winchell daughters as remembering that Newell was unable to pay postage due on a letter (25 cents) while staying with her parents.⁵ Over the next twenty years, nonetheless, he developed several successful businesses in Mentor and nearby Kirtland and was considered to be one of the wealthiest men in the area in the early 1830s.⁶

In addition to farming, Newell early established a pocket furnace with Chester Hart to manufacture pig iron.⁷ Fueled by charcoal, it processed ore mined from small pockets of limonite that had been deposited in nearby ponds and swamps. This furnace was the first to operate in the region. Newell's and Hart's product was manufac-

³ Grandison and Betsy had four children in Winstead: Saloma, Solomon, Orlin, and Hiram. Solomon died at about age two, before the family moved to Ohio. The Newells had four additional children in Mentor: Charles, Rollin, Lucius, and George. Rollin died when he was about one year old.

⁴ Shirley Rider, "The Winchell Family in the Western Reserve," *Lake County Historical Society Quarterly* 18 (November 1976): 5. Concord is immediately southeast of Mentor.

⁵ C. C. Bronson, "Pioneer Sketches," *Painesville Telegraph*, 30 June 1879, 3. This may have been Charles C. Bronson who, in turn, may have been the son of Edward Butler Bronson. Grandison and Edward were two of the original directors of the Geauga Bank in 1831. Bronson was also the first cashier for the bank when it opened for business on 1 January 1832. "Gauga Bank," *Ohio Star*, 10 November 1831, 2. Bronson was elected bank president on 7 January 1833. *History of Geauga and Lake County, Ohio* (Philadelphia: Williams Brothers, 1878), 216. Holcomb stated that Bronson obtained the information about the postage from his wife who was a schoolmate of one of the Winchell daughters. Henry Holcomb, "Personal and Family History 1830-1864," 120, Ms. 3368, Western Reserve Historical Society Library, Cleveland, Ohio. Henry was Newell's grandson-in-law, and Grandison and his wife lived with the Holcombs for many years.

⁶ Hall, "Thomas Newell and His Descendants," 1.

⁷ Catharine C. DeWitt, "Bog Iron in Lake County," *Lake County Historical Society Quarterly* 13 (August 1971): 251. The furnace was located just north of what was in 2003 the intersection of I-90 and the Chillicothe Road.

tured into farm tools, bar iron for blacksmiths, and cast iron bells that were shipped east to clockmaker Riley Whitney. In addition to the smelter, Newell also built a blacksmith shop to manufacture plowshares, known as the Wright Patent type, that were popular in northern Ohio.⁸ In 1840 Newell and his friend, and oft-times business partner, Jonathan Goldsmith, manufactured a dual plow that was patented and displayed as far away as New Orleans.⁹ A further sign of Newell's affluence was his purchasing for one thousand dollars twenty shares in the Geauga Bank in Painesville where he was one of the original bank directors.¹⁰

Capitalizing on his smelting income, Newell in 1829 built a sawmill and chair and cabinet facility with his partner James Fairchild.¹¹ Several pieces of furniture made in their shop are displayed in the Lake County Historical Society Museum.¹²

While managing his manufacturing enterprises, Newell also bought, sold, and traded real estate. Family historian Mary A. Newell Hall describes him as having a great facility for exchanging property.¹³ She further describes him as remarkable in many respects, despite his limited education. He was said to have a good memory, to be sprightly, to have no trouble sleeping, but to awaken easily. Newell's grandson-in-law, Henry Holcomb, further describes him as "being public spirited, full of enterprise and push, decided in his opinions and convictions, and with the manly courage to support his views."¹⁴ Reverend S. F. Whitney called Newell "a go-ahead fellow [who] carried through what he undertook. He was a public spir-

⁸ Newell sued Jethro Wood, the first inventor of the cast-iron plow, for patent infringement. Henry Holcomb claimed that the court found in Newell's favor. Holcomb, "Personal and Family History," 207.

⁹ Elizabeth G. Hitchcock, *Jonathan Goldsmith: Pioneer Master Builder in the Western Reserve* (Cleveland, Ohio: The Western Reserve Historical Society, 1980), 11.

¹⁰ *History of Geauga and Lake County*, 216.

¹¹ Hitchcock, "Grandison Newell, A Born Trader," 180. In 2003, the site of this factory was about a quarter-mile upstream from the intersection of Booth and Sperry Roads.

¹² The Lake County Museum is located in a rural area just over the county line in Geauga County.

¹³ Hall, "Thomas Newell and His Descendants," 1.

¹⁴ Holcomb, "Personal and Family History," 206.

ited man and tried to breakdown Mormonism by legal procedures."¹⁵

Displaying a pugnacious nature, Newell was often involved in legal skirmishes, both as a defendant and as a plaintiff.¹⁶ Holcomb recorded that Newell relished legal battles and was mixed up in numerous lawsuits, only a few of which involved the Latter-day Saints.¹⁷ Records with details of most of Newell's legal jousts involving justices of the peace were not conserved in local libraries. The common legal practice at the time was first to enter a complaint with the local justice of the peace. Some complaints were dismissed, withdrawn, settled, or judged at this level. Only the more contentious cases were referred to the county Court of Common Pleas that met twice a year in Chardon. Its records, which were better preserved, show that between 1821 and 1842 Newell was named in at least twelve suits. He sued several people for trespassing, was sued several times by the Bank of Geauga, and sued or was sued over business matters. Only a couple of suits involved the Latter-day Saints.

Newell reached the apex of his entrepreneurial activities about the time he turned fifty in 1835 and began openly tormenting Joseph Smith and his followers. The General Assembly of Ohio on 10 February 1835 passed a bill incorporating the Painesville and Fairport Railroad (P&FR).¹⁸ Newell and Goldsmith were the contractors who later built this three-mile line from Fairport to downtown Painesville, the second rail line built in Ohio.¹⁹ Their main challenge was bridging the wide Grand River.²⁰ This line was planned to connect with a much longer line, the Ohio Railroad Company, that was to be built from Manhattan, two miles south of present-day Toledo, to

¹⁵ S. F. Whitney, "Statement of Rev. S. F. Whitney on Mormonism," *Painesville Telegraph* ca. March 1885, in Holcomb, "Personal and Family History," 67. Whitney, a Methodist minister, was also Newel K. Whitney's brother.

¹⁶ For examples see the Court of Common Pleas in Chardon, Ohio, Record Books G through Z, 1820-45.

¹⁷ Holcomb, "Personal and Family History," 206.

¹⁸ Ohio General Assembly, "To Incorporate the Painesville and Grand River Rail-Road Company," *Laws of Ohio* 33 (1835), 43-48.

¹⁹ Lake County Historical Society, *Here Is Lake County* (Cleveland, Ohio: Howard Allen Publishers, 1946), 79.

²⁰ The site of the bridge in 2003 was the north end of North State Street near Skinner Avenue in Painesville.

Ashtabula, Ohio.²¹ The P&FR, which opened for business in October 1837, also was to connect with another proposed rail line from Painesville to Wellsville on the Ohio River.²²

If all three of these lines had been completed, they would have made Painesville a major railroad hub. Newell was one of seven prominent men who gave their personal bond guaranteeing repayment of a state loan used to finance the P&FR. Newell is also listed as one of the major shareholders. As part of what became known as the "Plunder Law" that supposedly financed the development of a number of railroads and canals in Ohio, the General Assembly lent the P&FR \$6,182 on 24 March 1837.²³ This horse-drawn line operated about four years; then a flood washed out the bridge over the Grand River in March 1841. Newell and his associates eventually defaulted on their debt, were sued by the state, and later used political connections to obtain debt forgiveness from the General Assembly of Ohio for the unpaid portion of their loan.²⁴

In addition to the P&FR, Newell surveyed a potential right-of-way for the proposed rail line from Painesville to Wellsville in

²¹ Nehemiah Allen of Willoughby was the president of this ill-fated railroad that was to be built on stilts. C. P. Leland, "The Ohio Railroad, That Famous Structure Built on Stilts," *Western Reserve Historical Society*, Tract No. 18 (15 January 1891), 265–84. Allen was also a cosponsor of the second attempt by Joseph Smith and others to obtain a state charter for the similarly ill-fated Kirtland Safety Society Bank. Dale W Adams, "Chartering the Kirtland Bank," *BYU Studies* 23 (Fall 1983): 478.

²² An interesting bit of trivia is that the first person killed in Ohio in a railroad accident was Algernon Bright Bissell, the son of Benjamin Bissell who was often Joseph Smith's lawyer. Young Bissell was run over and killed by the horse-drawn cars on this line shortly after it opened. *Painesville Evening Republican*, 19 March 1901. This newspaper clipping is located in Holcomb, "Personal and Family History," 245. After Allen's railroad and banking ventures collapsed, he turned his attention to milling in Manhattan and died in Toledo in 1861. C. P. Leland, "The Ohio Railroad," 284.

²³ The law was repealed on 17 March 1840 because of widespread fraud. In many cases, the shareholders of the ventures funded by the state put little or none of their money into the enterprises. A state audit of the P&FR venture in 1843, however, found no fraud. Auditor of State of Ohio, "Annual Report of the Auditor of State to the 41st General Assembly, 1842–43," 5 January 1843, Ohio State Historical Library, Columbus.

²⁴ The seven were Newell, Ralph Granger, Addison Hills, Peter P. San-

early 1837.²⁵ On 28 January 1836, the General Assembly of Ohio granted a charter for this line, news of which precipitated a festive celebration in Painesville.²⁶ Newell and 154 others subscribed to purchase stock in the company.²⁷ Newell enrolled for the second largest number of shares worth \$30,000 at full payment—10 percent of the project's estimated costs.²⁸ Beyond making the survey and obtaining the charter, however, little more was done on this proposed railroad. The economic turmoil that gripped the country in 1837 dried up funding and enthusiasm for railroad ventures. A Newell family legend is that Newell lost most of his wealth in these two railroad ventures and in the economic collapse of 1837.²⁹

These reverses forced Newell to sell his manufacturing busi-

ness, Jonathan F. Card, Solon Corning, and Henry Phelps. By 1844 two of these men had died and three had declared bankruptcy, leaving Newell and a partner to seek relief from their debt to the state. *History of Geauga and Lake County*, 219. General Assembly of Ohio, "For the Relief of Grandison Newell and Others," *Acts of a Local Nature Passed by the 43rd General Assembly* (Columbus, Ohio: Samuel Medary, State Printer, 1845), 67. This act cancelled the unpaid debt of \$746.19 on 10 February 1845.

²⁵ R. Higham, "Engineers Report," *Painesville Telegraph*, 12 May 1837, 1.

²⁶ "Rail-Road Celebration," *Painesville Telegraph*, 5 February 1836, 3.

²⁷ Ohio General Assembly, *An Index to All the Laws and Resolutions of the State of Ohio to 1835-36* 34 (Columbus: Ohio State Printers, 1836): 62. See announcement of the law in "Wellsville & Fairport Railroad Company," *Painesville Telegraph*, 5 February 1836, 1. The plans for the railroad called for a strap rail rather than for a solid iron rail. Newell likely would have provided the iron straps for the rail from his foundry had the project been completed.

²⁸ The largest subscriber was Charles C. Paine. Other notable subscribers were Benjamin Bissell, Horace Kingsbury, S. D. Rounds, and Newell's son Orlin. Many of the Geauga County delegates to the convention on 27 October 1835 in Salem, Ohio, where the railroad was organized were, or would become, influential politicians: C. C. Paine, Seabury Ford, Hezekiah King, Thomas Richmond, Ralph Granger, John P. Converse, Henry Phelps, P. P. Sanford, Grandison Newell, and Edward Paine Jr. Ford, Granger, Richmond, Paine, and Converse were representatives or senators at various times in the Ohio General Assembly. Ford was later elected governor. "Fairport and Wellsville Rail-Road Convention," *Painesville Telegraph*, 6 November 1835, 2; *History of Geauga and Lake Counties*, 23.

²⁹ Hall, "Thomas Newell and His Descendants," 1.

nesses. In about 1842, while only in his late fifties, he retired to farming.³⁰ In 1856, he sold his home in Mentor, and he and his wife moved in with Henry and Emily Holcomb in Painesville.³¹ Newell agreed to bequeath property to them if they would care for him, his wife, and Newell's widowed daughter, Saloma Newell Sawyer, Emily's mother.³² They maintained this arrangement through Betsy's death three years later in 1859 and Grandison's death in 1874. Betsy left a scrapbook filled with newspaper clippings, mostly about Grandison's conflict with the Saints. Henry Holcomb later annotated many of the items in her collection and deposited them, with other samples of Holcomb's writings, in the Western Reserve Historical Society Library in Cleveland. The fact that much of Betsy's scrapbook was about her husband's battles with the Saints suggests that she shared Newell's obsession. Likewise, the fact that many of Holcomb's annotations in the scrapbook comment on Mormon questions, even though Holcomb did not move to Painesville until about 1856, long after most Mormons had left the area, shows Newell's influence on Holcomb. This focus, rather than Newell's other substantial accomplishments, suggests that Newell often rehashed his battles with Smith and his followers while living for almost two decades with the Holcombs. Holcomb wrote: "[Mrs. Newell] never wearied of narrating the events that have made the early history of the Mormon Church of Kirtland so unsavory. My [Henry Holcomb] three years of intercourse with Mr. and Mrs. Newell, during her lifetime, have made

³⁰ In 1846 Newell's friend Jonathan Goldsmith tried to interest him in investing a small amount of money in land in Michigan. Newell's response was that he had too few means to do so. Hitchcock, *Jonathan Goldsmith*, 11.

³¹ In another ironic connection, Newell sold his home on the corner of Newell Street and Mentor Avenue to Benjamin Bissell, Joseph Smith's primary lawyer.

³² Newell's son-in-law, Harvey Sawyer, was Newell's partner in the foundry business for several years starting in 1837. Sawyer went west in 1852 to seek his fortune in the gold fields of California. Passing through Salt Lake City in early July he wrote to his wife Saloma from what is now Grantsville, describing conditions in Utah and teasing that "the Saints told him he could have as many spiritual wives as he pleased if he stayed." Holcomb, "Personal and Family History," 224. Harvey died in San Francisco of typhus fever on 9 November 1854, richer only in experience. Saloma passed away in Painesville on 14 October 1896.

me so familiar with these events that I have preserved printed copies of affidavits from other sources which confirm what I have many times heard orally narrated by them [Mr. and Mrs. Newell]."³³

Many Mormon antagonists in the Kirtland area were disaffected former members or ministers who objected to the new religion, its doctrine, and practices, but Newell was neither. Newell passionately expressed on many occasions his distaste for the Latter-day Saint religion and for its leaders, but there is no indication that these expressions were based on his religious convictions. Neither Newell nor his wife formally joined any religious group.³⁴ Henry Holcomb, a fervent Congregationalist, lamented that Newell lacked interest in practicing any religion until late in life.³⁵ He commented that Newell "never professed his faith by covenanting with God's people; but after the death of a son [Lucius]—in 1848, his letters breathed a Christian spirit, his Sabbath attendance at Church was regular, and to the writer [Holcomb] he expressed a Christian view."³⁶ Newell expressed some of this religious interest in a letter dated 17 January 1850 that he sent to the family of his son, George, who was living in Iowa. In it he asked "Does George attend meetings on the Sabbath and read his Bible?"³⁷

Newell continued to live with the Holcombs fifteen years after Betsy died. On 2 May 1874 he arose from the breakfast table, remarking that "he was 88 years old and had not felt better for many years."³⁸ Later in the day he took a stroll into town but was struck on the way by a runaway team of horses dragging a brace of wagon wheels. He rallied briefly from his injuries but died on 10 June 1874. He was buried in Evergreen Cemetery in Painesville.

³³ Holcomb, "Personal and Family History," 354.

³⁴ Holcomb stated that Betsy Newell had no interest in religion. Ibid. 354–55.

³⁵ Ibid., 235, 354. The Congregationalists were allied with the Presbyterians in the area. Many of the prominent Whig politicians in Geauga County belonged to these allied congregations. M. Scott Bradshaw, "Joseph Smith's Performance of Marriages in Ohio," *BYU Studies* 39 (2000): 42.

³⁶ Holcomb, "Personal and Family History," 51. Newell's son Lucius died in Painesville on 21 October 1848 while another son, Orlin, was also seriously injured in a construction accident about the same time.

³⁷ Ibid., 235.

³⁸ Ibid., 50.

NEWELL'S CONFLICT WITH THE MORMONS

After the conversion to Mormonism of Sidney Rigdon and a number of members of his Mentor congregation in late 1830, Joseph Smith Jr. and many of his New York followers began to settle in the Kirtland area in early 1831.³⁹ Aggressive missionary labors and a call to gather resulted in the population of Kirtland Township tripling from 1830 to 1838 to about three thousand inhabitants, about two-thirds of which in 1838 were Smith's followers.⁴⁰ Because many of these immigrants were poor, local residents soon objected to their coming because of possible legal obligations to provide assistance to those who were indigent. Some locals also objected to the Mormon religion and to the tilt in political power caused by the bloc voting patterns of the new immigrants. Until the Mormons—who voted mostly Democrat—arrived, Whigs dominated local politics. Since Newell was a Whig and had part of his manufacturing facilities in Kirtland Township, even though he lived several miles north in Mentor, he most likely was annoyed by the new settlers soon after they began arriving in 1831.

Newell soon demonstrated his explicit disdain for the Latter-day Saints.⁴¹ As Parkin notes, "Newell was a maleficent critic of Joseph Smith and his people and like others refused to employ any of them in his factory and shops."⁴² Although Newell was joined in this economic boycott by several other local businessmen, his embargo

³⁹ For more details on the Latter-day Saint history in Kirtland see Backman, *The Heavens Resound*; Brodie, *No Man Knows My History*, 98–207; Robert Kent Fielding, "Growth of the Mormon Church in Kirtland, Ohio" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1957); Marvin C. Hill, Keith Rooker, and Larry T. Wimmer, "The Kirtland Economy Revisited: A Market Critique of Sectarian Economics," *BYU Studies* 17 (Summer 1977): 389–482; and Max H. Parkin "The Nature and Causes of Internal and External Conflict of the Mormons in Ohio between 1830 and 1838" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1966).

⁴⁰ Backman, *The Heavens Resound*, 140.

⁴¹ According to Hall, "Thomas Newell and His Descendants," 2: "Kirtland, a few miles from Mr. (Grandison) Newells [*sic*] residence, was the birthplace of that modern abomination, Mormonism. . . . They didn't like Mr. Newell and he didn't like them and was determined to root them out."

⁴² Max H. Parkin, *Conflict at Kirtland* (Provo, Utah: Department of Seminaries and Institutes of Religion, Brigham Young University, 1967),

was the most telling since he employed the largest number of men in Mentor and Kirtland.⁴³

In the summer of 1833 Newell began serious attempts to rid the area of the menace posed by this new religious group.⁴⁴ After hearing D. P. Hurlbut claim that he could prove Smith plagiarized the Book of Mormon, Newell decided to aggressively support his quest.⁴⁵ Winchester describes Newell's involvement as follows: "His [Hurlbut's] auditors were much elated at the idea [of finding the true origin of the Book of Mormon], and one of them a Campbellite [sic], by name, Newel, and a notorious mobocrat in the bargain, advanced the sum of three hundred dollars, for the prosecution of the work; others of them contributed for the same purpose."⁴⁶ Newell's investment yielded a handful of derogatory statements about Smith and his family, but nothing that proved plagiarism.⁴⁷ Newell was further disappointed when the book published by E. D. Howe in late 1834,

162. Caroline Crosby made the more general point: "None of the businessmen [in Kirtland] would employ a Mormon scarcely on any occasion." Caroline Barnes Crosby, "Memoirs and Diary," 24, MS 8151, Archives, Family and Church History Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter LDS Church Archives).

⁴³ Non-Mormons in Kirtland owned the saw mills, the grist mills, and the carding, fulling, and clothing factory. Mormons eventually operated a small tannery, a shoe shop, a forge, and a pottery shop. Fielding, "Growth of the Mormon Church in Kirtland, Ohio," 169.

⁴⁴ In describing Newell's activities during this period, one inhabitant recorded: "[a] local foe of the sect [Mormons] was Grandison Newell . . . who in later years was described as the Attila the Hun to the Saints of Mormon." *Kilbourne Scrapbook*, 1:368, Lake County Historical Society Library, Lake County, Ohio.

⁴⁵ Dale W Adams, "Doctor Philastus Hurlbut: Originator of Derogatory Statements about Joseph Smith Jr.," *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 20 (2000): 76–93, provides details on Hurlbut's claim.

⁴⁶ Benjamin F. Winchester, *The Origins of the Spaulding Story* (Philadelphia: Brown, Bicking & Guilpert Printers, 1840), 9.

⁴⁷ Newell chose to keep his support of Hurlbut clandestine, demonstrating a pattern he would follow in several of his later attacks on the Mormons. Ten other residents of the Mentor-Kirtland area listed their names as comprising a committee that was looking into the origins of the Book of Mormon. "To The Public," *Painesville Telegraph*, 31 January 1834, 3. In a statement given almost fifty years later, E. D. Howe is quoted as saying: "In

based partly on material collected by Hurlbut, met with indifference.⁴⁸

Some evidence suggests that Newell was the leader of the sustained harassment of the Saints that emanated from Mentor. His leadership role was clearly documented by the court decision resulting from his actions on 7 April 1835 when Parley Pratt and a companion attempted to preach on the front steps of the Mentor Campbellite church.⁴⁹ Before the scheduled time for them to speak Newell took the lead, cornered Pratt in the local tavern, and warned him that the two missionaries would not be allowed to preach there or anywhere else in the township. According to Pratt, Newell claimed that he had received a "revelation from God that you shall not preach here to-day." Instead, Newell said he and his companions had been called by the "voice of the people" to tell Pratt not to preach in Mentor. Despite the threat, Pratt climbed the church steps and began to read from the latter part of Third Nephi in the Book of Mormon, but was soon shouted down by a crowd of more than a hundred mostly hostile residents.⁵⁰ Newell then stepped forward as leader of a

1833 and 34 Grandison Newell, Orrin [Orris] Clapp, Nathan [Warren] Corning of Mentor and many leading citizens of Kirtland and Geauga Co. employed and defrayed the expense of Doctor Philastus Hurlbut." E. D. Howe, Statement to A. B. Deming, 8 April 1885, Arthur B. Deming File, Mormon Collection, Chicago Historical Society Library, Chicago.

⁴⁸ Hurlbut received four or five hundred copies of the book for his efforts. Much later his wife recalled he could not find buyers and had to liquidate many of the books at a sharp discount in Buffalo, New York. Maria Sheldon Woodbury Hurlbut, statement, 15 April 1885, typescript, Deming File, Mormon Collection.

⁴⁹ Parley P. Pratt, "A Short Account of A Shameful Outrage Committed by a Part of the Inhabitants of the Town of Mentor upon the Person of Elder Parley P. Pratt While Delivering A Public Discourse upon the Subject of the Gospel," 7 April 1835, pamphlet, LDS Church Archives. Years later President-to-be James A. Garfield and his wife would regularly attend this church. Interviewed in Mentor shortly after he was elected president, Garfield is quoted as "expressing his utter abhorrence of the Mormons and their doctrine, and hinted at his future course concerning them after his inauguration [in 1881]." Ellen E. Dickson, *New Light on Mormonism* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1885), 55.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 3. He seems to be sarcastically quoting the Book of Mormon,

quasi-militia group and drove the pair out of Mentor at gunpoint and in a hail of eggs.⁵¹

Pratt sued for damages in the October 1835 session of the Court of Common Pleas, with the jury deciding in Pratt's favor. A Chardon newspaper summarized the trial:

The defendant [Newell] acted as captain of a company, who, with drums fifes, trumpets, &c., marched back and forth before the stand chosen by the preacher [Pratt], and saluted him with music and bows; some, in the rear of the company, also pelted him with eggs until he was well besmeared;—to recover damages for which, the suit was brought. It was proved that defendant [Newell] issued orders to march, and halt, and keep time, but gave no orders to fire. The jury, however, came to the conclusion, that, holding them under military command, he [Newell] was responsible for their acts, and returned a verdict against him for forty-seven dollars damage.⁵²

Newell appealed the decision to a panel of traveling appeals judges, who reversed the verdict. Pratt then filed for a new trial. The case was later settled out of court with Pratt and Newell sharing court expenses.

Newell's leadership in the Pratt affair suggests him as a logical (though speculative) candidate for fomenting the earlier harassment

in which "voice of the people" appears approximately twenty-five times. See, e.g., Mosiah 22:1, 29:2, 26, 27, 29. The church was located at the intersection of Center Street and Mentor Avenue in Mentor.

⁵¹ Irwin Cullen Hodges, "Lynch Law," Letter to the Editor, *Painesville Telegraph*, 15 January 1874, 3. Hodges implies that Newell had a quasi-military title: "Captain Newell at once formed his men in double file, headed by a rather noisy band."

⁵² "Pratt v. Newell, the Court of Common Pleas," *Chardon Spectator & Geauga Gazette*, 30 October 1835, 2. This trial is also discussed in Edwin Brown Firmage and Richard Collin Mangrum, *Zion in the Courts: A Legal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints 1830-1900* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1988), 53. In a statement prepared fifty years later, John C. Downen, who was justice of the peace in Kirtland in 1835 and a non-Mormon, stated that Newell hated him. Newell's animus may have stemmed from Downen's support of Pratt's suit against Newell. John C. Downen, Statement, 2 January 1885, typescript, Deming File, Mormon Collection.

that dogged temple-building efforts in Kirtland from 1833 to 1836.⁵³ In 1833 and during the first part of 1834, vandals on numerous occasions ravaged the work site, attempted to burn the structure, and tore down some of the walls. The problem became so serious in the early part of 1834 that night guards were stationed on the building site. Heber C. Kimball noted in his diary: "Our enemies were raging and threatening destruction upon us, and we had to guard ourselves night after night, and for weeks were not permitted to take off our clothes and were obliged to lay with fire locks in our arms."⁵⁴ Early in the morning of 8 January 1834, vigilantes from Mentor parked a cannon about a half mile northwest of Kirtland and fired thirteen rounds of shot in the direction of the temple.⁵⁵ Whether Newell was personally involved or not, other actions that can be ascribed to him suggest that he might logically have had a hand in these events.

Rumors of Mentor-based vigilante action continued to circulate,⁵⁶ keeping the temple builders in a constant state of anxiety. In addition to guarding the temple, bodyguards were provided for Joseph Smith during most of his stay in Kirtland, and occasionally for Sidney Rigdon.

Mentor had the reputation of being a hotbed of anti-Mormon sentiment, almost certainly in response to overt incidents like Pratt's egging, the cannon fusillade, and harassment of Smith and his followers as they passed through the village on their way to Painesville. On 2 December 1835 when Smith took his family by sleigh to visit friends in Painesville, he relates that, on Mentor Street, they

⁵³ Several other prominent anti-Mormons in Mentor were deacon/judge Orris Clapp, Warren Corning, and Elias Randall. None of them, however, joined Newell in his other legal or published verbal attacks on the Mormons. Leaders in the Mormon community assumed Newell was the leader of the anti-Mormon vigilantes in Mentor. Newel K. Whitney, for example, stated under oath during the *Newell v. Smith* trial in early June 1837 that "he has heard others say and has said himself, that if Newell should attack them at the head of a mob, he should be the first to suffer." "State of Ohio vs. Joseph Smith Jr.," *Painesville Telegraph*, 9 June 1837, 2.

⁵⁴ Quoted in Roger D. Launius, *The Kirtland Temple: A Historical Narrative* (Independence: Herald Publishing House, 1986), 54.

⁵⁵ Parkin, "The Nature and Causes of Internal and External Conflict," 259.

⁵⁶ Backman, *The Heavens Resound*, 155.

overtook a team with two men on the sleigh. I politely asked them to let me pass, they bawled out . . . do you get any revelation lately, with an addition of blackguard that I did not understand. This is a fair sample of the character of Mentor Street inhabitants who are ready to abuse and scandalize men who never laid a straw in their way, and in fact those whose faces they never saw, and who [they] cannot bring an accusation against of a temporal or spiritual nature.⁵⁷

Perhaps Newell was fully occupied with railroad ventures in 1836 or maybe he was lying low after his court skirmish with Pratt, because it was not until early 1837 that he again took documented action against the Mormons. The opening of the Kirtland Safety Society Bank and the subsequent issuing of money-like scrip without a state charter presented Newell with a vulnerability he aggressively exploited. Within a month of the bank's opening in early January, Newell hired S. D. Rounds to front for him in a suit against Joseph Smith Jr. and other Church leaders for issuing money illegally.

Newell family historian Mary A. Newell Hall quoted Grandison as saying: "Samuel D. Rounds, the complainant, I bought off, and gave him \$100. I have been to all the vexation and troubles and paid all costs from the first commencement. The trouble and expense from first to last with the Mormons has cost me more than \$1,000 to rid them from their stronghold in Kirtland, Geauga County, State of Ohio."⁵⁸

Rounds played only a small role in Kirtland's history. He was born in Boston about 1807, lived for a time in Lewis County, New York, then moved to Painesville, Ohio about 1834.⁵⁹ By the time of the 1840 U.S. Census, Rounds was living near two of his brothers in Medina, Ohio, about fifty miles southwest from Painesville. In 1841 he moved to Fulton County, Illinois, and then in 1856 to Bloomington, Illinois, where he lived for the remainder of his life. Samuel

⁵⁷ Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1984), 95.

⁵⁸ Hall, "Thomas Newell and His Descendants," 3-4.

⁵⁹ *Portrait and Biographical Album of McLean County, Illinois* (Chicago: Chapman Brothers, 1887), 322. Several issues of the *Painesville Telegraph* in the summer of 1834 list Sam Rounds as having letters with postage due in the Painesville Post Office, suggesting that he moved to Painesville about this time.

and his two sons, named Enoch and John after his brothers, laid brick for a living.⁶⁰

Like Newell, Rounds was familiar with the Geauga Courthouse. County court records list Rounds, on 31 March 1835, as suing in Chardon over an unpaid debt.⁶¹ The suit was settled out of court. In 1837, Rounds was sued for a debt of \$323.24; the court found for the plaintiff, a judgment that Rounds unsuccessfully appealed. Late in 1837, he lost another court case when he and another man were jointly sued over a debt of \$173.25 in the Court of Common Pleas in Chardon.⁶² These two judgments against Rounds left him owing about \$250, a major financial burden when the country was gripped by a depression.⁶³

A further indication of Rounds's financial problems in 1837 is suggested by an entry in a land sale recording.⁶⁴ Rounds's brother, Enoch, provisionally transferred ownership of land in Painesville to Joseph Curtis. A condition of the sale was that Samuel could void the sale by completing masonry work for Curtis within one year (by 13 November 1838). There is no record of voiding, so Rounds apparently did not complete the masonry work, suggesting he may have moved to Medina soon after his suit with Smith to distance himself from creditors.

No documents of which I am aware explain Newell's relationship to Rounds, so it is unclear why he hired Rounds to file the suit.

⁶⁰ Normal Genealogical Society, *Gleanings from the Heart of the Corn Belt* 7 (1973): 110.

⁶¹ Court of Common Pleas for Geauga County, Execution Docket, Vol. F, 276, Chardon. Rounds was suing George E. H. Day.

⁶² Court of Common Pleas for Geauga County, Common Pleas Records, Vol. U, 462, Chardon. The plaintiff was John W. Oakley.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, Vol. U, 422–423. Rounds's co-defendant was Jonathan Hoyt; the plaintiffs were Henry and Franklin Williams. Representing Hoyt and Rounds was James H. Paine, a lawyer who often represented Newell. Rounds may have used the funds paid to him by Newell to pay Paine. According to *ibid.*, Vol. G, 115, the local sheriff was still trying to clear the books of Rounds's and Hoyt's obligations in 1845.

⁶⁴ Deed Records, Geauga County, No. 24, 563–64, Chardon. Enoch Rounds owned property in both Willoughby and Painesville. He and his wife moved to Medina, Ohio, where Enoch died at age thirty-six in 1852. Samuel's older brother, John, a prominent citizen of Medina, died in 1871 at age fifty-six.

Perhaps the fact that a jury of Newell's peers had disapproved of his vigilante leadership against Pratt made him resolve to be more covert in future legal actions against the Mormons. Certainly, this is the plan he followed in 1859 when he asked son-in-law Henry Holcomb to front for him in legal transactions involving Joseph Smith's estate (discussed below). Nor is it possible to document why Newell selected Rounds in particular. Since Rounds was in the construction business, he may have been involved with Newell's railroad building. Or, Rounds might have been associated with Newell's son, Orlin, who was also in the construction business.

Approaching the problem from Rounds's perspective is equally unrewarding. No documentation explains why Rounds agreed to act on Newell's behalf, although Round's personal financial problems are probably a reasonable explanation. Rounds filed the suit in his name and for the State of Ohio in early February. The case was carried over from the March 1837 term of the Geauga County Court of Common Pleas to October, possibly to allow the lawyers time to prepare their cases.⁶⁵ When the case was tried in late October, Smith and Rigdon were found guilty and fined \$1,000 each for illegal banking, a judgment they appealed.⁶⁶ It was this judgment that eventually forced them to flee from Kirtland on a bitterly cold night in January 1838, before the appeal was heard.

Between the time when he filed the bank suit by proxy and the time that Smith and Rigdon fled from Kirtland nearly a year later, Newell mounted numerous legal and verbal attacks on Smith and other Church leaders.⁶⁷ Perhaps the most significant was a celebrated suit against Smith for attempted murder, which Newell lost 3

⁶⁵ Elizabeth Hitchcock mentions that Rounds/Newell hired Sherlock Andrews of Cleveland, a relatively high-powered lawyer, to prosecute the case with the assistance of Reuben Hitchcock of Painesville. Reuben later became a prominent judge in Ohio. Elizabeth's husband, Peter, was Reuben's great-great grandson. Mrs. Peter S. Hitchcock, "Joseph Smith and the Kirtland Temple," *Historical Society Quarterly, Lake County, Ohio* 7 (November 1965): 130.

⁶⁶ Firmage and Mangrum, *Zion in the Courts*, 55–58.

⁶⁷ Possibly during this period, Newell hired the teenage son of Jonathan Goldsmith to spy on the Mormons. J. F. Goldsmith, "Statement," *Painesville Telegraph*, ca. May 1885, newspaper clipping in Holcomb, "Personal and Family History," 45. In this clipping, Goldsmith states that

June 1837.⁶⁸ In an editorial published 6 July 1837, the *Painesville Republican*, a Democrat paper, criticized Newell and blamed him for persecuting Smith and his followers. The editorial accused him of filing his suit before the justice of the peace in Painesville rather than where he lived in Mentor because he expected to receive preferential treatment from Justice Talcott Flint. The writer of the editorial also accused Newell of persecuting the Saints for political reasons, since most of them were Democrats, while many of the people in the area, including Newell, were Whigs.

Newell's seething anger against the Mormons was exposed in three diatribes he issued in the *Painesville Telegraph* between the middle of May and the end of June 1837.⁶⁹ In the first publication, an open letter to Sidney Rigdon, he charged:

Your moral course is so serpentine, so crooked that the devil himself might be puzzled to follow you, yet the fear of Sherifs and constables has been a ghost on your track. No Wonder. You have committed such incredible wickedness in pretending to direct revelations from Heaven, in aiding Jo Smith in ruining so many deluded but innocent families—in giving countenance to assassins, and swindling [the] community by means of your rag money, that it is not at all surprising, that the Sherif with the appropriate implements for execution should constantly be present to your imagination, and that you should undergo nightly in your dreams the merited punishment of your atrocious deeds.⁷⁰

In his third letter, Newell declares: "It was against the leaders in

"Grandison Newell and his father [Jonathan Goldsmith] paid me one dollar a night to watch and see what the Mormons did."

⁶⁸ A partial transcript of the trial was published in "The State of Ohio vs. Joseph Smith Jr.," *Painesville Telegraph*, 9 June 1837, 2. General Charles C. Paine, the Whig leader in the county, informally assisted Newell in the suit. Firmage and Mangrum, *Zion in the Courts*, 55. The fact that the trial judge, Van R. Humphrey, was a Democrat, as were most Saints, added to Newell's complaints about the outcome of the trial.

⁶⁹ Grandison Newell, "To Sidney Rigdon—Letter No. 1," *Painesville Telegraph*, 19 May 1837, 3; Grandison Newell, "To Sidney Rigdon—Letter No. 2," *Painesville Telegraph*, 26 May 1837, 3; Grandison Newell, "Mr. Editor," *Painesville Telegraph*, 30 June 1837, 3.

⁷⁰ Fielding, "Growth of the Mormon Church in Kirtland, Ohio," 254, notes that "Sidney Rigdon kept the issue alive by entering a ten thousand

the imposition that I directed my opposition, not on account of their religion, but because they used a religious cloak to defraud ignorant and honest men."⁷¹ The fact that Newell refused to hire Latter-day Saints or even have business dealings with any, however, indicates that his animosity extended to the entire religious group, not just to its leaders. Holcomb added: "Mr. Newell put all Mormons in two classes: the crafty scheming leaders, and the ignorant deluded followers."⁷²

Newell accompanied these verbal broadsides with a scorched-earth legal attack on Smith and Rigdon, an attack he foretold in his first published letter to Rigdon where he twice mentioned sheriffs chasing Rigdon. Smith and Rigdon, accompanied by Thomas B. Marsh and Albert P. Rockwood, drove through Painesville on 27 July 1837 on their way to Fairport where they planned to board a boat for Canada. In Painesville, Smith was served sequentially with six warrants, arrested five times, and taken to the justice of the peace who dismissed each case one after the other for lack of evidence.⁷³ After the sixth arrest, Smith was released on a bond posted by Anson Call. These impediments consumed the whole day. Smith and Rigdon returned home to Kirtland that night and, the next day, avoided Painesville by traveling east to Ashtabula, where they took a boat to Canada.⁷⁴

Five weeks later when Smith and Rigdon returned from Canada, they stopped in Painesville to visit their lawyer, Benjamin Bissell.⁷⁵ While they were taking refreshment in his office, a group of vigilantes gathered outside looking for the pair. Bissell convinced Smith and Rigdon to escape out the back door. They made their way on foot through woods and swamps to Kirtland, avoiding the danger-

dollar libel law suit against Newell for certain false, scandalous and defamatory words written, published and printed by Newell." Rigdon, however, fled from the area in early 1838 before his case could be tried.

⁷¹ Newell, "Mr. Editor," 3.

⁷² Holcomb, "Personal and Family History," 42.

⁷³ Parkin, *Conflict at Kirtland*, 210. See also Anson Call, untitled and undated document about the events of 27 July 1837, MS 313, LDS Church Archives.

⁷⁴ Joseph Smith et al., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, edited by B. H. Roberts, 7 vols., 2nd ed. rev. (1902-12, 1932; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1951 printing), 2:502-3.

⁷⁵ Call, statement, n.d.; Parkin, *Conflict at Kirtland*, 210.

ous road through Mentor that they had reason to believe was patrolled by vigilantes. It took them all night to reach Kirtland, with Smith carrying Rigdon part of the way.

This event raises the question of how a “spontaneous” mob could form so quickly without prior notice. The timing strongly suggests an informant within the Latter-day Saint community who leaked Smith’s travel schedule to someone, possibly Newell, who in turn, orchestrated the harassment. Otherwise, how could Newell (or anyone else in Painesville) have known the exact times Smith would be passing through Painesville, arrange for the Painesville constable to serve the warrants, and organize groups of vigilantes in Painesville and Mentor to waylay Smith and Rigdon on their return? Other evidence (discussed below) confirms that Newell had insider informants. Although no documentation specifically ties Newell to the blizzard of warrants in Painesville, he had the motive, the means, and the contacts. Furthermore, it fits the pattern of both his past and future behavior.

The judgment against Smith and Rigdon in late October 1837 gave Newell his first legal victory over the Saints. The court acknowledged Newell’s clandestine role in the suit when it later assigned a judgment to him to recover the prosecutor’s share of the fine.⁷⁶ In early December, Newell pressed his advantage by obtaining a lien on the Church printing facility and its contents, located immediately west of the Kirtland Temple.⁷⁷ The temple itself may have been beyond Newell’s reach because it had been mortgaged earlier to obtain

⁷⁶ The Geauga County Execution Docket shows that Newell recovered \$600 from the sheriff’s sale of the Kirtland printing facility on 16 January 1838. The facility was sold to a dissenting Mormon, a Mr. Million, but on the evening of the sale the building was destroyed by fire. Fielding, “Growth of The Mormon Church in Kirtland, Ohio,” 284-85.

⁷⁷ *History of the Church*, 2:528. To protect his claims, Newell hired a guard for the print shop, arming him with a shotgun borrowed from Christopher Quinn. Despite these precautions, an arsonist set fire to the shop, damaging it severely. Newell later paid Quinn \$12 for the shotgun destroyed in the fire. Holcomb, “Personal and Family History,” 50. Benjamin F. Johnson, *My Life’s Review: Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin Johnson* (Provo, Utah: Grandin Book Company, 1997), 22, claimed that Lyman R. Sherman, his brother-in-law and also a Mormon, set the fire.

credit from Mead, Stafford, and Company, a New York firm.⁷⁸ This lien authorized Newell—even though he was not listed on the suit as its initiator—to collect half the fine levied against Smith and Rigdon as his reward for bringing and prosecuting the case.⁷⁹ The remaining portion of the fine was to be paid to the state.

On 12 January 1838 Newell delivered the coup de grace when the Kirtland constable, excommunicated apostle Luke Johnson, arrested Smith and Rigdon. Many years later, once more a Mormon, Johnson penned this account of the episode:

January 12, 1838, I learned that Sheriff Kimball was about to arrest Joseph Smith on a charge of illegal banking and knowing that it would cost him an expensive lawsuit, and perhaps end in imprisonment, I went to the French farm where he then resided and arrested him on an execution for his person, in the absence of property to pay a judgment of \$50, which I had in my possession at the time which prevented Kimball from arresting him. Joseph settled the execution, and thanked me for my interference and started that evening for Missouri.⁸⁰

Smith later recorded that a mob pursued him for a long way after he and Rigdon left Kirtland by night, among them a man named Lyon.⁸¹ Years later, Newell bragged that no such warrant was issued and that he simply spooked Smith and Rigdon out of town, possibly

⁷⁸ James Harrison Kennedy, *Early Days of Mormonism: Palmyra, Kirtland, and Nauvoo* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1888), 160.

⁷⁹ Newell was not the only one who sued Smith during this period. Between the middle of June 1837 and April 1839, sixteen other lawsuits involving financial claims were filed in the Chardon court against Joseph Smith. Firmage and Mangrum, *Zion in the Courts*, 58.

⁸⁰ Luke Johnson, "History of Luke Johnson," *Millennial Star* 27 (7 January 1865): 5.

⁸¹ *History of the Church*, 3: 2–3. After all they had been through, Smith and Rigdon were justified in being a bit paranoid about mobs following them. However, it seems unlikely that vigilantes followed them—or followed them very far. Not only was the weather extremely cold but Smith and Rigdon stayed in New Portage, about fifty miles south of Kirtland for almost a week where their wives and children joined them before continuing on to Missouri.

including paying Lyon and others who were migrating west to spread rumors about vigilantes following Smith and Rigdon.⁸²

The departure of the two leaders did not dampen the legal onslaught on the Mormons. Almost immediately, warrants were issued for the arrest of at least three additional leaders on the charge of performing marriages without a license: Joseph Smith Sr., Don Carlos Smith, and Frederick G. Williams.⁸³ Don Carlos avoided arrest, but Williams was arrested and incarcerated in the Willoughby jail several miles west of Kirtland. Constable Luke Johnson, ordained an apostle in 1835 but excommunicated in April 1838, arrested Joseph Smith Sr., about a week after Joseph Jr. left town.⁸⁴ Johnson and John F. Boynton, another excommunicated apostle

⁸² Without citing a source, J. H. Kennedy, *Early Days of Mormonism: Palmyra, Kirtland, and Nauvoo*, 168, wrote: "There came to his ears [Joseph Smith] one day that Grandison Newell, his old enemy, was on his way to Chardon for a warrant for Rigdon and himself [Smith] on a charge of fraud in connection with the late bank. . . . The rumor had no foundation in fact, although there were many who desired such arrests made. Newell used to relate the story with great gusto, and tell at length how he ran the Mormons out of the country." Possibly drawing on Kennedy, in an undocumented statement, Fawn Brodie, *No Man Knows My History*, 207, states: "Grandison Newell had secured a warrant for his arrest on a charge of banking fraud, Joseph knew that this was the finish and fled in the night with Rigdon."

⁸³ The writ against Joseph Sr. was sworn out by John C. White. Johnson, "History of Luke Johnson," 6. I was unable to identify the authors of the complaints against Don Carlos Smith and Williams.

⁸⁴ As Bradshaw, "Joseph Smith's Performance of Marriages in Ohio," has documented, LDS leaders should not have been charged with performing illegal marriages. Under the 1824 law then in force, "It shall be lawful for any ordained minister of any religious society or congregation, within this state [Ohio], who has, or may hereafter, obtain a license for that purpose, as hereinafter provided, or for any justice of the peace in his county, or for the several religious societies, agreeably [*sic*] to the rules and regulations of their respective churches, to join together as husband and wife, all persons not prohibited by this act." General Assembly of the State of Ohio, *Acts of a General Nature Enacted, Revised, and Ordained to be Printed at the First Session of The Twenty-ninth General Assembly of the State of Ohio* (Columbus, Ohio: Olmstead & Bailhache, 1831), 429–31; emphasis mine. Clearly, this section allows religious groups to determine their own arrangements for a lawful marriage, in addition to the alternatives of being married by a licensed minister or a jus-

(1835–37), helped Smith escape through a window in the town office before the justice of the peace convened the hearing. Johnson then locked the window and claimed that Smith's disappearance had been effected through supernatural means.⁸⁵ Joseph Sr. immediately followed his son Joseph south to Portage County, Ohio. It is noteworthy that Johnson also helped Frederick G. Williams escape from jail in Willoughby.

I could find no documentation linking Newell with these vexatious warrants for performing a marriage without a license. Nonetheless, the timing seems suspicious. These warrants were filed immediately after Smith and Rigdon were scared out of town by a rumor about still another warrant for illegal banking that Newell later admitted was his doing. Since information about marriages performed by Mormon elders almost certainly required insider information, I conjecture that either Newell's Mormon "mole" took action on his own or, more likely, supplied information upon which Newell took action. Again, Newell seems to be the most likely candidate with the motive, pattern of behavior, and contacts to do so.

Twenty-one years after Smith left Kirtland, Newell still was

tice of the peace. Despite the precise wording of this act, however, local interpretation of this law and the wording on the marriage licenses specified that only licensed ministers or justices of the peace could perform lawful marriages. John C. Downen, the Democrat justice of the peace in Kirtland (1833–39) and a Methodist, in 1885 described his involvement in marriages in Kirtland: "The Mormons were not permitted to marry couples. They often had me perform the legal marriage ceremony and afterward Joe Smith would, as he [said], marry them according to the gospel." Downen, "Statement," 4. In 1835, Sidney Rigdon was harassed for performing marriages and later was denied a new license to perform marriages because he was a Mormon but was absolved of a crime when he produced a ministerial license issued while he was a Campbellite minister. That license was, however, clearly invalid since, according to the section of the 1824 marriage law quoted above, the minister's license is valid only as he represents the same religion which issued the license—which Rigdon did not. The case against him was dismissed because the prosecution could not produce any written minutes showing he had been officially expelled from the Campbellite church. "Sidney Rigdon," *Chardon Spectator and Geauga Gazette*, 30 October 1835, 2.

⁸⁵ Johnson, "History of Luke Johnson," 6.

hounding the Smith family through the legal system.⁸⁶ In early 1859, Newell asked John R. French, the state representative from Painesville, to introduce a bill, which the Ohio General Assembly passed on 10 March. It authorized Newell to acquire and sell property in Kirtland still owned by the Smith estate as compensation for the costs Newell incurred in "his" bank suit against Smith and Rigdon in 1837.⁸⁷ The bill authorized Newell to collect the half of the fine levied against Smith and Rigdon that had not been paid to the state. By passing this act, the General Assembly inadvertently acknowledged that Newell had instigated the suit for illegal banking suit against Smith and Rigdon in 1837.⁸⁸

Holcomb acted as the front man for Newell in this transaction, further evidence that Newell preferred to avoid public identification with anti-Mormon activities. Showing he had absorbed Newell's views about the Mormons, Holcomb said, "I advised him to raze the temple and sell the stone: as this was the surest way to dispose of the Mormon business in this part of the country. But, in reply, he [Newell] said the materials wouldn't sell for enough for tearing the temple down."⁸⁹

NEWELL'S INFORMANT

As I have suggested earlier, events in 1837 and early 1838 indi-

⁸⁶ Holcomb, "Personal and Family History," 377.

⁸⁷ House Bill No. 444, General Assembly of the State of Ohio, *Acts of a General Nature and Local Laws and Joint Resolutions passed by the Fifty-Third General Assembly of the State of Ohio at its Second Session* (Columbus: Richard Nevins, State Printer, 1859), 271; General Assembly of the State of Ohio, *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Ohio*, 53rd General Assembly, 59 (1859), 512; and General Assembly of the State of Ohio, *Journal of the Senate of the State of Ohio*, 53rd General Assembly, 55 (1859), 456. The property in question was the Kirtland Temple and several other parcels of land. See Holcomb, "Personal and Family History," 76–77, for more details on Newell's sale of the Kirtland Temple.

⁸⁸ The vote on the bill that allowed Newell to take Smith's assets indicated widespread dislike for Mormons even fifteen years after Joseph Smith's assassination. All house members in attendance (eighty-one) voted for the bill, as did twenty-three of twenty-eight senators. In other words, only five of 109 voting representatives had reservations about giving Smith estate assets in Kirtland to Newell.

⁸⁹ Holcomb, "Personal and Family History," 378–79.

cate that Newell had one or more collaborators in Kirtland, possibly paid spies, who surreptitiously fed his obsession. Family historian Mary A. Newell Hall believed as much: "When Mr. Newell perceived that there was disaffection in the camp [Mormons], he employed some of the disaffected Mormons, by means of whom he was in the end enabled to defeat them, and carry the war into their own midst."⁹⁰ As supporting, though circumstantial evidence, Newell likely had information about insider conversations that he used in calling Mormon witnesses during his trial against Smith for attempted murder in mid-1837. As I have already conjectured, informants may have also supplied him information about Smith's travel plans to and from Canada in the summer of 1837. Perhaps information from informant(s) also kept Newell current on Smith's and Rigdon's emotional states. If Newell had reason to believe that the two were severely stressed in early January 1838, he may have contrived one more shock to force them out of Kirtland and either arrange for collaborators (or rumors of vigilantes) to pester them on their way west. The timing on the arrest warrants in early 1838 for performing allegedly illegal marriages and the escapes of Joseph Sr. and Frederick G. Williams also suggest a mole in the Saints' community.

Holcomb describes Newell as saying that feuds in the Latter-day Saint community "were very bitter at times, and that [it] was through disaffected members of these hostile factions that he was enabled to successfully cope, almost single handed against their combined power."⁹¹ Newell early confided to Holcomb he had several accomplices inside the Latter-day Saint community but refused to name them for fear of jeopardizing their safety. In 1862, Newell revealed his main accomplice's name to Holcomb, but only because that informant had died. Holcomb wrote:

In answer to my inquiries for the names of his Mormon informers and assistants Mr. Newell said he had several, but that his most ef-

⁹⁰ Mary A. Newell Hall, "Thomas Newell and His Descendants," 3.

⁹¹ Holcomb, "Personal and Family History," 379. The "single handed" comment is especially noteworthy in showing that Newell thought he was the prime mover in getting rid of the Mormons. Willis Thorton, "Gentile and Saint at Kirtland," *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* 63 (January 1954): 32, also accepts Newell's role: "Newell boasted he drove the Mormons out of Kirtland."

fective and reliable one was Luke Johnson, who was a distant relative of the Sawyer family [one of Newell's in-laws] by marriage. He had never mentioned Johnson's name, as he had lost track of him and if still within Mormons it would work him an incalculable injury. He never wished it mentioned until after Johnson's death.⁹²

The upshot of this revelation is that Luke Johnson, one of the original Twelve Apostles, only feigned continued friendship with the Smiths and Rigdon when he claimed he wanted to help them avoid further prosecution in January 1838. Since he rejoined the Saints in Nauvoo, however, he must have privately regretted his duplicity.⁹³

THE LEGALITY OF NEWELL'S ACTIONS

If Smith and Rigdon had had better legal counsel, Newell might have been on the losing end of their final legal battles. A skilled lawyer might have pointed out Newell's pattern of using lawsuits, justices of the peace, and the county court to persecute the Saints. Using a series of lawsuits to hound someone, called barratry in Ohio law, was and is illegal. It is defined as "the offense of frequently exciting or stirring up suits and quarrels between others, and required at least three acts of a barratrous nature to constitute an offense."⁹⁴ Counsel might have also pointed out a pattern on Newell's part of abridging both freedom of speech and the right to practice one's religion freely—rights that are protected by the Bill of Rights. The county court's finding against Newell in Pratt's 1835 suit against him shows Newell's peers siding with a Mormon in determining that Newell had trampled on Pratt's right to free speech.

Likely the strongest argument that a lawyer could have made proving the illegality of Newell's actions involved his use of a front man to prosecute Smith and Rigdon for issuing illegal scrip. Follow-

⁹² Holcomb, "Personal and Family History," 384. Johnson died on 9 December 1861. I hypothesize that, because John Boynton collaborated with Johnson in effecting Joseph Smith Sr.'s escape from Kirtland in January 1838, he may have been another informant.

⁹³ Johnson went west with Brigham Young in 1847 and headed the settlement of Rush Valley, Tooele County, Utah. He was never restored to his apostolic status and died at age fifty-four in the Salt Lake City home of his sister, Nancy Marinda Johnson Hyde, who was married to Apostle Orson Hyde.

⁹⁴ *Ohio Jurisprudence* 3d, 14 (1995) (Rochester, N.Y.: Lawyers Cooperative Publishing), 341, Ohio Supreme Court Law Library, Columbus.

ing the conviction of Smith and Rigdon, the Court of Common Pleas' own actions in assigning Newell the prosecutor's half of the fine against the pair confirmed that Newell was the real author of the suit against Smith and Rigdon. The use of a third party to prosecute someone was illegal in 1837 and is still illegal under Ohio law. This offense, called "maintenance," is defined as "an officious inter-meddling in a suit that in no way belongs to one, by maintaining or assisting either party, with money or otherwise, to prosecute or defend it."⁹⁵ The 1823 case of *Key v. Vattier* had established a precedent for prosecuting such crimes in Ohio.⁹⁶ Had this case been properly cited, the Newell/Rounds's suit likely would have been dismissed and Newell indicted for his illegal actions.

An informed lawyer might have also pointed out that the Newell/Rounds suit failed the test of equal treatment. This feature of common law holds that one person should not be prosecuted for a supposed crime when others doing the same thing are not charged. Newell's railroad colleague, Nehemiah Allen, president of the Ohio Railroad, issued three to four hundred thousand dollars worth of paper money without the sanction of a banking license in 1837.⁹⁷ Like the Kirtland Safety Society Bank scrip, the notes issued by this railroad quickly became worthless. Neither Newell, nor any other public-minded citizen of Ohio, bothered to prosecute Allen, possibly because of the ambiguities in Ohio's banking laws at the time.⁹⁸

Similarly, a skilled lawyer who had carefully read Ohio's Marriage Law of 1824 would have had little trouble in voiding the warrants for performing illegal marriages that were served on Mormon leaders in early 1838.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 313.

⁹⁶ Charles Hammond, *Cases Decided in the Supreme Court of Ohio* 1 (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co., 1872): 139-54.

⁹⁷ Leland snidely commented, "This currency could never truthfully say or sing, I know that my Redeemer lives, for it never was redeemed." Leland, *The Ohio Railroad*, 268.

⁹⁸ Numerous organizations in Ohio were issuing money without bank charters at the time. They included the Washington Social Library, a moribund library association in Hamilton, an orphanage, and a "bank" in Granville/Alexandria that used a library charter as justification for issuing money. Roland H. Rerick, *State Centennial History of Ohio* (Madison, Wis.: Northwestern Historical Association, 1902), 273; Adams, "Chartering the Kirtland Bank," 470.

Setting aside disagreements about religion, was Newell on high moral ground in his campaign against the Saints? Smith and his associates were clearly imprudent in issuing paper money without some kind of state banking charter or a corporate charter that might have been loosely interpreted as permitting them to issue paper debt. They were also unlucky when a severe economic depression hit the country while their community in Kirtland was in an aggressive growth phase and had too much extremely short-term debt to weather the crisis. Although it is difficult to say with precision, most of the people who lost money in the Kirtland Bank affair were Latter-day Saints. Because Newell wouldn't deal with Mormons, he lost no money in the bank's failure.

Furthermore, it is difficult to make a case for Newell as a champion of justice. In addition to his disregard for the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, his own business failures likely harmed more people than Smith's and Rigdon's business mistakes did. Newell and Rounds, like Smith and Rigdon, failed to fulfill all their financial commitments in 1837. Many investors, including Ohio taxpayers, lost money when Newell's railroad ventures failed and when he defaulted on his state loan.⁹⁹ Likewise, the bridge that Newell built for the Painesville to Fairport Railroad was so poorly constructed that it washed away with the first flood. Bridge building, like bank formation, required skills that principals in this saga lacked in similar measures.

CONCLUSION

In September 1875, a correspondent for the *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, who signed himself "Beadle," interviewed William E. McLellin in Independence.¹⁰⁰ McLellin, an 1831 convert and one of the first apostles, had been disengaged from Mormonism for forty years, but his first and most vivid memory regarding Kirtland was about Newell. Beadle quotes him as saying: "At Kirtland there was a wealthy citizen, Grandison Newell, who brought a number of civil suits against

⁹⁹ Smith and Rigdon did not have Newell's powerful political friends in the General Assembly who would formally pardon them for their economic misfortunes. Tolerance and forgiveness, in this case, depended on who was a member of the majority and who was a member of a despised minority.

¹⁰⁰ Beadle, "Jackson County, (*Salt Lake*) *Daily Tribune*, 6 October 1875, 4.

Joseph Smith—estimated as high as thirty.” Although McLellin’s estimate is certainly inflated, it suggests how he and other Mormons no doubt ranked Newell among their Ohio antagonists. Grandison Newell was the documented participant, instigator, or a strong suspect in much of the harassment of the Mormons in Kirtland over the period 1831 to 1859.

Overlooking Newell’s persecution of the Latter-day Saints, a biographer might find much praiseworthy in his life. He lived the American dream. He began with modest means, established several successful businesses, built one of the first railroads in Ohio, and rose to local prominence and power. He was a family man with numerous friends and business associates.¹⁰¹ Although most of his wealth was dissipated in failed railroad ventures and the depression of 1837, his friends might have argued that these adversities were beyond Newell’s control. They could have argued further that many other prominent business people in northern Ohio went bankrupt during these troubled times, although they likely would not have been equally willing to excuse Smith and Rigdon’s concurrent economic difficulties.

At the same time, an objective biographer might ruminate on other aspects of Newell’s character: his intolerance and his obsession. He saw no irony in his defaulting on state debt at the same time he sanctimoniously castigated the inability of Joseph Smith and other Latter-day Saints to meet all their financial obligations. In the end, his obsession with driving out Smith and his followers illustrates one of the worst features of the American character: intolerance. Quakers, Jews, Anabaptists, blacks, Native Americans, the Irish, Mexican Americans, the Japanese, and the Chinese at various times suffered from the same virulent strain of intolerance that Newell inflicted on the Mormons.

By modern standards, Newell was a bigot and a bully. Perhaps one could rationalize his actions if he had been a minister who felt he was protecting his religion from infidels, but he wasn’t. One might also think less ill of him if he hounded the Saints because they owed him money or if they had defrauded him in some business venture, but they didn’t. His persistent obsession appears to have been based

¹⁰¹ For an example of his family relationships, see Newell’s letters to his children dated 15 January 1850 and 1 January 1855. Holcomb, “Personal and Family History,” 235, 272–73.

on pure malevolence, an affliction that continues to affect a few similarly obsessed Mormon critics. It is therefore ironic that Newell's place in history results mostly from his collision with Joseph Smith, a person he despised. Newell joins Solomon Spalding, D. P. Hurlbut, E. D. Howe, Ezra Booth, Symonds Ryder, Orris Clapp, Warren Corning, and many others of the time who are rescued from obscurity only because of their intersections with the vilified Joseph Smith Jr.

THE WIDOW AND THE LION OF THE LORD: SARAH ANN COOKE VS. BRIGHAM YOUNG

Patricia Lyn Scott

PRESIDENT ULYSSES S. GRANT'S appointment in 1870 of James B. McKean as Utah's chief justice signaled the beginning of a judicial crusade against polygamy. McKean was born in Vermont, the son of a Methodist minister, a Republican, a New York attorney and county judge, and a colonel in the Union Army during the Civil War. He was appointed the judge of the third district court to enforce federal laws in Utah, particularly the Morrill Act of 1862 that outlawed polygamy. McKean accepted the challenge with religious zeal saying, "The mission which God has called me to perform in Utah, is as much above the duties of other courts

PATRICIA LYN SCOTT {pscott@utah.gov} has been the Local Government Records Archivist at the Utah State Archives since 1984 and has served as editorial manager of the *Journal of Mormon History* since 1989. She presented an earlier version of this paper at the Mormon History Association conference in Ogden, Utah, in May 1999. She expresses appreciation for the assistance of a current and a former colleague at the Utah State Archives, Val Wilson, and Arlene Schmuland, in locating each of the court cases. This article is part of a larger study on non-Mormon women in Salt Lake City from 1875 to 1893 and their relationships.



This portrait of Sarah Anne Cooke (ca. 1870s) appeared in the history of the Ladies Literary Club of Salt Lake City, created for the 1893 Columbia Exposition. Photo courtesy Ladies Literary Club.

and judges as the heavens are above the earth.”¹ In the midst of this crusade, a civil case took center stage as a sympathetic elderly widow, Sarah Ann Cooke, fought to save her home from the powerful Mormon leader Brigham Young.

Sarah Ann Sutton Cooke arrived in Salt Lake City in 1852, age forty-four. Born in Leeds, Yorkshire, England, in 1808, she was orphaned at an early age and raised by her maternal grandparents. She married William Cooke on her eighteenth birthday and they emigrated to the United States two years later. They were the parents of six surviving children (William Sutton, John Richards, Thomas Wetmore, Eve Ann/Anna, Edward, and Richard Welfort). Before

¹ The Utah Territory was divided into three districts courts, each represented by one judge. Together the three district judges served as the Utah Territorial Supreme Court. The judge of the Third District Court normally served as the chief justice of the Supreme Court. Leonard J. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), 37; Thomas G. Alexander, “Federal Authority Versus Polygamic Theocracy: James B. McKean and the Mormons, 1870–1875,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 1 (Autumn 1966): 85–100.

coming to Utah, they lived in New York City, North Carolina, and Iowa, where Sarah, an accomplished musician and teacher, gave music lessons. In 1852, William Cooke and his two older sons caught "California fever," and the family headed west.²

Their trek west has been documented in a series of letters from their daughter-in-law, Lucy Rutledge Cooke, to her sister, Marianne Rutledge Willis, in Rockingham, Iowa.³ In 1847, Lucy married the oldest Cooke son, William Sutton, and had a baby they named Sarah. The Cookes arrived in Salt Lake City on 8 July 1852. All of the family but Mr. Cooke, who went on to California, stayed in Salt Lake City for the winter. Sarah gave music lessons, studied the writings of Parley P. Pratt, and was baptized into the LDS Church in September 1852. She was described as a woman "of strong religious sentiments" with "a deep and ideally conscientious religious nature."⁴

In the spring, William S. took Lucy and little Sarah to California; but Sarah and her other children, ranging in age from six to twenty-two, made Utah their home. From California her husband, William Cooke, went to Australia to seek gold, was baptized into the LDS Church in 1854, and was made an elder. During a three-year mission, he baptized the first converts in New Zealand, returned to Salt Lake City in 1857, and served as a volunteer policeman and city jailer. During an attempted jail break on the evening of 12 October 1858, he was shot and fatally wounded, dying six days later.

Meanwhile, in Salt Lake City, Sarah had become part of the Mormon community. She taught music to Brigham Young's family and used one of his pianos for practice. She was also a member of the Deseret Dramatics Association, acted on the stage, and was an accompanist for both the Social Hall and later the Salt Lake Theatre. For more than eleven years, she played the organ in the Old Taberna-

²For biographical sources, see my article "The Respected Mrs. Cooke: Sarah Ann Cooke, 1808-1885," in *Worth Their Salt Too: Notable but Often Unnoted Women of Utah*, edited by Colleen Whitley (Logan: Utah State University, 2000), 1-26.

³See Lucy Rutledge Cooke, "Letters on the Way to California," Vol. 4 of *Covered Wagon Women: Diaries and Letters from the Western Trails. 1852: The California Trail*, edited by Kenneth L. Holmes (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clarke, 1983), 209-95.

⁴"The Late Mrs. S. A. Cooke," *Salt Lake City Daily Tribune* (hereafter *Salt Lake Tribune*), 12 August 1885, 4.

the Cooke Family.”⁷ Brigham Young told Sarah, as she later recalled, “to look around for a place to suit me and he would buy it.” She found a half-lot and informed him of her choice. He wrote a letter to the owner, William Wadsworth of Springville, asking to buy the lot for the Widow Cooke. Brigham Young purchased the property for \$500 on 20 January 1860, giving its equivalent, a wagon and team, to Wadsworth.⁸

The lot contained a small one-story adobe house with two finished rooms and one unfinished room. Sarah’s twenty-five-year-old son Thomas offered to buy the property from Young a year later, paying half then and the remainder later. Brigham Young declined the offer and told him to go and make a “comfortable home for his mother.” The Cookes extensively improved the property, enlarged and finished the rooms, planted an orchard, and built a fence around the property.⁹ From all appearances, Brigham Young had generously aided a struggling widow.

No document has been located which contemporarily details the events that led to Sarah’s lawsuit. The following account is largely based on Sarah’s testimony before the Salt Lake County Probate Court in October 1872. Brigham Young’s attorneys did not challenge Sarah’s account of the events, only their interpretation and reasons for Sarah’s actions. The account lacks a clear time frame, but I have attempted to date the events as closely as possible.

In August 1866, Sarah was caught totally unaware when a neighbor, a Mr. East,¹⁰ notified her that he proposed to Brigham Young to exchange her lot for another. Sarah, panicked, wrote to Young, enclosing East’s letter. She reminded Young that he had provided the home to her after her husband’s death, that he had refused payment, and that she and Thomas “had carried out your directions” with “fidelity” in “improving the place.” On 14 August she met with Young at the Lion House and “spoke of the contents” of the letters.

file was transferred to the Third District court when the case was appealed there.

⁷ Salt Lake City Council Minutes, 30 October 1858, Book B, 143, Series #82755, Utah State Archives, Salt Lake City.

⁸ “Testimony of Sarah Ann Cooke,” 3–35.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 38, 42.

¹⁰ The 1869 *Salt Lake City Directory* identifies only one Mr. East. He is Edward Wallace East (1814–84), clerk of the county court in 1869.

He informed her that he had not received "such a proposal."¹¹ She later testified that East's letter "made me feel doubtful about President Young having given me that place," and she requested that, "if he was going to make any exchange or disposition of it to let us have the first chance."¹² Young asked Sarah, "why she was not satisfied with things as they stood." She explained that her son Thomas had "spent considerable time and labor on the place" and that "life was uncertain, I might die . . . I should like to know that it should belong to my family when I was gone."¹³

Thomas Cooke also met with Brigham Young at his office to discuss a proposal that Young had drafted for their signatures. The proposal was to sell the property for four thousand dollars in four annual installments of one thousand dollars with a 10 percent interest.¹⁴ Since the first payment included a large sum in interest, it was impossible for Sarah and Thomas to accept the proposal. They neither signed it nor returned it to Brigham Young. Sarah was unwilling to give up what she "considered my home" and asked Brigham Young to extend the payments. He told her to submit her own proposal in writing. After three days and what Sarah called "a sleepless night," she told Young that she could not possibly undertake such an obligation. She never signed a contract to pay any amount or

¹¹ "Testimony of Sarah Ann Cooke," 36, 44-45. Neither East's nor any of Sarah's letters have been located in Brigham Young's correspondence, Archives, Family and Church History Department (hereafter LDS Church Archives), Salt Lake City.

¹² *Ibid.*, 36.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 45.

¹⁴ While it is a little difficult to determine whether this price reflected average real estate costs in downtown Salt Lake City, it should be noted that it was considerably higher than the property's assessed valuation. From 1867 to 1869, the Salt Lake City Assessor appraised this half lot at \$800. Sarah and her son, Thomas, apparently paid the property tax each year, except for two years (1859 and 1860) when she received a widow's exemption. See Salt Lake City Assessor, Assessment Roll, 1861-1869, Utah State Archives. Sarah and/or her son Thomas were listed in the assessment rolls as the "owners or possessors of the property" until 1870, when it was apparently listed under Brigham Young's name and was valued at \$2,000. However, he owned additional property (a full lot) on block 78, so this sum may include both properties.

made a counterproposal, two important facts in the legal proceedings.¹⁵

At about the same time, Amos Milton Musser asked Sarah whether she wished to keep her place.¹⁶ She told him she "certainly did." He informed her that the Salt Lake City Council had appropriated two thousand dollars for her and her family and that he had in his possession an order from "Esquire Wells" (Daniel H. Wells was Salt Lake City mayor) for "two thousand dollars in favor of Brigham Young for her to sign, which she did." She thought her signature would secure her home.¹⁷ She then received a note from Brigham Young stating that he had placed the two thousand dollars to her credit and would give her two years to pay the remaining two thousand dollars, with interest to be collected monthly. Sarah and Thomas eventually made interest payments of about \$187, but no further payments on the principal. She wrote Young that they could not meet his demand.¹⁸

In 1869, Sarah planned to travel to California to visit William S., Lucy, and their children. She again called on Young, telling him she wanted to settle the ownership issue and receive the deed. According to her account, he refused, claiming that she would just give the property to her sons who would sell it to the Gentiles. Sarah asked if he would take the place, "consider our improvements as abundant and sufficient rent," and to return the \$2,000 from the city council. Young responded that she would need to contact "esquire Wells" and if she "got it she was not to go to California and spend it and come back here to be supported by the Church." Sarah responded tartly that "with God's blessing and my own and children's industry I had hitherto supported myself."¹⁹

She later described this meeting as her last conversation with Young about the property. Until this conflict, Sarah had been an active and involved Mormon. She later testified, "I had such confidence in Brigham Young that I did not believe he could do a wrong,"

¹⁵ "Testimony of Sarah Ann Cooke," 45.

¹⁶ Amos Milton Musser (1830–1909) was the general superintendent of the Deseret Telegraph Company and Traveling Bishop of the Church. He did not hold a city government position.

¹⁷ "Testimony of Sarah Ann Cooke," 48–51.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 46, 53.

but this event shattered her trust and shook her faith. She interpreted his actions as demands for her to purchase property that she truly believed was already hers. She no longer felt that she could give her fealty to the Church and became receptive to other views.²⁰

While historian Lola Van Wagenen described Sarah's apostasy as being "born out of the New Movement (commonly known as Godbeites)," and historian Ronald Walker's *Wayward Saints* notes that Sarah lectured at the Liberal Institute in 1871, there is actually little information about her decision.²¹ She later said that her earliest doubts arose when she attended family prayers at Brigham Young's home and heard him "expressing so much vindictiveness . . . [with] bitter denunciation of their enemies and prayers [for] their destruction." Sarah found these prayers completely "free of Christian love and charity." She also never fully accepted polygamy and came to believe that "women living in polygamy" were sacrificing themselves as "living martyrs" to the proposition that "the priesthood was one ordained by God."²²

On 25 August 1871, Sarah filed a complaint in the Third District Court against Brigham Young, charging that he owed her \$2,187 (the city's appropriation of \$2,000 and the interest she and Thomas had paid). The complaint listed specific dates when monies were owed without any explanation.²³ Sarah was represented by the well-known firm of Baskin and DeWolfe. Robert N. Baskin (1827-1918) was born in Ohio and graduated from Harvard University. En route to California in 1865, he stopped over in Salt Lake City,

²⁰ Ibid., 44, 57.

²¹ In the fall of 1869, the "New Movement" emerged, a group of intellectuals and businessmen opposed to Brigham Young and his ideal community. Though short-lived, it had considerable popular appeal, established a rival church, founded an opposition press, and built the Liberal Institute, a comfortable lecture hall. Lola Van Wagenen, "Sister-Wives and Suffragists: Polygamy and Politics of Women, 1870-1896," Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1994, 252; Ronald W. Walker, *Wayward Saints: The Godbeites and Brigham Young* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998), xiii, 279.

²² S[sarah] A[nn] Cooke, "Theatrical and Social Affairs in Utah," Salt Lake City, 1884, Bancroft Collection, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

²³ Utah Territory Third District Court, "Complaint," *Sarah Ann Cooke vs. Brigham Young*, Court Case Files, 1851-96, Case No. 982, Series #9802, Utah State Archives.

then decided to stay and opened a law office.²⁴ He was described as a "lawyer of shrewdness and coolness and inflamed against Mormonism."²⁵ Baskin, Brigham Young's nemesis, had aggressively challenged polygamy and the LDS Church, and had been appointed as prosecuting attorney for criminal cases for the third district by Judge James B. McKean.

Brigham Young was represented by the well-respected firm of Snow & Hoge, both of whom had previously served as judges.²⁶ Zerubbabel Snow (1809-88), Apostle Erastus Snow's brother, had served as probate judge in Iron and Utah counties.²⁷ Non-Mormon Enos Daugherty Hoge (1831-1912) had been appointed a district court judge by President Andrew Johnson and had arrived in Salt Lake City in 1865.²⁸

Young's attorneys responded to Sarah's complaint with a countersuit filed 4 September. Their response did not answer the complaint but claimed that Sarah owed Brigham Young \$4,310.85. Unlike Sarah's complaint, Brigham Young's countersuit listed specific dates, amounts owed to the penny, and explanations. The detailed billing listed eleven years' rent for her house, groceries, theater tickets, and medical bills.²⁹

October 1871 became a critical month in McKean's judicial crusade. On 2 October 1871, Brigham Young, George Q. Cannon,

²⁴ Baskin was elected Salt Lake City mayor in 1891. "Former Mayor Baskin Dies at Age of 81," *Deseret News*, 27 August 1918, 1. See also R. N. Baskin, *Reminiscences of Early Utah* (Salt Lake City: Salt Lake Tribune, 1914), largely an indictment of Brigham Young as a leader. Written partly in response to Orson F. Whitney's *History of Utah*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon and Sons, 1893), it also details important polygamy cases, the Mountain Meadows Massacre, and the founding of the Liberal Party. Unfortunately, Baskin does not discuss the Cooke case.

²⁵ Whitney, *History of Utah*, 2:624.

²⁶ "Old Salt Lakers: Zerubbabel Snow," *Deseret News*, 15 September 1900, 11; *History of the Bench and Bar of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Interstate Press Assn., 1913), 102.

²⁷ "Old Salt Lakers—Zerubbabel Snow."

²⁸ *Utah Since Statehood: Historical and Biographical* (Chicago and Salt Lake: S. J. Clarke, 1919), 2:876-77.

²⁹ "Sarah Ann Cooke vs. Brigham Young—Answer," MS 709, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.



On the second floor of this Salt Lake City livery stable, Judge James B. McKean's Third District Court convened to hear the Sarah Cooke/Brigham Young case. Photo courtesy of LDS Church Archives.

Daniel H. Wells, and Godbeite leader Henry W. Lawrence were arrested and charged with "lewd and lascivious cohabitation and adultery." McKean granted Brigham Young five thousand dollars bail and dismissed his motion to quash the indictment, proclaiming, "The case at the bar is called the People v. Brigham Young, its other and real title is Federal Authority versus Polygamic Theocracy." In ill health, Brigham Young asked the court's permission to make his annual winter visit to St. George. McKean agreed and tentatively scheduled a March date for the polygamy trial.³⁰

In this highly partisan setting, then, Sarah's suit against Brigham Young began in the Third District Court before Judge

³⁰ Arrington, *Brigham Young*, 172.

McKean on 23 October 1871. Brigham Young left for St. George the next day. The trial lasted three days with only four witnesses testifying. While McKean has been described as unscrupulous and anti-Mormon,³¹ historian Thomas G. Alexander concluded that McKean was "primarily interested in sustaining federal authority in Utah."³² A little later the *Cincinnati Commercial* described the courtroom. It was located on the second floor of a livery stable. Judge McKean, "trim as a bank president . . . sat upon a wooden chair behind a deal table, raised half a foot above the floor; the Marshall stood behind a remnant of a dry goods box in one corner, and the jury sat upon two broken settees [sic] under a hot stove pipe and behind a stove."³³

A year earlier in the fall of 1870, McKean and his fellow judges, perceiving that Mormons usually would not convict Mormons, ruled that the territorial courts were U.S. district courts and that juries would be empaneled by open venire. This meant, according to Alexander, that McKean had the "U.S. marshal pick jurors, generally non-Mormons, off the streets instead of calling the clerk of the county probate court to select them from the list of taxpayers as required by territorial law."³⁴

Two aspects of the trial were reported by all three Salt Lake City daily newspapers (the Mormon *Deseret News*, the anti-Mormon *Salt Lake Tribune*, and the independently owned, pro-Mormon *Salt Lake Herald*): jury selection and closing arguments. All three accounts of jury selection focused on Baskin's examination of prospective juror Henry Grow, a Mormon. Baskin asked a series of questions on Grow's religious beliefs, including whether he believed Brigham Young to be a prophet, a God, or if Young would become a god. Finally, when Baskin asked if Grow's beliefs would affect his ability to render a verdict, Grow responded he would render a just verdict ac-

³¹ Ibid. See also James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 2d ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 353–55; Whitney, *History of Utah*, 2:552–56.

³² Alexander, "Federal Authority Versus Polygamic Theocracy," 100.

³³ Quoted in *History of the Bench and Bar of Utah*, 37. Although the *Cincinnati Commercial* account is not dated, it was probably during 1871–73 when the national press covered the court extensively.

³⁴ Thomas G. Alexander, *Utah—The Right Place: The Official Centennial History* (Salt Lake City: Gibbs Smith, 1995), 175.

cording to the evidence. Baskin did not initially challenge his seating. Snow, Young's attorney, followed up by asking whether Grow believed that Isaiah was a prophet and if Jesus Christ came into the world according to the scripture. Grow responded affirmatively, Baskin immediately challenged, and Grow was excused.³⁵

The *Deseret News* editorialized that in "any Christendom, we venture to believe, such queries and arguments by counsel [Baskin] would meet with the Censure of the Court."³⁶ The *Salt Lake Herald* called Baskin's actions an "insult to the Court" and stated that adding the question, "Are you a Mormon?" would considerably shorten the questioning and simplify the jury selection process.³⁷

I was able to identify the occupations and locations of only nine of the twelve jurors: John Addams and Joseph Wilbur, bookkeepers; Emanuel Kahn, merchant; W. L. Sholes, a grocer and livery stable operator; F. Reich, proprietor of the Pacific House; Horace Wheat, proprietor of the R & R House in Ogden; William W. Chisholm, owner of the Emma Mine and the only Mormon; J. K. Morrell (or Morrill), a miner in Little Cottonwood Canyon; and Henry Wagoner, restaurant owner of W & Co. The occupations of Lucien Livingston and Charles P. Westcott remain unknown.³⁸ The most interesting juror was Henry W. Lawrence, a former Mormon and a leader in the New Movement. Surprisingly, Lawrence had been arrested with Brigham Young for cohabitation just weeks earlier but would now sit on the jury hearing a suit against Brigham Young.³⁹

No trial transcript exists, and only one newspaper reported the trial's daily events. The *Salt Lake Tribune* published both daily trial news reports and editorials. Typically, the reports appeared balanced while the daily editorials were scathingly critical of Brigham

³⁵ "Getting a Jury," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 24 October 1871, 3; "Examination of a Juror," *Deseret News*, 24 October 1871, 3.

³⁶ "What Do They Want?" *Deseret News*, 25 October 1871, 3.

³⁷ "Justice in the Courts," *Salt Lake Herald*, 24 October 1871, 3.

³⁸ I used the Salt Lake City directory (1869) and the 1870 U.S. census to identify jurors.

³⁹ John S. McCormick and John S. Sillito, "Henry W. Lawrence: A Life in Dissent," in *Differing Visions: Dissenters in Mormon History*, edited by Roger D. Launius and Linda Thatcher (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 224.

Judge James B. McKean presided over the Third District Court and heard Sarah Cooke's suit against Brigham Young. Photo Courtesy of Utah State Historical Society.



Young.⁴⁰ After the empaneling and swearing in of the jury, trial began on 24 October 1871, with the complaint and answer being read and opening arguments made. Baskin argued that since Young did not deny the claim it was “the equivalent to an admission” and so it was unnecessary for Sarah to prove it. Young’s attorneys admitted to the validity of the claim, so McKean ruled that it was not necessary for the prosecution to prove it. The defense asked the judge to rule on the validity of the counterclaim since the plaintiff had failed to file an answer and a denial. McKean ruled that the defense had to prove

⁴⁰ McKean was reportedly a major news source for the *Salt Lake Tribune* and wrote unsigned editorials for it, although whether he did so in this case is not known. James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 2d ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 353–55; O. N. Malmquist, *The First 100 Years: A History of the Salt Lake Tribune, 1871–1971* (Salt Lake City: Utah Historical Society, 1971), 27; Whitney, *History of Utah*, 2:552–56.

its counterclaim.⁴¹ The point at issue, therefore, was solely whether Sarah owed Brigham Young the sum of \$4,310.85.

Snow and Hoge called two witnesses. The first was Thomas Ellenbeck, Brigham Young's bookkeeper since 1851. He testified that he had maintained a financial account for Sarah Ann Cooke, that none of it had been paid, that he relied solely on his records in determining the sum owed, and that he had no independent memory of her account.⁴² Young's attorneys submitted both East's and Sarah's accompanying letters. McKean ruled that, while the letters showed Sarah's recognition of Young's title to the property, they also showed that Young had refused payment. Further, the letters failed to show that she was his tenant.⁴³

On 25 October, Ellenbeck resumed his testimony. Robert Baskin cross-examined him, contending that Young had recently created Sarah's accounts.⁴⁴ According to the *Tribune* reporter, Ellenbeck was a "very unique character" who seemed to wish to "be on cozy terms" with Baskin. His manners suggested that "he would have preferred a quiet chat with him upon the matter by the side of the Prophet's chimney corner." Unfortunately, the *Tribune* spent its space belittling Ellenbeck as the "richest bit of comedy seen in a court room for many a day" instead of summarizing his testimony.⁴⁵

Dr. W. F. Anderson, Sarah's physician, was the second witness called. He testified that he set Sarah's arm after an accident at the Salt Lake Theatre in February 1865 and was paid by credit to his account with Brigham Young. Though Sarah had retired from acting in 1864, Hyrum Clawson, the theater's manager and Brigham Young's son-in-law, made a personal appeal for her to perform in

⁴¹ "Local Matters," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 24 October 1871, 3.

⁴² Brigham Young's financial ledgers show an account for Sarah Cooke beginning in 1858 with no indication of any payments, including the \$187 interest. It is not possible to determine from the account when this record was created nor what agreement, if any, was made about payment. Brigham Young, "Financial Records, 1859-82," Ledger D, Book 3, 406, and Ledger E, Book 4, 143, MS 42, Special Collections, Merrill Library, Utah State University. Logan.

⁴³ "Local Matters."

⁴⁴ "Local Matters—Third District Court," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 25 October 1871, 3.

⁴⁵ "A Character Scene," *ibid.*, 3.

Porter's Knot in a leading role. She agreed. On the evening of the performance, Saturday, 26 February 1865, Sarah left her dressing room at the signal for her appearance on stage but tripped and fell down the stairs. She dislocated her wrist, broke her arm, and was severely bruised. Brigham Young asked her to place her arm on his, but she refused and had Dr. Anderson called. Since Sarah's arm was never "wholly restored," Young told her it was because she did not first have the faith that he could heal her. He called upon her the following morning, said he had paid Andersen \$25, and assured Sarah that she would need no further medical attention.⁴⁶

Sarah's attorneys then called two witnesses. Their first was Sarah herself. She testified that she never rented the home from Brigham Young nor any of his agents. She told the story of acquiring the property, emphasizing that Brigham Young had purchased it for her after her husband had been killed in the line of duty as a policeman and for her twelve years' service as an actress in Brigham Young's theater. She emphatically added that she had been willing to pay what it cost and had offered to make payments but that Young had told her to improve the place for her and her son. Sarah testified that the receipt of the 1866 letter from East was her first indication that Brigham Young did not intend to fulfill his agreement to give or sell it to her for her permanent home. She also told of receiving Young's proposal for her signature to sell her the place for \$4,000, plus interest. She added, baffled, that this document from Young included a sentence thanking him "for his kindness." Sarah explained that she had refused to sign the agreement, saying that she was "utterly unable to pay the exorbitant price demanded." She also described breaking her arm and insisted that she did not ask Young to pay Dr. Anderson or know that he had done so until Young told her he had the next morning.

Baskin's second witness was Hyrum Clawson. His testimony mentioned nothing about the case, only confirming Sarah's service at the Salt Lake Theater.⁴⁷

On 25 October 1871, the case ended with closing arguments. The *Tribune* reporter blithely commented that he had not taken any notes but that Young's attorneys made "clear, forcible, and effective" arguments. For his part, Baskin depicted Sarah as holding Young in

⁴⁶ Scott, "The Respected Mrs. Cooke," 13, 15.

⁴⁷ "Third District Court," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 25 October 1871, 3.

"extreme confidence" and trusting "implicitly in the justice of his intentions toward her." She "gave the best years of her life" in "unrenumerated service for this man, as a performer in his theater, and while in such service met with an accident which permanently disabled her arm, rendering her to a degree crippled for life." Baskin emphasized her husband's tragic death as a public servant, leaving her in poverty and without a home. "Under such circumstances it was but natural that the man she had so faithfully served should desire to provide a home for her."⁴⁸ In short, he painted a touching portrait of Sarah as a victimized widow.

A *Deseret News* editorial described Baskin's argument in lurid terms as being "entirely outside the record, to interpolate the most vile and beastly charges against the defendant which we cannot in decency repeat."⁴⁹ Since no transcript exists and since neither the *Salt Lake Tribune* nor the *Salt Lake Herald* describes anything that could be reasonably termed as "vile," it is impossible to determine what the *Deseret News* meant. Neither the *Deseret News* nor *Salt Lake Herald* attacked Sarah or challenged the facts of the case. Evidently, the *Deseret News* decided that making Sarah the villain might cause a backlash in public sympathy and that Baskin was a safer target to vilify.

McKean charged the jury that if they "believed the plaintiff occupied the house of the defendant without an explicit agreement they must allow a fair and reasonable rent, but if the facts in evidence proved a condition of things inconsistent with this assumption, they must be governed accordingly." He added that it was their duty to "take all the facts of the case, consider them together in the relations they bear to each other, and decide according to the weight of evidence." The jury was directed to "sign and seal their verdict and deliver it to their foreman for presentation the next morning."⁵⁰

On Thursday morning, 26 October, the jury delivered its verdict ordering Brigham Young to pay Sarah Ann Cooke \$2,986.56, the original claim plus interest, but ordering her to pay court costs of

⁴⁸ "Local Matters," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 26 October 1871, 3.

⁴⁹ "What Do They Want?"

⁵⁰ "Local Matters," 26 October 1871.

\$134. Snow and Hoge immediately gave notice that they would file for a new trial.⁵¹

Two weeks later, Young wrote Thomas Ellenbeck from St. George, inquiring about various business matters including "Sara[h] Cook[e] and the house matter." He asked what actions his attorney, LeGrande Young, had taken.⁵² This is Brigham Young's sole contemporary and personal recognition (except for legal pleadings) of this case.⁵³

Various legal maneuvers delayed the execution of the judgment on Brigham Young for seven years. These activities fell into two separate tracks. First, Young appealed the decision. Second, Sarah filed to receive the ownership deed through the probate court using the requirements specified by the Utah Territorial Assembly. It was not until 1878, a year after Brigham Young's death, that the case was finally settled.

Young appealed to the Utah Territorial Supreme Court, asking for a stay of the execution of the judgment. A stay was granted; but on 6 October 1873, the Utah Supreme Court dismissed Young's appeal on technical grounds: No notice of appeal was served on Sarah or her attorney nor was such notice "ever in fact given."⁵⁴ On 21 October 1873, attorney LeGrande Young wrote his uncle-client, Brigham Young, asserting, "As to filing of the notice . . . I did and going for it three or four times got of DeWolf[e], a receipt or admission of service, which is with the papers of the case, unless it has been lost by moving." He entertained dark suspicions about why the record did not reflect this and other actions, including "why the same record does not show that the challenge to the jury was filed." He concluded, "It makes me feel badly to think that you should have to pay that woman anything after all you have done for her, but more keenly

⁵¹ "The Decision," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 27 October 1871, 3. The case file contains only Sarah's initial complaint, the requests for stays of execution of judgment, and the notice of judgment execution.

⁵² LeGrande Young, Brigham Young's nephew and private attorney, handled most of his affairs. He was the attorney of record for the probate court case and all of its appeals, even though Snow and Hoge were Brigham Young's attorneys for the Cooke case and its initial appeals.

⁵³ Brigham Young, Letter to Thomas Ellenbeck, 12 November 1871, David T. Lewis Collection, ACCN 730, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City.

⁵⁴ *Sarah Ann Cooke v. Brigham Young*.

do I feel any alleged court blunders [with] which my name is connected.”⁵⁵

Two years later on 13 December 1873, Brigham Young assigned his claim to his associate, John Sharp, the bishop of Salt Lake Twentieth Ward and president of the Utah Central Railway. Sharp had Young's confidence and exercised his power of attorney in various business and financial matters. Sharp immediately filed suit against Sarah “upon a contract for the payment of money, claiming that there is due to the plaintiff . . . [\$2,890.75] including . . . interest . . . and to apply for an attachment against the property of the defendant as security for the satisfaction of any judgment that may be assessed.” The complaint stated that an “implied contract [existed] for the direct payment of, money, to wit: she occupied the dwelling house and premises . . . by permission of Brigham Young from 31 August 1871 to and including 29 November 1873.” This covered the period from the date when Sarah filed her lawsuit against Brigham Young.⁵⁶ The complaint was served on Sarah's son, Thomas, because Sarah was out of the state accompanying Ann Eliza Webb Young, Brigham Young's notorious “Nineteenth Wife,” as she described herself, on her “escape” from Salt Lake City and first lecture tour. This trip lasted from 22 November 1873 to the end of January 1874.⁵⁷ This lawsuit can readily be interpreted as retribution against Sarah because she was helping Ann Eliza Young, but it was also undoubtedly a continuation of the prior lawsuit. By reassigning the property to Sharp, Young removed himself from direct involvement in the case.

On 16 December 1873, the Third District Court issued a writ of attachment (a court order to seize) on Sarah's property. The case was dismissed after Sarah's attorneys, Baskin and DeWolfe, filed a motion to discharge the order and release the judgment. The motion challenged the complaint as being insufficient and failing to show

⁵⁵LeGrande Young to Brigham Young, 21 October 1873. Brigham Young Incoming Correspondence, 1844–1877, LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, UT.

⁵⁶*John Sharp v. Sarah Ann Cooke*, Case #1135, Court Case Files, 1851–96, Utah Territorial Third District Court, Utah State Archives, Salt Lake City.

⁵⁷Ann Eliza Young, *Wife No. 19* (1875; reprinted, New York: Arno, 1972), 570; and Irving Wallace, *The Twenty-Seventh Wife* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1961), 275.

any indebtedness or an existing contract. It also contended that the writ was not in accordance with territorial law.⁵⁸

Execution orders to force Brigham Young to pay the judgment were signed in October 1873, December 1873, and January 1874, but were stayed at each point while Young's attorney discussed additional appeals. McKean finally declared angrily that "no fact is better known here in Utah than that Brigham Young is above the law." He accused: "Territorial authorities will not enforce the judgment in this case" and, consequently, "as present advised, and under existing circumstances, the court declines to make any further order."⁵⁹ A week later, circumstances must have changed, for he signed a fourth order on 9 February 1874. On 9 April 1874, the judgment was officially, "satisfied and paid in full to the sheriff."⁶⁰

April 1874 was a turning point in McKean's judicial crusade. The U.S. Supreme Court, hearing a case on appeal, ruled that McKean had "wholly and purposely disregarded" territorial statutes when he "purged juries of Mormons to secure the convictions of polygamists [and] had improperly ignored Utah's jury selection procedures."⁶¹ The fallout was dramatic. One hundred thirty indictments, including those against Brigham Young and other LDS leaders, were immediately dismissed.⁶² This decision ended all polygamy prosecutions until the U.S. Congress extended federal legal authority with the passage of the Poland Act (1874), which "resolved the rivalry between territorial and federal judicial authorities by placing the judiciary firmly in federal hands" and restricting the authority of the local probate courts.⁶³ While the jury selection process had been an issue in Brigham Young's appeal, it was never heard by a court but rather dismissed on a technicality.

Brigham Young paid the judgment, but the process did not end. The final struggle was over possession of the ownership deed.

⁵⁸ *John Sharp v. Sarah Ann Cooke*.

⁵⁹ "Brigham Young above the Law," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 5 February 1874, 1.

⁶⁰ *Sarah Ann Cooke v. Brigham Young*.

⁶¹ *Clinton v. Englebrecht* (U.S. 80:434).

⁶² Edwin Brown Firmage and Richard Collin Mangrum, *Zion in the Courts: A Legal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 138, 145-46.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

During the early months of 1872, each person claiming ownership to any lots or parcels in Block 78 filed declaratory statements with the Salt Lake County's probate court in accordance with regulations approved by the Territorial Legislative Assembly on 17 February 1869: "Any individual(s), business entity, or organization with a valid claim in any portion of the land was required to register such claim with the clerk of the probate court of the county in which the land was located." After six months, the probate court served notice on adverse claimants, ordered them to show evidence of the claim, and then heard the case. A full transcript was required to be made of all testimony. Decisions could then be appealed to the district court.⁶⁴

On 8 March 1872, six months after winning her suit, Sarah filed a statement declaring that she was "the rightful owner and occupant and entitled to the possession of the west part of lot 2 in Block 78." On 23 September 1872, the probate court acknowledged all filings and ordered all claimants or their legal representatives to appear on 15 October 1872. Elias Smith, a well-respected Mormon and first cousin of Joseph Smith Jr., presided. He served as Salt Lake County's sole probate court judge from 1852 to 1882. He was born in Vermont in 1804, reached Utah in 1851, and was soon named county probate judge by the Territorial Legislative Assembly. He was unschooled in the law but was a man of many talents and also served as the city's postmaster (1854–58) and editor of the *Deseret News* (1853–56). Although he was a devoted Mormon, he did not hold any high Church positions, serving at the time of this trial as "president of the high priests (1870–77)—later, when the terminology changed, as president of Salt Lake Stake's high priests quorum until his death in 1888."⁶⁵ In 1877, the *New York Her-*

⁶⁴ *Act, Resolutions and Memorials Passed and Adopted by the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah*, Nineteenth Session 1869 (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon, 1869), chap. VII, 4-6. See also Lawrence Linford, "Establishing and Maintaining Land Ownership Prior to 1869," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 42 (Spring 1974): 12–25.

⁶⁵ Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia: A Compendium of Biographical Sketches of Prominent Men and Women in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History Company, 1901–30), 1:719–22.

ald described him as "unquestionably the best representative of Mormon jurisprudence in that Territory."⁶⁶

Early testimony established that Jedediah M. Grant was the initial owner and sold his claim to William Streeper in 1852. Streeper build his home, improved the property, and resided there with his family until his death in 1856. Mrs. Streeper married William Wadsworth in 1857, then the property remained unoccupied until Brigham Young purchased it on 20 January 1860. Sarah Ann Cooke and her family settled there later that year.⁶⁷ On 17 October 1872, Sarah underwent extensive questioning about her residency on the "west half of lot 2 in Block 78, Plat A" in Salt Lake City. This was Sarah's most detailed testimony, and the twenty-nine-page transcript recorded her responses to 101 tough, direct, and challenging questions from LeGrande Young.

He pressed her on whether Brigham Young had ever demanded that they "must leave [the property] if [they] did not buy it." She replied he did "not say in words that we must pay or leave but he stated the terms we could not comply [with]." Why had she voluntarily paid Young two thousand dollars? She replied wryly: "There was not much option in those days[;] when Brigham Young wanted a thing done we would have to do it."

Why had she changed her mind on purchasing the property? She firmly responded, "I never changed my mind. . . . I had been living at the place . . . improving it and paying my taxes and nothing had ever been said but that it was our place[,] our home. I had never changed my mind. Brigham Young had stated his terms and we had tried all we could to comply with it not because I thought it was right but because we could not help ourselves."⁶⁸ Smith, who kept a daily diary, habitually identified his cases but provided few details and rarely his opinions. On 17 October, he recorded simply that he

⁶⁶ Jay Emerson Powell, "An Analysis of the Salt Lake Probate Court's Role in Aggravating Anti-Mormon Sentiment" (B.A. Honor Degree, University of Utah, 1968), 43.

⁶⁷ "Application of Sarah Ann Cooke, et al.," Case #1794, 1-33; *Cooke v. Young*, Utah 254 (Utah 1877).

⁶⁸ "Testimony of Sarah Ann Cooke," 53-56.

heard testimony concerning Sarah Ann Cooke “during the day and in the evening till near 11.”⁶⁹

The next witness was Sarah’s son, Thomas. He testified concerning his own conversations with Brigham Young but said he had never been present when his mother had spoken to Young about the property. A month before they had moved in, he said, Brigham Young told him he had purchased the property for his mother. When Thomas offered him a “heifer and steer” as payment, Young refused and told him he did not want to be paid. He instructed Thomas to “make a comfortable home for his mother” and said that the heifer and steer would later be needed. Thomas testified that he understood from this conversation that Young was giving the property to his mother, adding that no rent was ever requested. He also testified about the original condition of the property and all the improvements they had made. The situation had changed in 1867, for reasons he did not understand, but they could not afford the sum Young was demanding.⁷⁰

Hamilton Park, an agent of Brigham Young, testified that he had made eight visits to Sarah Ann Cooke, beginning 10 January 1867, collecting sums amounting to \$180 for quarterly interest payments during six of the visits. He said, “She manifested no feeling but that of regret of not being able to pay more or faster.” On two of the visits, he said, Sarah regretfully explained that she was unable to pay him, “money being scarce and being difficult for her to raise . . . [and] she had been disappointed by her pupils taking music lessons.” Park testified that he reported these facts to Brigham Young and was told not to “trouble her.”⁷¹

Brigham Young testified on 23 October 1872. He was asked only twelve questions. He testified that he had purchased the half lot from William Wadsworth and that Mrs. Cooke had “occupied the house by my permission as my tenant at my will and pleasure [with] nothing [being] defined as to terms . . . because she was poor and had no home.” He stated emphatically that “he had never given the property to her” and that there was no contract between them

⁶⁹ Elias Smith, Journals, 1836–88, 17 October 1872, 332, MS 1319, LDS Church Archives.

⁷⁰ “Testimony of Thomas Cooke,” in *Application of Sarah Ann Cooke*, 65–68.

⁷¹ “Testimony of Hamilton Park,” *ibid.*, 76–79.

but that she wanted to purchase the property. For the first time, Brigham Young testified that he had gone to the Salt Lake City Council and asked them to "assist the family of William Cooke." The council had then appropriated two thousand dollars and gave it to Sarah to purchase the property. In conclusion, he said he had "disposed of [the property] to his son, Hyrum Smith Young," and no longer owned it.⁷²

So many questions remained unasked. Neither Judge Smith nor Sarah's attorneys ever asked Young whether specific points in Sarah's testimony were correct, what he knew about East's letter, why Young refused payment, or why Young had never asked Sarah for rent if she was his tenant, and how he had arrived at the four thousand dollar figure. Other testimony was taken but none directly related to Sarah's claims.

After deliberating until 8 July 1874, Smith ruled that "Sarah A. Cook[e] being only a tenant at will of Brigham Young . . . is not the rightful owner of the land claimed and described in her application . . . [and] that Brigham Young is the rightful owner." It would obviously have been difficult for him to have ruled against Brigham Young. Sarah appealed Smith's decision to the Third District Court which, after various legal maneuvers, finally ruled on 11 April 1877, based on "the record from the Probate Court of Salt Lake County" without hearing oral arguments. Judge Michael Schaeffer reversed Smith's ruling: "Sarah Ann Cooke was and is the rightful owner and occupant of the west half of lot number two in Block seventy-eight." He ordered that "a deed . . . should be issued to her."⁷³ Brigham Young and his son, Hyrum Smith Young, immediately appealed the decision to the Territorial Supreme Court. On 17 August 1878, this court, consisting of the three federal district judges, unanimously affirmed the judgment of the Third District Court. Judge Jacob Boreman, writing for the court, found: "The language and actions of Brigham Young cannot be fairly interpreted . . . in any other light than as his making a gift of the property in controversy to [Sarah Ann Cooke] . . . and he could not afterwards change his views so as to entitle him to claim the property. [Cooke] was in pos-

⁷² "Testimony of Brigham Young," *ibid.*, 82-83.

⁷³ District Court decision, *ibid.*

session and occupancy, and rightfully so, and that was as far as it was necessary to ascertain to whom the title should go.”⁷⁴

The case thus ended seven years after it had begun. Sarah had finally won clear title to her home, and it remained in her family for almost half a century.⁷⁵ This legal battle had many ramifications. Sarah, who had left the Mormon Church, became a member of the Congregational Church. She had become the “first person to win a civil judgment against Brigham Young” and for the rest of her life was proud of being the little lady who stood up against Brigham Young. In November 1878, Sarah was elected president of the Ladies Anti-Polygamy Society, giving that organization an element of immediate stature.

While Sarah filed her suit initially out of fear of losing her home, Brigham Young counterattacked because he believed her actions lacked faith in his honesty. Ultimately, the case was based on hard feelings and stubbornness. Both Sarah and Brigham Young believed that the other did not recognize all they had done for each other. While Young believed he had provided the home for her use during her lifetime (not as a permanent gift) and had no intention of selling it, Sarah believed that the house had been given to her for her husband’s service to Salt Lake City and hers to Brigham Young and to the LDS Church. It was a case of two proud individuals who would not compromise because both saw it as an abuse of trust.

⁷⁴ Utah Territorial Supreme Court, *Cooke v. Young*, 2 Utah 254 (Utah 1877).

⁷⁵ Sarah died on 7 August 1885, bequeathing her property equally to her three children living in Salt Lake City (Thomas Wetmore Cooke, Richard Welfort Cooke, and Eva Ann Dykes). “Estate of Sarah Ann Cooke,” Case #1570, Probate Court Files, Third District, Utah State Archives. The property remained in the family until the mid-1920s when it was sold to pay property taxes and other expenses. Salt Lake County Recorder, Abstract Records, Book C-12, 88-91, Salt Lake City Recorder’s Office.

REVIEWS

Glen M. Leonard. *Nauvoo: A Place of Peace, A People of Promise*. Salt Lake City/Provo, Utah: Deseret Book/Brigham Young University Press, 2002. xxiii, 828 pp. Photographs, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95 cloth. ISBN 1-57008-746-6

Reviewed by Alma R. Blair

Glen Leonard's *Nauvoo: A Place of Peace, A People of Promise* is the most important contribution to the general history of Nauvoo since Robert Flanders's *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965) and Marvin Hill's *Quest for Refuge: The Mormon Flight from American Pluralism* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989). Leonard's *Nauvoo* surpasses those works in the scope of subjects covered and brings new information to bear on important topics but does not replace Flanders or Hill. The section covering post-Mormon Nauvoo is excellent. Most "faithful" Mormon readers will welcome Leonard's themes and treatment of Joseph Smith and his city. More critical readers will be both pleased and frustrated.

His main theme is that the Saints rejected the democratic individualism and republicanism of Jacksonian America in favor of a covenant, theocratic community. Leonard's emphasis on the pervasive influence of religion in all aspects of Nauvoo life is a welcome perspective. More suspect is his declaration:

Because the enduring legacy of Mormon Nauvoo for those who care the most about its history is religious, it makes sense to tell the story from the perspective of revelations and doctrine. That is what we [*sic*] have chosen to do. . . . The story of spiritual yearnings necessarily plays out on a stage where political strains, economic realities, and social strivings in everyday life interact with the Latter-day Saint world view. . . . The real story of the Church in Nauvoo is essentially one of a people of faith. (xviii-xix)

Throughout the book I have allowed the Saints themselves to speak, to share their feelings about the meaning of the unfolding drama that defined the Nauvoo years. (xxi)

This approach presents a danger of writing parochial, hagiographic history and abrogating the historian's responsibility to interpret the past from a larger perspective than that held by the participants.

Leonard develops two subthemes: the Saints' actions were directed by a search for their own safety and justice, and questionable political activities such as voting as a bloc or trying to have Nauvoo declared a kind of U.S. territory were essentially defensive, not expansive or aggressive. He is less successful in presenting the extent of the fear and reasons for the antagonism of non-Mormons and dissenters. Their negative reactions are usually attributed to cultural disparities, unfortunate misunderstandings, or a lack of spiritual maturity.

For instance, he suggests that those who opposed control of temporal affairs by the church "in a religiously motivated (communal) plan to share with the poor were not prepared, either by political upbringing or religious maturity, to live [the plan.] In their concern over theocratic government, they appealed to the traditions of their political fathers. They preferred the safe haven of republican society and the secular, collected community" (12). It could be argued that it was the non-dissenting Saints who lacked religious maturity and sought a "safe haven" in a prophet-directed, controlled, and intolerant society. Oliver Cowdery was driven from Far West, Missouri, in 1838 under threat of physical harm for, among several charges, criticizing "what he called 'a kind of petty government, controlled and dictated by ecclesiastical influence, in the midst of this national and state government'" (12) and for selling his land in Jackson County, Missouri, against Smith's counsel. Ironically, shortly after Cowdery's expulsion, the Prophet encouraged the Saints to sell their land in Missouri to salvage what resources they could.

In his discussion of Joseph Smith's experiences in Liberty Jail in the winter of 1838-39, Leonard accepts Joseph's disclaimer that he knew nothing about the Danites' raids on non-Mormons (a much-debated point), and postulates that a softer, gentler Joseph emerged who "claimed no ill feeling toward those who had wronged him or the church" and who counseled the Saints "'to have patience, and . . . bear with all manner of afflictions; that ye do not revile against those who do cast you out'" (16). Leonard says that the "inspired guidelines" in Smith's letters "defined the ecclesiastical organization of the church as noncoercive." He seems to see no disparity between these points and the problem of Joseph's role in determining what would constitute "strident internal opposition" leading to excommunications in Nauvoo. Nor does Leonard raise the question, as others have, of whether Smith might personally fit the pattern he had learned "by sad experience that it is the nature and the disposition of almost all men, as soon as they get a little authority, as they suppose, they will immediately begin to exercise unrighteous dominion" (18).

Leonard had access to the voluminous research done under the direction of T. Edgar Lyon and to a wealth of new scholarship. He has added many details to our understanding of Nauvoo's merchandising and commerce, agricultural and industrial character, class structure, social activities, and entertainment. The maps showing Nauvoo land purchases, locations of stakes, areas outside Nauvoo where the Saints were concentrated, and names of important towns are very useful, although some are difficult to read. The Nauvoo Legion's size, organization, armaments, drilling fields, and uniforms are given in detail, as is significant information on the legion's relationship to the state and county militia system.

Leonard's most impressive contribution is his treatment of the Nauvoo Charter. He suggests that, instead of adopting a municipal form of government, the Saints combined styles of governance used in their "quorums" and in Church meetings, similar to New England town meetings. For sixteen months the high council ran Commerce and Nauvoo, filling legislative and judicial functions in both religious and secular affairs. The chartered city council tended to follow these models, and "the lines between church and state sometimes blurred" (91). "In all of these municipal arrangements," Leonard argues, "it was in their use rather than their definition that Nauvoo city officials offended their neighbors" (103).

He also points to the existing confusion in the nation over the relative powers of local, state, and federal governments, with local home rule a popular position. He contends that the charters of Springfield, Galena, and Quincy enabled the city councils "in their jurisdiction" in "effect" to "pass ordinances that contradicted state law, as long as those ordinances did not conflict with the state or national constitution" (102-3). It was not illogical, therefore, for Joseph Smith to ascribe wide jurisdiction to Nauvoo's government.

Despite these generally positive contributions, Leonard's *Nauvoo* is apologetic in tone. Joseph Smith is treated with uniform deference, not as a leader who may have made major mistakes or had serious character flaws.

For example, an early revelation establishing a communal, common stock system as God's economic plan was modified in two later revelations. Leonard outlines the changes but omits the fact that legal challenges forced a rewriting of the early revelation. By Nauvoo there had been a complete policy reversal. Leonard describes that Smith "preached for an hour, 'designing to show the folly of common stock. In Nauvoo,' he said, 'every one is steward over his own.'" Adds Leonard, "The prophet had concluded that the leveling effect of the New Testament ideal could not be realized in the world of ordinary men" (143). A more critical writer, rather than accepting Joseph's revelations at face value as being from God, might wonder about external influences involved in the formulation and modification of revelations, and might explore the pragmatic nature of Joseph's prophetic character.

As another example, Leonard points out that political opposition consolidated against the Saints in the 1843 congressional election when religion was directly injected into the campaign. Joseph had long contended that he did not control the Saints' votes; but, Leonard notes, the Saints understood that "union" meant agreement in politics as well as in doctrine. So, although Joseph had promised his personal vote to the Whig candidate, the Saints shifted their vote to the Democratic candidate (Hoge), after Smith told his followers:

I have not come to tell you to vote this way, that way, or the other. . . . The Lord has not given me Revelation concerning politics. I have not asked the Lord for it. I am a third party [and] stand independent and alone. . . . Brother Hiram [Smith] tells me this morning that he has had a testimony that it will be better for this people to vote for [H]oge and I never knew Hiram say he ever had a revelation and it failed. . . . (Let God speak and all men hold their peace). (299)

Leonard's conclusion is frank and tantalizing:

The Latter-day Saint effort to protect their rights through bloc voting for their political friends . . . created the very problem the Saints had hoped to prevent. The citizens of western Illinois reacted against what they saw as untenable political and religious threats. In a religion that merged earthly and heavenly kingdoms, attempts to publicly separate them failed, and the Saints themselves shared in both the causes and the consequences of that failure. (300)

The reader is left to wonder, however, whether, Leonard saw this development as only a tactical error or whether there really might be a fundamental conflict between the two systems. Also, the extent of Smith's responsibility for Nauvoo's political debacle is not clearly delineated in the discussion. Surely the Prophet should have known that his support of Hyrum's revelation could not be tolerated in the larger society. It would appear that Joseph was, at the least, politically naive in this instance. And although Joseph honestly claimed to love and support the U.S. Constitution, he was unable to see how his ideas of the covenant community might clash with the Constitution's separation of religion and state. In this situation, as in Smith's insistence on his interpretation of the Nauvoo Charter and his willingness to violate Illinois laws forbidding polygamy, the question of hubris arises.

Issues that presently are sensitive to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints are smoothed over in the narrative, and solutions are found where debate still reigns in the historical community. For instance, Leonard points to attempts to control liquor by the drink in Nauvoo but neglects to mention that the early laws were primarily concerned with "hard" liquor, that consumption of beer, ale, and wine was common among the Saints, that Smith gave permission to Theodore Turley to build a brewery next to the Mansion House and allowed Orrin Porter Rockwell to install a bar in the

Mansion House, that laws became less restrictive over time, and that in December 1843 the city council authorized Smith to sell spirits in his house in any quantities he thought wise. By 1844 anyone who could afford the expensive license could sell liquor by the drink.

Leonard also avoids the controversy over the Book of Abraham by never discussing non-Mormon Egyptologists' conclusions that Smith's papyri have nothing to do with Abraham. Instead, he suggests that we do not know how Joseph translated the papyri, except that it was by revelation and quotes an article from *The Encyclopedia of Mormonism*:

Studies of Egyptian temple rituals since the time of Joseph Smith have revealed parallels with Latter-day Saint temple celebrations and doctrine, including a portrayal of the creation and fall of mankind, washings and anointings, and the ultimate return of individuals to God's presence. Moreover, husband, wife, and children are sealed together for eternity, genealogy is taken seriously; people will be judged according to their deeds in this life, and the reward for a just life is to live in the presence of God forever with one's family. It seems unreasonable to suggest that all such parallels occurred by mere chance. (258)¹

Leonard concludes: "This explanation satisfies Joseph Smith's revelatory promise of a linking of both 'ancient things' and 'things which have been kept hid from before the foundation of the world'" (258). However, the explanations do not satisfy non-Mormon objections that the "parallels" are broadly drawn, that Egyptian rituals are not those found in Latter-day Saint endowment ceremonies, that scholarly translations of the papyri by non-Mormons show they have no connection with Abraham, and that Smith's identification of figures and his Egyptian alphabet are incorrect.

Leonard's discussion of the Council of Fifty, a group responsible for making economic and political preparations for the Kingdom of God to be established at Christ's second coming, only obliquely mentions, and never explains, Smith's being crowned "king" and other members of the Council "princes." Instead, Leonard says that the council was "organized under a monarchical pattern with Joseph Smith as standing chairman over a cabinet of ministers" (326). Leonard's hesitancy is somewhat justified since the exact role the members expected to play is uncertain. However, the Saints envisioned real, functioning government in the future with priesthood-holders as officers and foresaw a time when the Church would have to step in to save the nation. The titles may, therefore, have been more than symbolic. Editors of the *Nauvoo Expositor* feared that they were, proclaiming that they wanted no "king or lawgiver" over them except Jesus Christ. The matter was potentially dangerous to Nauvoo given Americans' historical sensitivity toward

¹Michael Rhodes, "Studies about the Book of Abraham," *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 1:137-38.

kingship, John C. Bennett's exposés, and rumors about a filibuster by Aaron Burr and James Wilkinson. Leonard's statement that dissenters caused problems by spreading "reports that Joseph Smith and his followers were being made kings and queens in secret ceremonies" (360) likely referred to endowment ceremonies rather than to offices in the Council of Fifty.

Leonard treats non-Mormons and dissenters more sympathetically and accurately than have many earlier Mormon writers but still places them uniformly in the wrong. After noting that Smith frequently counseled patience toward those who disagreed with him, Leonard writes: "Several Nauvoo residents struck such a strident tone of dissonance in their private and public behavior that decision makers could no longer tolerate the threat to harmony and righteousness in the gathered community. . . . Ultimately, the open resistance of these few led to the legal crisis that ended in the murder of Joseph Smith and Hyrum Smith" (342). This seems an unfair characterization of the dissenters who did not count polygamy as "righteousness" and who disagreed with some of the new doctrines on theological principles. Leonard deceptively charges that "many" of them had been denied sealings because of immorality and so "turned against the Lord's spokesman and His church" (343). It can be argued that, rather than striking "a strident tone of dissonance," they brought into the light of day Smith's new doctrines and practices that so profoundly troubled them, including the deep secrecy with which he tried to keep them shrouded. Joseph and Hyrum told the city council that the *Nauvoo Expositor* was twisting the truth and that the only polygamy Joseph discussed pertained to "the order in ancient days" (364); such statements were clearly falsehoods deliberately designed to destroy the character of the dissenters and legitimize the destruction of the paper.

In the interests of historical accuracy, Leonard should also have mentioned that charges of immorality on the part of "apostates" are suspect and that William and Jane Law were not notified of their church trial and could not defend themselves. At some point readers might expect an admission that, for whatever reasons seemed good to them at the time—and no doubt out of a sense of desperation—Church leaders nevertheless acted illegally and unethically.

Although *Nauvoo: A Place of Peace, a People of Promise* lacks candor at critical times, it makes many important contributions and gives a scholarly view of Nauvoo through Mormon eyes that is well worth reading.

ALMA R. BLAIR {alblair@grm.net} taught Latter Day Saint history at Graceland University, Lamoni, Iowa, for thirty-nine years and has instructed student guides at the Joseph Smith Historic Center in Nauvoo for twenty-eight years. He has had responsible roles in the restoration of the Mansion House and Liberty Hall (the Joseph Smith III home in Lamoni). He

has also been active as a member and officer in the Mormon History Association and the John Whitmer Historical Association.

Robert V. Remini. *Joseph Smith*. New York: Penguin Putnam, 2002. xv, 190 pp. Sources, bibliography, index. \$19.95 cloth. ISBN 0-670-03083-X

Reviewed by Thomas G. Alexander

Like a breath of fresh air, Robert Remini's *Joseph Smith* has wafted in among the horde of recently published tomes. In contrast to recent works such as Richard Abanes's *One Nation Under Gods: A History of the Mormon Church* (New York: Four Walls Eight Windows, 2002), Will Bagley's *Blood of the Prophets: Brigham Young and the Massacre at Mountain Meadows* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), Sally Denton's *American Massacre: The Tragedy at Mountain Meadows, September 11, 1857* (New York: Knopf, 2003), and Jon Krakauer, *Under the Banner of Heaven: A Story of Violent Faith* (New York: Doubleday, 2003), each of which argues in one way or another that violence epitomizes Mormonism, Robert Remini finds Joseph Smith "unquestionably the most important reformer and innovator in American religious history" (ix). Moreover, instead of relying on critical secondary sources or affidavits from Mormon haters, Remini decided "after considerable thought . . . to present [Joseph's] . . . religious experiences just as he described them in his writings and let readers decide for themselves to what extent they would give credence to them" (x).

Moreover, Remini consulted with scholars who have engaged in intensive research on Joseph Smith and his work. These include such authorities as Richard Bushman, Scott Faulring, Ronald Esplin, Dean Jesse, William Hartley, Grant Underwood, and John Welch.

Still, readers should not expect a full-scale biography. Like other books in the Penguin Lives series, this work provides a short overview of the subject's life. The editors undoubtedly chose Remini because he is an expert on the Jacksonian era when Joseph Smith did his work. Most significant are Remini's multi-volume biography of Andrew Jackson, his biographies of other political leaders, and his general works.

Since Remini knows the early nineteenth century intimately, instead of labeling Mormonism a bizarre sect, he places the religion and Smith within the Second Great Awakening, the extraordinarily rich and diverse religious milieu of the time. He recognizes, for instance, that folk magic flourished during this period as an aspect of culture compatible with other religious experience. Moreover, he points out that intense—and to the twenty-first century sensibility, alternative—religious experiences occurred frequently.

Following the discussion of the religious context, he moves to consider Joseph Smith's family and the First Vision. Although he tells the story much as a Latter-day Saint might, he is quite open about Smith's money-digging and other occult activities. Moreover, like Richard Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), Remini believes that Smith gave up the occult activities as his religious condition changed. Remini then turns to Joseph's experiences with Moroni and to the Book of Mormon. Far from considering the Book of Mormon chloroform in print as Mark Train did or a delusion as Alexander Campbell asserted, Remini considers the book "an extraordinary work in several particulars" (71). These include its rapid translation, its religious narrative coupled with political and military history, and such features as the sermons and prophecy it contains. Furthermore, Remini understood that in chronicling "bringing the Gospel to the Americas . . . [the Book of Mormon] is a story that people of the Jacksonian era could easily relate to and understand" (72). Moreover, while Campbell criticized the book for addressing the "great religious questions and controversies that raged within the Burned-Over District" (73), Remini sees it as a positive feature. He seems quite fair in his treatment of events surrounding the book, presenting, for instance both Martin Harris's version of the visit with Professor Charles Anthon and Anthon's later contradiction of Harris's memory.

Following the discussion of the coming forth of the Book of Mormon, Remini turns to the early history of the Church in New York and the developments in Kirtland. Using the methodology he promised, Remini details revelations such as the three degrees of glory, the inspired revision of the Bible, and the gathering. The author's familiarity with the Jacksonian era facilitates his comparison with other communitarian experiments. The narrative considers rightly such negative experiences as the attacks on Joseph Smith and the failure of the Kirtland Safety Society as well as the struggles and success in constructing the Kirtland Temple.

Succeeding chapters consider the horrors of Far West. Remini describes Joseph as encouraging the activities of the Danites but repudiating the organization after it "grew more and more violent" (129). The narrative chronicles Lilburn Boggs's infamous extermination order, the flight of the Saints from Missouri, and the jailing and eventual escape of Joseph and his associates.

In describing the Nauvoo period, Remini tells of the community's development under Joseph's leadership and his incarceration and murder. Joseph Smith's return after escaping, Remini argues, "resonates with a clear echo of Christ in Gethsemane" (169). Desiring the cup to pass from him,

Smith went peaceably to jail, tried to defend himself, but finally died a martyr to his beliefs.

In evaluating Joseph Smith, those who supported him, and those who opposed his work, Remini rightly emphasizes first that the Church was a religious organization which generated antagonism in part because it rejected many contemporary teachings. Beyond this, he recognizes that Mormon economic cooperation and clannishness generated opposition. Remini attributes Smith's assassination to "the simple reason that his political activities had become extremely dangerous to the citizens of the surrounding towns" (177). "His murder," Remini argues, "was a political act of assassination" (178).

Remini ends with an evaluation. The church Joseph founded has succeeded far beyond contemporary expectations. Nevertheless, he acknowledges that Smith had "human frailties." He "craved recognition and appreciation" for his work (180). Still, though a "man of little formal education," he possessed "striking intellectual power" (180). Finally, Remini again attributes much of Joseph's success to the context in which he worked—the Jacksonian era and the Second Great Awakening—which also engendered the "religious bigotry" that eventually "brought about the violent death of a decent man who claimed to be a prophet of God" (181–82).

Clearly the strength of Remini's work lies not in his telling of the life of Joseph Smith. Most of the information about Smith's life which Remini presents has been told elsewhere. Rather, he helps readers by placing Joseph within the context of the time in which he lived and worked. Remini understands the Jacksonian period and the Second Great Awakening, and as such he emphasizes their creativity, religiosity, contentiousness, and violence.

THOMAS G. ALEXANDER is the Lemuel Hardison Redd Jr. Professor of Western American History at Brigham Young University.

Dean C. Jessee, comp and ed. *Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*. Rev. ed. Salt Lake City/Provo, Utah: Deseret Book/Brigham Young University Press, 2002. xxix, 751 pp. Front matter, photographs, maps, biographical register, bibliography, index. Cloth: \$32.95; ISBN 1-57345-787-6

Reviewed by Ronald E. Romig

This updated and revised edition of Dean Jessee's celebrated 1982 volume offers readers nearly all of the personal writings of Joseph Smith—whether written in his own hand or dictated to a scribe—in a sin-

gle resource. The revision includes photographs of original documents, journal entries, letters and other source materials that reveal much about the life and character of Joseph Smith Jr.

Those fortunate enough to personally know Dean Jessee are aware that he is both a dedicated professional and a caring human being. Because he has devoted his life to making quality source materials available to the scholarly and wider community, all of his publications are worthy of note. Jessee deserves much credit for refining what has become a now-familiar genre of historical Mormon source materials. Jessee's work provides a model of excellence worthy of emulation.

Since this is a revised edition, readers will probably find the overall organization and content familiar. Jesse continues to provide a straightforward, chronological arrangement of Smith's writings. These offerings reveal the development and growth of Smith's ideas and their expression. Jessee's goal is, as it has ever been, to provide the best transcription of Smith's holographic material possible. And he succeeds, with admirable attention to detail. He has studied and worked with these historical sources perhaps longer than any other person. His work builds upon and extends earlier publications of portions of Joseph's writings made available by H. Michael Marquardt, *Joseph Smith's Diaries* (Salt Lake City: Modern Microfilm [Utah Lighthouse], ca. early 1980s) and Scott H. Faulring, *An American Prophet's Record: The Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1987).

As a personal friend and long-time admirer of Dean Jessee's work, I asked him directly why researchers would want or need a revised edition of his earlier work in their libraries. He answered that *Personal Writings* had been "out of print for several years." Furthermore, "reprinting provided another opportunity to improve the format, share current interpretations of familiar content, make needed corrections throughout, and remove some mistakes." Perhaps the most notable correction was to remove six Hofmann forgeries included in the first edition. Even though subsequent scholarship and events have cleared up all speculation about their origins, their presence in the first edition could have been confusing to some.

This second edition, while removing the forgeries, adds six items not included in the 1982 edition:

To the Reader, March 1830; To the Elders of the Church, September-December 1835; To Heber C. Kimball and Brigham Young, 16 January 1839; To the Wilkinson Family [February 1840]; Resolution, March 1842; Proclamation, 11 June 1844.

Further, [Jessee explains] the book's format and content has been improved in the following areas: endnotes were changed to footnotes; a biographical register was added to identify people mentioned in the text (pages 657-703); journal dates were set off from the entries; and

republication allowed for the comparison of the text of the documents against the original manuscripts one more time. (xvi)

Then there are the wonderful maps! Maps in this edition were upgraded and improved. Utilizing contributions directly from Larry Porter, James L. Kimball, Mark L. Staker, Donald L. Enders, and Max H. Parkin and informed by an ever-improving body of geographical literature emerging from the larger Mormon scholarly community, the maps prove a valuable resource. They are the most current series of Church history maps now available. The maps alone are worth the price of the book. Map artwork was generated by computer, by Richard Erickson, the art director at Deseret Book Company who also may be credited with the overall design of a very attractive book, and by Robert Erickson (relationship not specified). But no matter how carefully an editorial team rechecks every detail, there are always unintended problems. In this instance, Jesse explained apologetically to me that the maps of Kirtland and Palmyra “were cannibalized somehow after the final proof.”

Jessee has faithfully presented the content of Smith’s writings, while allowing the reader to come to his or her own conclusion about much of its meaning. Both editions of *Personal Writings* include a remarkable letter from Smith to Sidney Rigdon, 27 March 1843. Jesse notes: “By 1843 Rigdon’s influence had diminished, due partly to his ill health and partly to a strained relationship that developed between him and the Prophet. Joseph was convinced that Rigdon was practicing ‘deception and wickedness’ against him and the Church stemming from Rigdon’s position as Nauvoo postmaster”:

[e]ver since soon after the first appearance of John C. Bennet in this place. There has been something dark & my[s]terious hovering over our business concerns that are not only palpable but altogether unaccountable in relation to the Post office, and Sir from the very first of the pretensions of John C Bennet, to secure to me the Post office, (which, by the by I have <never> desired, if I could have justice done me in that department,) <without my occupancy> I have known, Sir, that it was a fraud practiced upon me, and of the secret plottings & conniving between him & yourself in relation to the matter the whole time, as well as many other things which I have kept locked up in my own bosom but I am constrained at this time, to make known my feelings to you. (580–81)

Jessee’s commentary provides insights into the context of the episode but leaves the reader wondering about the quality of the interpersonal interactions that prompted the exchange.

Therefore, my only concern with the work is that, while Jessee’s accurate and insightful footnoting provides an invaluable resource tool, his annotations tend to be both neutral and frustratingly reserved; furthermore, they draw too exclusively on internal LDS scholarship. The Community of Christ Archives has been pleased to have the opportunity to contribute to this ef-

fort by making primary Smith materials available to supplement this collection but would have been even happier at finding the occasional inclusion of nonsympathetic interpretations of Smith's experiences. Such an approach would have allowed a deeper, richer context within which to discuss Smith's activities. A tendency to focus on some issues while minimizing others may well succeed in hiding his moments of human failing but may also actually obscure the true scope of Joseph Smith's triumphs.

Notwithstanding such modest reservations, Jessee may be justifiably proud of this outstanding edition. Significantly, the revised edition of *Personal Writings* again makes available in print nearly all of Smith's significant holograph writings. Furthermore, the revision clearly accomplishes its goals, improving accuracy and furnishing a considerably more reader-friendly edition. Scholars and interested readers will not want to be without a copy close at hand.

RONALD E. ROMIG {rromig@CofChrist.org} is Community of Christ Archivist, Independence, Missouri.

Armand L. Mauss. *All Abraham's Children: Changing Mormon Conceptions of Race and Lineage*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003. xvi, 343 pp. Figures, tables, appendices, references, index. Cloth: \$36.95; ISBN: 0-252-02803-1

Reviewed by Bron B. Ingoldsby

This eagerly awaited book is a distillation of the work and thought, over the course of his career, of Armand Mauss, emeritus professor of sociology, Washington State University, on the topic of race in the LDS Church. Since researching his dissertation in 1970, he has investigated the attitudes and behaviors of Mormons toward certain racial/ethnic groups, particularly Native Americans, Jews, and African Americans. While he provides the reader with an historical chronology of these evolving attitudes, he does so within a sociological framework or interpretation of those materials.

Those who enjoyed his *The Angel and the Beehive: The Mormon Struggle with Assimilation* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994) and others of his writings will want to read this book as well and will not be disappointed. In the first two chapters, Mauss explains the gradual development of the concept of lineage identity among Mormons. In his view, this process was cultural rather than revelatory. The Book of Mormon appears to identify the

early Saints as "Gentiles" assigned to bring the full gospel back to the Lamanites, or Native Americans of Jewish descent.

However, Mormonism's founder, Joseph Smith, received other revelations that led him to believe that his family and those of other early Church members were of the leading Israelite tribe of Ephraim. Actual Gentiles who converted to the true religion would also become Israelites as well. As Mauss explains: "The Mormon prophet Joseph Smith was among those who took literally the relationship between lineage and blood, declaring in an 1839 sermon that converts from Gentile lineages would miraculously undergo an actual change of blood, making their conversion a somewhat more physical experience than would be the case for those converts of literal Israelite descent" (23).

The majority of early Church converts were either descended from or residents of Western Europe, Great Britain, and Scandinavia. They brought with them fairly commonly held ideas, among them the notion that they were a superior race which included descendants of some of the "lost tribes" of Israel. Eventually, most Mormons came to believe that humans are born into mortal lineages which reflect the talents and faithfulness they developed in the premortal existence, each having certain birthrights and destinies, with the chosen Israelites at the favored end of the continuum and the cursed descendants of Cain at the other.

Mauss documents that present-day Church leaders now make almost no reference to favored lineages and that Mormons now hold a view similar to the rest of Christianity—which is that all who follow God's laws, regardless of background, are "Abraham's children" by virtue of their faith. How did this doctrinal development occur historically? Mauss's central thesis is that the root cause driving the change has been the Church's missionary focus. Early Mormons believed that descendants of chosen Israel would find themselves irresistibly attracted to the gospel message; success in northwestern Europe supported the Mormon founder's beliefs that that is where the Israelite descendants, particularly of Ephraim, had clustered. Worldwide expansion of proselyting efforts has resulted in a number of adjustments in Mormon lineage beliefs as successes have not always occurred where they were expected. Mauss quotes Andrew Jenson, assistant Church historian: "We are of Israel, and . . . when our genealogy is revealed in detail, it will lead us back . . . to England and thence to Scandinavia and Germany, and from there to . . . that part of Asia where the Ten Tribes were lost" (28). He went on to indicate that lack of missionary success with the Latin and Oriental peoples was due to their lack of Israelite blood. Later successes in those very areas, however, have led to a more recent redefinition of lineage. By the 1950s, Church Patriarch Eldred G. Smith had declared lineage to mean simply "the tribe through which the promises of inheritance shall come" (35).

In chapters 2–5, Mauss details the Church’s struggle to find the true Lamanites. Early Mormons clearly expected North American Native Americans to convert and become “civilized” in large numbers. This never happened, and Church members over time came to see them in the same basically negative ways shared by other Euro-Americans. During the 1950s–1970s, under the leadership of Spencer W. Kimball, first an apostle and later Church president, the Church sustained another major effort to convert Native Americans; but Indian seminary, placement, and BYU programs were eventually evaluated as not cost effective and were eliminated.

In recent decades, however, the lack of interest by North American Indians has been counterbalanced by dramatic missionary successes in Latin America, with significant LDS populations in countries such as Mexico, Brazil, and Chile. Mauss explains that the Church’s missionary efforts in Latin America and Polynesia merged nicely with these people’s needs to construct their own identities, which would help distinguish them in positive ways from that of the Europeans who had colonized their countries. Mauss explains:

LDS converts throughout Latin America have been able to use the Lamanite identity to claim a special or divine distinction in contrast to both their Hispanic colonial conquerors and their Anglo-Mormon coreligionists. Already in 1972, Latin American Mormons were being encouraged to do so in the official church magazine itself. . . . Polynesian Mormons have made similar uses of their constructed Israelite heritage for more than a century. Despite a rather tenuous basis in the Mormon canon for the Polynesian claim to such an identity, the claim has been widely embraced among Mormons in both North America and Polynesia. (149–50)

These new members have been happy to assume the Lamanite identity as one that is uplifting for them, and U.S. Mormons are pleased to have finally found someone to fit their Book of Mormon expectations.

Readers who are old enough to remember living through many of these various LDS ethnic boundary shifts will enjoy Mauss’s retracing of them. I remember as a young Book of Mormon reader, trying to understand how we white Mormons were both Gentiles and Israelites. I pondered the failures of the many programs designed for Native Americans and was excited to learn of Book of Mormon geographic theories which placed the Nephites and Lamanites in Mesoamerica, rather than North America. During my own proselytizing mission in South America, I met many devout Latter-day Saints who were thrilled to identify themselves as Lamanites. I would have enjoyed it if Mauss had been able to add a few more pages on how this identity was also transported from the Book of Mormon American shores to those of the islands of Polynesia.

In Chapters 6–7, Mauss discusses Mormon attitudes toward the Jews.

Here Church members tend to have a more favorable view than Christians in general. Instead of seeing them as those who “killed Christ” and need to be converted, Mormons identify with them as fellow Israelites who have a special latter-day mission in their part of the world. As a result, according to Mauss, they are one of only two groups that the Mormons have purposefully chosen not to proselytize. (The second group was those of black African descent.) The few exceptions included short-lived programs in California and New York by Apostle LeGrand Richards and swimsuit designer Rose Marie Reid.

Mauss shares sociological research which indicates that Mormons have significantly lower rates of anti-Semitism than do other groups, much of it summarized in the appendices. Unfortunately, a printer error in Appendix C resulted in the diagrams for C.1 and C.4 being switched. The titles are correct, but the path models themselves need to be interchanged.

Chapters 8–9 recount the historical development of the concept that African lineage was “cursed,” and recent events surrounding the ending of that curse by Spencer W. Kimball in 1978 with its consequences. Mauss explains the origins of the Church’s decision to deny priesthood ordination and temple access to those of black African ancestry. He also addresses the confusion and controversy during the time of the civil rights movement and the range of “racialist” (his term) views by Mormons. I think that many readers will find this section less detailed than they had hoped for. It would have benefited, for instance, from a more detailed explanation of the doctrinal/scriptural supports that the Church used in defending its priesthood ban.

However, the story of how that ban ended in 1978 and the role played by missionary work in Brazil and other places in that decision is fascinating. Those who served LDS missions before 1978 may remember the difficulties of coming across good people who might have “the blood,” with virtually no help from Church headquarters on how to deal it with. The unofficial books, articles, and stories that circulated attempted to explain and support the ban; but in the end, it all still sounded racist. As a young man, I was shocked when I read James Michener’s *Hawaii* (New York: Random House, 1959), which included this outsider’s view of Mormon beliefs: “Do you know why the Mormons had so much success in these islands? They admit frankly, ‘In heaven there are only white people.’ I suppose you know that a nigger can’t get a place to sleep in Salt Lake. So they tell us that if we are real good on earth and we love God, when we die God’s going to make us white, and then we’ll go to heaven and all will be hunky-dory” (837).

Rather than denounce the previous doctrine as incorrect, Church leaders have taken the approach of simply not discussing it anymore. On this point, Mauss steps out of his usual position of objective observer:

The identification of blacks with Cain, however, has never been officially dropped or even mildly disavowed by church leaders. At

least the traditional notions about the origin and significance of that lineage are no longer repeated in official discourse or literature. Yet they remain scattered throughout authoritative church books from the past that continue to be reprinted under the auspices of the church. . . . As long as the folklore about Cain continues to circulate among white Mormons, many of them will continue to impose an identity on blacks that will greatly complicate racial relationships and church growth; black Mormons, for their part, can never be quite sure how white Mormons look upon them. (275)

I really did like this book. My biggest complaint is Mauss's overuse of the word *invidious*. Chapter 10 is an excellent summary of the process of identity construction by the Mormon people for themselves and for others in relation to them. As missionary work around the world made it more difficult from the 1950s on to sustain a coherent framework for where Israel really was, geographically or theologically, these views gave way to a more universal interpretation. Mauss concludes: "Old notions from early Mormonism (and early America) simply could not be sustained in the face of the manifest eagerness of various peoples to embrace the Mormon message. This purging of the preoccupation with lineage has been the gift of the world's peoples to Mormonism" (268).

BRON B. INGOLDSBY {bingoldsby@byu.edu} is an associate professor in the School of Family Life, Brigham Young University, where his research focuses on cross-cultural family relations.

Donna Toland Smart, ed. *Exemplary Elder: The Life and Missionary Diaries of Perrigrine Sessions, 1814–1893*. Provo, Utah: BYU Studies/Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History, 2002. ix, 362 pp. Photographs, map, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth: \$18.95; ISBN 0-8425-2509-2

Reviewed by Carol Cornwall Madsen

One of the richest legacies of the Mormon experience is the large collection of personal writings by the well known and the lesser known. Perrigrine Sessions is one of the latter. His diary tells the story of the "daily living and dying of men and women both weak and valiant," as William Mulder once characterized the unnoted Saints of early Church history. "Their story is not epic," he wrote "except as life and many days together give it sweep—it is the sweep of daily existence, the great move-

ment that is the result of countless little movements.”¹ His life, like so many others, was a tributary to the mainstream of Mormon history, being best remembered as the founder of Bountiful, Utah, and as the son of his better-known mother, Patty Bartlett Sessions, a midwife and diarist.² Born in Newry, Maine, in 1814, Perrigrine was converted to Mormonism in 1835 at age twenty-one and became an unwavering believer and obedient follower, serving seven missions, marrying eight women, fathering fifty-five children, settling the second community in Utah, and serving the Church throughout his adult life.

He followed the westward odyssey of the Church, traveling to Kirtland, Ohio, where he met Joseph Smith, and then to Far West, Missouri. He experienced the expulsion from Missouri and noted that the liberation of Joseph Smith from Liberty Jail “gave us much joy. . . [and] caused our drooping spirits to revive as we were like sheep with out a shepherd that had been scattered in a cloudy and dark day” (43). In 1839, Perrigrine filled a one-year mission to Maine and in 1843 served another. Although his chronicle is largely cursory, it is enlivened by intermittent forays into colorful writing: “As the Saints met together,” he wrote on one occasion, “the Devils with his imps came also and howld like Missouri Preachers/mobers by druming on tinpans and jumping jim Crow” (64).

In the trek west, Sessions was appointed a captain of fifty, traveling in the “big” company which followed Brigham Young’s vanguard expedition. Three days after arriving in the Valley in September 1847, he took his family north to establish Sessions’ Settlement, now Bountiful. In 1852 he served another mission, this time to Great Britain. He and seventy other men traveled to Europe with the assignment to preach the gospel and introduce the principle of plural marriage, which had just been publicly announced. His graphic description of the arduous journey back across the plains and harrowing voyage to England invites respect for those who served missions during that period. Suffering from ill health for most of his mission, he returned home in 1854 with chronic problems from which he never fully recovered. Yet he served four more missions, all to Maine, where he labored to convert family members. He served his last mission when he was seventy-two. Afterward, he wrote only sporadically until his death seven years later in 1893.

¹ William Mulder, “Mormonism and Literature,” in *A Believing People, Literature of the Latter-day Saints*, edited by Richard H. Cracroft and Neal E. Lambert (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1974), 208–11.

² Donna Smart also edited Patty’s diaries in a prize-winning edition: *Mormon Midwife: The 1846–1888 Diaries of Patty Bartlett Sessions*, Vol. 2 of LIFE WRITINGS OF FRONTIER WOMEN, series editor Maureen Ursenbach Beecher (Logan: Utah State University, 1997).

Perrigrine Sessions left eight diaries, some of them rewritten as memoirs, covering the years 1834 to 1893 and including an extensive "genealogy." Following the dictum of Wilford Woodruff, Sessions was energetic in keeping an account of his missionary experiences but was less diligent in recording his life between missions. There is little mention of his wives and families and only brief references to his life in Bountiful. Donna Smart has wisely arranged the diaries/memoirs in chronological order, divided them into 13 chapters, and provided an explanatory introduction to each chapter. She has included ancillary information in boxed inserts, much of it from the "History of Bountiful" written by Perrigrine's son Carlos, and amplified by letters, articles from the *Millennial Star*, brief biographies of Perrigrine's wives, and other related documents. These inserts are sometimes placed within a chapter, occasionally interrupting the flow of the diary, but appear more often at the beginning or end. They provide the social environment in which Perrigrine lived and worked, which is missing from the diaries. The footnotes are exhaustive, sometimes overwhelming the terse notations in the diaries. They also account for a good portion of the book.

Perrigrine's record of his 1852-54 British mission is the centerpiece of the book, comprising a third of this published collection. He was appointed president of the Manchester Conference with duties that included preaching, supervising the elders and the branches, and chastising, if not excommunicating, wayward converts. His diary is often numbingly repetitious, recording his almost daily journeys on foot to each village and giving meaning to the term "traveling elder." A week in July 1853, for example, begins:

Thursday 14 to Stock port and preacht to the Saints . . . staid to brother Antony Rites *Friday 15* Visited many of the Saints and staid to brother Dunns *Saturday 16* to Ashton and staid to brother Lees health poor had a soar mouth *Sunday 17* preacht twice to Ashton with good Attention and a good spirit prevailed thence to Stely Bridg preacht to a small conragation and the Most of them saints thence to Dutonfield. (204)

Perrigrine then returned to Antony Rites and "slept with him and his Wife as they have but one bed in the house" (208).

Occasionally he describes a place, person, or event in memorable terms, demonstrating his eye for detail and imagery which well rewards the patient reader. He remembered his grandfather, for example, as a man "who never made any pretensions to christianity and was never daubed with the untempered mortar of sectarianism" (17). He took two full pages to describe a visit to Belle Vue Gardens in Manchester: "On the borders of the pond of water is plesent walks with their borders adorned with the finest trees that gro in the world with their fruit and flours and in the sides of these walks are summer houses with tables for you to take some refreshments on and sit and

read or Amuse your self as you please with a good brass band of Musick" (208). Obviously, the urban pleasures of this industrial city were, to this Bountiful, Utah man, a heady experience.

Donna Smart is to be congratulated for bringing to life one of the "ordinary" Saints through his own writing. She has given meticulous attention to detail in identifying the names, places, and references in the diaries. She has included a simple map of the towns near Newry, Maine, and Manchester, England, both useful in following the route of this itinerant preacher. *Exemplary Elder* reflects J. Reuben Clark's book, *To Them of the Last Wagon*, affirming the value of the followers as well as the leaders in the process of "kingdom building."³ Far more missionary experiences were patterned after Perrigrine's than Wilford Woodruff's. As a man in the trenches rather than on the hilltop, he represents the thousands whose stories still lie hidden in unseen diaries.

CAROL CORNWALL MADSEN {ccm@comcast.net} is a senior research historian at the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

Jeffrey S. O'Driscoll. *Hyrum Smith: A Life of Integrity*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2003. xix, 444 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, chronology, appendix, bibliography, index. Cloth: \$29.95; ISBN 1-57008-857-8

Reviewed by Richard K. Behrens

As his first book, Jeffrey O'Driscoll has undertaken the massive if not monumental task of systematically documenting all of Hyrum Smith's contributions to the Restoration. A medical doctor, O'Driscoll, has previously delivered papers at the Sperry and Book of Mormon Symposia at BYU and has served on the LDS Church Writing Committee.

O'Driscoll's stated objective in this biography is to update "Pearson H. Corbett's biography of Hyrum Smith that has been a useful resource for four decades but additional source material and the need for documentation invited another opportunity to write on Hyrum's life" (xviii). In addition to Hyrum's writings published in the *Millennial Star* and *Times and Seasons*, O'Driscoll has also, in many cases for the first time, quoted from the Hyrum Smith diaries and account books recently donated to Brigham Young University, the patriarchal blessings he gave recorded in the blessing book later

³ J. Reuben Clark, *To Them of the Last Wagon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1947).

taken over by William Smith, and various letters and affidavits. O'Driscoll's biography of Hyrum grew out of an original effort, suggested by an anonymous descendant of Smith's, to gather all of his words recorded directly or indirectly, to better identify his contribution to the Restoration. The end result, however, is to define a relationship of near parity between Hyrum Smith and his younger brother, the prophet Joseph Smith, while carefully not allowing Hyrum to ever get very far ahead of Joseph in any circumstance. Hyrum's role is always that of totally reliable first-level support for all of Joseph's efforts. Whenever Hyrum does appear to get ahead of Joseph on a particular issue or in a new situation, O'Driscoll readily and deftly transfers control back to Joseph with Hyrum being chastened on occasion.

Hyrum's relationship with Joseph is initially defined by his attendance on Joseph while Joseph was recovering from leg surgery as a child in 1813-16. That relationship steadily builds through family economic challenges, through the Book of Mormon's preparation (1827-30), and through the Church's dynamic growth and persecutions, finally culminating in the martyrdom of the two brothers (1844). It is refreshing to see this relationship from Hyrum's perspective. Though Hyrum always defers to Joseph as the ultimate spiritual authority on matters to be decided, his readiness to act and to take appropriate independent initiative is widely portrayed but carefully contained.

O'Driscoll systematically organizes the recorded events of Hyrum's life and encourages further research into the earlier enabling events that contributed to his later success. O'Driscoll uses some of the new material that has become available on Smith's early education which begins to foreshadow his Palmyra roles as school teacher and trustee. Further use of new material may have been helpful in better understanding his later assignments on building projects in Kirtland and Nauvoo and possibly even in identifying contributions to the evolution of Mormon doctrine.

Of particular interest are the numerous situations in which the brothers were able to rely upon each other. For example, the longest time they were ever separated was the five months from October 1839 to March 1840 when Joseph and Sidney Rigdon went to Washington, D.C., seeking redress for persecutions in Missouri. During that time, Hyrum was given total responsibility for resettling the Missouri refugees in Illinois and organizing their new settlement around Nauvoo, Illinois.

O'Driscoll tells the Restoration story through Hyrum Smith's words, relying on the records of others present with Hyrum at a specific event when Hyrum made no recorded comment. Therefore the text is rich in building a contemporary assessment of Hyrum's role in the early Church. For example, O'Driscoll relates this Nauvoo anecdote, recorded in Wilford Woodruff's journal:

At one meeting in Joseph's home, Hyrum stood by the dormant fireplace, delivered a lengthy discourse about the scriptures and said, "We must take them as our guide alone." As he sat down, Joseph requested Brigham to speak. "I had become pretty well charged with plenty of powder and ball. . . . I felt like a thousand lions," Brigham recalled. He took the various books of scripture, piled them on top of each other, and said, "I would not give the ashes of a rye straw for all those books for my salvation without living oracles. I should follow and obey the living oracles for my salvation instead of anything else."

Hyrum, the Patriarch and assistant president of the Church, had been soundly and publicly corrected by the president of the Twelve, but Hyrum did not chafe, balk, or complain. The mantle of leadership rested softly upon him. His mild manner yielded neither guile nor pride. When President Young finished, "Hyrum got up and made a confession for not including oracles." In Brigham's words, "Hyrum arose and made handsome apology, and confessed his wrong which he had committed in excess zeal, and asked pardon." Is it any wonder that Joseph loved Hyrum so much? (250–51)

O'Driscoll credits Hyrum with many high-performance achievements which have often been lost in past presentations. For example, Brigham Young is often given credit for bringing Artemus Millet from Canada to work on the Kirtland Temple, but the author more correctly states that Young converted Millet and Hyrum then called him to come to Kirtland to work on the temple (86–87). O'Driscoll's twenty-five-page appendix, "The Teachings of Hyrum Smith," displays the depth and breadth of Hyrum's thought.

Hyrum is depicted as the ultimate in faithful service—as someone who completed all of his assignments as well as many previously assigned to others, such as his appointment to the temple committee after the death of Elias Higbee. There seem to be few, if any, matters of substance that the brothers do not thoroughly discuss and upon which they do not come to a final agreement. In the case of plural marriage, however, it takes four pages of text to describe their coming to agreement (288–291). O'Driscoll quotes Hyrum's assessment of Joseph: "There were prophets before, but Joseph has the spirit and power of all the prophets" (380; from *History of the Church* 6:346).

O'Driscoll succeeds in focusing attention directly on Hyrum and his actions. Hyrum is seen as a true complement to Joseph, not just a supplement. However, Hyrum frequently seems to be given assignments for which he has no apparent preparation, and at times the reader is left groping for linkage between events through time. What qualified Hyrum to be a school teacher and trustee, Mason initiate, and building project overseer. Where did he learn to quote Josephus (350)? Perhaps a better understanding of his years at Moor's School (Dartmouth College's precollegiate department) when integral aspects of the curriculum included Christianizing the Indians, their Israelite origin, ancient scripture study, Arminian theology, and

the concept of multiple peopled worlds would further illuminate Hyrum Smith's contributions to Mormon theology and mission. Other underweighted preparatory experiences may include Hyrum's Presbyterian and Masonic training in Palmyra.

The presentation of the book itself is of high quality, with useful maps, illustrations, and a chronology of Smith's life. The index has some shortcomings, lacking, for instance, the Josephus reference. The front cover rendering from Hyrum's death mask suggests a gentler countenance than traditional portraits that suggest a more hardened administrator. The back cover painting by Lee Greene Richards depicts Joseph teaching chiefs and braves of the Sac and Fox Indian tribes after being introduced by Hyrum. The selection of this illustration incidentally reinforces the fact that among Hyrum's schoolmates at Moor's School were Indians who could read the New Testament in Greek and Cicero and Virgil in Latin.

RICHARD K. BEHRENS {r.k.behrens@att.net} a graduate of Dartmouth College who did his graduate work at Northwestern University, is preparing a book on Hyrum Smith's schooling at Moor's School and its curriculum for 1754–1817. He has presented his findings at conferences of the Mormon History Association and the John Whitmer Historical Association, among others.

Don S. Colvin. *Nauvoo Temple: A Story of Faith*. Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 2002. ix, 308 pp. Photographs, drawings, notes, appendix. Cloth: \$29.95; ISBN 1-59156-014-4

Reviewed by William Shepard

Nauvoo Temple: A Story of Faith is intelligently written, a beautifully constructed book published by the Religious Studies Center at Brigham Young University in 2002 to coincide with the dedication of the restored Nauvoo Temple. Obviously, this book was designed to tell the world about the faith, sacrifice, and dedication of the Mormons who constructed the original temple and to let the readers share a vicarious identification with the original builders.

In his preface, Colvin reveals the scope and limitations of his book: "The text brings together in more complete form than previously published the pertinent information relating to the temple's construction, varied uses, and eventual fate" and "the most detailed and pertinent information and descriptions regarding the external and internal physical feature of the Nauvoo Temple" (viii). Both summations are correct. The descriptions of the temple are this book's strength, making it a valuable addition to our

knowledge of temple building at Nauvoo. Colvin also forthrightly states his own attitude toward the subject, one which would be at home at a testimony meeting: "I do possess strong convictions and a firm testimony that the hand of God attended the construction of this great temple. It is my observation that God's Spirit guided this work and was clearly manifested in meetings and ordinances conducted within this sacred building. I came away from this experience with my faith deeply enriched" (ix). While I respect this position, as a historian I cannot help feeling that such an unquestioning faith-affirming position is a limitation both on the kinds of information Colvin has sought and the conclusions he has drawn from it.

This book is limited in range as it contains only 305 double spaced pages, numerous drawings, photographs, other illustrations, and notes. The period of Mormon settlement at Nauvoo is covered in ten pages and the "building program" of the temple in only fifteen. These abbreviated historical chapters introduce the reader to the meat of the book: chapters on the spiritual blessings, construction, uses, and dimensions of the temple. Following chapters include descriptions of the temple's dedication and its destruction. Finally, Colvin gives an interesting overview about how the plans for the restored temple were formulated, the process of acquiring the temple site, and the ultimate completion of the temple.

Although several chapters are too generic and compressed to convey significant historic information, the one on "Spiritual Blessings" is valuable for any reader interested in learning more about theological innovations at Nauvoo. Colvin explains: "Revelation through the Prophet Joseph Smith concerning gospel principles and ordinances, much of which was associated with the temple, was the most important thing happening during the Nauvoo period of Church history" (111). His explanations about such doctrines and practices as "man's destiny and relationship to deity" and "eternal marriage" closely associate the historical practices with modern temple ceremonies.

The real value of the book, however, is in the chapters on "exterior features," "early sketches," "architectural drawings of William Weeks," and "interior features." These chapters provide a wealth of information not readily available in any other publication. They help the reader better understand the magnificence of the Nauvoo Temple. Drawings and photographs used in conjunction with clearly explained commentary take the reader through the temple's measurements and physical features. Colvin's style of writing brings each area of the temple to life. For example, here is his description of the front vestibule:

Entrance from outside the temple was gained by climbing a flight of ten steps. As [Lyman O.] Littlefield entered the building in 1845, he left this observation: "Now let us examine what is properly called the first story. . . . We enter this at the west end, passing through either of three

large open doors or arched pass-ways, each of which is nine feet seven inches wide and twenty one feet high. Passing through these we are standing in a large outer court, forty-three feet by seventeen feet wide." The area from the floor to the ceiling was 25 feet in height, identical to the main interior area of the first story (see Figure 7.1). On each end of this 43-foot-long outer lobby were stairwells, each 17 feet deep and 18 feet 6 inches long. These areas were separated from the open court by stone partition walls. Each wall had doors that opened into the large spiral staircases. Adding together the spacious outer court along with the stairwells on each side (43 feet plus 18½ and 18½) results in a total interior width dimension of 80 feet (see drawing of the first story floor plan and vestibule area, Figure 8.7). (195)

My main criticism of *Nauvoo Temple: A Story of Faith* is that it perpetuates the myth the temple was built without controversy and that the behavior of the Nauvoo Mormons was uniformly beyond reproach. Such an approach is not objective history and diminishes the true scope of the achievement by denying elements of its reality. For example, Colvin did not explain the controversy stemming from (LDS) Doctrine and Covenants 124:31–32 which stipulated that if the temple was not completed "in a sufficient time . . . ye shall be rejected as a church, with your dead, saith the Lord your God."¹ As a second example, William Clayton's important journal is frequently cited, but Colvin conspicuously omits the 26 December 1845 entry: "There was a necessity for a reformation of this sort, for some men were doing things which ought not to be done in the Temple of the Lord. Some three or four men and perhaps more, had introduced women into the Temple, not their wives, and were living in the side rooms, cooking, sleeping, tending babies, and toying with their women."² Another omission is Hosea Stout's journal entry of 30 September 1845 which described Illinois militiamen searching the temple for the bodies of two Gentiles, Phineas Wilcox and Andrew Daubenheyer, whom they believed the Mormons had murdered.³ These fuller accounts would have supplied a truer picture of the complex realities against which the temple rose on its commanding bluff.

Despite these reservations, I find *Nauvoo Temple: A Study of Faith* an excellent book which should be widely accepted in the Mormon community.

¹ I examine this controversy in "The Nauvoo Temple as a Source of Controversy," *John Whitmer Historical Association 2002 Nauvoo Conference Special Edition* (2002): 101–8.

² George D. Smith, ed., *An Intimate Chronicle: The Journals of William Clayton* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1995), 235.

³ Hosea Stout, *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout 1844–1861*, edited by Juanita Brooks, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1982), 1:77–78.

WILLIAM SHEPARD {shep@speeddial.net}, of Strangite heritage, is currently researching crime in Nauvoo and a biography of William Smith. He has participated in the annual conferences of the Mormon History Association and John Whitmer Historical Association, and in Sunstone Symposiums.

James B. Allen, Ronald W. Walker, and David J. Whittaker. *Studies in Mormon History, 1830–1997: An Indexed Bibliography; with a Topical Guide to Published Social Science Literature on the Mormons [by] Armand L. Mauss and Dynette Ivie Reynolds*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press in cooperation with the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History, Brigham Young University, 2000. xiii, 1,152 pp. Cloth: \$100; ISBN 0-252-02565-2

Reviewed by John C. Thomas

More than thirty years ago, Dale L. Morgan called bibliography the “cutting edge of historianship.”¹ More recently, Ronald W. Walker, James B. Allen, and David J. Whittaker have observed that bibliographies and other reference works serve as “artifacts” as well as “guides.”² *Studies in Mormon History* is a path-breaking guide that presages great strides for the next generation of Mormon studies. It is also evidence of the progress made in Mormon studies, much of it since Morgan wrote. And a formidable artifact it is: nearly twelve hundred letter-sized pages of reference material, printed in double columns, and weighing about six pounds. The product of “hundreds of thousands of hours of labor,” it took fifteen years of work by the authors, more than a hundred research assistants, and the shared insights of another hundred or more scholars (xii). It is a book with a history, and evidence that many people want to understand the Mormon past, present, and future.

The bibliography proper, arranged alphabetically by author, is 459 pages long, and features more than 2,600 books; 10,400 articles and book

¹ “Introduction” in Chad J. Flake, ed., *A Mormon Bibliography 1830-1930: Books, Pamphlets, Periodicals and Broad-sides Relating to the First Century of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1978), xxiv.

² Ronald W. Walker, David J. Whittaker, and James B. Allen, *Mormon History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 262. Any reader at a loss where to start with *Studies in Mormon History* can get his or her “bearings” by reading the very helpful twenty-five page overview of LDS historical reference works, published as “Appendix B” in *Mormon History*. That book, written as an interpretive companion to the bibliography here discussed, was reviewed by Curt Bench in the *Journal of Mormon History* 28, no. 2 (2002): 249–52.

chapters; 1,800 theses and dissertations; and over 150 task papers and type-scripts (ix). Since nearly half of Armand L. Mauss's and Dynette Ivie Reynolds's collection of social science publications overlap with the historical writings, the bibliography integrates both databases.

This is not an elitist collection of work. The authors define "serious scholarship" broadly, and they apply the criterion of "usefulness" liberally—so that all but the most polemical or careless of works are included (x–xi). As a result, some writings figure more prominently than might be expected in a bibliography prepared by academics and published by a university press. To be sure, Leonard J. Arrington's signal contributions fill up over fourteen columns in the bibliography, but the wide-ranging studies carried out under Kate B. Carter, of the Daughters of Utah Pioneers, occupy some seventeen columns. Helpful annotations of many of these studies forced me to reconsider the wisdom of neglecting a source such as *Heart Throbs of the West*.

I applaud the authors' inclusive approach, as much for its humility as its thoroughness. It seems true to the spirit of the Mormon History Association, if a little foreign to the ethos of the academy. It is a cautionary corrective to the tendency to dismiss an obscure source with a scornful remark about its "amateur" origins. After all, how many flawed works on Mormonism have slipped through the editorial boards of university presses and peer-reviewed journals? The authors acknowledged the likelihood of "lapses or errors" and invited users to "make future editions more accurate" (xiii). To notify the authors of other errors, contact the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute (jfsi@byu.edu), which hosts a web page to update the bibliography (smithinstitute.byu.edu/ref/mormbibhome.asp). (Ironically, even a scholar as well-known as Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, name correctly spelled under her own entries, appears as "Maurine" in the "Sessions, Patty Bartlett" entry where she is the series editor, 372.)

The most important tools in *Studies in Mormon History* are the "Index to Historical Writings" and "Social Science Topical Guide." These guides will shape research on Mormonism for years to come. Of the two, the "Topical Guide" is much slimmer, a modest eighty-five pages long. Its subject headings also seem to be more conceptually oriented. This, I suppose, reflects both the grander theoretical aims of some social science and the academic origins of the social science bibliography. It indexes only published material, omitting theses, dissertations, and conference papers.

That said, Mauss and Reynolds employed "expansive" selection rules, choosing to include even some "informed social commentary" that most scholars would not consider "social science" (1060). A noticeable consequence is numerous references to articles and essays from *Sunstone* magazine. As I reviewed several subject headings, I found it ironic that so many

Sunstone articles met the compilers' "expansive" criteria, while not a single article published in an "official" Church periodical made the list. It may be that this imbalance reflects the limits of the search strategy, rather than the compilers' judgments about what constitutes "informed social commentary" on subjects such as Mormon religiosity, culture, church government, and family life.

The core of *Studies in Mormon History* is the 586-page "Index of Historical Writings." Using more than 6,500 subject headings and subheadings, and drawing on their decades of experience and consultation with many unnamed colleagues, the authors have attempted to map the many fields of Mormon historical studies. The approach is decidedly empirical, and it results in a rich if almost chaotic array of leads on people and places. I believe it is the indexing system (and to some extent the annotations in the bibliography) that earns Allen, Walker, and Whittaker the title of "authors," rather than "compilers" or "editors."

Any research project should begin (and perhaps some will end), with a literature review of relevant subject headings in the index. It is important to remember the authors' focus: the "secondary historical literature on Mormon history," largely in English (xi, emphasis mine). Rather than trying to identify and index all the source documents created *within* the historical drama of the restoration, the authors seek to catalog all that observers and students have written about that drama. What of the many who wrote history from within, as prophets and partisans and "participant observers"? Their role as narrators is acknowledged, but they appear in this book mainly as subjects. For example, Joseph Smith Jr. is listed as author twenty-three times in the bibliography (about one page). But in the index, the studies listed under subjects headed by "Joseph Smith, Jr." stretch on for eighteen pages, arranged in more than a hundred subdivisions. As evidence of how challenging it is to index all that has been written about Joseph, a note warns that "the miscellaneous subdivision is still the largest," and suggests more than a dozen related subjects to investigate (927).³

Despite its emphasis on secondary work, *Studies in Mormon History* cat-

³Another way to illustrate the impact of the focus on secondary literature is to contrast the bibliographic coverage of *Studies in Mormon History* and Chad Flake's *Mormon Bibliography 1830-1930*, which aimed for comprehensive coverage of primary source documents. For example, Flake's important collection cites the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (or one of its organs) as corporate author for more than one thousand references. In *Studies in Mormon History*, by contrast, Allen, Walker, and Whittaker cite the Church as author for only eleven entries. If you want to read the original imprints, Flake points the

alogs a lot of primary documents, some in almost "raw" form, others edited to high scholarly standards. It startled me to recognize how many first-person Mormon narratives, male and female, have already made their way into print. In addition to hundreds of personal writings linked to specific names and topics, one could make a fine start by perusing the long lists of references under the headings "Autobiographies" and "Diaries and Journals." And for those who want to dig in archives for unpublished primary material, "Sources" and its specific subheadings is a helpful start.

With so many index headings, some subjects inevitably prove to be duds. But there is good news. First, the cross-referencing system provides verbal pointers to keep a literature review moving. When my first search for a subject came up empty, a little persistence yielded solid leads. Second, those who find that there really are only a few studies on a subject should look upon the lacuna as a call to labor!

Even subjects featuring long lists of studies open up exciting possibilities for research. To cite just two examples, many questions came to mind as I perused eight pages tracing work on various aspects of "Doctrinal History." And even as twenty pages of references surprised me about the wealth of work done on subjects related to Mormon women, they made me think about the definition and evolution of those research fields, and the gaps that remain in the historical record. *Studies in Mormon History* is both a substantial artifact of the work done so far, and a humane and accessible guide for the work that lies ahead.

JOHN C. THOMAS {ThomasJ@byui.edu} teaches in the Department of Religious Education at Brigham Young University-Idaho. He is a member of the editorial board of the *Journal of Mormon History*.

Leland Homer Gentry. *A History of the Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri from 1836 to 1839*. 1965; reprinted, Provo, Utah: Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History and BYU Studies, 2000. xi, 279 pp. Notes, bibliography, index. \$19.95 paper. ISBN 0-8425-2469-X

Reviewed by Donald Q. Cannon

When Leland Gentry wrote his dissertation on the Mormons in Missouri in the 1960s, he was not alone. In that era several of his colleagues in the Church Educational System (CES) produced doctoral dissertations about

way; if you want to understand their context better, Allen, Walker, and Whittaker are your guides.

the LDS Church which, taken together, constituted a major scholarly contribution to the study of Mormon history. Some of those authors include Gwynn Barrett, C. Kent Dunford, Reed C. Durham Jr., Kenneth W. Godfrey, Leon R. Hartshorn, Robert J. Matthews, Larry C. Porter, Gilbert W. Scharffs, and A. Dean Wengreen.

These dissertations have stood the test of time, as students of Mormon history still consult them regularly. Consequently, the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History and BYU Studies have begun publishing some of these works. Gentry's study of Missouri is among those recently issued in this new series.

The title of Gentry's dissertation, "A History of the Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri from 1836 to 1839," succinctly summarizes the parameters of the work. The dissertation consists of four sections: Mormonism's historical background to that point, the Mormon settlement effort in northern Missouri, the Mormon War of 1838, and events after the war (i.e., the incarceration of Joseph Smith and his colleagues in Liberty Jail, the exodus to Illinois, and the Saints' redress efforts).

Gentry's dissertation provides solid coverage on all of these areas and is especially strong in some particular parts. His work on the Danites, for example, is of special interest for two reasons: first, Gentry's work makes several contributions to Danite scholarship; and second, he has emerged as a principal protagonist in the debate over the role of this Mormon military group. As one contribution, he points out that the Danite organization had various names: the Brothers of Gideon, Daughters of Zion, and the Big Fan. He further notes that this paramilitary organization was formed initially to expel Mormon dissenters from Caldwell County; that there were two Danite groups, one in Caldwell County and one in Daviess County at Adam-ondi-Ahman; that Sampson Avarad had command of the Caldwell group while Lyman Wight commanded the unit in Daviess County; and that the original purpose of the Danites shifted from expelling dissenters to defending the Saints from the Missouri mobs. He also discusses the dominant role of Sampson Avarad and the secretive nature assumed by the Danites under his leadership. In fact, Joseph Smith referred to the Danites as a "Secret Combination," referring to the group's use of secret oaths, covenants, and secret meetings. In regards to Joseph Smith's relationship to the Danites, Gentry maintains that their questionable activities were unknown to the Prophet and resulted from the influences of Sampson Avarad. To Gentry, Avarad is guilty and Joseph Smith is innocent.

This position has placed Leland Gentry at odds with such later writers as Stephen LeSeuer, who maintains that Joseph Smith had full knowledge of all the activities of the Danites, including their raids against the people of Missouri.

In terms of style, Gentry's dissertation is written in clear, though not particularly exciting, prose. The tone is basically one of conveying the facts, not in stimulating the reader's interest. For example, this passage comes from the introduction to Chapter 11 on the Haun's Mill Massacre:

The most tragic and long-remembered event of the Mormon War was "Haun's Mill Massacre." This tragedy, which terminated in the deaths of seventeen Latter-day Saints, occurred on October 30, 1838, just three days after the appearance of Governor Boggs's "Order of Extermination." Only one brief eye-witness account of the event is available from the non-Mormon point of view. This is due, in part, to the fact that those who participated in the occurrence were careful to conceal their deeds beneath a cloak of secrecy. Two non-Mormon accounts, written in later years by non-participants, have also been located. (153)

Gentry's dissertation on the Mormons in Missouri makes a substantial contribution to our understanding of early Mormonism. Gentry has conducted thorough and careful research, using all available sources. The material presented is forthright and easy to understand. It has stood the test of time—that is, it is still used as a good source for historical research.

The dissertation is generally still the best information available on the subject and will no doubt continue its usefulness for another generation when a projected revision, undertaken by Todd Compton, is published by Greg Kofford Books. In the meantime, more specialized studies have provided closer looks at some aspects of the Missouri experience. In addition to Stephen C. LeSueur's *The 1838 Mormon War in Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1987) is Alexander Baugh's "'A Call to Arms': The 1838 Mormon Defense of Northern Missouri" (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1996), also published in the JFS Institute series. This study places Mormon military efforts in the broader context of U.S. history, particularly how the Latter-day Saints militia contrasted with other state militias.

Since this review has been placed in the broader context of dissertations being published by the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History and *BYU Studies*, it would probably be appropriate to comment on this publishing project. The paperback format is both attractive and readable, and makes these studies available in a convenient format. It would have been helpful, however, if the footnote citations and bibliography were updated. Gentry, for instance, abbreviates the seven-volume *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* as the "DHC" (Documentary History of the Church). Although this abbreviation was the accepted form at the time he wrote, the preferred short title form is now *History of the Church* abbreviated as "HC," and the continued use of the older term may cause confusion among contemporary readers. Gentry also referred several times to the manuscript *Far West Record*, but contemporary readers will be able to find it more conveniently in its published form: *Far West Record: Minutes of the*

Church Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830–1844, edited by Donald Q. Cannon and Lyndon W. Cook (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1983). Finally, the bibliography and notes should be updated to include the newer studies of the Mormons in Missouri, chief among which is the Baugh dissertation.

In conclusion, the publication of these dissertations is a worthwhile project and Leland Gentry's work is a valuable part of that project. Both the dissertation by Gentry and the new publication series constitute an important contribution to an understanding of Mormon history.

DONALD Q. CANNON {donald_cannon@byu.edu} is a professor of Church history and doctrine at Brigham Young University. Among his books is *Encyclopedia of Latter-day Saint History*, edited with Arnold K. Garr and Richard O. Cowan (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2000).

Dan Vogel and Brent Lee Metcalfe, eds. *American Apocrypha: Essays on the Book of Mormon*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2002. xvii, 469 pp. Paper: \$21.95; ISBN 1-56085-151-1

Reviewed by Paul M. Edwards

American Apocrypha is the latest in Signature Book's excellent Essays on Mormonism Series. Well produced, edited by serious scholars, and containing essays by nine well-informed authors, this study of the Book of Mormon makes an essential contribution to the understanding of the complexities of Mormonism.

The collection is exactly what it purports to be, a reasoned look at the Book of Mormon. The editors introduce their perspective by stating: "The nature of faith is not what is at question here, but rather the structure of reason and theory" (xiii). The work presented is, almost without exception, outlined with clarity and kindness. I suspect that no one reading this collection would find their belief in the divine origins of the book either strengthened or weakened. However, there is little doubt that, if they pay close attention, they will at least understand the source of concern expressed by so many people. The problems that many have with the Book of Mormon are inherent in the fact that it reflects times, places, and understandings that are not consistent with what we know from other sources about these same times, places, and events.

The essays in this collection, as is often the case, are of varied interest and insight, but I found all of them well crafted and interesting. Each has supplied notes and illustrations to support his or her comments. Edwin Firmage Jr. suggests evidence to question the assumptions of antiquity concerning the book in an essay he calls "A Personal Encounter," while Old

Testament scholar David P. Wright proposes a modern source, the King James Version, for the Isaiah passages in the Book of Mormon. Anthropologist Thomas W. Murphy also focuses on the book's claims of antiquity, providing a significant challenge based on patterns of DNA distribution to the popularly held Mormon understanding that Native Americans had Jewish ancestry.

Addressing concerns over the role of the "author" of the Book of Mormon, Susan Staker makes the case for a parallel between the developing message of the book and the Prophet's evolving self-image. Scott C. Dunn discusses the historical significance of "automatic writing" and raises questions about the manner in which one set of such writings might be more or less acceptable than another. Dealing with the authorship of the Book of Mormon, Robert M. Price compares Joseph Smith with the pseudepi-graphists (I wish I'd said that), presenting the possibility that the founder of Mormonism was simply trying to find a way to give ancient authority to new conceptions by the use of well-known Bible stories and American myths.

Vogel has two essays dealing with the environment in which the Book of Mormon made its appearance. In the first, he questions the legitimacy of the claims of the three and eight witnesses that they saw and, in some cases, handled the plates. He argues that their witness was more plausibly based on a visionary, rather than a physical, experience. His second essay also challenges those who would question the connection between the secret practices of an expanding Mormonism with the rites and rituals of early nineteenth-century Freemasonry.

In a delightful essay on B. H. Roberts, George Smith sympathetically documents how this remarkable man, ecclesiastical leader, and apologist began to question the source of the Book of Mormon toward the end of his life because of the vast difficulties he found with its historical and archeological claims.

What constitutes belief remains the penultimate question of men and women of faith. The degree to which the codifications of reason must be sacrificed to the fires of faith is, in itself, a matter of belief. Thus, the universal problem is created for those for whom faith must emerge from, and be ultimately dependent on, a source for which there is so little evidence of legitimacy.

Despite the degree to which some apologists have gone to preserve the internal legitimacy of the Book of Mormon, there is little that can be done to convince the rational mind (as George Smith summarizes a questioner's perplexities expressed to Roberts) that the appearances of "horses, steel, 'cimeters,' and silk could be legitimately included in a book set in pre-Columbian America since they are absent from the archeological

findings of that period" (125). This, and the close relationship between the Book of Mormon text and previously published works, means that little can be done to make the source of the book and, by implication, what it says any less suspect. Although Roberts wrote a reassuring answer to the questioner, he candidly told a committee of other General Authorities that the answers generally given to these questions, may "satisfy people that didn't think, but [constituted] a very inadequate answer to a thinking man" (133).

The need for supernatural agents to serve as the presumed source of moral arguments has been quite apparent in Western civilization. But it troubles skeptics when they find the source of such positions implausible. On the other hand, David Sloan Wilson suggests in his excellent book *Darwin's Cathedral: Evolution, Religion and the Nature of Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002) that the success of a religious moral code depends on whether it motivates the religion to achieve, not on the truth or fictitiousness of the source. Certainly, like any scripture the Book of Mormon does not have to be true to be highly significant. But—it would help.

PAUL M. EDWARDS {pauledwards98@yahoo.com} is past president of both the Mormon History Association and the John Whitmer Historical Association, and is currently director of the Center for the Study of the Korean War located at Graceland University in Independence, Missouri.

LaMar C. Berrett, general editor. *Sacred Places: Ohio and Illinois, A Comprehensive Guide to Early LDS Historical Sites*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2002. xi, 276 pp. Photographs, maps, bibliography, index. Paper: \$19.95; ISBN 1-57345-657-8

Reviewed by Lachlan Mackay

The third of a projected six-volume travel series, *Sacred Places: Ohio and Illinois* is broken into four parts. Keith Perkins devotes seventy-six pages to Kirtland, Ohio, and the surrounding area. He then partners with LaMar Berrett to trace the route of both Zion's Camp and Kirtland Camp in Ohio and Indiana. Donald Q. Cannon explores Nauvoo, Illinois, and surrounding areas for 142 pages. Finally, Cannon and Berrett together trace the Illinois route of Zion's Camp and Kirtland Camp. References are spread throughout the book to allow the reader to check sources and to explore the history of the various sites in greater detail if they choose to do so.

I would never be brave enough to title something I had written "comprehensive," and it is probable that Berrett, Perkins, and Cannon have overlooked someone's favorite site. I would argue, though, that they have earned

the right to use the term. Not only do they cover the standard pilgrimage stops, but they also lead the reader to sites that are sometimes overlooked. Among these underappreciated areas are the Elias Peabody home site in Amherst, Ohio, and Freeport, Illinois, the hometown of J. Wilson Shaffer. You don't recognize Peabody's name? He owned "Stu-boy," the bulldog that chased Parley P. Pratt out of town in 1830. Shaffer served as the seventh governor of Utah and died after seven months in office.

Also included are a number of sites not directly related to LDS history. A simple yet effective system of symbols and numbers distinguishes related and nonrelated sites and locates them on the numerous maps spread throughout the work.

In addition to the maps, the book is profusely illustrated with photographs (both historic and modern) and engravings. Like the selection of sites, the photographs range from familiar images of the Kirtland Temple to obscure shots like the Nauvoo House privy. A nice image of the Nauvoo House (foot of Main Street in Nauvoo, looking south, 133) is reversed. The captions are unusually accurate. Exceptions include a moonstone "located by the Joseph Smith Homestead in Nauvoo, IL, in 1999" (182); it had already been moved from that location before the 1991 beautification of the Smith Family Cemetery.

Perkins had the unenviable task of writing a guidebook that included a historic site under construction. In an attempt to prevent the book from being outdated before it came off the press, he wrote the section on the Kirtland Flats to reflect what was supposed to happen at the time of the writing. Unfortunately, plans changed; and readers who go looking for the newly built replica of the tannery will search in vain. However, only a few of the forty-two Kirtland entries are impacted by the evolving site plan. The Kirtland Safety Society Anti-Banking Company discussion would be improved if it were informed by the work of Marvin Hill, Keith Rooker and Larry Wimmer in *The Kirtland Economy Revisited: A Market Critique of Sectarian Economics* (Provo, Utah: BYU Press, 1977). The remaining entries are well researched and well written.

Although clearly penned for Deseret Book readers, there are flashes of openness. Among these is the statement from Perkins that it was apparently a faithful member of the church, Lyman Sherman, who burned the Kirtland print shop to the ground in 1838 (31).

Both Perkins and Cannon also thoughtfully include information that will primarily be of interest to members of the Community of Christ. In doing so, however, Cannon has become another victim of Mark Hofmann. When referencing the Joseph Smith III blessing in the Red Brick Store, he uses the 17 January 1844 date that Hofmann manufactured. Cannon will not

be the last researcher to inadvertently include Hofmann in his or her bibliography.

The brief discussions of each site are packed with helpful information. Here is a typical entry (172); the parenthetical abbreviations refer to the volume's bibliography:

105. Parley P. Pratt Home, Store and Tithing Office. The Parley P. Pratt home, store, and tithing office is located on the SE corner of Young and Wells Streets, one block north of the Nauvoo Temple lot. The large red brick building faces west. The store was also called the Temple Store.

Parley P. Pratt, born in 1807, married Thankful Halsey in 1827 and was baptized in 1830. He wrote extensively during his lifetime and his autobiography is a classic in Church literature. He was one of the original members of the Quorum of the Twelve, serving from 1835 to 1857 (BiE 1:83-85).

The *Nauvoo Neighbor* of Jan. 24, 1844, advertised the "Pratt and Snow Store," run by Parley P. Pratt and Erastus Snow and featuring cheap dry goods from Boston. "No one need ask for credit, nor waste breath in bantering on the price," the ad said, "as we have but one invariable price for either cash or barter."

The store also served as a tithing office (T&S 5:728), and the room over the store served as one of several temporary sites for temple ordinances (JIT 35).

The 147 Nauvoo entries are broken into twelve separate tours to make the material more manageable. The numeric key, alphabetical key, and extensive index make information on a particular site easy to locate within the book.

The cover is attractively illustrated with a photograph of the reconstructed Nauvoo Temple. Unlike the first two titles in the series, this third volume is available only in paperback. Despite that fact, I expect to see visitors to historic sites in Ohio and Illinois carrying copies of *Sacred Places* for years to come. It will prove quite useful for both pilgrim and scholar.

LACHLAN MACKAY {temple@ncoeweb.com} manages Community of Christ historic sites in Ohio, Illinois, Iowa, and Missouri. He and his wife, Christin, live in Kirtland, Ohio.

A. E. Cannon. *Charlotte's Rose*. New York: Wendy Lamb Books/Random House Children's Books, 2002. 246 pp. Illustrations, map, author's Letter to Readers. Paper: \$15.95; ISBN 0-385-72966-9

Reviewed by Lyndia McDowell Carter

Charlotte's Rose, a young adult novel masterfully crafted by Ann Edwards Cannon, is a delectable pleasure to be savored, cherished, and shared. Cannon uses her exceptional skill as a storyteller to take twelve-turning-thirteen-year-old Charlotte Evans, the novel's first-person narrator and protagonist, on a journey of self-discovery. Cannon appropriately chose the long, hard trek to Zion in the 1856 Bunker handcart company as the setting for Charlotte's difficult transition from childhood through the confusing, complex, turbulent, and tangled emotions of early adolescence into nascent maturity and young womanhood. With the potential to reach beyond Mormon audiences, this coming-of-age novel is outstanding among young adult fiction with Mormon themes written by Mormon authors.

Cannon adroitly constructs the plot and drives the action. Emotionally adrift after the recent death of her mother, Charlotte sails from England with her father and a group of Welsh Saints who become the Edward Bunker handcart company upon reaching Iowa. Several weeks ahead of the winter storms that enveloped the late Willie and Martin companies, these handcart emigrants nonetheless face hardship and hunger on a long, difficult journey. When a young mother dies after giving birth, strong-willed Charlotte impulsively takes on the care of the infant who has been rejected by its grief-stricken father. Charlotte initially resents this burden which robs her of childhood. But as the days pass, the miles fall behind them, and she learns about love, friendship, commitment, tolerance, and self-acceptance, Charlotte loses her heart to tiny Rose and develops into a capable, loving, responsible foster mother. She dreads the day she must return Rose to her father, who has gradually come to terms with his sorrow. However, by early October when the Bunker company reaches Salt Lake Valley, Charlotte's new-found maturity gives her the strength to do the right thing.

A. E. Cannon's greatest power as a novelist is her remarkable ability to develop multi-faceted characters and endow them with life, personality, strengths and weaknesses, flaws and virtues. Avoiding stereotypes, she possesses the rare competence to make Mormon pioneers human and believable. Her uniquely individual characters are Latter-day Saints who are not always saintly despite their commitment to their faith. Furthermore, Cannon's characters evolve as Charlotte's deepening perceptions of them change. Charlotte is absolutely irresistible. Highly imaginative, quick-tempered, headstrong, judgmental, opinionated, impetuous, confused by her emotions, and hungry for love and recognition, she delights readers. Her human foibles are both very funny and deeply endearing.

Cannon subtly teaches important values but resists the temptation to be preachy, make converts, or overtly build testimonies. However, occasional explanations of Mormon history and doctrine, likely already known

by Mormon readers, may disrupt the plot for the general audience. In my opinion, the information perhaps fits better in Cannon's Letter to Readers.

Cannon's clever writing style is captivating, as this passage shows:

I didn't sleep well. No howling wolves this time. Only the knowledge that I've undertaken something enormous.

Oh, I was thrilled with myself last night. Especially after the women surrounded me and Papa looked at me with such pride. I was as grand as Queen Victoria on coronation day.

Then I went to bed and began making up stories about me and the baby to tell my children someday. . . .

Then something horrible happened. I started to think. I hate it when I think.

So now I am waiting outside our tent for Sister Jenkins to finish nursing this new baby who is only three days old and who cannot sit or stand or feed herself or tell me what I am doing wrong.

I could die. (85-86)

In another example, Charlotte's three friends, all named Elizabeth, tease Charlotte about John, whom she no longer considers just her childhood friend:

Elizabeth the Jolly sweeps her hand to her forehead like an actress on a theater poster. "I just want to faint whenever I see him."

She flings out her arms, closes her eyes, and falls back into the other Elizabeths' arms. Have they been practicing swoons together?

They giggle. I try to smile but feel my cheeks turn pink instead.

"He's *my* John," I want to say, "and I don't wish to share him."

Really, how can two women share one man? Maybe it helps if you don't like him much but think he's useful when it comes to chopping firewood. I once overheard the Widow Rogers say she wouldn't mind marrying a polygamist when she gets to Utah because then she'd have other women to help her put up with the burdens of living with a man.

I can't imagine feeling that way. (170)

Charlotte's Rose has earned several literary honors. It received the Association for Mormon Letters award for Best Young Adult Novel, 2002, and the Utah Book Awards children's literature prize, 2002. It was also a finalist in children's literature in the PEN Center USA Literary Awards for 2003. In my opinion, as a work of fiction, this novel is almost flawless. I avidly commend this book as a meaningful and entertaining reading experience for both children and adults.

However, I cannot say that *Charlotte's Rose* is particularly good history and geography. Unfortunately for readers who expect historical fiction to rely on primary documentation and a thorough knowledge of history and geography, several historical and geographical inaccuracies mar the quality of this otherwise excellent novel. Cannon, according to her "Letter to Read-

ers," (245) relied on stories passed down through families, including her own, as well as some unspecified secondary and primary sources. From these she expertly blended pieces to invent her plot, create her characters, and establish the historical setting. However, more research of trail diaries, journals and reminiscences along with scholarly secondary sources and more careful study of trail geography could have helped Cannon build on a firmer foundation of fact and avoid the errors which disappoint history buffs.

To correct some mistakes: Mormon emigrants financed by the Perpetual Emigrating Fund did not eat chicken on shipboard (15), and almost certainly did not carry chickens on their handcarts (94). It is not likely that Indians possessed sugar and flour for trade to the hungry emigrants (190). The Missouri River is actually on the west side of Iowa, not the east (79). In 1856 Wyoming and Casper did not yet exist as place names (188). The handcart route did not go near Mt. Pisgah, Iowa (78). Cannon's descriptions of prairie remoteness seem more typical of Nebraska than Iowa, which was somewhat settled by 1856. The incidents at Chimney Rock are likely impossible since that landmark is on the opposite side of the North Platte River from Bunker's probable route (168-75). Fortunately, Rick Britton's map depicts the route more accurately.

Despite its glitches, *Charlotte's Rose* is fine literature. By drawing readers into Charlotte's life and feelings, A. E. Cannon employed her superb storytelling ability and her adeptness at characterization to make a long-ago time relevant to young people of the modern world.

LYNDIA MCDOWELL CARTER taught Utah history and English in Utah public schools and is now an independent researcher and writer focusing on westward migration and the Mormon handcart experience.

Craig L. Foster. *Penny Tracts and Polemics: A Critical Analysis of Anti-Mormon Pamphleteering in Great Britain, 1837-1860*. Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2002. vii, 260 pp. Photographs, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth: \$39.95; ISBN 1-58958-005-2. Limited edition, leather: \$200, 1-58958-004-2

Reviewed by James B. Allen

Penny Tracts and Polemics: A Critical Analysis of Anti-Mormon Pamphleteering in Great Britain, 1837-1860 is a slightly revised version of Craig Foster's 1989 BYU master's thesis. It is worth reading, especially for those interested in the early history of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Great Britain. Several significant publications deal with Mor-

mon pamphleteering, including David J. Whittaker's important Ph.D. dissertation, recently published by *BYU Studies* in its DISSERTATIONS IN LATTER-DAY SAINTS HISTORY series. Craig Foster and Malcolm R. Thorp, in various articles, treat anti-Mormon literature in Britain. In this book, however, Foster provides the most extensive discussion available of, as he phrases it, the "counterpart of early Mormon pamphleteering" (6).

The book consists of six chapters. The first provides an informative social context for the introduction of Mormonism into Great Britain, emphasizing the rise of religious tracts, especially anti-Catholic tracts. Chapter 2, "Mormon Church History Within the American Context," is the most unsatisfactory chapter, at least so far as meeting the expectations suggested by the title is concerned. From the title, I anticipated a discussion of the main aspects of early Church history within the context of the broader political, social, and cultural scene in America. This would include at least a brief treatment of Jacksonian democracy, the rise of the "common man," a variety of reform movements, the politics of states' rights, the Second Great Awakening, the rise of new religions in America, immigration, and many other aspects of American life that constituted the context in which Mormonism arose. Instead, Foster provides only a superficial comment on Mormon origins, including the coming forth of the Book of Mormon, then concentrates on the Spaulding theory, early anti-Mormon writings, economic problems in Missouri, Mormon dissenters, problems in Nauvoo, plural marriage and its role in creating anti-Mormon sentiment, the death of Joseph Smith, and the early conflicts between the Mormons and the federal government in Utah. These things are all relevant to the book, of course, for they help explain the origin of anti-Mormonism in America as a background for that same antagonism in Great Britain. The chapter is simply misnamed, for it discusses neither the most important aspects of early Mormon history nor the larger American context.

Foster's main contribution comes in the next three chapters, where he divides the production of anti-Mormon literature into three periods: 1837-41 (the foundation years, including the all-important missions of members of the Quorum of the Twelve), 1842-52, and 1853-60, when the public announcement of plural marriage and the awareness of such doctrines as the Adam-God theory increased the bitterness of anti-Mormons, as reflected in such pamphlet titles as "The Gates of the Mormon Hell Opened . . ." In these chapters Foster provides commentary on the context for anti-Mormon sentiment, summarizes numerous pamphlets, provides biographical sketches of some of the more prominent anti-Mormon writers, and points to various anti-Mormon themes incorporated into the literature. The final chapter offers his summary and conclusions.

One interesting and worthwhile feature of the book is that it contains

ninety-four illustrations, mostly photographs of pages, generally cover pages, of various anti-Mormon pamphlets. The acrimony Foster describes seems to ooze from the pages as one examines these bitter denunciations of the Joseph Smith, the Book of Mormon, LDS doctrines, and Mormons in general. "These men are anxious to collect money for the purchase of land in their own country, and to kidnap you and your families for its cultivation," charged one publication (46). Another carried the extended title: "Plain Facts, Shewing the Falsehood and Folly of the Mormonites, Or Latter-day Saints, Being an Exposition of the Imposture, and a Proof of the Wickedness and Impiety of Following or Hearing Them" (65). A "defender of evangelical Christianity" declared that, after carefully examining Mormonism, "I was driven to the conclusion that Mormonism is a delusion, and that it could only be embraced by rogues, for the sake of obtaining an idle living, and by simpletons to provide them with it" (86).

Another tract is subtitled "An Exposure of the Blasphemous Doctrines of the Latter-day Saints; the Deception and Falsehood Practised upon Ignorant Emigrants—Specimens of Their Hymns of Praise to Joseph Smith; and the Ridiculous Absurdities of the Book of Mormon with a Notice of their Recent Suffering in America, Through Their Own Violence and Folly" (88). The essence of another is described on its title page: "Appalling Disclosures! Mormon Revelations, being the history of fourteen females . . . Victims of Mormon Spiritual Marriages! Wives, Mothers, Daughters, and Sisters Lured away from their Homes, and United to the Same Husbands: The Tragic Deaths of Mrs. Hatfield and Her Husband, Through the Double Marriage of their Eldest and Youngest Daughters to Richards, the Mormon Missionary; and the Awful Murder of Maud Hatfield by the First Mrs. Richards, Who became a Maniac through Jealousy and the Desertion of her Two Babes; Including the Sufferings of Other Once Happy Women, Entrapped by the Prophets and Elders of the Latter Day Saints" (168). Another read: "Mormonism Exploded; or, The Religion of the Latter-day Saints Proved to be a System of Imposture, Blasphemy, and Immorality" (209). Other illustrations show some of the Mormon publications that responded to the anti-Mormon attacks. Also shown are pages from the *Millennial Star* with its first public announcements in Great Britain of plural marriage and the reformation movement, both of which only intensified anti-Mormonism.

Foster reached some interesting conclusions regarding the anti-Mormon pamphleteers. First, they fall into two broad categories: (1) non-Mormon ministers and church members and (2) former Mormons—who tended to be the bitterest. Anti-Mormon writers were motivated by a variety of factors, Foster demonstrates, including a sincere belief by some former Mormons that they had been deceived; fear by clergymen of possible loss of their

congregations; belief that Mormonism threatened a breakdown of traditional social values and morality, particularly because of plural marriage but also because of other doctrines, such as the Adam-God theory; and money. In addition, clerics were often concerned for the working classes, and aimed their writings in that direction.

Foster also points to several themes that emerged in the amazingly large body of anti-Mormon propaganda appearing in Great Britain in these early years. Mormonism was a political threat; it supported slavery; it espoused a heretical belief in a material God; Joseph Smith was a vile and debauched character, given to immorality and money-making; the Book of Mormon was a fraud (the Spaulding thesis appeared regularly); Mormonism was similar to Islam, with all its presumed evils; Mormon doctrines were immoral; and Mormon converts consisted mainly of the weak and the foolish.

The main problem with the book is that everything in the previous two paragraphs comes from Chapter 6, Foster's "Conclusion." The reader would have been much better served if these themes had been clarified, at least briefly, in the introduction. They appear in the book, but they are so intermixed and come out so haphazardly before Chapter 6 that it takes quite a while for the reader to be sure what patterns, if any, he or she should be looking for. Nevertheless the themes are there, and they provide important insight into the nature of British anti-Mormonism in mid-nineteenth century.

JAMES B. ALLEN is former Assistant Church Historian (LDS) and emeritus professor of history at Brigham Young University. Among recent works, he coauthored, with Ronald W. Walker and David J. Whittaker, *Studies in Mormon History, 1830–1997: An Indexed Bibliography* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press in cooperation with the Smith Institute for LDS History, Brigham Young University, 2000), reviewed in this issue.

Robert D. Anderson. *Inside the Mind of Joseph Smith: Psychobiography and the Book of Mormon*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1999. xlv, 263 pp. Photographs, notes, index. Paper, \$19.95; ISBN 1-56085-125-2

William D. Morain. *The Sword of Laban: Joseph Smith, Jr. and the Dissociated Mind*. Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Press, 1998. ix, 246 pp. Notes, index. Cloth: \$29.95. ISBN 0-88048-864-6

Reviewed by Kyle R. Walker and Douglas E. Craig

In recent years Mormon historians have encouraged researchers in utilizing new approaches in evaluating historical sources—including research into such basic matters as diet, disease, and family relationships in order

to facilitate our understanding of historical context.¹ Robert D. Anderson, a practicing psychiatrist, has drawn upon his training in the mental health field to write a psychobiography of Joseph Smith. Employing a psychological approach in understanding such events offers yet another approach that may help reveal historical insights that may, as Anderson asserts, “add texture to the historical picture, fill in aspects of personal meaning and motive, and provide continuity to a history that has gaps” (xxvi).

The reader will find it useful to understand the premises with which Anderson initiated this project. He does an excellent job of outlining his assumptions and biases in the fairly lengthy preface and introduction. Anderson asserts that everything that came through Joseph Smith is suspect because the Book of Mormon has “no support from non-Mormon anthropologists and archeologists” and because Joseph Smith reworked his first vision story by changing dates and circumstances in an attempt to “dramatize his story” (x). Thus, Anderson has adopted a “naturalistic” interpretation of Joseph Smith’s story—including that of the Book of Mormon. Anderson’s personal thesis is that Joseph Smith suffered from narcissistic personality disorder² and wrote the Book of Mormon in an attempt to deal with his own traumatic childhood and dysfunctional family background. Anderson then undertakes to prove his thesis primarily from within the text of the Book of Mormon, supplemented by surviving historical sources.

Anderson uses an approach termed “applied psychoanalysis” in his examination of Joseph Smith Jr. and admits that the method has its weaknesses:

I acknowledge that psychodynamic concepts are a “soft science” and that applied psychoanalysis is even softer. But it is rooted in the natural world and the body of knowledge that has accumulated about how both mentally healthy people and mentally ill patients react and think, and how the works of artists and writers reflect their personalities in one way or another. In the rest of this book I will continue to look for a consistent chronological picture of Joseph Smith’s life, making tentative interpretations on unavoidably fragmentary information (138).

Anderson nicely summarizes the significant problems with his method more than once. Although psychoanalysis is grounded in scientific and academic history, it is only loosely based on the body of knowledge

¹ Davis Bitton, *The Ritualization of Mormon History and Other Essays* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 1.

² Someone diagnosed with narcissistic personality disorder engages in a pervasive pattern of grandiosity, needs constant admiration, and lacks empathy for others. American Psychiatric Association, *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, 4th ed. (Washington, D.C.: APA Press, 1994), 658.

about social and psychological phenomena. The psychoanalytic model of personality refers to observations about the various developmental tasks of childhood and then overlays a set of constructs such as the Oedipal complex, the unconscious, the id, ego, and superego, etc. At least one school of research-trained scientists has criticized and dismissed the constructs, because the concepts (e.g., the unconscious) cannot be tested in a way that can prove or refute their existence.³ In contrast, the best science confines itself to observable events that can be documented. In the case of mental health science, such events consist of behavior, verbal comments, and genetic and pharmacological research. Anderson purports to offer a scientific and naturalistic explanation of Joseph Smith's character and the Book of Mormon, noting that spiritual experiences are outside the realm of "scientific replication" (xix). In using speculative psychoanalysis, he is guilty of the same error. Psychoanalysis is rooted more in a system of beliefs and constructs than it is in a body of scientific knowledge.

A second major criticism of the method of psychoanalysis centers in its dependence on individual case study, a method that is particularly vulnerable to observer bias.⁴ To somewhat diminish that inherent bias, responsible psychoanalysts spend an untold number of hours in direct contact with a patient, listening to the patient's free association (verbalizing whatever comes to mind). Only then would a psychoanalyst report his or her conclusions in a published case study. In contrast, Anderson bases his psychoanalysis extensively on documents generated by and about a historical person and speculates extensively on Joseph Smith's childhood—speculation that goes far beyond the scant information available about this time period. Extensive speculation on scant available data would be irresponsible whether the speculation was favorable or unfavorable toward the subject.

Anderson claims that the Book of Mormon is a symbolically disguised, autobiographical account of events in Joseph's early life and asserts that the book offers much symbolic information about Smith which he can use in his clinical appraisal. However, this assumption is simply more speculative inference.

While Anderson is free, of course, to draw his own conclusion that Joseph Smith fabricated his history, a wide spectrum of Mormon readers who hold different views will be properly alert as they proceed. He announces,

³ Ethan Watters and Richard Ofshe, *Therapy's Delusions: The Myth of the Unconscious and the Exploitation of Today's Walking Worried* (New York: Scribner, 1999).

⁴ Ellen J. Langer and Robert P. Abelson, "A Patient by Any Other Name . . .': Clinician Group Difference in Labeling Bias," *Journal of Consulting and Counseling Psychology* 42, no. 1 (February 1974): 4-9.

for instance, that he will pay "increased attention to outside documentation and the voices of others, including antagonists. These will include the townspeople in the Palmyra/Manchester area and his [Joseph Smith's] wife's relatives and friends in Pennsylvania. Generally, these voices paint what I see as a consistent picture of a progressively fabricated history" (xxvi).

Anderson does not merely draw on perhaps underutilized sources but, true to his word, relies almost exclusively on materials that are written by avowed antagonists of Mormonism (e.g., E. D. Howe's *Mormonism Unveiled*), while neglecting or completely discounting sources written by those who were within the movement. Additionally, he virtually ignores all modern-day literature that is either favorable or less pejorative toward Mormonism, including such landmark studies completed on early Mormonism by Larry C. Porter, Richard L. Bushman, or Jan Shipps, to name a few. His failure to, at the very least, consider other interpretations of events left us as readers feeling that his research was suspect and biased.

An example of how Anderson uses both psychological constructs and historical sources irresponsibly is apparent in his discussion on the Smith family. Attempting to substantiate his initial thesis, Anderson spends several lengthy chapters in an effort to establish that the Smith family was in fact highly dysfunctional. Yet he fails to provide sufficient documentation in making overarching diagnoses on individual family members in order to make his case. For example, Anderson diagnoses clinical depression, with "suicidal proportions," from Lucy's statement "for months . . . I did not feel as though life was worth seeking after," following the deaths of her two sisters (17). One could reasonably argue that Lucy was simply experiencing a normal grief reaction. To make a case for chronic depression, however, Anderson suggests that Lucy suffered an additional bout of depression following Sophronia's birth. Lucy's history shows that this supposed depression was more likely debilitating pneumonia. Anderson attempts to strengthen his argument in this instance by taking one of Lucy's comments out of context, saying: "Lucy expressed disappointment in the various ministers she heard preach, returning from one sermon in 'total despair and with a grieved and troubled spirit . . . saying in my heart there is not on earth the religion which I seek'" (18). Lucy's "disappointment" and "total despair" appear to be tied to her inability to find a church that coincided with her belief system, rather than the hopelessness associated with chronic depression, as Anderson postulates.

With regards to Father Smith's purported dysfunction, Anderson makes reference to a blessing that Joseph Sr. gave his son Hyrum in 1834, in which he states, "Though he [referring to himself] has been out of the way through wine, thou hast never forsaken him or laughed him to scorn." Anderson concludes: "The wording implies serious repetitive drinking" (55

note 4). Anderson's conclusion may be grossly overstated; and though he cites Palmyra neighbors for additional proof, Anderson calls Smith's statement "the strongest evidence" for diagnosing alcoholism (16, 55 note 4).

Anderson then proceeds to build his foundational thesis on these two premises: namely that Joseph Smith Jr. came from a family in which the mother was chronically depressed and emotionally withdrawn (16–17) and in which the father's behavior "approached or reached actual alcoholism" (16). Such unsubstantiated diagnoses make later conclusions questionable.

In Anderson's final analysis, he concludes that Joseph Smith, Jr. suffered from a narcissistic personality disorder, in large part due to childhood surgical trauma and family dysfunction. Because psychoanalytic theory holds that personality disorders have their origins in childhood, we surmise that the author's adherence to psychoanalytic theory accounts for his extensive speculation about Smith's childhood. Anderson likewise fails to sufficiently document a narcissistic personality diagnosis based on Smith's adult life. Anderson fails to recognize that most dynamic leaders could be accused of narcissism. For example, leaders are known for being charismatic, for helping followers see issues from new angles, and for motivating followers to transcend personal needs in the pursuit of a greater cause.⁵ Anderson must prove that these traits cross over the threshold into a personality disorder by documenting significant impairment in work and social relationships, which Anderson again fails to do. Anderson recounts Joseph's youthful involvement in treasure hunting as well his later involvement in plural marriage as examples of deceitful, exploitative, and shallow relationships. This becomes the basis for his diagnosis of "malignant narcissism" (230). Absent from the author's biographical descriptions are Smith's ability to visualize and complete major projects, to maintain emotionally close relationships, and to retain the loyalty of thousands of followers.⁶ Selective abstraction of biographical events has once again led to improbable conclusions, as was the case with Anderson's portrayal of Jo-

⁵ John J. Hater and Bernard M. Bass, "Superiors' Evaluations and Subordinates' Perceptions of Transformational and Transactional Leadership," *Journal of Applied Psychology* 73, no. 4 (November 1988): 695–702.

⁶ As evidence of Smith's ability to maintain emotionally close relationships, see Richard L. Bushman, "The Character of Joseph Smith," *BYU Studies* 42 no. 2 (2003): 23–34. As evidence that Joseph's success as a leader was not overstated and that it was not merely a matter of inflated grandiosity, see the appraisal of non-LDS historian Jan Shipps: "A revelation dictated by Smith a dozen years after he dictated the contents of the Book of Mormon reminded the Saints that the Lord had given them 'his servant Joseph to be a presiding elder over

seph's parents. Documenting a pattern of impairment is not an easy process, even for the living. Research shows that even trained observers can have difficulty making a clear distinction between normal and impaired functioning, because personality traits lie on a continuum (e.g., introversion-extroversion).⁷ This difficulty is compounded in diagnosing the deceased.

In the end, Anderson's work fails to solidly document patterns of behavior which would lead to more responsible conclusions. He is not the first psychoanalyst to be so criticized, as Alan Elms, a psychobiographer and psychologist, has observed,

The personal qualities needed to become a decent psychobiographer can be found in any field: a controlled empathy for the subject and a devotion to collecting solid biographical data. Nonetheless, leaving psychobiography largely to psychoanalysts and their disciples has not yielded a coherent, cumulative, consistently responsible discipline of individual life history. . . . An infusion of research-trained psychologists, skilled in diverse approaches to the study of human behavior, can remake and reinvigorate the field.⁸

We share the belief that individuals within the mental health profession can potentially assist historians in understanding historical topics in a new light. However, such professionals must use historical sources responsibly and employ sound methodology to find general acceptance by the historical community. Although Anderson has entertained psychological is-

[the] church,' that is, to be both high priest and president. He had, likewise, been given to them 'to be a translator, a revelator, a seer, and a prophet,' a surfeit of titles that might seem to suggest that, as far as titles were concerned, the divine economy was plagued with oversupply. (Or that an insecure prophet was seeking to buttress his power by adding to the number and variety of his position.) But Smith's place at the center of nineteenth-century Mormon history suggests otherwise. With the abilities and powers inhering in the various positions whose titles he assumed, Smith filled the Old Testament roles of deliverer (Moses), military commander (Joshua), prophet (Isaiah), high priest (Eli), king (Solomon), and the New Testament positions of church founder (Peter) and apostle to the Gentiles (Paul)." Shipps, *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985), 37-39.

⁷ John W. Livesly et al., "Categorical Distinctions in the Study of Personality Disorder: Implications for Classification," *Journal of Abnormal Psychology* 103, no. 1 (February 1994): 6-17.

⁸ Alan C. Elms, *Uncovering Lives: The Uneasy Alliance of Biography and Psychology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 5.

sues in his analysis of Joseph Smith Jr., he has failed to bridge the chasm between psychology and history.

Robert D. Anderson is not the first to venture into psychobiography on the life of Joseph Smith. I. Woodridge Riley wrote his dissertation at Yale in 1902 on "A Psychological History of Joseph Smith, Jr., the Founder of Mormonism," which was published the same year as *The Founder of Mormonism* (New York: Dodd, Mead). Fawn M. Brodie included psychohistorical elements in her controversial biography of Joseph Smith, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet*, (1945; 2d ed. rev., New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971). Jungian psychiatrist C. Jess Groesbeck and Mormon researcher Dan Vogel have also written and presented a series of papers on Smith family dynamics.⁹

However, only a year before Robert Anderson's *Inside the Mind of Joseph Smith* appeared, Thomas D. Morain, a plastic surgeon, published *The Sword of Laban: Joseph Smith, Jr. and the Dissociated Mind* with the American Psychiatric Association Press. His interest in researching the life of Joseph Smith began during his tenure as professor at Dartmouth Medical School—the same institution that Smith's childhood surgeons hailed from. As Morain read Leroy Wirthlin's study on Joseph Smith's leg operation,¹⁰ he became convinced that, due to Smith's vulnerable age at the time of surgery and his unwillingness to use alcohol as an anesthetic, the youthful Smith could not have experienced anything other than long-term pathology (xx). Morain asserts that Smith's series of surgeries at about age seven and the death of his elder brother Alvin when Joseph was seventeen led to a lifetime of severe psychological impairment.

Morain does not assume that his work will be embraced by the historical community due to his improbable thesis and "unsupported speculation" (xxiii). Still, the author represents the book as a legitimate psychobiography, attempting to substantiate his conclusions through historical documentation. Thus, the book should be evaluated from the historian's perspective. However, in the end, Morain fails to effectively blend psychology and history due to his use of rampant speculation and scanty documentation. Trained researchers will find Morain's study lacking by historical standards, at times reading like a work of fiction. Morain frequently takes the liberty of dramatizing Mormon history in an attempt to make up for the lack of surviving information. For example, in summarizing Joseph Smith's final surgery, he writes:

⁹ C. Jess Groesbeck, "The Smiths and Their Dreams and Visions," *Sunstone* 12 (March 1988): 22–29; Dan Vogel, "Joseph Smith's Family Dynamics," *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 22 (2002): 51–74.

¹⁰ Leroy S. Wirthlin, "Nathan Smith (1762–1828), Surgical Consultant to Joseph Smith," *BYU Studies* 17, no. 3 (Spring 1977): 319–77.

The climactic moment soon arrived. Joseph found himself faced with a kind of ritualistic assembly of eleven somber doctors who had come to the house to make the final assault on his limb. He had seen some of them before and had tried to forget. He knew the bondage, the searing pain of the knives, the accursed failure of his parents to protect him, the threat of dismemberment, the punishment, the loss. How could this be happening once again? Was there no escape from this repetition of torture? As he heard the cluster of hoofbeats out front, heard the surgeons enter the front door and whisper with his mother, watched them enter the room, he knew (as surely as today's burned child knows when the stretcher arrives at his or her hospital bedside) what would come next. (18)

Mormon historians may find genuine value in Morain's insights about the typical traumatic responses of children who must undergo serial surgeries or traumatic rehabilitation. Unfortunately, there are only few snippets of Morain's use of his surgical expertise within the work (e.g., 15, 55, 110), perhaps because of Leroy Wirthlin's prior research on the subject. We were left wanting to know more about his insights as a result of his surgical expertise. Instead, the balance of the book is a speculative discussion about how Smith's surgeries were so traumatic that they led to a life filled with pathology—manifested through such behaviors as treasure seeking (Chapter 4, "The Pleasure of Treasure"), sexual conquest (Chapter 7, "The Arrow of Eros"), and dissociation (Chapter 3, "Strategic Defenses" and Chapter 4, "Trance-lation").

Morain asserts: "A cluster of three obscenely painful operations on the lower extremity of a 7-year-old boy without anesthesia could hardly have been experienced other than as a horrible emotional trauma with a worst case of psychological overtones" (xx). Morain feels so certain of the impact these surgeries had on Smith's life that he concludes: "Had there been no Nathan Smith [Joseph Smith's surgeon], there would have been no Mormon religion" (xxii). In assuming lifelong trauma, Morain fails to consider the phenomenon of resiliency common among those who experience trauma. Modern research indicates that two out of three males will experience some type of severe trauma during their lifetime (not broken down by age stages), yet most do not develop the severe symptoms that would lead to chronic pathology such as post-traumatic stress disorder or personality disturbances. Moreover, among those who experience post-traumatic disorder, approximately 60 percent recover from their symptoms within five years of the initial traumatic experience.¹¹

Like Robert Anderson's psychobiographical study of Joseph Smith,

¹¹ Ronald C. Kessler et al., "Posttraumatic Stress Disorder in the National

Morain's earlier work suffers from the same weaknesses: Morain (1) draws upon noticeably biased research (relying almost exclusively on E. D. Howe's *Mormonism Unveiled* in interpreting early Mormon history); (2) diagnoses psychological disorders without sufficient documentation; and (3) uses the psychoanalytic approach that entails a significant amount of conjecture. Our conclusion is also similar: Until psychobiographers use the surviving sources more responsibly and avoid speculating beyond the available data, they will fail to be accepted by the historical community.

KYLE R. WALKER {walkerk@byui.edu} is a marriage and family therapist at the BYU-Idaho counseling center. He has published articles on Mormon history in *BYU Studies* and *Mormon Historical Studies*. His dissertation at BYU is titled "The Joseph Sr. and Lucy Mack Smith Family: A Family Process Analysis of a Nineteenth-Century Household." DOUGLAS E. CRAIG is a psychologist at the BYU-Idaho counseling center.

Colleen Whitley, ed. *Brigham Young's Homes*. Logan: Utah State University Press, 2002. 262 pp. Photographs, maps, notes, bibliography, index. Paper: ISBN 0-87421-441-6; cloth: ISBN 0-87421-442-4

Reviewed by Martha Sonntag Bradley

Colleen Whitley's *Brigham Young's Homes* is based on an explicit (although not stated) assumption—that places matter greatly in our lives and are poignant documents about values, history, and tradition. The attempt to track Brigham Young's life through the places he and his family inhabited is, understandably, a complicated project. Once his polygamous family arrived in Utah and spread into the corners of the territory, their homes ranged from one of the most famous urban mansions ever to be built in the city—Amelia's Palace—to simple huts used by a series of women waiting for more permanent homes or for space in the Lion House with their sister wives and children.

The book's approach throughout is straightforward and decidedly unsentimental. Contributors include Sandra Dawn Brimhall, Marianne Harding Burgoyne, Mark D. Curtis, W. Randall Dixon, Judy Dykman, Elinor Hyde, Jeffery Ogden Johnson, and Kari K. Robinson. It would have been easy for these authors to belabor the oddities of the unique spatial demands of a plural family. But instead, there is a sort of matter-of-factness to both the descriptions and the chronology. The homes

Comorbidity Survey," *Archives of General Psychiatry* 52, no. 12 (December 1995): 1048–60.

were simply backdrops to the interactions of the complicated Young clan. In one way, this characteristic is a great strength of this book—it is solid history, clear-cut and understandable. But in other ways, this strength becomes a limitation. None of the authors venture into theory, analysis, or speculation about what this all means, or why it matters at all, even though both questions seem important ones to ask and perhaps attempt to answer.

It matters greatly that Brigham Young located his family complex at the heart of Salt Lake City in close proximity to a theater, a schoolhouse, public commercial buildings, and communal structures such as the Deseret Store. It matters greatly that Brigham Young provided his family with opportunities for recreation, industry, and culture. This fact reflects on the man, provides insights into his notions about the good life, and suggests what he saw as constituting a family kingdom in the secular world. It warrants some reflection and the application of some theoretical framework that might help ferret out what this built environment means and its larger cultural implications for the Mormon world of the nineteenth century.

My favorite chapter, hands down, is the centerpiece of the book—Whitley and Judy Dykman's description of the multiple dwellings which constituted Brigham Young's Salt Lake City home. This complex, which stretched throughout the city to include the Farm House, Chase Mill, numerous outbuildings, and a variety of types of buildings and architecture, reflects the complexity of both Young's family situation and his multiple building solutions for the problem of housing the activities requisite to sustain the many individuals he supported. His children needed to be educated and entertained, his wives socialized and inspired, his workers supplied with resources and occupied with production. His homes, barns, and industrial complexes provided a range of possibilities for life activities and provided both opportunities and challenges for their many users. This architecture reflected social hierarchies embedded in Mormon culture, theological ideas about family and community, and spatial practices that played out in Young's own family and with Church members and strangers who came to the city. Although this chapter provides invaluable information, I would have liked a discussion of the relationship between the pieces. The whole, the mix, or the network of spaces and structures these buildings represent created patterns in the Mormon landscape that would also be worth considering and would reveal how social realities became embedded in the spaces of the nineteenth-century world.

It was also surprising to me that there was virtually no architectural analysis or consideration of building materials, techniques, or style, all of which are reflections of larger systems of values, beliefs, and, again, tradi-

tions. The culture of Mormon architecture tells us where the Mormons came from, what they carried with them to their new homes, what they valued most or even the resources they found when they came to Utah. We can learn much about who these people were by looking at the buildings themselves—not just the curious use of adobe, but the obsessive popularity of Greek Revival detailing, or the uniformity of the Classical proportions and formality of design. Definitely influenced by the cultural mix of the mid-nineteenth century, Mormon builders also became innovators even as they religiously clung to tradition and constructed buildings reflecting New England or Midwest roots. Furthermore, at the same time, these buildings had the curious textural reality dictated by the range of indigenous materials available in a desert valley in the high mountains—a very particular place and one different from anything they had experienced.

W. Randall Dixon's solid essay about the Lion and Beehive Houses and Jeffery Ogden Johnson's insightful piece about Brigham Young's families help untangle long-held myths about the dimensions of this unusual family and how its members related to each other behind closed doors. It was first and foremost a home, less mysterious than simply private. However, the Lion House's multiple gables provoked visitors to the Mormon city to create elaborate and exotic stories about Brigham's harem and still titillate the imaginations of modern observers. The work of Dixon and Johnson helps demystify and explain the day-to-day lives of the women and their many children.

It seems fitting that Brigham Young, himself a master carpenter and lover of buildings, should be described by the homes he kept. Plural families cohabiting in wagons moving through Winter Quarters or a young pampered wife enthroned in a palace on South Temple, mirrored Young's life and the unique demands placed on it by his Mormon beliefs.

MARTHA SONNTAG BRADLEY {Bradley@arch.utah.edu} is director of the Honors Program at the University of Utah where she teaches the history of architecture. Among her recent works is *Four Zinas: A Story of Mothers and Daughters on the Mormon Frontier*, coauthored with Mary Brown Firmage Woodward (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in Association with Smith Research Associates, 2000).

Edward Leo Lyman and Larry Lee Reese. *The Arduous Road: Salt Lake to Los Angeles, the Most Difficult Wagon Road in American History*. Victorville, Calif.: Lyman Historical Research and Publishing Company, 2001. Vii +

108 pp. Photographs, maps, bibliography, index. Paper: \$20.00; ISBN 0-9709525-0-3

Reviewed by Will Bagley

Understanding the complicated history of overland trails is a specialty that escapes most students of the American West, but Mormon country has produced such scholars as LeRoy Hafen, Dale L. Morgan, Wallace Stegner, Stanley B. Kimball, David L. Bigler, Steven Madsen, and now Leo Lyman, who have greatly extended our appreciation of the significance of the wagon roads that led to the settlement of the West.

In the decade before his death, Dale Morgan examined what gold rusher Vincent Hoover called "the arduous road" between Great Salt Lake City and Los Angeles. Morgan died before publishing his editions of the diaries of Hoover and Forty-niner William Lorton, and to this day there is no comprehensive history of what historian Andrew Neff dubbed "the Mormon corridor" (14). Fortunately, Leo Lyman has accepted the challenge of chronicling the Southern Route, "the most often-mentioned appellation for this important all-weather roadway" (vi).

Lyman's scholarly study is still in press, but he and photographer Larry Reese have filled the gap with *The Arduous Road*, an illustrated popular history published to coincide with the 2001 sesquicentennial wagon-train reenactment of the founding of the Mormon settlement of San Bernardino. Its desire to appeal to its projected LDS audience may explain why the book devotes exactly a dozen words to the most significant event in the route's story, the "terrible" Mountain Meadows massacre of 1857 (2, 47). (The atrocity virtually stopped the use of the trail by non-Mormons for several years and led to the creation of a road up the previously impassable Black Canyon—the route Interstate 15 follows today—so it was not without relevant consequences.)

The book begins with an excellent twenty-five-page summary of the trail's history and the LDS Church's role in opening and developing it. Lyman and Reese note that Mormon Battalion veterans brought the first-known wagon over the route in 1848 (2) and outline Brigham Young's hope to establish a string of settlements that would let European converts reach Utah by way of Panama and San Bernardino (14–15). But, as Eugene Campbell observed in his 1973 study of the route, the plan was "executed in a haphazard manner, and abandoned without the usual heroic effort that characterized Mormon enterprise" (19). The Mormon corridor, these authors note, "never received the consistent emphasis necessary for development" (15).

The rest of *The Arduous Road* is devoted to a seventy-three-page tour of the modern trail from Salt Lake to Los Angeles, supported by historic de-

scriptions, contemporary photographs, and six good maps. The authors describe the differences between the wagon road and the western section of the Old Spanish Trail, the pack-train route with which it is often conflated.

Trail buffs may want to offer their own candidates for "the most difficult wagon road in American history" (Arizona's Beale Road and New Mexico's *Jornada del Muerto* on the Chihuahua Road are good contenders), but there is no question that the Southern Route was one tough way to get to California. Lyman's proposition that failing to promote the road was a tragedy is debatable, since his estimate of the number of graves that lined the route is certainly low. Deaths on the Oregon-California roads may have run as high as 1 for every 17 emigrants and the 250+ Mormon casualties of the handcart disaster produced the "greatest suffering and death" in trails history, but this characterization ignores the fact that the death rate west of South Pass was actually very low. And getting from England or New York to San Diego involved a long sea voyage or dangerous crossing of Panama. Historians will have to wait for Lyman's forthcoming definitive study *From the City of the Saints to the City of the Angels: Early Transportation from Salt Lake City to Los Angeles*; but this entertaining and attractive book will do until it arrives.

WILL BAGLEY {wlbagley@xmission.com}, an independent historian, is working on a history of the Oregon-California trails for the U.S. National Park Service.

Reid L. Neilson, ed. *The Japanese Missionary Journal of Elder Alma O. Taylor 1901-10*. Provo, Utah: BYU Studies/Joseph Fielding Smith Institute of Latter-day Saint History, 2001. vii, 471 pp. Photographs, biographical register, endnotes, bibliography, and abstract. Paper: \$23.95.

Reviewed by Kenneth W. Godfrey

This book began as Reid L. Neilson's master's thesis at Brigham Young University, now published in book form by *BYU Studies* and the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History. Alma O. Taylor kept a very interesting record as he served first as a missionary and then as mission president in Japan. The result is a trove of information on the activities, hopes, disappointments, and rare successes of the handful of men who, at the turn of the twentieth century, began preaching the gospel in Japan.

Scholars and other persons interested in Mormonism's beginnings in Japan cannot afford to disregard the thoughtful, thorough record that Taylor kept. Neilson's helpful introduction provides the historical context and background for the opening of missionary work in Japan while the epilogue

outlines Taylor's life after he returned to the United States. Carefully captioned photographs, credited to *BYU Studies* editor John W. Welch, enhance the book.

A biographical register contains background on almost four hundred individuals named in the diary. Neilson's notes assist those unfamiliar with the Japanese language, geography, or personalities from Mormon history. Thus, when Taylor writes about a Shokugyo Gakko, we learn that he is referring to a trade school. As another example, "Mr. Ponesforte" (no first name given in the text or note) was an actor in Salt Lake City who left the Church, married a Japanese woman, and opened a boarding house in Yokohama known as the Shakespeare Race Track (452). The notes are grouped at the end of the chapters; I would much have preferred reader-friendly footnotes providing background information on the Shinsho-ji Temple or what a Furoshiki was, to cite just two examples (192).

Alma O. Taylor was born 1 August 1882; as an adult, he told his friends that he was born in a casket and cradled in a morgue. (His father was an undertaker and sexton in Salt Lake City.) Taylor began attending Primary at age four and Sunday School at five. He found believing easy and faithfully attended Thursday fast and testimony meetings. His father was a counselor in the Salt Lake Stake presidency for many years. Alma early committed himself to the Word of Wisdom and sexual morality. At age seventeen, he graduated first in his class from the Harvey Medical College's school of embalming in Chicago. In Utah, he worked in the family's mortuary business, excelled at public speaking, and was ordained an elder at eighteen.

Shortly thereafter he received a call to accompany Apostle Heber J. Grant and two other missionaries to open the Japanese Mission. His mission lasted eight and a half years. After arriving home 26 April 1910 to a glorious reunion with his family, Alma reported his mission to the First Presidency, returned to the family business, and married Angeline Holbrook. A sought-after speaker, he even delivered sermons over KSL Radio. In 1919, with his father-in-law he organized the Intermountain Casket Company and died in 1947 (426–27).

One of Taylor's primary responsibilities as a missionary was to translate the Book of Mormon into Japanese. His record includes a moving account of the care he took in trying to get things right so that educated Japanese would not find his translation inferior in any way. His careful and prayerful scholarship over long and often disappointing periods of time should inspire every student of Mormon history. After nearly a decade and not a few set-backs, Taylor was grateful to hold the first copies of the Japanese edition of the Book of Mormon, recording in his diary: "There is no book of the same size in Japan with less mistakes in its first edition than this book. It is proof that the Lord has helped us wonderfully in our proof-read-

ing" (415). Not only was the volume accurate but, according to Taylor, the Japanese was acceptable to native scholars and linguists.

I found myself wishing Neilson had provided a brief history of this translation. Is it still used by Japanese Saints today? Was it used when the missionaries returned to Japan in 1924? Is it still a translation Church members can be proud of? These and other questions should have been answered.

Scholars who like primary sources reproduced accurately and completely will be disappointed that Neilson "abridged Alma's journals by only selecting and reproducing certain entries" which he judged to have "the most value to the serious scholar and . . . the most interest to the casual reader" (28). Many "serious scholars" prefer diaries that are copied word for word. However, to his credit Neilson has not expunged accounts of missionaries being excommunicated for sexual transgressions and even includes their names which Taylor had scratched out. Nor has he omitted the misdeeds and sometimes betrayals of some early converts. Although it is disappointing that the journal is not complete, there is enough and more to sustain interest in this 471-page volume.

Taylor was apparently careful to record significant "firsts" in the Japanese Mission, from the first Mormon hymn sung in Japanese, the first baptism performed using Japanese, etc. He also documents the open opposition from other Christian churches that seriously hampered the LDS missionaries effort. Believing they had been called to serve God, the small cadre of Mormon elders were not afraid to publicly challenge their Christian detractors by debates, pamphlets, and newspaper articles to "set the record straight." Plural marriage, although it had been abandoned for the most part in 1890, was still a point that generated much ill will against the missionaries.

Taylor's journals are perhaps the most detailed, thorough primary source regarding Mormonism's initial rather unsuccessful encounter with the Orient and its people. That Taylor remained optimistic, even as he struggled determinedly to master a new and difficult language, is a credit to him and other missionaries who learned the language as well. The mature way he handled difficult problems and the clarity of his record are apparent in this passage, written in April 1906 after he, at age twenty, replaced Horace S. Ensign as mission president:

At 2:00 p.m. Elder [Hedges], Elder Fairbourn, and I went into a room and I began to question Elder [H] about his actions in Sendai and especially about those actions which Elder F had observed and considered improper for a missionary to indulge in. This questioning lasted for perhaps an hour and a half or more. Elder F was asked to retire as Elder [Hedges] desired to talk to me privately. After Elder F left the room Elder [H], with a terrible struggle and pangs of heart that shook his entire body,

confessed his sins and pleaded for forgiveness. This confession confirmed all the suspicions that were in my heart and the heart of Elder F concerning what Elder [H] had done and revealed much more. In short Elder [H] confessed to having fallen from virtue, misused a large amount of money entrusted to him for the famine relief work in Northeastern Japan and for the maintenance of the mission house in Sendai, and in order to keep his wrong doing concealed from his companion and the President of the mission, lied with word and deed.

After this elder confessed and asked forgiveness from the other missionaries, Taylor added:

In speaking before my brethren the Spirit of God came upon me to the extent that I shook from head to feet. I promised the mercies of God upon my fallen brother if he would go home, and bearing up under the sorrow and shame that he must feel in meeting his mother, father, brother, relatives, and friends, carry out his promise to keep the laws of God hereafter. We all shed tears freely. At night I wrote and posted a letter to Elder Caine telling him to gather up Elder [H's] things, discharge the cook and get someone to watch the house for a week or ten days and then come to Tokyo as quickly as possible. (277-78)

The first hundred or so pages of this volume are not as carefully edited as the remaining three-fourths of the book. I saw at least two dozen spelling errors that are apparently editorial mistakes, since they seem more logically explained as typographical errors and are not labeled with *sic*. In subsequent editions these errors should be corrected. The editor also does not explain whether we are reading journal entries composed on the same day or later. For example, Taylor wrote, "Not the slightest desire to return home crept over me. I felt then as I feel today that to labor in the field for some years yet will be more pleasant and satisfactory than to return so soon to loved ones at home" (141). When was "then" and when was "today"? Neither the text nor the editor's notes makes it clear.

Another unanswered question is how the mission and the missionaries were financed. The elders seemed able to engage in ambitious publicity projects, to travel at will, and to pay for housing, clothing, and food without relying on help from the Japanese people. The local Japanese also perceived them as well off, since their lodgings were robbed at least four times. Did their support come primarily from parents and family, or were they supported from church funds? There are scattered references to the Church's funding of the translation and publication of the Book of Mormon, and Taylor sometimes mentions money sent by relatives, but there are still loose ends about how the missionaries were supported.

Impressive as were Taylor's dedication and lengthy service, his was not "the longest continuous mission in the Church's history," as Neilson claims (24). Charles W. Penrose served ten years (1852-62) on his first mission in

England and then served three additional missions in that land (1865–68, 1885, 1906–09) before his call into the First Presidency of the Church.

This book is a fine addition to any Latter-day Saint's library and is a must for those who want to learn about Mormon missions and especially those first elders who opened missionary work in Japan.

KENNETH W. GODFREY, retired from the Church Educational System, resides in Logan. With Donald Godfrey (no relation), he has edited Charles O. Card's Cache Valley diaries (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, forthcoming).

Alexander L. Baugh. *A Call to Arms: The 1838 Mormon Defense of Northern Missouri*. Provo, Utah: Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History/BYU Studies, 2000. ix, 239 pp. Front matter, bibliography, appendices, abstract. Soft cover: \$19.95.

Reviewed by Ronald E. Romig

Beginning in August 1838, growing hostilities between residents of northwestern Missouri and their Mormon neighbors, erupted into a series of armed encounters. This publication of Alexander Baugh's Ph.D. 1996 dissertation focuses primarily on seven military episodes or incidents that occurred during the 1838 Mormon War. The conflict concluded with the surrender of the Mormons at Far West to state militia officers.

Baugh's purpose is clearly set forth in his introduction—to challenge Stephen C. LeSueur's *The 1838 Mormon War in Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1987). Baugh writes: "Historians of the Missouri period of LDS history have not researched in sufficient depth, nor discussed adequately, numerous aspects of the civil conflict, particularly the military operations and movements of the Mormon and Missouri participants. This study is designed to make up for that deficiency by cutting more broadly and deeply than previous studies (particularly LeSueur's)" (3).

Baugh is correct in his evaluation of the overall state of Missouri Mormon history and has produced a great work in response to this perceived need. His study makes an important addition to the literature on the Mormon experience in northern Missouri. I highly recommend it to students of Church history.

I think *Call to Arms* accomplished its initial purpose wonderfully—which was to meet the academic requirements for completing Baugh's Ph.D. studies. Not only did it satisfy Baugh's Ph.D. committee, but it also helped advance scholarship on this crucial formative period of Mormon cul-

ture. Then, someone decided Baugh's dissertation would make a good published resource. As part of the published dissertation series being offered by the JFS Institute/BYU Studies, this dissertation is conveniently and inexpensively made available to a larger audience, which I also applaud. However, the reader in this newer audience needs to be aware of—and duly cautious about—the perceptions and values of Baugh himself and the historians who formed his committee: James B. Allen, Mark R. Grandstaff, and Bruce A. Van Orden.

In his introduction, Baugh declares that his objective is to provide “a historical mirror that more accurately reflects and interprets events and hostilities associated with the Mormon War.” But his work falls short of this goal. Unduly focusing on LeSueur, Baugh, notes that “his [LeSueur's] examination actually prompted the need for additional inquiry, investigation and analysis.” Baugh, in essence, complains that LeSueur's book is not objective and that he was not sufficiently familiar with sources of the period. In particular, he intimates that LeSueur was uninformed about Missouri state law governing the establishment and function of the Missouri militia: “LeSueur's work contains a number of historical problems. For example, some subjects, particularly the Military operations and movements of the Mormon Militia, are treated too broadly and lack sufficient detail, thereby making a correct interpretation difficult” (2). Yet Baugh only occasionally challenges LeSueur directly and mentions him or his book by name in the text only a handful of times. Nevertheless, much of this work is a response to LeSueur's thought.

This is not the place to defend LeSueur's book. I believe it speaks for itself. However, an example of an indirect countering of LeSueur occurs in association with Baugh's discussion of Joseph Smith's exemption from military service. LeSueur had concluded: “Smith actively led the military operations of the Saints” (210). Baugh asserted that Smith was exempt from military service under the provisions of Missouri law “on account of ‘the amputation, from his leg, of a part of a bone, on account of a fever sore.’” Baugh continued by quoting John P. Greene: “He [Smith] also secured a second exemption from militia service based upon his being a religious teacher or minister. Thus, in those military engagements in which he did participate, he ‘acted as a private character, and as an individual’” (43). Baugh admits that “Smith was an active participant in the civil conflict” but neutralizes this admission by asserting that he never “held a civil or military office, nor was he ever a member of the *regularly* [emphasis mine] constituted county or state militia” (210). This distinction may persuade some readers.

Although this review is not the place for a point-by-point comparison of each author's grasp of the situation, I find LeSueur's treatment of Mor-

mon militarism more objective, though perhaps not as thorough as Baugh's. Therefore, I do not think *Call to Arms* accomplishes its stated purpose.

It is difficult not to conclude that Baugh apparently hoped to crush many assumptions of LeSueur's *Mormon War* and remove them from the serious continuing scholarly discussion focusing on the meaning of the Mormon experience in Northwestern Missouri in the late 1830s. Although I dearly love Alex Baugh as a friend and greatly respect his professionalism, this approach seems unusually personal. I reluctantly conclude that this apparent preoccupation with refuting LeSueur impacts Baugh's intent to produce objective history.

Serving up a plethora of sources, Baugh clearly demonstrates his mastery. His survey of sources is the most complete currently available, surpassing LeSueur's. It is a masterpiece in this regard. The book is worth purchasing if only used as a source book. Further, I am thrilled by Baugh's detailed reconstructions of selected events within the Mormon experience. He almost overwhelms the reader with a tumble of familiar and not-so-familiar details.

Baugh cites Mormon and non-Mormon sources and successfully joins these diverse voices into a unified comprehensive narrative. Importantly, this narrative is peppered with instances of insightful breakthrough, cutting-edge historical interpretations. As another example, in a bright flash of insight, Baugh advances our understanding of Church leaders' roles in the emergence and excesses of the secretive Danite organization: "What is more conclusive is that while Joseph Smith apparently approved of the Danite activities initially (i.e., during the summer months of 1838), and while he participated in the Daviess expedition in early August, the expedition to DeWitt and the Mormon Offensive in Daviess County in October (each of which included Mormon militia and Danite members), he may not have necessarily known of their private teachings and the conduct of their leader until sometime later" (42). Despite his insertion of conditional phrases, Baugh has given the Church historical community wider permission to discuss the participation of Smith and other Church leaders in what proved for many a regrettable course.

Also, Baugh deserves credit for bringing to the scholarly community's attention a new and exciting interpretation of Governor Boggs's Extermination Order. Baugh devotes an entire section on his chapter on Haun's Mill to explain how, "The Attack [Was] Not Connected to the Exterminating Order."

Following the Battle at Crooked River on 25 October 1838, Governor Boggs issued the extermination order on 27 October in response to Mormon depredations in Daviess County and the Crooked River attack on state troops. On 30 October, more than 200 regulators from Livingston and

nearby counties overran the Mormon village of Haun's Mill, killing unarmed men and boys and shooting at women and children. Baugh conclusively demonstrates that word of the order had not yet arrived when this event occurred:

An examination of the sources indicates that there was no connection with the governor's directive whatsoever. Rather, the attack by the county regulators upon the LDS community was actually a response or a retaliatory strike directed against the Mormons because of the raids they conducted against local vigilante leaders and settlers living in Daviess County during the latter half of October, in addition to what was reported to have been the almost complete annihilation of Bogart's Ray militia in the Crooked River engagement. (127)

Here Baugh goes against predominant scholarly understandings and introduces readers to a new interpretation of events and sources. In this, Baugh suggests that the victims of the reprehensible attack on Haun's Mill were party to a wider and more comprehensive cultural clash. This is a helpful interpretation, pointing out in the end, the value of wider toleration for all cultural and religious groups.

Despite many additional vivid and valid examples of this type, on the whole, I remain suspicious of Baugh's interpretation of particular events and their meaning in relation to the larger picture. I am particularly wary of recurrent conditional phrases in Baugh's narrative. Historian John Lewis Gaddis in his *The Landscape of History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), suggests that one of the values of narrative history is to help make the past usable. Creating and sharing a familiar story, he explains, helps make a community's past legible and retrievable (139).

In essence, my uneasiness with Baugh's work is that he apparently defaulted to retelling a familiar story, à la Gaddis, rather than advancing overall scholarly understandings of the period. Despite numerous sparkling insights, Baugh chose not to open the eyes of his readers beyond a point. The story, as related by Baugh, employs what Jan Shipps calls "the politics of definition" in her address, "Telling the Whole Story of Mormonism," at the 2003 John Whitmer Historical Association annual meeting. Baugh's language slants events in northwestern Missouri in 1838, decidedly favoring LDS Church interests, perpetuating and strengthening an institutionalized narrative. For example, he frequently defines wary members as "dissenters" and nonmember groups as "vigilantes." Such language complements LDS institutional purposes, keeping the official version of the past "legible and retrievable." Perhaps we are all equally guilty of such unconscious or purposeful special pleading at times. But I believe we should recognize and be suspicious about any literature that apparently seeks to minimize or distance other groups or cultures for whatever apparent purpose.

I look forward to a coming golden era of scholarship when all of Mor-

mon history becomes the best of biography, as described by Ronald W. Walker, in his "Challenge and Craft of Mormon Biography." Quoting American biographer Henry S. Randall, Walker observes:

"I would rather be a dog and bay at the moon, than write in that sickly, silly, adulatory, mutual-admiration-society, mutual scratch-back, tickle-me-Billy-&-I'll-tickle-you-Billy spirit in which most of our American biographies have been written." Similar results occur when biography attempts to evangelize. Fervid passions not only distort personality but often refocus a book into something which is no longer biography. The religious movement or philosophy replaces the subject-person at center stage, and whatever is deleterious to the higher cause is screened from view. (*BYU Studies* [Spring 1982]:182)

I wish my good friend Alex Baugh had simply set out to write the best history of the Mormon War possible rather than measuring his own work against LeSueur's or trying to straighten out what he saw as LeSueur's problems. I believe that, had Baugh not felt compelled to do this, for whatever reason, his resultant work would have been even more outstanding. Ironically, instead of replacing LeSueur's book, Baugh has produced a kind of companion work. It does not exactly balance *Mormon War*, but has fostered an interesting dynamic. Now, anyone wishing to gain a reasonable understanding of the period must read both works. In short, the two are inextricably locked together, joined at the hip in an enduring scholarly exertion aimed at better understanding the northwestern Missouri Mormon period.

RONALD E. ROMIG {rromig@CofChrist.org} is Community of Christ Archivist, Independence, Missouri.

FORT LIMHI

The Mormon Adventure in Oregon Territory 1855–1858

By
David L. Bigler

In 1855 the Mormons established a mission at the foot of Lemhi Pass near Salmon River in present-day Idaho. At first, Fort Limhi was part of the Saints' outreach to the Indians throughout the West. But the mission soon assumed a critical role in Brigham Young's plans for the Saints as they faced the imminent confrontation with the U.S. government which came to be known as the Utah War. *Fort Limhi* is an innovative account of a fascinating but forgotten story.

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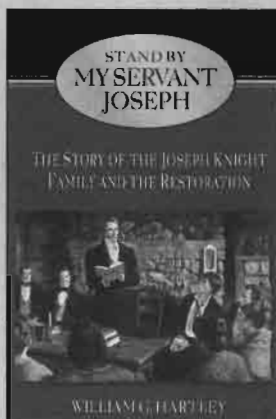
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Photo of Lemhi River Valley by Steve Barish

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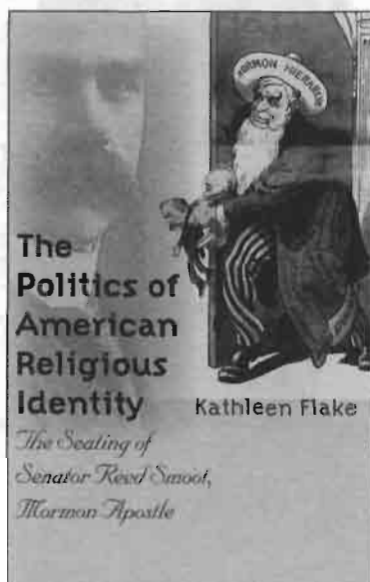


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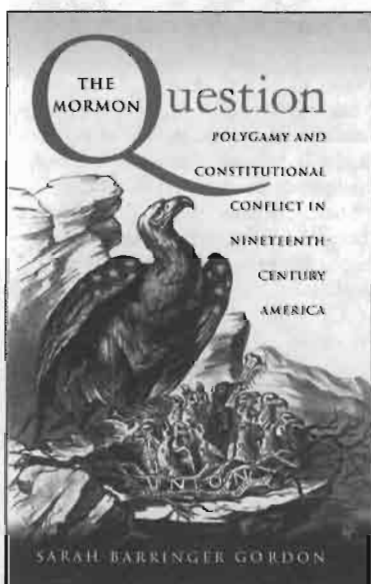
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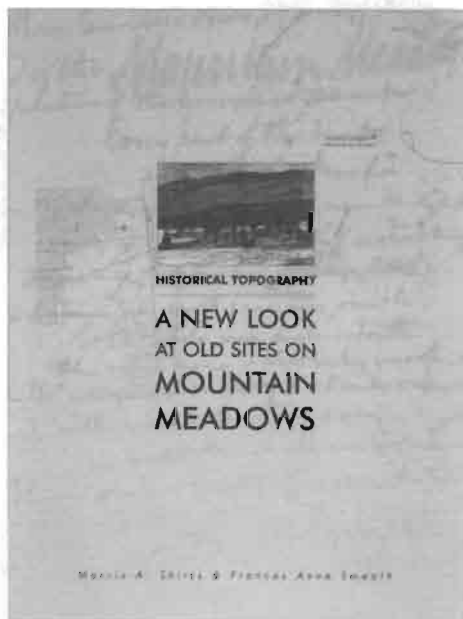
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