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Front Cover: For the second year in a row, South Africa's governor general, George Hebert Hyde Villiers, warmly greets Mormon missionaries playing in the South African national baseball championship on March 25, 1935. Villiers is shaking hands with mission president and team captain Don Mack Dalton. Next to him is Elder Stanford G. Smith, keeping his arm warm in the jacket. Smith, the best pitcher in South Africa, pitched a 10-0 shutout. See Booker T. Alston, "The Cumorah Baseball Club: Mormon Missionaries and Baseball in South Africa," 92–126. *Back Cover:* The Cumorah Baseball Club, almost all Mormon missionaries, get batting tips from their mission president and team manager, Don Mack Dalton, on December 30, 1932.

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LETTER

Emma's Awareness

Cheryl L. Bruno is to be complimented for trying to connect the dots regarding the introduction of secret polygamy teachings to Nauvoo Church members in the early 1840s in her article “Keeping a Secret: Freemasonry, Polygamy, and the Nauvoo Relief Society, 1842–44” (*Journal of Mormon History* 39, no. 4 [Fall 2013]: 158–81). However, her timeline for Emma Smith’s introduction to plural marriage is problematic.

Bruno writes that “Emma became aware of the extent of her husband’s involvement in plural marriage on April 29, 1842” (173–74).¹ To support this chronology, Bruno observes that, on April 29, Joseph’s journal records: “[It] was made manifest[,] a conspiracy against the peace of his household.”² “J.C.B.” is written lightly in the margin by scribe Willard Richards. Observers might speculate that, on that date, John C. Bennett and/or one of his followers visited Emma and accused Joseph of “spiritual wifery,”

which would have exposed the Prophet’s plural marriage activities to her. This interpretation seems rather extreme, based as it is on very limited and ambiguous historical data. In response, Joseph would have resolutely denied any involvement with Bennett’s immoralities.

Available evidence strongly supports that Bennett, a known adulterer throughout the 1830s, never learned of the celestial marriage doctrines from the Prophet and simply continued his debaucheries upon arriving in Nauvoo using several seduction techniques including references to “spiritual wifery.” Bennett’s most common rationalization was to tell the women that if they kept the relations secret, there was no sin in it.

Margaret Nyman described Bennett’s teaching as related by his follower Chauncey Higbee: “Any respectable female might indulge in sexual intercourse, and there was no sin in it, provided the person so indulging keep the same to herself; for

¹Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery, *Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1984), 114, suggest the same date.

²Dean C. Jessee, ed. *The Papers of Joseph Smith: Volume 2, Journal, 1832–1842* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 379. Bruno misquotes this journal entry by citing a secondary source.

there could be no sin where there was no accuser.”³

Regardless, Bruno confidently employs the April 29, 1842, dating scheme throughout her article, which bolsters her premise of a smoldering conflict over polygamy between Joseph and Emma during the remainder of 1842. According to Bruno, “Each seemed determined to use the Relief Society to promulgate their views. From the beginning, Emma Smith apparently considered the society an opportunity to oppose her husband’s teachings about plural marriage” (169–70). Bruno also theorizes that the “meeting of the Relief Society on March 30, 1842, began with ‘the house full to overflowing,’ as sisters gathered to observe the power struggle between the Prophet and his wife” (170).

The earliest *documentable* date for Emma’s awareness of eternal plural marriage is May of 1843, when she participated in four of her husband’s polygamous sealings (to Emily and Eliza Partridge and Sarah and Maria Lawrence).⁴ Emma undoubtedly learned about its principles earlier than this

point, but her actions indicate that it was only weeks, not months or years, earlier. Joseph successfully kept his own brother, Hyrum Smith, and William Law, second counselor in the First Presidency, unaware of plural marriage until mid-1843, so asserting an earlier date for Emma requires reliable historical evidence.⁵ Accordingly, if Emma did not learn about the practice of plural marriage until May 1843, there would have been no “power struggle” (170) or “wrestle” (174) in 1842 between Emma and Joseph over polygamy that Relief Society members or other Latter-day Saints would have witnessed (168, 170).

Bruno provides some intriguing observations regarding the interactions between the establishment of Masonry, the organization of the Relief Society, and the unfolding of polygamy in Nauvoo in the early 1840s. However, the chronology she has adopted regarding key events may be problematic and might affect the accuracy of some of her conclusions.

Brian C. Hales
Layton, Utah

³“Testimony of Margaret J. Nyman v. Chauncey L. Higbee, before the High Council of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, in the city of Nauvoo, May 21, 1842,” *Millennial Star* 23 (October 12, 1861): 657. See also Brian C. Hales, *Joseph Smith’s Polygamy: History and Theology*, 3 vols. (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2013), 1:515–93.

⁴Bruno incorrectly identifies Maria Lawrence as “Catherine.” Emily Dow Partridge Young, “Incidents in the Life of a Mormon Girl,” n.d., Ms 5220, 186, LDS Church History Library. The exact date of Joseph’s sealings to the Lawrence sisters is unknown, but it seems reasonable that it was chronologically close to the Partridge sealings.

⁵On May 26, 1843, William Clayton recorded: “Hyrum received the doctrine of priesthood.” George D. Smith, ed., *An Intimate Chronicle: The Journals of William Clayton* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1995), 106; William Law, Affidavit dated July 17, 1885, qtd. in Charles A. Shook, *The True Origin of Mormon Polygamy* (Cincinnati: Standard Publishing, 1914) 126.

THE CURIOUS CASE OF JOSEPH HOWARD, PALMYRA'S SEVENTEEN-YEAR-OLD SOMNIUM PREACHER

Noel A. Carmack

FAITHFUL LATTER-DAY SAINT CHURCH MEMBERS and apologist scholars have long held that Joseph Smith translated the Book of Mormon from an ancient source by revelation.¹ They characterize Joseph Smith's arcane method of translation as inexplicable but divinely directed. LDS Apostle Russell M. Nelson has said, for

NOEL A. CARMACK {noel.carmack@usu.edu} is assistant professor of art at Utah State University-Eastern in Price, Utah. He received a BFA in illustration (1993) and an MFA in drawing/painting (1997), both from Utah State University. Carmack has published on Utah history, Mormon arts, and Mormon culture in *BYU Studies*, *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, the *Utah Historical Quarterly*, and the *Journal of Mormon History*. He wishes to thank H. Michael Marquardt and Gary J. Bergera for their helpful assistance and suggestions.

¹Roger L. Hardy, "BYU Scholar Emphasizes Revelation in Translation," *Deseret News*, April 16, 2008, M-5. See also B. H. Roberts, *Defense of the Faith and the Saints*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1912), 1:351; Stephen D. Ricks, "Translation of the Book of Mormon: Interpreting the Evidence," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 2 (Fall 1993): 201-6; Russell M. Nelson, "A Treasured Testament," *Ensign*, July 1993, 61-65; Neal A.

example, that the “details of this miraculous method of translation are still not fully known.”² Book of Mormon scholar Brant A. Gardner similarly asserts: “The Book of Mormon is not only a translation of an ancient text. It is a translation, miraculously accomplished, of a text miraculously preserved and miraculously delivered.”³ A statement recently posted on the Church’s official website affirms: “The translation of the Book of Mormon was truly marvelous.”⁴

By contrast, some critics believe the Book of Mormon was the highly sophisticated product of automatism or subconscious dictation. This approach was first advanced and discussed by Woodbridge Riley and Robert Webb early in the twentieth century. Riley, in fact, called the book “a veritable piece of automatic writing.”⁵ More recently, religious historian Lawrence Foster and Scott Dunn, a scholar of Mormon doctrine, separately suggested that Smith used a form of automatic writing to create the Book of Mormon narrative.⁶ Independent scholar Clay Chandler also theorized that Smith put himself into a form of trance or altered state of consciousness while scribing

Maxwell, “By the Gift and Power of God,” *Ensign*, January 1997, 36–41; John A. Tvedtnes, “Was Joseph Smith Guilty of Plagiarism?” *FARMS Review* 22, no. 1 (Provo, Utah: Maxwell Institute, 2010): 261–75.

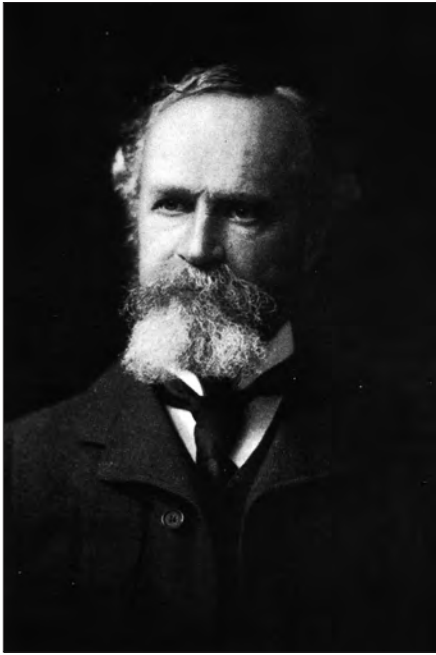
²Nelson, “A Treasured Testament,” 63.

³Brant A. Gardner, *The Gift and Power: Translating the Book of Mormon* (Draper, Utah: Greg Kofford Books, 2011), x.

⁴“Book of Mormon Translation,” <http://www.lds.org/topics/book-of-mormon-translation?lang=eng> (accessed January 20, 2014).

⁵I[saac]. Woodbridge Riley, *The Founder of Mormonism: A Psychological Study of Joseph Smith, Jr.* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1902), 185–282, quotation on 195; Robert C. Webb, Chapter XXVIII: “Was the Book of Mormon Produced by ‘Automatic Writing?’” in *The Real Mormonism: A Candid Analysis of an Interesting but Much Misunderstood Subject in History, Life and Thought* (New York: Sturgis & Walton Company, 1916), 427–40.

⁶Scott C. Dunn, “Spirit Writing: Another Look at the Book of Mormon,” *Sunstone* 10 (June 1985): 17–26; and Scott C. Dunn, “Automaticity and the Dictation of the Book of Mormon,” in *American Apocrypha: Essays on the Book of Mormon*, edited by Dan Vogel and Brent Lee Metcalfe (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2002), 17–46. Lawrence Foster, “New Paradigms for Understanding Mormonism and Mormon History,” *Dialogue: A Journal of*



*William James (1842-1910),
“Investigator of the Subliminal
Consciousness.” Photo by
Notman. B015230 Courtesy of
the U.S. National Library of
Medicine, Bethesda, Maryland.*

with the Urim and Thummim (interpreters) or seer stone as he dictated.⁷

Despite these claims, scientific interest did not focus on automatic or trance writing until later in the nineteenth century. German journalist and essayist Karl Ludwig Börne promoted a method of free association or unconscious writing in an article published in 1823, but an English translation of Börne’s essay would not have been available to Joseph Smith until the 1840s.⁸

That Joseph Smith knew of and practiced a form of automatic

Mormon Thought 29 (Fall 1996): 55–63. After reading “literally hundreds” of what he describes as trance communications and related examples of automatic writing, Foster concluded that “the Book of Mormon might best be viewed as one of the greatest, if not the greatest, examples of a trance-related document ever produced in the history of religion” (62).

⁷Clay L. Chandler, “Scrying for the Lord: Magic, Mysticism, and the Origins of the Book of Mormon,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 36 (Winter 2003): 43–78.

⁸Renowned father of psychoanalysis Sigmund Freud said that, when

writing defies plausibility when we consider that formal investigations into automatic or trance writing would have had to have come much earlier for them to be counted as factors in the coming forth of the Book of Mormon. The first controlled experiments in automatic writing were conducted in the 1890s by the American philosopher and psychologist William James (1842–1910), his protégé Gertrude Stein (1874–1946), and her fellow student research associate Leon Solomons (1873–1900).⁹ Studies of automatism, crystal gazing, and induced hallucinations by psychical researcher Frederic William Henry Myers (1843–1901) documented examples of sensory automatism and automatic writing, but not to the extent that Smith was said to have manifested this behavior while scrying.¹⁰ The examples of automatic writing cited by Dunn and other individuals who advance this scenario took place many years after 1827–30, the period in which Smith is said to have translated the Book of Mormon.¹¹

It should be acknowledged, however, that automatic *writing* and

he developed his own techniques of free association, he was following “an obscure intuition,” the source of which turned out to be Karl Ludwig Børne’s article, “The Art of Becoming an Original Writer in Three Days.” See Harry Trosman, “The Cryptomnesic Fragment in the Discovery of Free Association,” *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association* 17 (April 1969): 489–510.

⁹Ellwood Johnson, “Automatic Writing and the Auto-Novel,” *Rendezvous* 13 (1978): 5–12. For Stein and Solomons’s experiments in automatism, see Leon M. Solomons and Gertrude Stein, “Normal Motor Automatism,” *Psychological Review* 3 (September 1896): 492–512, and Gertrude Stein, “Cultivated Motor Automatism: A Study of Character in Its Relation to Attention,” *Psychological Review* 5 (May 1898): 295–306. For more about the experiments in automatic writing by James, Stein, and Solomons, see Michael J. Hoffman, “Gertrude Stein in the Psychology Laboratory,” *American Quarterly* 17 (Spring 1965): 127–32; Tim Armstrong, *Modernism, Technology, and the Body: A Cultural Study* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 197–204; and Stephen Meyer, *Irresistible Dictation: Gertrude Stein and the Correlations of Writing and Science* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2001), 221–40.

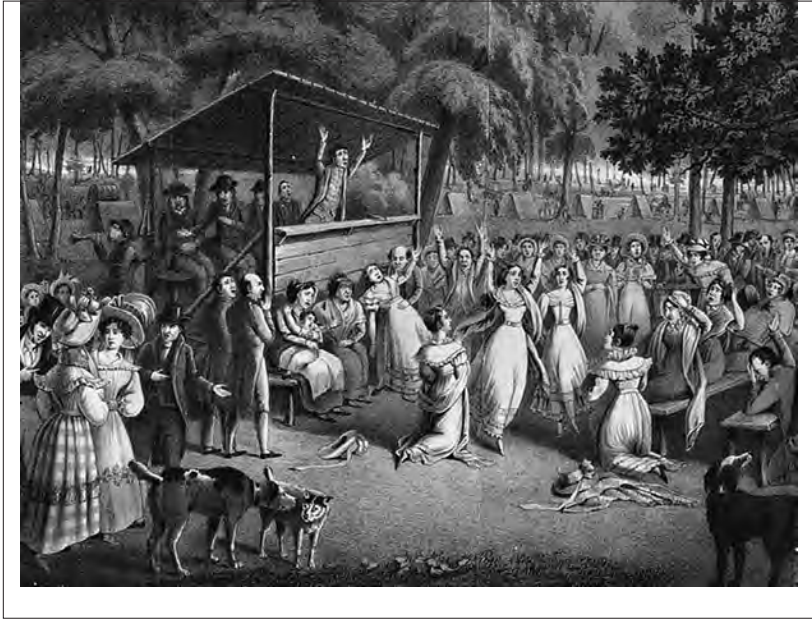
¹⁰Frederic W. H. Myers, “The Subliminal Consciousness. Chapter V. Sensory Automatism and Induced Hallucinations,” *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research* 8 (1892): 436–535.

¹¹Although he admits to some correlative similarities between Jo-

trance speaking or, rather, *dictating* are two different—albeit related—types of subconscious activities. Unlike the process of automatic writing, Joseph Smith dictated the Book of Mormon narrative to appointed scribes as he translated. By definition, automatic writing means that a person produces a piece of writing while in a subconscious state, without any visible external or human influence. The writing is executed by the medium, not by a scribe or stenographer. In 1890, when the academic study of psychology was still in its infancy, William James explained the distinguishing characteristics of mediumship:

Mediumistic possession in all its grades seems to form a perfectly natural special type of alternate personality, and the susceptibility to it in some form is by no means an uncommon gift in persons who have no other obvious nervous anomaly. The phenomena are very intricate, and are only just beginning to be studied in a proper scientific way. The lowest phase of mediumship is automatic writing, and the lowest grade of that is where the Subject knows what words are coming, but feels impelled to write them as if from without. Then comes writing unconsciously, even whilst engaged in reading or talk. Inspirational speaking,

seph Smith's dictation process and automatic writing, Robert A. Rees, "The Book of Mormon and Automatic Writing," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 15, no. 1 (2006): 5–17, argues against the automatic writing theory. As noted by historians D. Michael Quinn, Owen Davies, and others, Joseph Smith may have had access to and may have been influenced by hermetic writers and occult manuals or grimoires containing magical rites for locating treasure and conjuring spirits. Quinn, *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View*, rev. and enl. ed. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1998), 98–104, 187; Owen Davies, *Grimoires: A History of Magic Books* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 147–52; John L. Brooke, *The Refiner's Fire: The Making of Mormon Cosmology, 1644–1844* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 30–44, 103, and Chandler, "Scrying for the Lord," 48–51. Small chapbooks or pamphlets, available to Joseph Smith Sr. and Jr. in Palmyra, also contained instruction on divination, incantations, and magic formulas for conjuring spirits. See, for example, the advertisement, "Palmyra Bookstore," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, N.Y.), May 5, 1824, 3, which lists a pamphlet titled *Conjuring*. These may have contained rites for channeling spirits. I am, however, unaware of any coherent, lucidly written narratives produced (prior to about 1850) by individuals claiming to have been in a self-induced trance.



“Camp-Meeting.” Lithograph by Hugh Bridport, after Alexander Rider. Published ca. 1829 by Kennedy & Lucas Lithography. LC-DIG-ds-030915. Courtesy the Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.

playing on musical instruments, etc., also belong to the relatively lower phases of possession, in which the normal self is not excluded from conscious participation in the performance, though their initiative seems to come from elsewhere. In the highest phase the trance is complete, the voice, language, and everything are changed, and there is no after-memory whatever until the next trance comes.¹²

ENLIGHTENED INTEREST IN THE SUBCONSCIOUS MIND

James’s erudite understanding of these dissociative or trance states came after years of inquiry and documented cases of unusual somnambulistic and trance-like phenomena. Before James had entered the arena of psychology, the previously unexplored realm of sleep states—or what would be called “magnetic slumber”—was fertile

¹²William James, *The Principles of Psychology*, 2 vols. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1891), 1:393–96; quotation on 393–94.

ground for scientific study.¹³ When New England Puritan minister Cotton Mather was decrying the foolishness of falling asleep during a soul-saving sermon, theologians, physiologists, philosophers, and moralists explored spiritualism and the psychical nuances of the subconscious mind.¹⁴ In late eighteenth-century England, Scotland, and America, it was believed that *sympathy* is a powerful governing force that inextricably binds the body and mind together. In keeping with John Locke and other Enlightenment thinkers, Scottish philosopher David Hume (1711–76) and economist Adam Smith (1723–90) began with views of sympathy as a social instinct or an imaginative influence between individuals and societies, followed by Robert Whytt (1714–66) who wrote of sympathy—or nervous sympathy—as an unconscious “sentient principle” that affects the involuntary movement of vital organs.¹⁵ Scottish physician William Cullen (1710–90) and American Benjamin Rush (1746–1813) both advanced psychoso-

¹³Adam Crabtree, *From Mesmer to Freud: Magnetic Sleep and the Roots of Psychological Healing* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1993); Ann Taves, *Fits, Trances, & Visions: Experiencing Religion and Explaining Experience from Wesley to James* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999); and John S. Haller Jr., *Swedenborg, Mesmer, and the Mind/Body Connection: The Roots of Complementary Medicine*, Swedenborg Studies, No. 19 (West Chester, Penn.: Swedenborg Foundation Press, 2010). For published accounts of unusual hypnotic states and trance-related episodes, see Eric J. Dingwall, ed., *Abnormal Hypnotic Phenomena: A Survey of Nineteenth-Century Cases*, 4 vols. (London: J. & A. Churchill, 1967), and Adam Crabtree, *Animal Magnetism, Early Hypnotism, and Psychical Research, 1766–1925: An Annotated Bibliography*, Bibliography in the History of Psychology and Psychiatry: A Series, 4 (White Plains, N.Y.: Kraus Publishers, 1988).

¹⁴See Robert S. Cox, “The Suburbs of Eternity: On Visionaries and Miraculous Sleepers,” in *Worlds of Sleep: New Perspectives*, edited by Lodewijk Brunt and Brigitte Steger (Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2008), 53–73. See also Merle Curti, “The American Exploration of Dreams and Dreamers,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 27 (July–September 1966): 391–416. For a thorough treatment of the various realms of sleep states in pre-industrial British society, see A. Roger Ekirch, “Sleep We Have Lost: Pre-Industrial Slumber in the British Isles,” *American Historical Review* 106 (April 2001): 343–86.

¹⁵Robert Whytt, *An Essay on the Vital and Involuntary Motions of Animals* (Edinburgh: John Balfour, 1763), 219, 337, 356. For Smith and Hume’s views on sympathy as an influential social force, see Evelyn L. Forget, “Evo-

matic theories of illness and psychotherapy, based on the idea that sympathy is an etheric fluid in the nervous system that transmitted sensations and affected bodily functions.¹⁶

Theories on the cause and effects of sympathy reached an apex when Viennese physician Franz Anton Mesmer (1734–1815) introduced subconscious states to Western scientists in Paris during the 1770s. Mesmer conducted extraordinary experiments, placing his patients in altered states of consciousness which were caused by what he called “animal magnetism,” or the fluxes of the body’s sympathetic systems transmitted by a universal magnetic fluid.¹⁷ By the end of the eighteenth century, Mesmer’s disciple, the Marquis de Puységur (1751–1825), had discovered a way to induce a trance by animal magnetism—known today as hypnosis—calling it a separate “state of exis-

cations of Sympathy: Sympathetic Imagery in Eighteenth-Century Social Theory and Physiology,” *History of Political Economy*, Annual Supplement, 35 (2003): 282–308. For a broader context, see Christopher Lawrence, “The Nervous System and Society in the Scottish Enlightenment,” in *Natural Order: Historical Studies of Scientific Culture*, edited by Barry Barnes and Steven Shapin (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1979), 19–40, and Michael L. Frazier, *The Enlightenment of Sympathy: Justice and the Moral Sentiments in the Eighteenth Century and Today* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

¹⁶Cullen believed that sympathy was a mind-body function that activated and controlled the nervous system and transmitted sensations to vital organs. See Forget, “Evocations of Sympathy,” 291–92, and C. E. Kerr, I. Milne, and T. J. Kaptchuck, “William Cullen and a Missing Mind-Body Link in the Early History of Placebos,” *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* 101 (2008): 89–92. For Rush’s view on the relationship between sympathy and physiology, see Curti, “The American Exploration of Dreams and Dreamers,” 398–99, and Sari Alschuler, “From Blood Vessels to Global Networks of Exchange: The Physiology of Benjamin Rush’s Early Republic,” *Journal of the Early Republic* 32 (Summer 2012): 207–31.

¹⁷For the broader context of Mesmerism in Europe, see Robert Darnton, *Mesmerism and the End of Enlightenment in France* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968); Adam Crabtree, *From Mesmer to Freud: Magnetic Sleep and the Roots of Psychological Healing* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1993); Patricia Fara, “An Attractive Therapy: Animal Magnetism in Eighteenth-Century England,” *History of Science* 33 (June 1995): 127–77; and Tim Tulford, “Conducting the Vital Fluid: The Politics and Poetics of Mesmerism in the 1790s,” *Studies in Romanticism* 43 (Spring 2004): 57–78.



Franz Anton Mesmer (1734-1815). Undated lithograph (nineteenth century) by Langlumé. Courtesy of the portrait collection, National Academy of Medicine, Paris.

tence” or “magnetic somnambulism.”¹⁸

Although mesmerism and its varying modes of expression had not yet been introduced to average Americans, the work of enlightened intellectuals and psychical investigators increasingly drew as much attention as the experiences of religious dreamers and visionaries.¹⁹ Ideas about heaven and hell by Christian mystic and philosopher Emanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772) had been translated into English and published in New York by 1827, and his writings on the physical and spiritual influxes or interactions between the soul and body were available in English as early as 1770; summaries of Swedenborg’s doctrines, though not yet related to magnetism, were for sale in upstate New York bookstores from 1808 to 1823.²⁰ A widening interest in the psychical influence of magnetism made its way

¹⁸Haller, *Swedenborg, Mesmer, and the Mind/Body Connection*, 75–77.

¹⁹A few obscure references to animal magnetism and mesmerism appeared in early New England medical journals, but these psychical phenomena did not receive widespread attention until 1836. See “Animal Magnetism,” *New-England Journal of Medicine and Surgery, and Collateral Branches of Science* 3 (January 1814): 40–46; “Mesmerism,” *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* 2 (August 11, 1829): 411–13; “Mesmerism,” *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* 2 (August 25, 1829): 446–47; “Mesmerism,” *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* 2 (October 27, 1829): 584–87; and “Mesmerism,” *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* 2 (December 15, 1829): 698–99.

²⁰Joseph Smith may well have been aware of Swedenborg’s doctrines from Hannah Adams’s *A Dictionary of All Religions, and Religious Denomina-*

to America's northeastern shores when Enlightenment English physician and novelist John William Polidori (1795–1821) beset the villain of his novel, *The Vampyre* (1819), with somnambulism and trance-like states, while American novelist, Charles Brockden Brown (1771–1810), imbued his gothic novel, *Wieland; or The Transformation* (1798), with supernatural ventriloquial voices.²¹ Dr. Benjamin Rush (1745–1813)—considered the “father of American psychiatry” and William James’s predecessor—mentioned animal magnetism in 1789 and 1812, though he did not expand on the subject.²²

The Second Great Awakening brought new forms of religious preaching as well. Presbyterian minister and evangelical preacher

tions (New York: James Eastburn and Company, 1817), s.v. “New Jerusalem Church,” 202–7, and from newspaper accounts available both in Palmyra and in Canandaigua, thirteen miles away. Quinn, *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View*, 14–15, 153, 176, 217–19, has shown that Smith met with the LDS Church’s only Swedenborgian convert in 1839 and knew enough of Swedenborg’s teachings to criticize them. See also “Swedenborgians,” *Western Repository* (Canandaigua, N.Y.), December 6, 1808, 1; “Miscellany,” *Rochester Telegraph* (Rochester, N.Y.), August 11, 1818, 2; “Swedenborgianism,” *North American Review* 12 (January 1821): 89–111; “Periodical Literature,” *Palmyra [N.Y.] Herald and Canal Advertiser*, February 19, 1823, 3; “Swedenborgians,” *The Reflector* (Palmyra, N.Y.), March 16, 1830, 87.

²¹Anne Stiles, Stanley Finger, David E. Petrain, “A New Look at Polidori,” *European Romantic Review* 21 (December 2010): 771–73; David E. Petrain, trans., “An English Translation of John William Polidori’s (1815) Medical Dissertation on *Oneirodynia* (Somnambulism),” *European Romantic Review* 21 (December 2010): 775–88; Ann Stiles, Stanley Finger, and John Bulevich, “Somnambulism and Trance States in the Works of John William Polidori, Author of *The Vampyre*,” *European Romantic Review* 21 (December 2010): 789–807. Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990), 225–28, discusses the importance of Brown’s novel *Wieland*. On magic and ventriloquism in Enlightenment thought, see Leigh Eric Schmidt, “From Demon Possession to Magic Show: Ventriloquism, Religion, and the Enlightenment,” *Church History* 67 (June 1998): 274–304.

²²Jerome M. Schneck, “Benjamin Rush and Animal Magnetism, 1789 and 1812,” *International Journal of Clinical and Experimental Hypnosis* 26 (January 1978): 9–14. For Rush’s views on somnambulism and somniloquy, see Eric T. Carlson et al., *Benjamin Rush’s Lectures on the Mind: Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 144 (Philadelphia: American Philosophi-

Charles Grandison Finney (1792–1875) introduced religious enthusiasm to preaching in revivals. Finney's new theology, which included preternatural experiences and charismatic methods of discourse, threatened to undermine the authority of scripture that Calvinism had long prescribed. Outward manifestations of enthusiasm were dramatic gestures, fits, trances, and visions. Methodist preachers expressed the overpowering spirit through shouting, falling, emotional outbursts, and speaking in tongues.²³ In addition to enthusiasm, a number of both Amish and Quaker ministers were infusing "trance preaching" into their discourses during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in Pennsylvania and areas of Ohio and New York.²⁴

Quaker merchant Thomas Say (1709–96) of Philadelphia, for example, purportedly had an "uncommon vision or trance" in which he saw the deaths of three men and their ascension into heaven.²⁵ Say was followed by Quaker "preacheress" Jemima Wilkinson (1752–1819), whose claim to have fallen into a coma or trance-like vision in 1776 was

cal Society, 1981), 624–83, esp. 665–68.

²³John H. Wigger, "Taking Heaven by Storm: Enthusiasm and Early American Methodism, 1770–1820," *Journal of the Early Republic* 14 (Summer 1994): 167–94; Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned-over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800–1850* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), 8–9, 15–16; John H. Wigger, *Taking Heaven by Storm: Methodism and the Rise of Popular Christianity in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), esp. 105–23; and Taves, *Fits, Trances, & Visions*, 21–46, 76–117. For Charles Finney's enthusiasm, see James E. Johnson, "Charles G. Finney and a Theology of Revivalism," *Church History* 38 (September 1969): 338–58, and Marianne Perciaccante, *Calling Down Fire: Charles Grandison Finney and Revivalism in Jefferson County, New York, 1800–1840* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003).

²⁴Don Yoder, "Trance Preaching in the United States," *Pennsylvania Folklife* 18 (Winter 1968–69): 13–18; Harry H. Hiller, "The Sleeping Preachers: An Historical Study of the Role of Charisma in Amish Society," *Pennsylvania Folklife* 18 (Winter 1968–69): 19–31.

²⁵*A True and Wonderful Account of Mr. Thomas Say of Philadelphia While in a Trance for Upwards of Seven Hours: Giving a Strange Relation of What He Saw and Heard During That Time* (Philadelphia?: s.n., 1792), and Benjamin Say, *A Short Compilation of the Extraordinary Life and Writings of Thomas Say, Copied from His Manuscripts* (Philadelphia?: s.n., 1796).



"Animal Magnetism—The Operator Putting His Patient into a Crisis." Engraving by Dodd. From *A Key to Physic, and the Occult Sciences* by Ebenezer Sibly (London, 1795). Courtesy the Bakken Museum & Library, Minneapolis.

received with both astonishment and skepticism.²⁶ She and her followers established a farm settlement near Jerusalem, Ontario County, New York—in the Phelps and Gorham Purchase—just north of Keuka Lake, where she preached “as one inspired.” Wilkinson captivated listeners during her discursive spells and, in one episode, “descanted in a sanctimonious, mystick tone, on death, and the happiness of having been an useful instrument to others in the way of their salvation.”²⁷ One observer wrote: “She had committed almost the whole of the Bible to memory, and on the slightest allusion being made to any part of it, she would repeat the language correctly and without the least hesitation. She was therefore always supplied with matter and language for her sermons, and but for the fatigue of talking, could as well preach a whole day as half an hour.”²⁸ After Wilkinson’s death on July 8, 1819, it was reported that the roads leading to her residence were filled with crowds of people—devotees and onlookers—awaiting her funeral.²⁹

ANIMAL MAGNETISM AND MESMERIC STATES

This fascination with the various modes of trance-like discourse or somniloquy resulted in an increased level of interest in psychical phenomena. German neuroanatomist and physiologist Franz Joseph Gall (1758–1828) developed phrenology, a new and exciting pseudo-scientific method that involved measuring and observing the size of a patient’s skull to determine character traits. Gall’s teachings on phrenology were enthusiastically embraced in New England states when

²⁶David Hudson, *History of Jemima Wilkinson, A Preacheress of the Eighteenth Century: Containing an Authentic Narrative of Her Life and Character* (Geneva, N.Y.: S. P. Hull, 1821).

²⁷“Biography. Jemima Wilkinson,” *Omnium Gatherum* 1 (January 1, 1810): 97–101.

²⁸Hudson, *History of Jemima Wilkinson*, 194. For an example of Wilkinson’s religious discourse, see 195–201. Another critical observer wrote: “Her command of the contents of the bible [sic], and her readiness in the use of scriptural language were surprising. She used few expressions which could not be found in the sacred books.” From “Jemima Wilkinson,” *Christian Disciple* 5 (September 5, 1817): 277–79; quotation on 278.

²⁹Death Notice, *Ostego Herald*, July 19, 1819, 3; Death Notice, *Palmyra Register*, July 21, 1819, 3; “From the National Intelligencer. Of the Late Jemima Wilkinson,” *Rochester [N.Y.] Telegraph*, October 12, 1819, 1.

German physician Johann Spurzheim (1776–1832) spoke of them during his lectures on phrenology in Boston in 1832.³⁰ That same year, the first American edition of Spurzheim’s treatise on phrenology was published in Boston. Not only did he outline the nature of phrenology, but he also described somnambulism and its accompanying symptoms: “This is a state of incomplete sleep, wherein several organs are watching,” he wrote. “Now it is known that the brain takes cognizance of the external world by means of the five external senses. If, during sleep, particular organs act, dreams arise; and if the muscles be excited, motion follows, or the sleeper walks. Many people, indeed, speak in their sleep; others hear and answer in addition; and some rise about doing various acts. This is somnambulism.”³¹ Spurzheim also provided examples of paroxysmal sleep states, concluding that the same phenomena can occur when somnambulism is “produced by animal magnetism.”³²

An intense interest in phrenology continued as Orson Fowler (1809–87), the illustrious American phrenologist, lectured in the western New York region in 1834 and Charles Poyen (vital dates unknown), a pupil of Puységur, introduced mesmerism to U.S. audiences in January 1836.³³ America’s curiosity in phrenology and animal magnetism culminated with George Combe (1788–1858), a Scotsman and successor to Spurzheim as the leading phrenologist

³⁰Robert E. Reigel, “The Introduction of Phrenology to the United States,” *American Historical Review* 39 (October 1933): 73–78, and Nahum Capen, *Reminiscences of Dr. Spurzheim and George Combe: And a Review of the Science of Phrenology, from the Period of Its Discovery by Dr. Gall, to the Time of the Visit of George Combe to the United States, 1838, 1840* (New York: Fowler & Wells, 1881), 8–29.

³¹Johann Spurzheim, *Phrenology, or the Doctrine of the Mental Phenomena*, 2 vols. (Boston: Marsh, Capen, and Lyon, 1832), 1:75.

³²Spurzheim, *Phrenology*, 1:81. Both Gall and Spurzheim taught that animal magnetism is diffused throughout all nature and is “the guide of the external expressions.” They also taught that sympathy and antipathy affect human faculties. See also Johann Spurzheim, *The Physiognomical System of Drs. Gall and Spurzheim; Founded on an Anatomical and Physiognomical Examination of the Nervous System in General, and of the Brain in Particular* (London: Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, 1815), 186–87, 495, 546–50, 567.

³³Charles Poyen, *Progress of Animal Magnetism in New England. Being a Collection of Experiments, Reports and Certificates, from the Most Respectable*

of the time, who toured New York and other eastern cities in 1838—eight years after the Book of Mormon had come off the press.³⁴

Americans learned of mesmeric somnambulism and somniloquy from major newspapers, but it was through in-depth examinations in specialized periodicals that these phenomena were meaningfully brought to light. For example, Methodist revivalist-turned-abolitionist La Roy Sunderland shifted his attention from theological education and the abolition of slavery to psychical research in 1839. The one-time editor of *Zion's Watchman*, Sunderland followed mesmeric states and trance-like phenomena among revivalist preachers into the mid-1840s, after discontinuing the *Watchman* and starting *The Magnet*, a paper devoted to “the Investigation of Human Physiology.”³⁵ The purpose of Sunderland’s magazine was to call attention to facts surrounding “Physiology,

Sources. *Preceded by a Dissertation on the Proofs of Animal Magnetism* (Boston: Weeks, Jordan, 1837). See also Robert C. Fuller, *Mesmerism and the American Cure of Souls* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982); Eric T. Carleson, “Charles Poyen Brings Mesmerism to America,” *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 15, no. 2 (1960): 121–32; David Schmit, “Re-visioning Antebellum American Psychology: The Dissemination of Mesmerism, 1836–1854,” *History of Psychology* 8 (November 2005): 403–34; and Sheila O’Brien Quinn, “How Southern New England Became Magnetic North: The Acceptance of Animal Magnetism,” *History of Psychology* 10 (August 2007): 231–48.

³⁴George Combe, *Notes on the United States of North America During a Phrenological Visit in 1838–9–40*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Cary & Hart, 1841), and “Lectures of Mr. George Combe, in Boston and New York, with a Brief History of Phrenology, and Its Present State in the Former Place,” *American Phrenological Journal* 1 (January 1, 1839): 118–28. For more on the beginnings of phrenology in America, see Reigel, “The Introduction of Phrenology to the United States”; and Christopher G. White, *Unsettled Minds: Psychology and the American Search for Spiritual Assurance, 1830–1840* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), esp. 21, 25, 31.

³⁵Taves, *Fits, Trances, & Visions*, 128–48, and John S. Haller, Jr., *Swedenborg, Mesmer, and the Mind/Body Connection*, 84–85; Cross, *The Burned-over District*, 325–26; Edward D. Jervy, “LaRoy Sunderland: Zion’s Watchman,” *Methodist History* 7 (April 1968): 16–32; Edward D. Jervy, “LaRoy Sunderland: ‘Prince of the Sons of Mesmer,’” *Journal of Popular Cul-*

Phrenology, and Living Magnetism, as may lead to the knowledge of those laws which govern the human mind.”³⁶ Sunderland showed his interest in these pseudoscientific trends by publishing on mesmerism, animal magnetism, and phrenology, reporting on the works of early practitioners like Orson Fowler (1809–87) and Dr. Henry Hall Sherwood (1786–1848).³⁷ It was Sunderland’s preoccupation with psychical research that gave rise to transcendental clairvoyant activity and spiritualism of the 1850s in western New York and New England.³⁸

ture 9 (March 1976): 1010–26.

³⁶“Prospectus,” *The Magnet* 1 (June 1842): 1; Jervey, “LaRoy Sunderland,” 1013.

³⁷“Involuntary Somnambulism,” *The Magnet* 1 (June 1842): 18–19; R. C., “Clairvoyance,” *The Magnet* 1 (October 1842): 97–99; “Trance,” *The Magnet* 1 (1843): 225–26; “Ecstasy [sic],” *The Magnet* 1 (April 1843): 249. In one example, Sunderland related the story of a case of somnambulism in New York. Interestingly, he concluded: “And it is curious enough, to see how honestly many good people will believe in a case of natural clairvoyance, when they are horror struck in being told that the same state may be artificially induced, without anything of the *miraculous* in it. And we have been often reminded, that had we set up for ‘a prophet’ before we restored a lady to her voice, (who had been mute for two years) last summer, or before we had performed some of the other cures already referred to in the *Magnet*, we might have held a successful competition with Joe Smith, and shared the chances with him of lining our pockets with gold instead of working for nothing, as we have done, and being reported as a mere juggler, or something worse.” “Trance and Natural Clairvoyance [sic],” *The Magnet* 1 (May 1843): 275.

³⁸See, for example, John B. Wilson, “Emerson and the ‘Rochester Rappings,’” *New England Quarterly* 41 (June 1968): 248–58; R. Laurence Moore, “Spiritualism and Science: Reflections on the First Decade of the Spirit Rappings,” *American Quarterly* 24 (October 1972): 474–500. It was no coincidence that Swedenborg’s doctrines of connectivity, the influence of spheres, visions, and mind and body were compared with Mesmerism in 1847. George Bush, *Mesmer and Swedenborg, or, the Relation of the Developments of Mesmerism to the Doctrines and Disclosures of Swedenborg* (New York: John Allen, 1847). For antebellum investigations into clairvoyance and mediumistic trances, see R. Laurence Moore, *In Search of White Crows: Spiritual-*

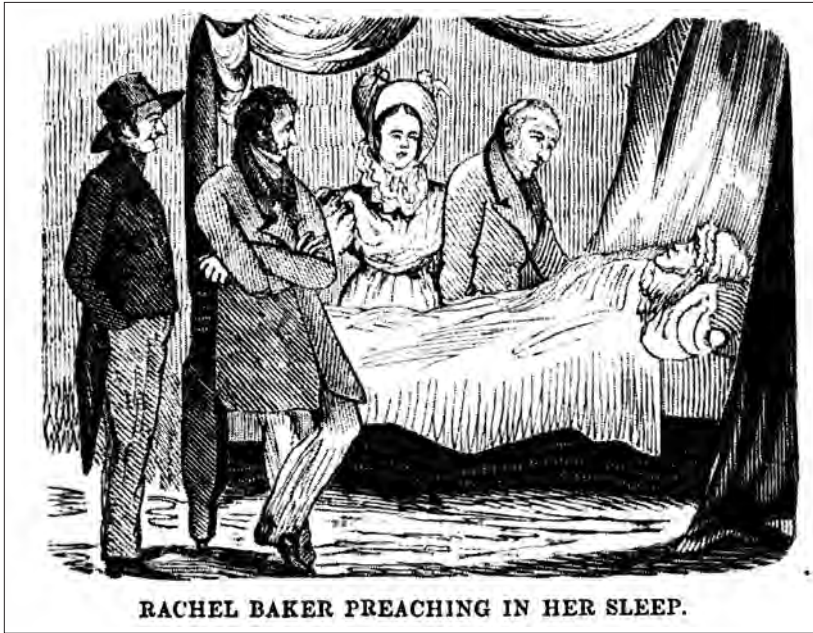


Miss Rachel Baker (1794–1857). Frontispiece engraving by Thomas Gimbrede & C., after Jarvis. From John H. Douglass et al., Devotional Somnium (New York, 1815). Courtesy of Noel Carmack.

TWO CASES OF “DEVOTIONAL SOMNIUM” IN NEW YORK STATE

Joseph Smith’s unusual method of translating the Book of Mormon occurred several years before informed knowledge of animal magnetism and somnambulism was introduced to American audiences. If Joseph Smith had chosen to mimic automatic behavior for his translation, the idea of producing a religious narrative through trance dictation might have come from two peculiar cases of “trance preaching” that coincided much closer in time and place to Smith than previously known. In a rare but widely publicized example of ecstatic or paroxysmal trance, Rachel Baker (1794–1857), known as “the Sleeping Preacher” of Marcellus Township, Onondaga County, New York, experienced episodes of devotional discourse while she appeared to be sleeping. Born in Pelham, Massachusetts, on May 29, 1794, to Ezekiel and Hanna Baker, Rachel was raised as a Presbyterian and had only six months of formal education. Despite her limited ed-

ism, Parapsychology, and American Culture (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), esp. 7–39; Bret E. Carroll, *Spiritualism in Antebellum America*, Religion in North America series (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), 108–12, 146–47.



“Rachel Baker Preaching in Her Sleep.” From J. E. Smith, “The Wonders of Sleep,” *Legends and Miracles and Other Curious and Marvellous Stories of Human Nature*, No. 8 (London, 1837). Courtesy of Noel Carmack.

ucation, Rachel’s parents read the scriptures to her as a child. By her own estimation, she remembered that “in her childhood she frequently had strong convictions of the importance of eternal things; particularly when she was about nine years old.”³⁹

In 1803, Baker moved to Marcellus Township where she resided with her parents until the onset of her condition in 1812. In October 1814, she was taken to New York City by her friends “in hopes that her somnial exercises (which were considered by some

³⁹Rev. David Rathbone, Letter to Dr. John H. Douglass, January 19, 1815, in John H. Douglass et al., *Devotional Somnium; or a Collection of Prayers and Exhortations, Uttered by Miss Rachel Baker, in the City of New-York, in the Winter of 1815, during Her Abstracted and Unconscious State* (New York: Van Winkle and Wiley, 1815), 13–24; quotation on 14. See also Meribeth M. Simpson and Eric T. Carlson, “The Strange Sleep of Rachel Baker,” *Academy Bookman* 21, no. 2 (1968): 1–13.

of them, as owing to disease) might by the exercise of a journey, and the novelty of a large city, be removed."⁴⁰ During her stay in New York, she was treated by the renowned physician, Dr. Samuel L. Mitchill (1764–1831), but the behavior did not cease.⁴¹ Mitchill classified Baker's unusual behavior as one of eight idiopathic forms of Somnium, called "Somnium *cum religione*," or a paroxysmal trance "with prayers and preaching."⁴² Describing these episodes, Dr. Mitchill wrote: "She begins without a text, and proceeds with an even course to the end; embellishing it sometimes with fine metaphors, vivid descriptions, and poetical quotations."⁴³ It was not until September 1816 that one Dr. Spears, "by a course of

⁴⁰Joshua V. H. Clark, *Onondaga; Or Reminiscences of Earlier and Late Times*, 2 vols. (Syracuse, N.Y.: Stoddard and Babcock, 1849), 2:294–96; quotation on 295.

⁴¹Ironically, it was this same Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchill who, along with Charles Anthon (1797–1867), was shown the Book of Mormon characters brought to him by Martin Harris in February 1828. See Richard E. Bennett, "'Read This I Pray Thee': Martin Harris and the Three Wise Men of the East," *Journal of Mormon History* 36 (Winter 2010): 178–216, esp. 194–212. See also Edgar Fahs Smith, *Samuel Latham Mitchill—A Father in American Chemistry* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1922); Courtney Robert Hall, *A Scientist in the Early Republic: Samuel Latham Mitchill, 1764–1831* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934); Alan David Aberbach, *In Search of an American Identity: Samuel Latham Mitchill, Jeffersonian Nationalist*, American University Studies, Series 9: History, Vol. 46 (New York: P. Lang, 1988).

⁴²For a discussion of Mitchell's diagnosis, see "Domestic Literary Intelligence," *Analectic Magazine* 5 (January 1815): 84–85; "Devotional Somnium," *Analectic Magazine* 5 (June 1815): 497–509, esp. 503.

⁴³John Warner Barber, *The History and Antiquities of New England, New York, and New Jersey* (Worcester, Mass.: Dorr, Howland, 1841), 513–15; quotation on 514, and Joseph Ennemoser, *The History of Magic*, translated by William Howitt, 2 vols. (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1854), 2:442–45; quotation reprinted 445. The strange events surrounding Rachel Baker's condition were also printed in Vermont/New Hampshire and upstate New York papers. See "Rachel Baker," *New-Hampshire Patriot* (Concord), April 18, 1815, 3; "Just Received" (bookstore advertisement), *Columbian Patriot* (Middlebury, Vt.), August 16, 1815, 4; "The Sleeping Preacher," *Northern Whig* (Hudson, N.Y.), May 2, 1815, 3; "Rachel Baker," *Ostego Herald*

medical treatment, particularly by the use of opium, prevented a recurrence of her nightly exercises.”⁴⁴ To satisfy the curious public, salient examples of Baker’s somnial discourses, or trance-induced exhortations, were taken down by stenographers over the course of several nightly attacks and published in 1815 by printers Cornelius Van Winkle and Charles Wiley of New York City.⁴⁵

Under the circumstances, it was important that Baker’s words be taken down with indisputable accuracy. To give greater credibility to the published account, the character of witnesses and scribes had to be unimpugnable. The published account reported that the stenographers “were well versed in the art of shorthand, and are proficient in theology.” These transcribers, it was assured, were “possessed of the highest integrity; on their reports, therefore, the highest reliance may be placed.”⁴⁶

Baker’s lengthy discourses usually came after a prayer or in re-

(Cooperstown, N.Y.), June 1, 1815, 2; “Saturday June 15,” *Albany [N.Y.] Advertiser*, June 19, 1816, 1. For two informative essays on Mitchill as a physician, see Alan D. Aberbach, “Samuel Latham Mitchell: A Physician in the Early Days of the Republic,” *Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine* 40 (July 1964): 501–10; N. A. Bergman, “Samuel Latham Mitchell (1764–1831): A Neglected American Pioneer of Anesthesia,” *Journal of the American Medical Association* 253 (February 1, 1985): 675–78.

⁴⁴Clark, *Onondaga*, 2:296. Baker’s treatment was described more fully in Ansel W. Ives, “A Remarkable Case of Devotional Somnium,” *Transactions of the Physico-Medical Society of New York* 1 (1817): 395–412. See also William Barlow and David O. Powell, “The Cure of Rachel Baker’s ‘Devotional Somnium’ (Sleep Preaching),” *Academy Bookman* 31, nos. 1–2 (1978): 3–10; Robert S. Cox, *Body and Soul: A Sympathetic History of American Spiritualism* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2003), 56–68.

⁴⁵For Baker’s somnium preaching, see Douglass, *Devotional Somnium*, and *Remarkable Sermons of Rachel Baker and Pious Ejaculations Delivered during Sleep Taken Down in Shorthand* (London: E. Cox and Son, 1815). Several abridged printings of Rachel Baker’s somnium exhortations were also available, including Charles Mais, *The Surprising Case of Rachel Baker, Who Prays and Preaches in Her Sleep* (1814; rpt. Baltimore, Md.: Benjamin Edes, 1815). See also J. E. Smith, “The Wonders of Sleep,” *Legends and Miracles and Other Curious and Marvellous Stories of Human Nature*, no. 8 (London: B. D. Cousins, 1837), 57–62.

⁴⁶Douglass et al., *Devotional Somnium*, 180. Transcriptions of Baker’s

sponse to questions posed by those in attendance. When listeners heard her somniloquys, they would have recognized that her diction was derived from Jacobean writings and biblical scripture. "O friends! think it not strange that I should speak unto you," she exclaimed during one session. "I beseech you that you would exhort one another while it is called to-day; and so much the more as ye see the end approaching, when he will come to take his weary bride home: then he will take you to himself, and he will give you a seat in his kingdom and glory."⁴⁷ During another session of impassioned discourse, she admonished sinners to humble themselves to God. "I, therefore, beseech you to cry mightily to the Lord," she said, "that, haply, the Lord would give you repentance, and a broken heart and a contrite spirit; for the Lord hath said, that a broken heart and a contrite spirit he will in no wise despise."⁴⁸ In another session, Baker urged her listeners to repent before it grew too late: "May you, therefore, make your peace with him, before the night cometh wherein no man can work."⁴⁹ Further, she underscored the spiritual distance between God and man, saying that naturally "you are strangers from God, and do not love God, neither, indeed, can you, for the natural mind is at enmity with God, and is not subject to the law of God: no, not of yourselves can you come to love him, and do his will."⁵⁰ The religious language and strange circumstances surrounding these homiletic outbursts captured the attention of the people of New York.⁵¹

Unusual phenomena such as Baker's condition would have

somnial exhortations cover 180–292.

⁴⁷Ibid., 199.

⁴⁸Ibid., 207. Compare to Ps. 51:17; 2 Ne. 2:7; 3 Ne. 9:20, 12:19.

⁴⁹Ibid., 209. Compare to 3 Ne. 27:33.

⁵⁰Ibid., 273–74. Although partially derived from 1 Cor. 2:14, this passage is strikingly similar to Mosiah 3:19: "For the natural man is an enemy to God."

⁵¹After being cured of these paroxysms, Rachel Baker married Esbon Comstock and bore four children. She died on March 3, 1857, in Onondaga, New York. See findagrave.com (Memorial# 37807806), <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=37807806> (accessed January 20, 2014). Ironically, one of their children, John Comstock, was "last heard of when crossing the plains at the time of the Mountain Meadow Massacre." See Cyrus B. Comstock, ed., *A Comstock Genealogy: Descendants of*

been the leading topic of conversation in her home state. But New Yorkers in Ontario (later Wayne) County were quick to point out that her case, although it had excited much attention, was “not altogether singular.” In December 1818, it was reported that a teenage boy from Sodus Township, twenty miles northeast of Palmyra, had been exhibiting the same paroxysmal symptoms for more than a year. According to the Palmyra newspaper, Joseph Howard, the seventeen-year-old son of Phineas Howard, was experiencing daily “fits of devotional somnium,” lasting about an hour and a half.⁵² The boy, who was taken to Palmyra and placed under the care of the local physician, Dr. Alexander McIntyre (1792–1859), would fall into a paroxysmal trance and engage in religious discourse. An unnamed witness described Howard’s trance-like episodes in the *Palmyra Register*:

His fits commence with slight twitches of the extremities and the muscles of his face, and in a few moments his whole system becomes agitated with the most violent contortions. From this state, in which he remains about ten minutes, he appears to fall into a deep sleep, when he commences his devotional services. He first names a psalm & after waiting a sufficient time for it to be sung, makes a prayer, names another psalm, then his text, dividing his discourse into different leading heads, which he pursues with much apparent engagedness, and with more propriety than might naturally be expected, by a youth of 17, without the advantages of even a common education.⁵³

When the boy was not vexed by these paroxysms, his mind appeared “sound and rational,” though he was agitated by involuntary

William Comstock of New London, Conn. Who Died after 1662 (New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1902), 187, s.v. “Family 510.”

⁵²“Somnium Preacher,” *Palmyra [N.Y.] Register*, December 2, 1818, 2. The article from the *Palmyra Register* of January 6, 1819, is unknown, as the issue is missing from extant copies of the newspaper. See also “From the Palmyra Register, Dec. 2.,” *Orange County Patriot* (Goshen, N.Y.), December 22, 1818, 2; “From the Palmyra Register, Jan. 6. Joseph Howard the Somnium Preacher,” *Orange County Patriot* (Goshen, N.Y.), January 26, 1819, 1; “From the Palmyra Register, Dec. 2. Somnium Preacher,” *Ostego Herald* (Cooperstown, N.Y.), January 11, 1819, 1; “From the Palmyra Register, Jan. 6. Joseph Howard, the Somnium Preacher,” *Commercial Advertiser* (New York), January 13, 1819, 2.

⁵³“Somnium Preacher,” *Palmyra Register*, December 2, 1818, 2.

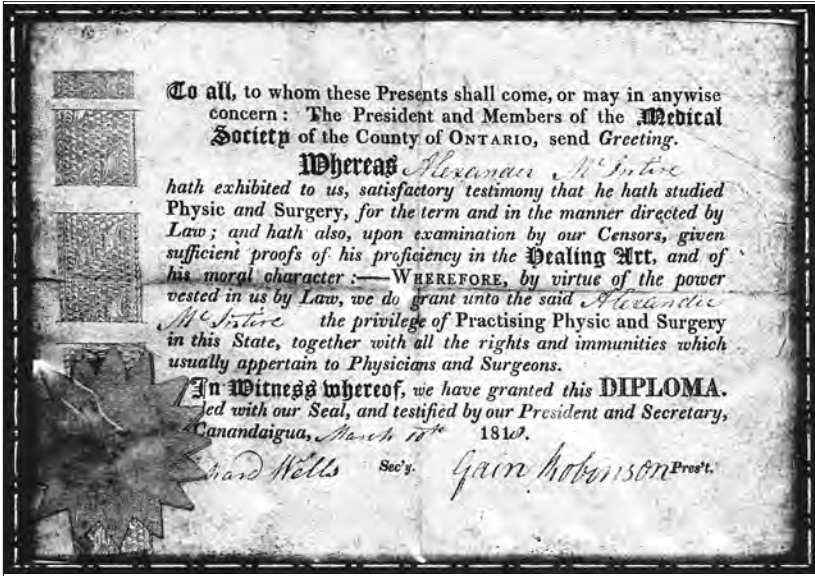


Home and office of Dr. Alexander McIntyre (1792–1859), still standing on West Main Street, Palmyra, New York. Here Joseph Howard was treated for devotional somnium during the winter of 1818–19. Photo courtesy of Bonnie Hays, Historic Palmyra.

twitches and convulsive tremors during each episode. “He converses very intelligibly upon the scripture,” the witness noted, “and religion appears to be the only theme of his meditations.”⁵⁴

According to this witness’s account, Howard ended his somnial

⁵⁴Ibid. For another source on Joseph Howard’s condition, see James Hardie, *A Dictionary of the Most Uncommon Wonders of the Works of Art and Nature* (New York: Samuel Marks, 1819), 304–5. Dr. Alexander McIntyre was well known to the Smith family; he had been absent during Alvin’s case of gastrointestinal pain or “bilious colic” from a digestive blockage. McIntyre treated Alvin with calomel upon his return to Palmyra, but fatal gangrene had surrounded the blockage and Alvin died November 19, 1823. See Dan Vogel, ed., *Early Mormon Documents*, 5 vols. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996–2003), 3:171–72; Lavina Fielding Anderson, ed., *Lucy’s Book: A Critical Edition of Lucy Mack Smith’s Family Memoir* (Salt Lake City: Signa-



Medical diploma of Alexander McIntire, awarded March 10, 1810. Gain Robinson, also a Joseph Smith neighbor, signed this diploma as the Ontario County Medical Society's president. The diploma was presented by Dr. George S. Allen, Clyde, N.Y., who had received it from McIntyre's great-granddaughter, Dorothy Bush Dugan. Photo courtesy of Bonnie Hays, Historic Palmyra.

exhortations by offering to answer his observers' questions. When asked about original sin and the state of infants, the boy answered using the language of the King James Bible: "Sin is the transgression of the law of God, and by Adam's rebellion all his posterity are exposed to its penalty. The fathers have eaten sour grapes and the children's teeth are set on edge—The soul that sinneth it shall die. But as infants know no law they cannot be guilty of this transgression, and as the blood of Christ has sufficient efficacy to cleanse from all sin, they are consequently justified by His righteousness, who says, 'suffer the little children to come unto me and forbid them not, for of such is the king-

ture Books, 2001), 354–56; "Personal" (McIntyre's obituary), *New York Observer and Chronicle* 37 (August 18, 1859): 262.

dom of heaven.”⁵⁵ In response to a question about water baptism, the boy reportedly said, “See to it that your faith in Christ is sincere and you shall be saved,” implying that he did not believe that a water baptism was essential to salvation.⁵⁶

By early January 1819, Howard was apparently cured while in Dr. McIntyre’s care. The *Palmyra Register* of January 6 reported that his fits were so effectually broken by his physician, that he was “entirely free from them and is now fast recovering his bodily health, which was very much impaired by the severity and long continuance of this mental disease.” It was also reported that, although his mode of treatment was unknown, McIntyre was “preparing a detailed account of it” along with “a statement of the nature, progress and probable cause of the disease.” The published account was to be accompanied by a “brief history of the life and exercises of this extraordinary youth, before and after he was afflicted with these fits of devotional somnium.”⁵⁷ A statement of this kind, it was said, would be “highly interesting to the public,” but it unfortunately never materialized.⁵⁸

Whether the impressionable thirteen-year-old Joseph Smith Jr. read the foregoing newspaper articles or knew of Howard’s treatment in Palmyra is impossible to determine with certainty, but it seems unreasonable that he would fail to notice such astonishing local news, especially given his preoccupations with religion at that time.⁵⁹ The Smith family, then living in a house built by Samuel Jennings on the

⁵⁵“Somnium Preacher,” *Palmyra Register*, December 2, 1818, 2.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*

⁵⁷“From the Palmyra Register, Jan. 6. Joseph Howard, the Somnium Preacher,” *Commercial Advertiser* (New York), January 13, 1819, 2; also quoted in Hardie, *A Dictionary of the Most Uncommon Wonders*, 306.

⁵⁸Hardie, *A Dictionary of the Most Uncommon Wonders*, 306. As of this writing, no such imprint authored by McIntyre has ever surfaced in the Shaw-Shoemaker Early American Imprint series, Sabin’s *Biblioteca Americana*, or WorldCat library catalog.

⁵⁹For more on Smith’s religious yearnings, see Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), 37–39. See also D. Michael Quinn, “Joseph Smith’s Experience of a Methodist Camp Meeting in 1820,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* [Paperless], E-Paper #3, Expanded Version, Definitive, December 20, 2006, esp. 11–14; John Matzko, “The Encounter of the Young Joseph Smith with

north side and west end of Main Street, would have been within three blocks of Dr. McIntyre's residence and office.⁶⁰ Talk of Howard's condition was undoubtedly spread by local Palmyra residents, then overheard and transmitted by the young people of the neighborhood. They may have already heard the news of Rachel Baker's trance dictations during the previous three years or even read of them in the local newspapers.⁶¹ The 288-page book, *Devotional Somnium*, containing Baker's religious utterings, was listed among the selection of books in

Presbyterianism," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 40 (Fall 2007): 68–84.

⁶⁰The approximate location of this residence at the west end of Main Street can be determined by the order of names listed in the highway tax lists for 1817, 1818, and 1819. Joseph Smith Sr.'s name appears in District 26 next to or near Solomon Tice and Zebulon Williams. Subsequent to its occupation by the Smith family, the Jennings home was occupied by Levi Daggett. It was reportedly on the north side of Main Street at its intersection with Stafford Road. In this house, Daggett's daughter Sarah reportedly married Henry Wells. The house west of Daggett's was occupied by Zebulon Williams; Solomon Tice reportedly lived in the home west of Williams's barn. McIntyre's residence still stands immediately west of the First United Methodist Church on the northwest corner of the intersection at Main Street and Church/Canandaigua Street. For the location and occupation of the Smith, Daggett, Williams, and Tice residences, see H[orace]. Eaton, "Continuation of the History of Palmyra, A Sermon Preached on the Annual Day of Thanksgiving, Nov. 26, 1863," Palmyra King's Daughters Library, Palmyra, New York; Thomas L. Cook, *Palmyra and Vicinity* (Palmyra, N.Y.: Press of the Palmyra Courier Journal, 1930), 106–22. See also Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 3:411–13.

⁶¹Virtually all of the other newspapers reprinted the December 2, 1818 *Palmyra Register* article verbatim. However, one reprint of an announcement from the *Oxford Gazette* gave a brief report that Howard's "fits of devotional exercise are similar to those of Rachel Baker, of whom much has been said and written." See "Another Somnium Preacher," *Republican Agriculturalist* (Norwich, N.Y.), December 31, 1818, 1. See also "From the Palmyra Register of Dec. 2. Somnium Preacher," *Commercial Advertiser* (New York), December 9, 1818, 2; "From the Palmyra Register, of Dec. 2.," *New-York Columbian*, December 22, 1818, 2; "Somnium Preacher. From the Palmyra Register of Dec 2," *Weekly Recorder* (Chillicothe, Ohio) 5 (January 1, 1819): 166; "From the Palmyra Register, of Dec 2," *Watch-Tower* (Coopers-

Timothy Strong's Palmyra bookstore in November 1818.⁶²

The ability to speak at length in the language of scripture is remarkably similar to what Joseph Smith was reported to have done as "translator" of the Book of Mormon. But unlike Rachel Baker and Joseph Howard, Smith's ostensible abilities as a seer came and went at will.⁶³ According to Book of Mormon scholar John W. Welch, the translation process took a very short period of time. "Inside of three astonishingly compressed months, Joseph Smith produced the Book of Mormon," he writes. "Its text simply emerged as it fell from his lips,

town, N.Y.), January 1, 1819, 2; "From the Palmyra Register," *Ostego Herald* (Cooperstown, N.Y.), January 11, 1819, 1; "The Reflectory. Somnium Preacher," *Yankee* (Boston), January 28, 1819, 4; "Desultory Gleanings. Somnium Preacher," *New-England Galaxy & Masonic Magazine* 2 (February 26, 1819): 80. Palmyra residents were undoubtedly aware of Rachel Baker's strange somniloquys from nearby newspaper accounts. See, for example, "Extract of a Letter to Dr. Spalding of New York," *Ontario [N.Y.] Repository*, September 9, 1817, 2; "Rachel Baker. Extract of a Letter to Dr. Spalding of New York," *Geneva [N.Y.] Gazette*, September 10, 1817, 1.

⁶²"T. C. Strong, Bookseller & Printer" (advertisement), *Palmyra Register*, November 17, 1818, 1.

⁶³Richard Van Wagoner and Steve Walker, "Joseph Smith: 'The Gift of Seeing,'" *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 15 (Summer 1982): 49–58. See also B. H. Roberts, "Translation of the Book of Mormon," *Improvement Era* 9 (April 1906): 424–36; B. H. Roberts, "Translation of the Book of Mormon," *Improvement Era* 9 (May 1906): 544–53; Stephen D. Ricks, "Joseph Smith's Means and Methods of Translating the Book of Mormon," FARMS Paper, Provo, Utah, 1984; John W. Welch and Tim Rathbone, "The Translation of the Book of Mormon: Basic Historical Information" (Provo, Utah: FARMS Paper, 1986); John W. Welch, "How Long Did It Take Joseph Smith to Translate the Book of Mormon?" *Ensign*, January 1988, 46; and James E. Lancaster, "The Translation of the Book of Mormon," in *The Word of God: Essays on Mormon Scripture*, edited by Dan Vogel (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1990), 97–112; and John W. Welch, "The Miraculous Translation of the Book of Mormon," in *Opening the Heavens: Accounts of Divine Manifestations*, edited by John W. Welch with Eric B. Carleson (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press/ Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2005), 77–213.

line after line, recorded by his attentive scribe.”⁶⁴ Nearly all of the 590 pages published in the book were dictated and transcribed between April 7 and the last week of June 1829.⁶⁵ After accounting for his move to Fayette, New York, and trips to Colesville, Welch estimated that Smith took sixty-five or fewer working days to complete the dictation.⁶⁶ Two of Smith’s scribes, his wife Emma Smith, and David Whitmer, reportedly said that he worked slowly, dictating “hour after hour” and completed “only a few pages a day.”⁶⁷ Of Smith’s dictations to Oliver Cowdery, Whitmer remembered that “the days were long and they worked from morning till night.”⁶⁸

SCRYING AND RELIGIOUS DICTATION

Some call it magic, divination, or necromancy, while others call it seeing, peeping, or scrying. Whatever term is used, Joseph Smith’s mediumistic approach to translation was sublime. As early as 1829, Smith was reported to have used scrying methods to translate the characters on the gold plates. At the beginning of the translation process, Joseph used what was first called (in 1833 by W. W. Phelps) a Urim and Thummim, an oddly fashioned instrument made up of two transparent stones set in metal rims on bows and attached to a breastplate.⁶⁹ These spectacles, Smith said, aided him in translating the ancient text; later, as he became more comfortable with this device, Smith also used a dark brown, kidney-shaped “seer stone” to interpret the characters on the plates. In one of the earliest published accounts, an unnamed writer described: “By placing the spectacles in a hat, and looking into it, Smith could (he said so, at least,) interpret these char-

⁶⁴Welch, “The Miraculous Translation of the Book of Mormon,” 79.

⁶⁵Ibid., 80. See also Welch’s detailed chronology, 83–96.

⁶⁶Welch, “How Long Did It Take,” 46.

⁶⁷Emma Smith Bidamon, as interviewed by Joseph Smith III, “Last Testament of Sister Emma,” *Saints’ Herald* 26 (October 1, 1879): 289–90; Interview of David Whitmer, as reported by E. C. Briggs, Letter to the Editor, *Saints’ Herald* 31 (June 21, 1884): 396–97.

⁶⁸Interview of David Whitmer, as reported by James H. Hart, “About the Book of Mormon,” *Deseret Evening News*, March 25, 1884, 2.

⁶⁹“The Book of Mormon,” *Evening and Morning Star* 1, no. 8 (January 1833): 58–59.

acters.”⁷⁰ Another writer noted: “Smith would put his face into a hat in which he had a *white stone*, and pretend to read from it, while his co-adjutor transcribed.”⁷¹ In an 1884 interview by James Hart, David Whitmer commented that, when Joseph Smith gazed into the stone, he would see “what appeared to be an oblong piece of parchment, on which the hieroglyphics would appear, and also the translation in the English language, all appearing in bright luminous letters.”⁷²

Although several forms of divination had become popular in America as a means of finding lost treasure, “peeping” or “glass looking” fell into a larger body of belief in folk magic and hermetic philosophy.⁷³ Knowledge of alchemical works and cabalistic writings was brought to New England and dispersed among the Puritans by John Winthrop Jr. (1606–76), the first governor of Connecticut, and Dr. Gershom Bulkeley (1636–1713). The combining of alchemical medicine and Christianity was what Walter W. Woodward convincingly calls “Christian Alchemy,” practices consistent with Puritan ideals but also in keeping with the Enlightenment’s advancements in science and philosophy.⁷⁴ Historian Jon Butler has also noted that Robert Childe (1613–54) and George Stirk (or Starkey) (1628–65), both practitioners of alchemy, brought occult and alchemical studies with them from England and continued to pursue them even after they returned

⁷⁰“Golden Bible,” *Rochester [N.Y.] Advertiser and Daily Telegraph*, August 31, 1829, 2; rpt. from *Palmyra Freeman*, August 11, 1829. This reference is the earliest to Joseph’s translating method that mentions the “spectacles,” and also the earliest linking them, rather than the seer stone, with the hat. See also “Golden Bible,” *The Gem: A Semi-Monthly Literary and Miscellaneous Journal*, September 5, 1879, 70.

⁷¹Untitled article, *Cincinnati Advertiser and Ohio Phoenix*, June 2, 1830, 2, reprinted from *Wayne County [Pa.] Inquirer*, ca. May 1830.

⁷²Interview of David Whitmer by Hart, “About the Book of Mormon,” 2. See also Roberts, “Translations of the Book of Mormon,” 427.

⁷³On the influence of hermeticism in America, see Brooke, *The Refiner’s Fire*, 91–128, and Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith*, esp. 67–97.

⁷⁴Walter William Woodward, *Prospero’s America: John Winthrop, Jr., Alchemy, and the Creation of New England Culture, 1606–1676* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 22, 33–35.

to England during the Civil War.⁷⁵ With this knowledge of esoterica came an early introduction into the various forms of divination and magic, the application of which extended, even as it was waning, into the first decades of the republic.⁷⁶

An unusual combination of scrying (or “crystallomancy”) and

⁷⁵Jon Butler, “Magic, Astrology, and the Early American Religious Heritage, 1600–1760,” *American Historical Review* 84 (April 1979): 317–46, esp. 325. See also Jon Butler, “The Dark Ages of American Occultism, 1760–1850,” in *The Occult in America: New Historical Perspectives*, edited by Howard Kerr and Charles L. Crow (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983), 58–79. For more on the alchemical beginnings of Winthrop, Starkey, Bulkeley, and Childe, see Walter R. Seiner, “The Reverend Gershom Bulkeley of Connecticut, an Eminent Clerical Physician,” *Medical Library and Historical Journal* 2 (April 1904): 91–103; George L. Kittredge, “Dr. Robert Child the Remonstrant,” *Transactions of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* 21 (1919): 1–146; John Winthrop, George Starkey, and C. A. Browne, “Scientific Notes from the Books and Letters of John Winthrop, Jr. (1606–1676),” *Isis* 11 (December 1928): 325–42; George H. Turnbull, “George Stirk, Philosopher by Fire,” *Transactions of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* 38 (1959): 219–51; Ronald S. Wilkinson, “The Alchemical Library of John Winthrop, Jr. (1606–1676) and His Descendants in Colonial America,” *Ambix* 11 (1963): 33–51; Ronald S. Wilkinson, “George Starkey, Physician and Alchemist,” *Ambix* 11 (1963): 121–52; Ronald S. Wilkinson, “‘Hermes Christianus’: John Winthrop, Jr., and Chemical Medicine in Seventeenth-Century New England,” in *Science, Medicine, and Society in the Renaissance: Essays to Honor Walter Pagel*, edited by Allen G. Debus, 2 vols. (New York: Science History Publications, 1972), 1:222–41; Thomas W. Jodziewicz, “Gershom Bulkeley of Connecticut: Puritan, Loyalist, Englishman,” *Connecticut History* 27 (November 1986): 28–37; Thomas W. Jodziewicz, “A Stranger in the Land: Gershom Bulkeley of Connecticut,” *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 78, pt. 2 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1988), 1–106; William R. Newman, *Gehennical Fire: The Lives of George Starkey, an American Alchemist in the Scientific Revolution* (Harvard, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1994).

⁷⁶For more on the beginnings of magic and the occult in America, see Richard Godbeer, *The Devil’s Dominion: Magic and Religion in Early New England* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1992); “Arthur Versluis, “The ‘Occult’ in Nineteenth-Century America,” in *The Occult in Nineteenth-Century America*, edited by Cathy Gutierrez (Aurora, Colo.: Davies Group, 2005), 1–29. On the dissemination of alchemical and astro-

translating, Smith's method of interpreting the characters on the plates can be closely compared to the work of the Elizabethan mathematician and occultist Dr. John Dee (1527–1609) and his assistant Edward Kelley (1555–97), the conjurer, who had a reputation for scrying and gazing into mirrored glass (“catoptromancy”) to converse with angels. It was also said that, by staring into the glass intently, Kelley could induce a hypnotic trance.⁷⁷ Meric Casaubon, whose early published work on Dee was the first to disclose Kelley's angelic communications, wrote that his “actions” or “spiritual conferences” with angels were “a secret of Magick” derived from alchemical manuscripts and “grounded, in part at least, upon some natural reason, not known unto us.”⁷⁸

In addition to a professed ability to transmutate base metals into

logical works, see Peter Eisenstadt, “Almanacs and the Disenchantment of Early America,” *Pennsylvania History* 65 (Spring 1998): 143–69, and Godbeer, *The Devil's Dominion*, 139–47.

⁷⁷See, for example, “Adventures with the Spirits in Queen Elizabeth's Time,” *National Magazine* 2 (February 1853): 118–23; Max Dessoir, “The Magic Mirror,” *The Monist* 1 (October 1890): 87–117, esp. 92–93; H. Carington Bolton, “A Modern Oracle and Its Prototypes: A Study in Catoptromancy,” *American Folklore* 6 (January–March 1893): 25–37, esp. 35; Andrew Lang, “In the Crystal Ball: Contemporary Review,” *Current Literature* 15 (March 1894): 259; Northcote W. Thomas, *Crystal Gazing: Its History and Practice, with a Discussion of the Evidence of Telepathic Scrying* (New York: Dodge Publishing, 1905), 32–36; Hugh Tait, “The Devil's Looking Glass: The Magical Speculum of John Dee,” in *Horace Walpole: Writer, Politician, and Connoisseur*, edited by Warren Hunting Smith (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1967), 195–212; Deborah E. Harkness, *John Dee's Conversations with Angels: Cabala, Alchemy, and the End of Nature* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 16–24, 29–46, 218–23.

⁷⁸Meric Casaubon, John Dee, and Edward Kelly, *A True & Faithful Relation of What Passed for Many Yeers between Dr. John Dee . . . and Some Spirits Tending (Had It Succeeded) to a General Alteration of Most States and Kingdomes in the World* (London: Printed by D. Maxwell for T. Garthwait, 1659), 57. In the introduction, Casaubon wrote that Dee “carryed with him where ever he went A STONE, which he called his *Angelicall Stone*, as brought unto him by an Angel, but by a Spirit sure enough” (39). He further described its appearance and utility for seeing apparitions: “All that we are able to say of it is this, It was a stone in which, and out of which, by persons that were qualified for

*Dr. John Dee (1527–1609).
Stipple engraving by Robert
Cooper, after an original painting
in the Ashmolean Museum,
Oxford, late eighteenth-early
nineteenth century. Published by
Charles & Henry Baldwin.
NPG D25549 © National
Portrait Gallery, London.*



gold, Kelley claimed to receive these book-length communications from angels in an Adamic or Enochian language, the first language of God, and interpret them. Initially, when Kelley began receiving the first corpus of texts, resulting in the *Liber Loagaeth* (“Speech from God”) or the Book of Enoch, Enochian letters or symbols would appear in tables comprised of 49 x 49 squares, and Dee and Kelley would have to decipher the letters by listening to audible taps by the angels. On these occasions, Dee would act as the amanuensis, writing down what Kelley dictated. A year later, Kelley said that, when he looked

it, and admitted to the sight of it; all Shapes and Figures mentioned in every Action were seen, and voices heard: The form of it was round . . . and it seems to have been of a pretty bigness: It seems it was most like unto Crystal. . . . Everybody knows by common experience, that smooth things are fittest for representations, as Glasses and the like; but ordinarily such things onely are represented, as stand opposite and are visible in their substance” (57). See also “John Dee’s Account of His Life and Studies for Half an Hundred Years” in Thomas Hearnius, *Johannis, Confratris & Monachi Glastoniensis, Chronica, Vol. 2* (N.p.: E Theatro Sheldoniano, 1726), 497–549. For biographical works on John Dee, see Benjamin Wooley, *The Queen’s Conjurer: The Science and Magic of Dr. John Dee, Adviser to Queen Elizabeth I* (New York: Henry Holt, 2001); and Glyn Parry, *The Arch-Conjurer of England: John Dee* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2011).



Edward Kelley (1555–97), “Celebrated Englishman and Most Skilled Chemist. From the collection of Friederici Roth Scholtzū.” Anonymous etching (eighteenth century), after a print in John Dee’s Book of Spirits (1659). BH/FF10/Portraits British CVII P1 © The Trustees of the British Museum, London.

into the crystal, he could see angels who would open their mouths and remove small ribbons of paper. These ribbons bore written messages or fragments of “secret” information. Unlike the previously received Enochian characters, these messages did not have to be deciphered; they were already translated into English.⁷⁹

In light of his similar scrying and dictation method, Smith may have known of both Dee and Kelley’s life and works from Francis

⁷⁹See György E. Szönyi, “Paracelsus, Scrying, and the Lingua Adamica: Contexts for John Dee’s Angel Magic,” in *John Dee: Interdisciplinary Studies in English Renaissance Thought*, edited by Stephen Clucas (Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer, 2006), 207–29; Frederick Hockley, “On the Ancient Magic Crystal, and Its Connexion with Mesmerism,” *The Zoist* 7, no. 27 (March 1849–January 1850): 251–66, esp. 255–57. See also Donald C. Laycock, *The Complete Enochian Dictionary: A Dictionary of the Angelic Language as Revealed to Dr. John Dee and Edward Kelley*, 2d ed. (York Beach, Maine: Weiser Books, 2001), and Joseph H. Peterson, *John Dee’s Five Books of Mystery: Original Sourcebook of Enochian Magic: From the Collected Works Known as Mysteriorum Libri Quinque* (York Beach, Maine: Red Wheel/Weiser, 2003), 2–3, 19–21, 262–67, 297; György E. Szönyi, *John Dee’s Occultism: Magical Exaltation through Powerful Signs* (Albany: State University of New York, 2004), 200–201. Interestingly, in Joseph Smith’s extra-canonical “translation,” the Book of Moses, the Lord anoints Enoch a seer

Barrett's occult manual, *The Magus* (1801), or John Lempriere's *Universal Biography* (1810–25).⁸⁰ Barrett's *Magus*, in fact, contained instructions on making a crystal and the preparations required for summoning angels and invoking a vision.⁸¹ The esoteric works of Dee and Kelley were widely available in encyclopedias, grimoires, and almanacs; but their names were virtually absent from New York and New England newspapers, except in 1804–5 when a scrying crystal was exhibited in major northeastern cities.⁸² Historian D. Michael Quinn has called attention to the fact that John Aubrey's "Collection of

and endows him with the power of language. A "book of remembrance" was kept in this pure language of God (Moses 6:5, 34–37, 46).

⁸⁰Francis Barrett, *The Magus, Or, Celestial Intelligencer; Being a Complete System of Occult Philosophy* (London: Lackington, Allen, 1801), 195–96, and J[ohn] Lempriere, *Universal Biography; Containing a Copious Account, Critical and Historical, of the Life and Character, Labors and Actions of Eminent Persons* (New York: E[lias] Sargeant, 1810), unpaginated, *s.v.* "Dee, John" and "Kelley, Edward." Lempriere's biographical dictionary was available in New York from 1810, appearing in bookstore listings in Ontario and Wayne County newspapers. It would have been a standard reference throughout New England and New York State. See "Lempriere's Biography," *The Columbian* (New York), December 26, 1810, 2; "Geneva Book-Store," *Geneva [N.Y.] Gazette*, September 27, 1815, 1; "Book Store," *Geneva Gazette*, January 3, 1816, 3; "Books," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, N.Y.), November 4, 1823, 4.

⁸¹Barrett, *The Magus, Or, Celestial Intelligencer*, 134–40.

⁸²Dr. Dee was mentioned in 1804, when a crystal "for consulting spirits" was part of an exhibit that traveled to New York City, Boston, and Newburyport, Massachusetts, from London. See the following advertisements: "Invisible Lady, Acoustick Temple, and Incomprehensible Crystal," *New-England Palladium* (Boston), July 3, 1804, 3; "Invisible Lady, Acoustick Temple, and Incomprehensible Crystal," *Independent Chronicle* (Boston), July 19, 1804, 4; "The Astonishing Invisible Lady, the Acoustic Temple, and Incomprehensible Crystal," *Newburyport [Mass.] Herald*, November 6, 1804, 3; "Last Week of Exhibition in This Town," *Political Calendar and Essex Advertiser* (Newburyport, Mass.), November 12, 1804, 3; "No Imposture. Astonishing Invisible Lady, Made Visible," *American Citizen* (New York), April 11, 1805, 2; "No Imposture! Astonishing Invisible Lady, Made Visible," *Commercial Advertiser* (New York), April 12, 1805, 2. Biographical sketches of John Dee appeared under H. R. "Observations on the Character of Dr.

Hermetick Philosophy” in his *Miscellanies* (1696) was republished and available in New York as late as 1813, and may have informed Smith’s use of seer stones and a biblical Urim and Thummim or crystal “spectacles.”⁸³ If Smith did not become aware of Dee and Kelly’s crystal-gazing methods from these sources, then he might have read about the seventeenth-century English astrologer William Lilly (1602–81), considered by many to be Dee’s successor, who not only published many astrological predictions but also interpreted prophecies by divining angelic apparitions and illusory forms in the glass. The psychological effects of receiving or reading ostensibly angelic communications—as in most religious experiences—would have been potent in the Dee, Kelley, and Lilly examples of crystallomancy.⁸⁴

Rachel Baker and Joseph Howard’s religious utterances while

Dee, as Connected with a Description by Shakespeare,” *European Magazine and London Review* 60 (September 1811): 179–81; Francis Barrett, *The Lives of Alchemistical Philosophers; with a Critical Catalogue of Books in Occult Chemistry, and a Selection of the Most Celebrated Treatises on the Theory and Practice of the Hermetic Art* (London: Lackington, Allen, 1815), 71–74. One article, for example, described the “spiritual conferences” Kelley held through the glass. Examining the “shew-stone” or philosopher’s stone, “Kelley always applied himself to see when the spirit or spiritual creature came; and what he saw and what he heard he dictated to Dr. Dee who sate [sic] at a table by him, and wrote down in a book what was dictated.” Anthony A Wood, “Arthur Dee,” *Athenae Oxonienses* 3 (1817): 285–92, quotation on 289. See also Anthony A. Wood, “Edward Kelley,” *Athenae Oxonienses* 1 (1813): 639–43.

⁸³Quinn, *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View*, 40–41, 170–71. On the use of beryl or crystal glass “spectacles,” see John Aubrey, “A Collection of Hermetick Philosophy,” *Miscellanies* (London: Printed for Edward Castle, 1696), 128–32. Mormon historian Mark Ashurst-McGee, “A Pathway to Prophethood: Joseph Smith Junior as Rodsman, Village Seer, and Judeo-Christian Prophet” (M.A. thesis, Utah State University, 2000), 191–93, believes that Joseph Smith Jr. “absorbed” his knowledge of seership principles and the use of seer stones from his father and other treasure seekers when he was an adolescent.

⁸⁴As one of the most revered astrologers during the Commonwealth, Lilly published many popular astrological almanacs and prophecies. In his biography, Lilly wrote of receiving two prophecies by crystallomancy. A brief description of his method is revealing: “These two prophecies were not given vocally by the angels, but by inspection of the crystal in types and

under a trance would have been equally potent for those who witnessed their episodes or read of them in the newspapers. Baker's somniloquys caused a considerable sensation when they were published in 1815. They were extensively documented and published for curious readers. Unfortunately, we may never know the complete story of Joseph Howard's paroxysmal episodes. Very little of his life beyond the period of treatment in Palmyra can be definitively documented.

WHO WAS JOSEPH HOWARD?

Based on the scant information provided by the newspaper articles, Joseph was born ca. August 1801. He was probably the son of Phineas Hayward (also Howard) (1770–1848) and Mehetable Green Hayward (1777–1817), early settlers of Sodus Township. Joseph's father, Phineas, was from the town of Bridgewater, Plymouth County, Massachusetts. Phineas and Mehitable were married April 16, 1797, in Windsor, Berkshire County, Massachusetts.⁸⁵ Joseph was christened on September 1, 1801, in Windsor where three of his siblings, Josiah, Mehetable, and Otis, were also christened. "Mehitable" appears on the mother's headstone.⁸⁶ During Joseph's childhood, the family moved to Lorraine, Jefferson County (now Lewis County), New York, then, in about 1811, to Sodus.⁸⁷ After moving to Sodus, Joseph's parents had two more children: Eunice and Phineas Jr. The senior Phineas was one of the first deacons and later became "Ruling El-

figures, or by apparition the circular way, where, at some distance, the angels appear representing by forms, shapes, and creatures, what is demanded." William Lilly, *William Lilly's History of His Life and Times from the Year 1602 to 1681* (London: Reprinted for Charles Baldwin, 1822), 198.

⁸⁵For Phineas and Mehitable's marriage, see Henry Edwards Scott, ed., *Vital Records of Windsor, Massachusetts to the Year 1850* (Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 1917), 88, 91.

⁸⁶*Ibid.*, 36. Christening records in Windsor also record Joseph's siblings: Josiah (bp. January 4, 1801), Mehitable [sic] (bp. October 2, 1803), and Otis (bp. January 4, 1801). Findagrave.com (Memorial #45348391), <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GScid=2203921&GRid=45348391&> (accessed January 3, 2014).

⁸⁷William Leete Stone, *The Family of John Stone: One of the Settlers of Guilford, Conn.* (Albany, N.Y.: Joel Munsell's Sons, 1888), 107–8. The 1810 federal census lists "Phineas Howard" with his wife and two white males un-

der” of the First Presbyterian Church.⁸⁸ Joseph’s mother died on May 9, 1817 in Sodus, leaving a brood of young children, and was buried in the Old Mill Street Cemetery (also known as the Sodus Village Old Cemetery). The 1816, 1817, 1819, 1820, and 1821 Tax Assessment Rolls for Sodus confirm Phineas Howard’s residency there for those years.⁸⁹ A “Phineas Heyward” appeared in the 1820 federal census as a head of household in Sodus; then Phineas and a female (presumably his second wife), between ages forty-nine and sixty, were listed in the 1830 federal census as residents of Sodus, with a male, between fifteen and twenty, and a female, from twenty to thirty years old.⁹⁰ Phineas died on June 15, 1848, and is buried in the East Hill Cemetery at Otto, Cattaraugus County, New York.⁹¹

Public documents show that at least one other Phineas Howard lived in Ontario County between 1799 and 1831, but it is difficult to tie him to the Phineas who was the father of Joseph and who lived in Sodus. In 1810, “Phineas Howard” was living in the town of Livonia with his wife, two males and one female between ten and fifteen, and two females under age ten.⁹² A second Phineas Howard and wife were listed in the same 1810 census in

der age ten, one white male between ages ten and fifteen, and three white females under age ten. U.S. Census, 1810, New York, Jefferson County, Lorraine, sheet 594 [p. 60], line 10.

⁸⁸George W. Cowles, *Landmarks of Wayne County, New York* (Syracuse, N.Y.: D. Mason & Company, 1895), 217; Ralph Sheldon Hosmer, *Genealogy of That Branch of the Irwin Family of New York Founded in the Hudson River Valley by William Irwin, 1700–1787* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Privately Printed for Dudley Marvin Irwin, 1938), 48, 193, 195.

⁸⁹Ontario County Records and Archives Center, Canandaigua, New York: *s.v.* “Phineas Howard/Hayward” for the following Sodus Tax Assessment Roll: 1816, sheet 8, line 13; 1817 sheet 7, line 15; 1819, sheet 9, line 1; 1820 Sodus Tax Assessment Roll, sheet 10, line 2; 1820 sheet 12, line 13.

⁹⁰U.S. Census, 1820: New York, Ontario County, Sodus, sheet 125, line 24 (original reads “Heyward”; Ancestry.com and FamilySearch misidentify it as “Heywood.”); in 1830, see sheet 136, line 28.

⁹¹Findagrave.com (Memorial #72499588), <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=72499588> (accessed January 3, 2014).

⁹²U.S. Census, 1810, New York, Ontario County, Livonia, sheet 739

the town of Livonia, with a boy and a girl between ages ten and fifteen, another male between sixteen and twenty-five, and two females under age ten.⁹³ An Ontario County indenture deed record, dated June 3, 1816, records that Phinehas and his wife, Lydia, of Livonia, deeded property to Zachariah Spencer, of Littlefield, Connecticut.⁹⁴ Though their residency in Ontario County nearly coincides with Joseph Howard's period of treatment in Palmyra, Phinehas and Lydia have no apparent connection to Sodus and therefore are less plausible as his parents than Phineas Howard and Mehitable Green who were married in Windsor, Massachusetts.

What became of Joseph Howard after his residency in Sodus may never be known. He seems to have all but disappeared from New York's historical record. An 1850 Federal Mortality Record, however, documents the death of one Joseph Howard, age fifty, of New York, in Convis, Michigan, in August 1849 from "cholera morbus," a then-popular term for acute non-epidemic gastroenteritis.⁹⁵ Unless a vital record or published document is found connecting this individual to the boy somnium preacher of Sodus, New York, Joseph Howard's adult life will continue to elude Mormon historians.

CONSIDERATIONS

The significance of New York's cases of young sleeping preachers is their peculiarity when placed in context with other supernatural occurrences that shook conventional structures of worship during the first decades of the American republic. His-

[p. 182], line 16.

⁹³U.S. Census, 1810, New York, Ontario County, Livonia, sheet 743 [p. 184], line 22. The 1813 Livonia tax assessment record listed only one "Phinehas Hayward," suggesting that the two heads of household named in the 1810 census are the same. This hypothesis is supported by the 1816 Livonia tax assessment record. See Ontario County Records and Archives Center, Canandaigua, New York: 1813 Livonia Tax Assessment Roll, sheet 19, line 2; and 1816 Livonia Tax Assessment Roll, sheet 9, line 9.

⁹⁴Ontario County Records and Archives Center: New York, Ontario County, Deed Records, 1789–1904, Book 28, 185–86.

⁹⁵Federal Mortality Schedule, 1850, Michigan, Calhoun County, Convis, sheet 479, line 9.

torians John Wigger and Richard L. Bushman have observed that, in addition to the enthusiasm of Methodism, scores of independent religious groups, including Freewill Baptists, Shakers, and Universalists, sought a more direct interactive relationship with God by giving credence to dreams, visions, healing, spiritual manifestations, and supernatural displays. The rise of visionaries and charismatic leaders coincided with the appeal of independent and Protestant religious movements including the Methodists, the Baptists, the Adventists, black churches, and Mormonism during the Second Great Awakening.⁹⁶ “Signs and wonders”—manifested in the forms of visions, revival phenomena, mesmeric states, and somnambulism—became affirmations of these leaders’ and denominations’ validity. Ann Kirschner, a Ph.D. student at the University of Delaware, discovered a large number of published narratives, documenting unusual dreams and visions, but nothing at the level of Baker and Howard’s religious somniloquy. These published accounts invariably included biblical language and epiphanic encounters with angelic or otherworldly beings, but lacked the credibility of having multiple witnesses.⁹⁷

Although many documented accounts of children and adolescents possessing visionary and spiritual gifts had also been recorded

⁹⁶Wigger, “Taking Heaven by Storm,” 170–73, and Bushman, *Joseph Smith*, 146–48. Taves, *Fits, Trances, & Visions*, 128–65, supports Butler’s thesis, insofar as he relates the infusion of folk magic and the occult in America to the rise and decline of nineteenth-century spiritualism. Catherine L. Albanese, *A Republic of Mind and Spirit: A Cultural History of American Metaphysical Religion* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2007), esp. 121–76, believes that a pursuit of the supernatural (or metaphysical) is still strong in American religious worship.

⁹⁷Ann Kirschner, “‘Tending to Edify, Astonish, and Instruct’: Published Narratives of Spiritual Dreams and Visions in the Early Republic,” *Early American Studies* 1 (Spring 2003): 198–229, identified approximately thirty-six pamphlets and magazine articles of dream and vision accounts (dated in the 1780s, 1790s, and early 1800s) that grew out of ecstatic, revivalist religion. However, “starting about 1805, the number of stand-alone visionary pamphlets being published—both religious and secular—rapidly declined” (229). For more on dream and vision narratives in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century America, see Robert Girouard, “A Survey of Apoc-

in Europe, Rachel Baker and Joseph Howard were considered remarkable in America for the time.⁹⁸ Before Howard's condition was ubiquitously reported in eastern newspapers, New York physician Ansel W. Ives characterized Baker's "singular affection" as "a case highly important to the metaphysical and medical science."⁹⁹ Introducing the strange "somnial exercises" of both Baker and Howard, James Hardie, author of *A Dictionary of the Most Uncommon Wonders of the Works of Art and Nature* (1819), wrote: "In European publications, we have many cases of this kind or record, but we have two cases, which have lately occurred in the state of New-York, the authenticity of which cannot be called into question and which are fully as extraordinary, as any we have ever read or heard of."¹⁰⁰ In 2003, historian Robert S. Cox referred to Baker's case as "the apotheosis of the sleep-

ryphal Visions in Late Eighteenth-Century America," in *Sibley's Heir: A Volume in Memory of Clifford Kenyon Shipton*, edited by Frederick S. Allis Jr., Vol. 39 of Colonial Society of Massachusetts Publications (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1982), 191-219, and Douglas L. Winiarski, "Souls Filled with Ravishing Transport: Heavenly Visions and the Radical Awakening in New England," *William & Mary Quarterly* 61 (January 2004): 3-46, esp. 42.

⁹⁸In 1774, long before Baker and Howard, twenty-one-year-old Job Cooper of Bucks County, Pennsylvania, reportedly exhibited similar episodes of devotional somnium. For this and an account of another sleeping preacher, sixteen-year-old Joseph Payne, of Lambourn Woodlands, England, see Douglass et al., *Devotional Somnium*, 49-55, 125-39; Untitled, *Gentleman's Magazine* 30 (May 1760): 236-40; "A Remarkable Nervous Case," *Annual Register*, Natural History 3 (1760): 68-71; and Cox, *Body and Soul*, 56-68. Another child, Charles Bennett of Manchester, born 1676, allegedly could speak Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, in addition to his native English, from age three. See William E. A. Axon, ed., *The Wonderful Child* (London: Printed for the Chetham Society, 1901). For examples of prophecies and somniloquys by Camisard children in seventeenth-century France and England, see *A Relation of Several Hundreds of Children & Others That Prophesie and Preach in Their Sleep* (London: Printed for Richard Baldwin, 1689), and *A Wonderful Account from Orthez, in Bearne, and the Cevennes, of Voices Heard in the Air* (London: Printed for H. Preston, 1706).

⁹⁹Ives, "A Remarkable Case of Devotional Somnium," 396.

¹⁰⁰Hardie, *A Dictionary of the Most Uncommon Wonders*, 295.

ing preacher.”¹⁰¹

Rachel Baker and Joseph Howard have particular interest for Mormon historians, not only because theirs were perhaps the most widely circulated accounts in the American republic, but also because these accounts most closely resemble the unusual method of religious dictation that Joseph Smith employed. The proximity of Howard's episodes of somniloquy in time and place to Joseph Smith's lengthy dictations in translation raises new questions about the uniqueness of Smith's method. Now that Joseph Howard's curious case of “devotional somnium,” or “sleep-preaching,” has been rediscovered, scholars can speculate on what impression, if any, the boy's trance-induced religious discourse may have had on fourteen-year-old Joseph Smith.

Psychologists will undoubtedly diagnose Howard's condition as dissociative identity disorder (DID) while apologist LDS scholars will continue to call Joseph Smith's method of translation miraculous.¹⁰² For example, without citing Dee and Kelley's “spiritual conferences” and presumably unaware of the Baker and Howard cases, Brant Gardner postulates that “although human beings may have

¹⁰¹Cox, *Body and Soul*, 56.

¹⁰²Robert W. Rieber, *The Bifurcation of the Self: The History and Theory of Dissociation and Its Disorders* (New York: Springer Science+Business Media, 2006), 137–38. For a brief historical overview of DID and its treatment, see Richard P. Kluft, “Dissociative Identity Disorder,” in *Handbook of Dissociation: Theoretical, Empirical, and Clinical Perspectives*, edited by Larry K. Michelson and William J. Ray (New York: Plenum Press, 1996), 337–66, esp. 338–39. Jung examined the various manifestations of somnambulism as an effect of epilepsy, neurasthenia, and severe hysteria. Carl Gustav Jung, “On the Psychology & Pathology of the So-called Occult Phenomena,” in his *Analytical Psychology*, edited by Constance E. Long (New York: Moffat Yard, 1916), 1–93. See also Aarni Voipio, *Sleeping Preachers: A Study in Ecstatic Religiosity*, *Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemia Toimituksia Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae*, Vol. 75 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1951), esp. 71–72. Psychoanalytical studies on sleep disorders, automatism, and somniloquy include Anita M. Mühl, *Automatic Writing: An Approach to the Unconscious* (New York: Helix Press, 1963); Arthur M. Arkin, John M. Haste, and Morton F. Reiser, “Posthypnotically Stimulated Sleep-Talking,” *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease* 149 (April 1966): 293–309; and Arthur M. Arkin, *Sleep-Talking: Psychology and Psychophysiology* (Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1981).

been using some method of scrying for about as long as we have been translating from one language to another, the two activities (to my knowledge) have come together only in the case of Joseph Smith.”¹⁰³ This, of course, assumes a belief in Joseph Smith as translator of an ancient text. Regardless of the tools used—whether by a Urim and Thummim, a seer stone, or staring into a hat—the outcome of Smith’s method of translation was religious utterances recorded by scribes. However one chooses to characterize it, Joseph Smith’s mediumistic method of translation (or dictation) can now be placed in context with two other known examples of subconscious religious exhortations taken down by dictation—one of which occurred only blocks away from the reflective, developing boy prophet.

¹⁰³Gardner, *The Gift and Power*, 261.

THE UPPER-ROOM WORK: ESOTERICISM IN THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST (CUTLERITE), 1853–1912

Christopher James Blythe

BEFORE HALLIE GOULD'S FAMILY JOINED the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, she was raised in the Cutlerite community in Clitherall, Minnesota. Her memoirs, published in an RLDS newspaper, described the community's "old log church" for those of her new faith who had "never looked up with wondering eyes at that blinking window in the 'secret chamber.'" The descriptive tour of the structure begins with the ground floor, where the community's public meetings were held: "the great, dim room" with its "long, heavy, high-backed seats" and "quaint, unpainted pulpit." Yet Gould spent the majority of her description on parts of the building she had no access to—what she called the secret cham-

CHRISTOPHER BLYTHE {cjb10e@fsu.edu} is a doctoral candidate in American religious history at Florida State University. He previously graduated with a master's degree in history from Utah State University and a bachelor's in religious studies and anthropology at Utah State and Texas A&M University respectively. Blythe currently serves on the board of the John Whitmer Historical Association. ACKNOWLEDGMENTS: I express my appreciation to those who read pre-publication drafts, including Christine Elyse Blythe, Danny Jorgensen, and the anonymous reviewers, with a special "thank you" to Ryan Roos, Brian Whitney, Carol Blythe, and Rachel Mesinger Killebrew for helping me find misplaced references on short notice, completely out of the kindness of their hearts.

ber on the second floor, which to her and the other children was forbidden territory:

At the right side of the door as one entered [the old log church] was the inclosed [sic] staircase with two low steps outside. The story of what was beyond those steps and locked door is one that has not been handed down to the younger generations, much as we have, curiously or seriously, desired to know. We know merely that only those holding the priesthood (either men or women) were allowed to enter that secret chamber, and we have heard rumors of strange ceremonies, covenants, and endowments, the altar, the tree of life, the ordinance of feet washing, and the peculiar though necessary and significant grave-clothes which no one will explain.¹

Through their history, Cutlerites have constructed each of their four meeting houses (two of which still stand and one of which is still in use) with an upper level reserved for the performance of rites that Cutlerites have referred to by a variety of names: “the endowment,” “the priesthood,” “the upper room work,” “the mysteries of Godliness,” “the two priesthoods,” and so forth. These rituals and even the space in which they are performed have been foundational for the development of a singular Cutlerite identity. Their continuation to this day serves, both in performance and rhetoric, as a link to the past before Joseph Smith’s death and the subsequent fissuring of Mormonism’s original incarnation in the mid-1840s. For Cutlerites, the “upper room work” acts as a means of legitimation—evoking a sense of authenticity for the movement when challenged by rival sects. While the upper room work was rarely a matter of public debate, it was alluded to among the uninitiated and played a large role in internal conversations and performances. Historically, the “strange ceremonies, covenants, and endowments” protected the denominational boundaries of the Church of Jesus Christ, promoted group solidarity, and defined the organization against other institutions that rejected the rites. At moments when the organization seemed to be sputtering and the institution’s prophetic destiny only a distant hope, a focus on the hierarchy of esoteric rituals allowed Cutlerites to see themselves as moving forward and preparing for the promised day when they would usher in Zion, one endowment ceremony at a time.

¹Hallie M. Gould, “Like Sheep That Went Astray,” *Autumn Leaves* 34, no. 2 (February 1921): 53.

This article briefly describes the fissure that eventually resulted in the founding of the Church of Jesus Christ—a conflict with the representatives of the Twelve Apostles, resulting in the creation of a proto-Cutlerite body.² Its more detailed focus is a second conflict with a much longer history. As the newly formed Church of Jesus Christ (Cutlerite) began to develop its own sense of autonomy, it squared off against missionaries sent from the only slightly older Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. During two extended periods, RLDS officials stayed nearby to proselytize the Cutlerites; and more importantly, the proliferation of ex-Cutlerites who became Josephites resulted in ever-present tensions between the two sects. I argue that a small core of Cutlerites have survived as an autonomous body with a unique identity despite the appeal of other Mormon traditions, largely through their dependence on the “upper room work.”

TERMINOLOGY

My terminology is based on three premises: respect, accuracy, and aesthetics. I use both emic and etic language to maximize insight and to allow for variation in writing. Thus, I speak of “rites,” “rituals,” or “ceremonies” (phrases that rarely appear in Cutlerite documents) alongside the language that nineteenth-century Cutlerites used and understood—“ordinances,” “endowment,” “priesthood,” and so forth.

When discussing the varied Mormon groups present in the antebellum period, most of which shared very similar names, there can be problems of differentiation. For this reason, I use the contemporary language of “-ites” to refer to Brighamites, Cutlerites, Josephites, and Strangites based on the name of their post-Martyrdom leader. I occasionally use “LDS Church” to identify the group headquartered in Utah. The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints did not add “Reorganized” until 1872; however, I use “RLDS” and “Reorganization” for the sake of clarity, even though such use is technically anachronistic. I also refer to this group as the “New Organization,” as it was known at the time during the 1850s before its formal organization in 1860. The formal name of Saints aligned with Alpheus Cutler is the Church of Jesus Christ. “Mormon” refers

²I use “proto-Cutlerite” to refer to the body of Cutler’s followers before the Church’s reorganization on September 19, 1853.

broadly to all expressions of Mormonisms of the period, but the Cutlerites, as a matter of faith, rejected the label of “Latter-day Saint” (LDS) or “Latter Day Saint.”

“ESOTERICISM” AND “SECRECY” IN MORMONISM

I have selected the term “esotericism” to describe certain Mormon rituals and organizations concealed from the public gaze for two principal reasons. First, the scholarship of esotericism in religious studies can and should be applied to the study of Mormonism. It should be noted that I am not therefore positioning Mormonism alongside the traditions commonly set apart as “Western esotericism” (e.g., kabbalah, Gnosticism, the occult, etc.). This approach is a regular and sometimes fruitful trend in the historiography; but I find more useful the work of theorists in the history of religions whose framing of the subject sheds light on how esoteric knowledge functions for those who are in possession of it, as well as those who are not so privileged.

Second, my use of “esoteric” to describe Mormon ceremonies deliberately avoids the question of whether to employ the value-laden phrase “secret”—a descriptor that both Cutlerites and Utah-based Latter-day Saints have found objectionable. However, I am sympathetic to scholars who have concluded that the ceremonies fit basic definitions of secrecy used within the academy. Secrecy as a strategy of deliberate concealment unquestionably delineates my topic; and as a result, I have consulted the extensive academic literature on secrecy throughout this article. My hesitancy in applying the term is the inherent political charge of the classification. After all, the question of whether the ceremonies should be categorized as “secret” or as something else was at the heart of the Cutlerite/Josephite contests, but my focus is to analyze rather than take sides in this conflict. Cutlerites who prefer the scriptural phrase “mysteries” (reminiscent of the “sacred versus secret” debate in LDS circles) distinguish their brand of privileged knowledge from that which society deems illicit or even criminal. But perhaps more importantly, they deny that these practices are secret because they are potentially available to anyone who will comply with the requirements of admission.³

By Mormon “esotericism,” I mean the fraternal initiation of the endowment and related rites and teachings which impart to the initi-

³Rupert J. Fletcher and Daisy Whiting Fletcher, *Alpheus Cutler and the*

ate privileged access to information reserved for those who participate in the ceremonies. These rites are fraternal—first, because it is a term that avoids the alternative term of “secret society”—but also because they are received as a means of entering an organization that collectively possesses these mysteries. This fraternal body in Nauvoo was known as the “Holy Order,” the “Anointed Quorum,” and a variety of other names.⁴ The Cutlerites would come to refer to their fraternal inner circle, modeled on the Nauvoo original, most often as “the Quorum” or “the High Priesthood.”⁵ Other fraternal bodies in the broader realm of nineteenth-century Mormonisms include William Smith’s “Priest and Priestess Lodge” and James J. Strang’s “Order of the Illuminati.”⁶

Studying esotericism must begin with a discussion of ethics, one that I think is much needed currently in Mormon studies. The essential dilemma in studying that which a community does not wish to disclose is defined succinctly by historian of religion Hugh Urban as the epistemological and ethical “double bind” of secrecy. On one hand, “how can one study or say anything intelligent about a religious tradition that practices active dissimulation . . . and intentionally conceals

Church of Jesus Christ (Independence: Church of Jesus Christ, 1974), 333–37: “This part of the priesthood ordinances is not secret, for both Christ and Alma called it the mysteries of the kingdom” (333).

⁴Andrew F. Ehat, “Joseph Smith’s Introduction of Temple Ordinances and the 1844 Mormon Succession Question” (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1982), 97.

⁵See for example, Council Minutes, November 4, 1894, History of the Church of Jesus Christ (Cutlerites), Book 18, November 4, 1894–June 24, 1911, 1, Box 2, fd. 6, Church of Jesus Christ (Cutlerite) Collection (1853–ca. 1970), L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter cited as Cutlerite Collection); *ibid.*, October 16, 1910, 20.

⁶For a discussion of both of these ritual traditions, respectively, see Christopher James Blythe, “‘Nearly All of the Factions’: The Polygamous Passages of William Smith, Lyman Wight, and Alpheus Cutler” in *The Persistence of Polygamy: From Joseph Smith’s Martyrdom to the First Manifesto, 1844–1890*, edited by Newell G. Bringhurst and Craig L. Foster (Independence: John Whitmer Books, 2013), 193–94; Vickie Speck, “*God Has Made Us a Kingdom*”: *James Strang and the Midwest Mormons* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2006), 48.

itself from outsiders?”⁷ On the other hand, “if one does learn something about an esoteric tradition—above all, if one goes so far as to become an insider, receiving initiation into secret teaching—how can one then say anything about this tradition to an uninitiated audience of outsiders?”⁸ In other words, the outsider scholar can never be fully knowledgeable about the internal dynamics of a religion employing secrecy—an epistemological dilemma—and, if she or he is or has become an insider, she or he is bound to maintain the oath of silence and, as such, cannot share her or his sure knowledge—an ethical dilemma. In the more pointed words of Buddhologist Edward Conze, speaking of the teachings of tantra: “Either the author of a book of this kind [exposing esoteric knowledge] has not been initiated into Tantra; then what he says is not first-hand knowledge. Or he has been initiated. Then, if he were to divulge the secrets to all and sundry just to make a little profit or to increase his reputation, he has broken the trust placed in him and is morally so depraved as not to be worth listening to.”⁹

When content is available—as with a series of exposés—the ethical question is obvious but there are still epistemological questions. Esoteric and largely symbolic ritual is effectively undecipherable to outsiders. As religious studies scholar Mikael Rothstein has recently commented about the esoteric in ceremonies of Scientology, “The texts would mean nothing to the uninitiated, myself included.”¹⁰ One may be able to construct an idea of what a ceremony means to the believer based on content alone, but it can be no more than a reasoned guess. Description is certainly possible; reliable analysis is not. Beyond this, symbolic ritual may have meanings given to the initiate over time, but often the initiate is at least partly responsible for discerning his or her own understanding of the rites. Thus, there is, in effect, *no* official meaning on which a scholar could place his or her finger.

⁷Hugh Urban, “The Torment of Secrecy: Ethical and Epistemological Problems in the Study of Esoteric Traditions,” *History of Religions* 37, no. 3 (February 1998): 209.

⁸*Ibid.*, 209–10.

⁹Edward Conze, *Buddhist Thought in India: Three Phases of Buddhist Philosophy* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1962), 272.

¹⁰Mikael Rothstein, “His Name Was Xenu. He Used Renegades . . .”: Aspects of Scientology’s Founding Myth” in *Scientology*, edited by James R. Lewis (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 367.

Urban offers a solution to the epistemological and ethical double bind of secrecy that informs this study. Following the earlier work of sociologist Georg Simmel, he notes that the strategy of secrecy is separate from its contents.¹¹ His interest, as is true of my own, is not with what lies undisclosed within a tradition. Rather, he analyzes why secrecy is used in the first place and what role it plays for a group. Specifically, borrowing from Pierre Bourdieu, Urban sees the discourse of secrecy as a means by which information becomes highly valued as a form of social capital. Esoteric ritual becomes a “scarce resource,” which can then become a means of acquiring status and achieving a special relationship to a society.¹² In terms of the Cutlerites, this is true of an individual as he moves up the all-male hierarchy of the sect, but it is also true of the sect as a whole. The community possesses something that even seemingly very similar communities lack; thus, the mystery of the content serves as a means of attraction.

To maintain this tactic of approaching Mormon esotericism—that is, looking at the strategy of deliberately concealing information, rather than attempting to reveal that secret—I will limit my discussion of the ceremonies to what was published or expressed in public during the period in question. Ultimately, this approach results in a focus on hierarchies of ritual and knowledge, the language employed to hint at that which is disclosed, the Cutlerites’ own explicit connections between the rites and scriptural records or the Mormon past, and contests over whether such ritualism was or was not a legitimate form of Mormon worship.

Joseph Smith shared an important insight about esotericism when he noted that “the secret of Masonry is to keep a secret.”¹³ Obviously, Smith placed an actual value on both the rites of Freemasonry and the esotericism he introduced in Nauvoo. The ceremonies contained ecclesiastical, eschatological, and soteriological meanings and communications to his fold, after all. But these were also a form of ritualistic rehearsal in knowing how to keep something concealed

¹¹Urban, “The Torment of Secrecy,” 213; See also Georg Simmel, “The Secret and the Secret Society,” *The Sociology of Georg* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1950).

¹²Urban, “The Torment of Secrecy,” 210.

¹³Scott H. Faulring, ed., *An American Prophet’s Record: The Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989), 422.

and knowing to whom such important matters should or could be exposed. Numerous matters in Nauvoo could not be shared with outsiders. Although I question the claim that the sole reason for esotericism was the introduction of plural marriage, polygamy was certainly something that needed to remain undisclosed during the period; but controversial political affairs or ecclesiastical disciplinary councils were other sensitive topics. Above all these reasons, I tend to think that a primary cause of the emergence of esotericism had deep connections with persecution. Mormons arrived in Illinois as refugees from Missouri. They would eventually construct a temple in which to perform rites hidden from the view of outsiders, but they had already constructed refuges to hide Joseph Smith from arrest and later to hide his remains.

We should not underestimate the connections between secrecy and the Saints' sense (and reality) of persecution. In Nauvoo, it eventually became reasonable to think that arrest or vigilante violence could occur at almost any moment. Unfortunately, secrecy and persecution also contribute to a self-perpetuating cycle. A group is persecuted and as a result withdraws into seclusion; the public becomes suspicious and begins to imagine bizarre activities of this now-secretive body engendering further prejudice and resulting in further withdrawal.

Esotericism informs the relationship between insiders and outsiders in yet another way, which Urban calls "the dialectic of lure and withdrawal," in which a community advertises the secret they possess.¹⁴ Its members hint at the content of their rites and display esoteric symbols but then emphasize the secretive nature of the enterprise. Such vague glimpses rouse the curiosity of the uninitiated and emphasize the importance of the group's possession.

PRIVATE AND PUBLIC RELIGION IN NAUVOO

Many scholars have discussed the evolving nature of Mormonism in Nauvoo. Philip Barlow, for example, has spoken of this period as the beginnings of a transformation from a form of Mormonism rooted in primitive Christianity to a "half-hebracized Church-kingdom."¹⁵ Although it can be easily shown that the seeds of these changes existed earlier in Mormon thought, Nauvoo was indisputably

¹⁴Urban, "The Torment of Secrecy," 235.

¹⁵Philip L. Barlow, "Shifting Ground and the Third Transformation

the site of this harvest. New ceremonies, new organizations, and new ideas flooded into the Latter-day Saint consciousness. Some of this development took place openly—for example, the expansive role of proxy baptisms, encouragement for men to join the Masonic Lodge and women the Relief Society, or the publication of the Book of Abraham. Likewise, the Prophet's public sermons began to refer with increasing frequency to “seals,” “keywords,” and deification.

In the midst of this evolution of understandings, a “private gnosis” also grew up in Nauvoo, a privileged knowledge shared by only some of the community's elites who had been brought into the Anointed Quorum or the Council of Fifty.¹⁶ The rest of the Saints would receive the same—or at least many of the same—instructions and ceremonies at the post-Martyrdom completion of the Nauvoo Temple, but for now this small fraternity was set apart in their knowledge. Although *what* they knew was a secret, that there *was* a secret was a matter of growing awareness, a revolution that was publicly advertised in sermons and revelation. The entire Church was motivated toward the completion of the temple in which God would “restore again that which was lost unto you, or which he hath taken away, even the fulness of the priesthood” (D&C 124:28).

Alpheus Cutler played a significant role in the public mobilization of Nauvoo to complete the temple and in preparing for the ritual performances to be conducted therein. Publicly, he had been selected in 1840 as one of three members of the temple committee overseeing the construction of the building. In 1839, the fifty-four-year-old stonemason had been appointed and ceremonially set apart as “the master workman” of the Far West Temple, a structure never completed or even significantly begun.¹⁷ In 1841, he relocated in Wisconsin temporarily to head a logging colony. In October of 1843, when he was fifty-nine, he was invited into Nauvoo's esoteric circles.

On May 3, 1842, Joseph Smith and five or six men made “the

of Mormonism” in *Perspectives on American Religion and Culture*, edited by Peter W. Williams (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 1999), 141.

¹⁶Ronald K. Esplin, “Joseph, Brigham, and the Twelve: A Succession of Continuity,” *BYU Studies* 21, no. 3 (Summer 1981): 303.

¹⁷Joseph Smith Jr. et al., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, edited by B. H. Roberts, 2d ed. rev. (6 vols., 1902–12, Vol. 7, 1932; rpt., Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1971 printing), 3:337 (hereafter *History of the LDS Church*).

necessary preparations, and everything was arranged representing the interior of a temple” on the top floor of the Red Brick Store, in a room that was also used for the city’s Masonic Lodge.¹⁸ On May 4, the first endowment performed in Nauvoo occurred for ten men—not including Joseph Smith. According to Willard Richards, who drafted the most extensive account of the event and also the only one intended for public consumption, Smith

instruct[ed] them in the principles and order of the Priesthood, attending to washings, anointings, endowments and the communication of Keys pertaining to the Aaronic Priesthood, and so on to the highest order of Melchisedec Priesthood, setting forth the order pertaining to the ancient of Days, and all those plans and principles, by which any one is enabled to secure the fulness of those blessings, which have been prepared for the Church of the first born, and come up and abide in the presence of the Eloheim in the Eternal worlds.¹⁹

Richards’s selection of language to describe the endowment was intended to be explicit for insiders, while providing only the most basic outline to the uninitiated. For my purpose, it is enough to state that the endowment consisted of a ritual drama in which one symbolically entered the presence of the divine after passing a series of moral tests, a ritualistic form of collective prayer, and making covenants something like the vows of those entering the priesthood or monastic life in Roman Catholicism.²⁰

The Anointed Quorum had been formed in 1842 but seldom met until May 26, 1843, when the group began to hold regular prayer circles, a practice that has been studied in some depth in D. Michael

¹⁸Lucius N. Scoville, Letter to the Editor, “The Higher Ordinances,” dated January [February] 2, 1884, *Deseret News Semi-Weekly*, February 15, 1884, 2 in Devery S. Anderson and Gary James Bergera, *The Nauvoo Endowment Companies, 1845–1846: A Documentary History* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2005), 2.

¹⁹Manuscript History of the Church, 1838–1856, C-1, 1328, LDS Church History Library.

²⁰Representatives of the LDS Church have occasionally issued statements describing the endowment ceremony as continued in that tradition. See, for example, James E. Talmage, *The House of the Lord* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1912), 83–84; Alma P. Burton, “Endowment,” *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1992), 454–56.

Quinn's important article "Latter-Day Saint Prayer Circles."²¹ The endowment offered the Anointed Quorum a special relationship with and a special knowledge of prayer. Fifty years later, Bathsheba Bigler Smith reflected on a statement that Joseph Smith had made during a public meeting in Nauvoo—"that we did not know how to pray to have our prayers answered. But when I and my husband had our endowments Joseph Smith presiding, he taught us the order of prayer."²² Recalling the meetings to a group of the recently endowed in the Nauvoo Temple on December 21, 1845, Brigham Young credited these prayer circles as the means by which "the Church had been kept together, and not the power of arms. A few individuals have asked for your preservation, and their prayers have been heard, and it is this which has preserved you from being scattered to the four winds."²³

In 1843, more changes came to the Anointed Quorum as the body increased in both size of membership and substance of the ceremonies performed. Membership became open to the initiates' wives, who were recipients of the same rites. A higher ordinance referred to as "the fullness of the Melchisedec Priesthood" was also revealed at this time.²⁴ Although details of this ceremony were kept private, Smith hinted at this rite when in an August 1843 sermon he argued that the ancient Melchizedek held "greater power [than Abraham] even power of an endless life . . . which was not the power of a prophet nor apostle nor patriarch only but of King and Priest to God."²⁵

Alpheus Cutler was an early participant in Smith's esoteric teachings. He received his endowment on October 12, 1843—the group's third meeting in which they initiated new members. On October 29, Cutler's wife of nearly thirty-three years, Lois Lathrop Cutler,

²¹D. Michael Quinn, "Latter-day Saint Prayer Circles," *BYU Studies* 19, no. 1 (1979): 79–105.

²²"Recollections of the Prophet Joseph Smith," *Juvenile Instructor* 27 (June 1, 1892): 345.

²³Heber C. Kimball, Journal kept by William Clayton, December 21, 1845, LDS Church History Library.

²⁴Joseph Fielding Smith, comp. and ed., *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976), 322.

²⁵Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook, eds., *Words of Joseph Smith: The Contemporary Accounts of the Nauvoo Discourses of the Prophet Joseph* (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1980), 245.

was one of the first women to be endowed. Just over two weeks later, on November 15, Alpheus and Lois were sealed and then received the fulness of the priesthood ceremony. The Cutlers were the sixth couple to receive this ritual.

In March 1844, Cutler also became a charter member of the “Kingdom of God” or Council of Fifty, as it was often called. This group developed out of both the Anointed Quorum and Mormonism’s growing political agendas that surfaced in the Nauvoo period. The council was envisioned as the making of a theocratic government that, if Smith had been elected U.S. president in 1844, would have presumably served as his cabinet. A more feasible plan was also enacted in which the council gathered intelligence on the potential for colonizing a Mormon state in the West. Importantly, for the future of the Cutlerites, this council also discussed reviving efforts to convert groups of Native Americans and anticipated the building of individual colonies throughout the continent.²⁶

THE PROTO-CUTLERITES AND THE 1853 REORGANIZATION

Cutlerite history cannot be properly understood unless we see it as emerging from this moment in Nauvoo. As was true of other groups, Cutlerites saw their founder as uniquely qualified to lead the Mormon people based on his involvement in Nauvoo esotericism. They saw the basis for their existence as a community in Cutler’s ordinations in Nauvoo. Lois Cutler would occasionally testify that she had seen Joseph Smith ordain her husband in a special ceremony, presumably when he received the fulness of the Melchizedek Priesthood. As in Nauvoo, these conversations were considered privileged and thus such statements were made before very small audiences. In a later era, the Cutlerites considered the ordination an acceptable and important event to discuss. For this reason, others, such as Sylvester Whiting²⁷ recalled hearing Lois Cutler’s testimony:

[Father Cutler] was ordained to all the keys, powers, and author-

²⁶D. Michael Quinn, “The Council of Fifty and Its Members, 1844 to 1945,” *BYU Studies* 20 (Winter 1980): 163–97.

²⁷Sylvester J. Whiting was the brother of Cutler’s successor and the second president of the priesthood, Chancey Whiting. He would eventually serve as the Church’s patriarch. After the death of his brother, he was the last of the first generation of Cutlerites and, thus, served as a vital link to

ity of the Melchisedec Priesthood that was ever put on Joseph Smith, a Prophet, Seer, Revelator, and translator and to be in force upon the whole world from that very hour. I have heard Father Cutler testify to the above ordinations himself. Also have heard Mother Cutler testify at three different times to the same, that she saw with her eyes and heard with her ears, Joseph Smith lay his hands on Father Cutler's head and ordain him as above stated to all the keys, powers and authority of the Melchizedek Priesthood that was ever put on Joseph Smith. And she said he itemized it as follows: A prophet, Seer, Revelator and translator. And she said if the people knew as much about Father Cutler's authority as she did there would not be so much quizzing as there was.²⁸

Over time, the Cutlerites came to systematize the way they expressed the story of how Alpheus Cutler became the proper leader to direct Mormonism in the wake of Smith's death—a process that had already begun by the time Sylvester Whiting had issued the above testimony. Historian Michael Riggs has divided the Cutlerite founding narrative into three basic episodes.²⁹ First, the Church was rejected at the death of Joseph Smith, but those in the higher organization of the kingdom of God continued to possess independent authority. Second, each member of the seven-member kingdom stood in a hierarchical ranking by the order of their ordination; Cutler was number seven. Third, following the apostasy of the other members of the kingdom, Cutler received a revelation to reorganize the Church.

Importantly if one were to pick at random an account of this story from Cutlerite history, it would likely differ from other versions of the same story. By the rise of the second generation, the Cutlerites, perhaps as a result of the esoteric nature of this story, had altogether forgotten about the Council of Fifty, the Anointed Quorum, and

their past.

²⁸"Sylvester J. Whiting's Testimony," *History of the Church of Jesus Christ (Cutlerites), 1830s-1970s*, 34, Mss 2394, Box 1, fd. 4, Cutlerite Collection.

²⁹Mike Riggs, "Nauvoo's Kingdom of God on Earth and Back-to-Back Half Moons in the Iowan Firmament: New Insights into Alpheus Cutler's Claims to Authority," Paper presented at the Mormon History Association, May 13, 1989, Quincy, Ill.; photocopy in Community of Christ Library-Archives.

other details of Joseph Smith's innovations in Nauvoo. Regardless, it is not difficult to flesh out much of the skeleton of Cutlerite claims with the rituals and organizations of the Nauvoo period.³⁰

In 1847, Alpheus Cutler was assigned to take the lead in a mission among the Delaware Indians, who had been pushed into Indian Territory (Kansas).³¹ Although the responsibility was revived with the support of Brigham Young, Cutlerites believed Joseph Smith had originally appointed Cutler for this mission. Now three years after Smith's death, Cutler set out to fulfill this earlier assignment. Those who followed Cutler to Silver Creek, Iowa, where he would soon begin the mission became aware of Cutler's commission and even the connected organizations. A unique sense of purpose and prophecy began to shape the movement during this period, reflecting the increasing importance placed on converting Native Americans. These proto-Cutlerites shared with the broader movement of Mormonism an understanding that Joseph Smith's death signaled the end of the "times of the Gentiles." As a result, they thought that missionary work should no longer be directed toward Anglo-Americans (at least not those in the United States, since they were complicit in the murder of the Prophet), but to those of Israelite blood, the Native Americans. Turning to the Book of Mormon, they read that the Natives' acceptance of the gospel would be the precursor to building the city of Zion and ushering in the Millennium.

In 1848, the proto-Cutlerites came under scrutiny from the Kanesville High Council, where LDS Apostle Orson Hyde was representing the Twelve. Even at this early date, reports had spread about Cutlerite prophecies of redeeming Zion, their questions concerning

³⁰D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994), 204–6; Riggs, "Nauvoo's Kingdom of God on Earth"; Christopher Blythe, "The Church in the Days of Alpheus Cutler": New Insights into Nineteenth-Century Cutlerite Ecclesiology," *John Whitmer History Association Journal* 29 (2009): 73–93; Danny L. Jorgensen, "The Old Fox: Alpheus Cutler, Priestly Keys to the Kingdom, and the Early Church of Jesus Christ" in *Differing Visions: Dissenters in Mormon History*, edited by Roger D. Launius and Linda Thatcher (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 158–72.

³¹Danny Jorgensen, "Building the Kingdom of God: Alpheus Cutler and the Second Mormon Mission to the Indians, 1846–1853," *Kansas History* 15, no. 2 (Autumn 1992): 192–209.

the current leadership of the Church, and their suspicion over the plan to relocate the Saints westward. The high council held investigative trials, but with little success in obtaining the branch's genuine sentiments. Some of Cutler's followers refused to explain the full purpose of their mission to the authorities, believing it was too sacred to be discussed openly. Even Cutler himself, a defender of the faith while in Nauvoo, was under suspicion. In a letter to Brigham Young, three apostles, Orson Hyde, George A. Smith, and Ezra T. Benson, reported: "Our spirit seemed a little troubled, but we could see nothing wrong that we could get hold of, and thought it was quite probable that our feelings might be effected [sic] by the old gentleman's natural parabolical, allegorical, symbolical, mysterious, secretive way of telling things. We had an excellent visit with them; found their Branch in good order; and hoped, believed all that we could that everything was right."³² Following another wave of high council scrutiny in 1850, several members of Cutler's branch were disfellowshipped. On April 10, 1851, Alpheus Cutler was excommunicated.³³

By 1852, the Cutlerites had suspended their evangelization efforts to the Native Americans. They had sacrificed a great deal while trying to fulfill prophecy. Harsh winters and cholera had led to several deaths in Cutler's family. Moreover, no Native Americans became enduring converts to the cause. Resolute, the Cutlerites did not waver in their belief that they held a divinely appointed call to convert the Indians and, through that conversion, to bring about a series of events that would usher in the Millennium.

From the Cutlerite perspective, it was not the Native Americans who were unready to receive the Mormon gospel but the Mormons who were not yet ready to act their part. They attributed their lack of success to their own lack of preparation. Therefore, they retreated to Manti in southwestern Iowa, committed to the concept of becoming a united people, able to withstand the elements, to work miracles, to possess the gifts of the Spirit, and most importantly to receive the rituals that would enable them to complete their mission of converting Native Americans. The year after their arrival, Cutler officially reor-

³²Orson Hyde, George A. Smith, and Ezra T. Benson, "Report to Brigham Young and Council of Twelve," March 14–April 5, 1849, 14, Brigham Young Correspondence, LDS Church History Library.

³³Danny Jorgensen, "Conflicts in the Camps of Israel: The 1853 Cutlerite Schism," *Journal of Mormon History* 21, no. 1 (Spring 1995): 25–64.

ganized the Church. By this point, the Cutlerites had determined that God had not only rejected the Gentiles at the death of Joseph Smith but the Church itself had lost divine approval. All baptisms and other ordinances would need to be repeated under Cutler's authority, based on his membership in the kingdom of God.

Two related lenses informed how the Cutlerites came to see themselves. One was an apocalyptic imagination and the other was messianic. That is, Cutlerites saw themselves, like other Latter-day Saints, as living in the last days and playing a crucial role in bringing about the millennial reign of Jesus Christ. They believed that God had rejected the original Mormon Church and that, as a result, they were now God's exclusive representatives. As I have written elsewhere, the Cutlerites had a tri-partite vision for bringing about the promised Millennium.³⁴ First, the Saints needed to be sanctified through receiving the rituals of the priesthood but also through applying the communitarian law of consecration in their settlements. Only when this was accomplished would the righteous be enabled to successfully convert the Native American peoples. Third, this newly strengthened body of the faithful would build the utopian city of Zion in Jackson County, Missouri, and usher in the miraculous events of the Millennium, including the return of the "ten lost tribes of Israel," a traveling body numbering more than a hundred thousand believers exiled to "the north countries."³⁵

Early Cutlerites saw Alpheus Cutler as a modern-day Moses figure, not in the sense that he had led a massive exodus from the United States, as was the case with LDS characterizations of Brigham Young, but through a uniquely Mormon fashioning of the Mosaic story. The fourth section of the Doctrine and Covenants (1844) subtitled, "ON PRIESTHOOD," provided a narrative of Moses's unfruitful efforts to sanctify his followers. The revelation explained that there were two orders of the priesthood, one which was placed upon Aaron and his sons which related to "the preparatory gospel" and another referred to as "the holiest order of God." According to the narrative:

This greater priesthood administereth the gospel and holdeth the key of the mysteries of the kingdom, even the key of the knowledge of God.—Therefore, in the ordinances thereof, the power of

³⁴Blythe, "The Church in the Days of Alpheus Cutler," 73–93.

³⁵LDS D&C 133; first published in D&C, 1844 edition, Section CVIII, Appendix.

godliness is manifest; and without the ordinances thereof, and the authority of the priesthood, the power of godliness is not manifest unto men in the flesh; for without this no man can see the face of God, even the Father, and live.

This Moses plainly taught to the children of Israel in [the] wilderness, and sought diligently to sanctify his people that they might behold the face of God; But they hardened their hearts and could not endure his presence; therefore, the Lord in his wrath, for his anger was kindled against them, swore that they should not enter into his rest while in the wilderness, which rest is the fulness of his glory. Therefore, he took Moses out of their midst, and the Holy Priesthood also; and the lesser priesthood continued, which priesthood holdeth the key of the ministering of angels and the preparatory gospel.³⁶

Cutler was a modern-day Moses, offering his followers the higher priesthood with its ordinances and the accompanying promises of miracle-working power, revelation, and even the ability to stand in the presence of the divine.³⁷ Other Mormon factions had been stripped of this greater priesthood authority when God rejected the post-Martyrdom church. They may have still possessed the Aaronic Priesthood, but this alone could not even confer membership into the Church organization.

Cutler's special ordination and his commission to evangelize the Native Americans were not all that set him apart in the mind of the Cutlerites as a messianic figure. They placed great significance on his connections with the Nauvoo Temple and his designation as the master builder of the Far West Temple. When the Brighamites announced their intention to build the Salt Lake Temple, Cutler had allegedly asked by what authority it was done. Although the accusation that Young was wrong to build a temple without a specific dialogic revelation appointing the location was fairly common, Cutler's followers interpreted their leader's comment to suggest that he alone

³⁶1844 D&C, Section IV; the text is the same as the 1835 edition.

³⁷For examples of Cutlerite sermons presenting Alpheus Cutler as a Moses figure, see Church Minutes, February 6, 1860, 83, Box 1, fd. 1; Conference Minutes, April 6, 1862, 35, Box 1, fd. 2; Conference Minutes, October 6, 1862, 39, Box 1, fd. 2. This is not to be confused with the Cutlerite belief in the appearance of a messianic "Moses Man," an expectation that still plays a large role in contemporary Cutlerite thought. Christopher Blythe, Interview with Stanley Whiting, June 4, 2002, typescript.

had this privilege.³⁸ Cutler was “the chief architect of all of God’s Houses on the earth while he lived.”³⁹ A popular prophecy that appears first in the 1840s but recurred at later points was that “Father Cutler’s trowel is going to ring on the Temple walls of Jackson County.”⁴⁰ The Cutlerites longed for the day when Cutler would take the lead in building the great temple in Zion.

A number of scriptures became associated with the ordinances of the endowment, but none was as important as Joseph Smith’s November 1831 revelation about the return of the ten tribes of Israel. When the colony of Israelites that had been lost for two thousand years eventually reached Zion from its travels in the north, the revelation predicted that “there shall they fall down and be crowned with glory, even in Zion, by the hands of the servants of the Lord, even the children of Ephraim” (D&C 133:32). Cutlerites spoke of the “crowning power,” which alluded to their ability to perform the rites of the Holy Order.⁴¹ This amazing event was a key moment in the Cutlerite’s prophetic future, set to occur after they had learned to live righteously and build up Zion. In rhetoric, this prophecy seems to have been nearly as important as their current work among the Native Americans.

The unveiling of ordinances of the High Priesthood would take place in the community’s four meetinghouses, constructed sometime before 1859 in Manti, Iowa, in two separate meetinghouses in Clitherall, Minnesota, constructed in 1871 and 1912, respectively, and a final meetinghouse constructed sometime after 1928 in Independence, Missouri. The building was never referred to as a temple,

³⁸Sylvester J. Whiting, Statement, n.d., History of the Church of Jesus Christ (Cutlerites), Book 18, November 4, 1894–June 24, 1911, 16, Box 2, fd. 6, Cutlerite Collection.

³⁹“Excerpts from Some of Sylvester J. Whiting’s Writings,” History of the Church of Jesus Christ (Cutlerites), 1830s–1970s, 36, Box 1, fd. 4, Cutlerite Collection.

⁴⁰Hyde, Smith, Benson, “Report to Brigham Young and Council of Twelve,” 14.

⁴¹For example, see Pliney Fisher, Blessing Given to Alpheus Cutler, History of the Church of Jesus Christ (Cutlerites), 1830s–1970s, 39, Box 1, fd. 4; Blessing Given to Lewis Whiting, History of the Church of Jesus Christ (Cutlerites), 1830s–1970s, 45–46, Box 1, fd. 4; both in Cutlerite Collection.

but it was specifically patterned after the floor plan of the Nauvoo Temple. The ground floor was for congregational meetings and remained open to the public. In fact, rival churches including the Josephites regularly used it to present their messages to the Cutlerite congregation. If the Manti meetinghouse followed the same floor plan as the three future Cutlerite chapels, it had a baptismal font built under the first floor. The second story was restricted, allowing entrance only to initiated men and women members of the Cutlerite “High Priests Quorum.”

After 1853, the new church began to baptize its members, considering all rites performed under the previous incarnation of the Church as invalid. This measure allowed adherents to begin at square one and move up in Mormonism’s hierarchy of rituals. These layers of ceremonies, including living up to increasing levels of commitment and responsibility, were referred to as “advancement.” Advancement was both a cause pressed by the community for fulfilling the Cutlerites’ prophetic calling, but also an individual process.⁴²

Individually, both men and women would begin at their baptism to look forward to additional ceremonies. A male would first be ordained a priest in the Aaronic Priesthood, an elder in the Melchizedek Priesthood, and finally a high priest. In this position, the ordinate was welcomed into the upper room with his spouse to receive the endowment ceremony.⁴³ As in Nauvoo, women were initiated into the quorum without any traditional priesthood ordination. As Emma Anderson, who received these rites in 1871, would later note, “It was supposed that I had received the Melchizedek priesthood but there was never any mention of when I attained to the Aaronic priesthood, and I never knew what office I held in the high

⁴²Advancement was referred to regularly in Cutlerite meetings. See, for example, Conference Minutes, October 7, 1874, Minutes of the New Record of the Church of Jesus Christ, September 6, 1874–November 12, 1875, 23, Box 2, fd. 10, Cutlerite Collection.

⁴³Cutlerites believed in sealing ceremonies during the presidency of Alpheus Cutler but later discarded the doctrine. It is unknown if any sealings were performed after those the proto-Cutlerites would have received in the Nauvoo Temple. See Christopher James Blythe, “The Highest Class of Adulterers and Whoremongers’: Plural Marriage, the Church of Jesus Christ (Cutlerite), and the Construction of Memory,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 46, no. 2 (Summer 2013): 28–29.

priesthood. I was never called as elderess or highpriestess or anything, still I held priesthood.”⁴⁴

Reception into the “upper-room work” marked a Cutlerite’s transformation into a mature member of the faith. Having participated in the ceremonial vows of the rite, the high priest symbolically became “one” with the community as a whole. He or she was then entrusted with the entirety of the group’s privileged knowledge and, if male, was given a seat in the governing high priests’ quorum. Through this rite of passage, the group saw the initiate as more accountable for living in an ideal manner. According to a sermon by Hiram Murdock in 1876, “And when men are called to the Holy calling and ordained to the Holy Order there is great responsibility then required at their hands that they do not come under condemnation.”⁴⁵

Discussion of—or discussion around—the upper-room work was a prominent part of Cutlerite religious life. Emma Anderson noted that, when she was endowed “a vow of secrecy was required by all who entered there, but it was explained to us that we were only permitted to speak of this to others as far as the books speak of it.”⁴⁶ Thus, Cutlerite speakers could include veiled references to the upper-room work as it was thought to be referenced in Mormon scriptures. They regularly cited proof texts that seemed to allude to a mysterious ritualistic tradition present especially in the Bible and the Doctrine and Covenants. Examples were references to Melchizedek and Abraham in Hebrews, of David and Jonathan’s covenant in 1 Samuel, and Peter, James, and John on the Mount of Transfiguration. John’s Revelation discussed the sealing of the 144,000 and “of white robes” that were given to the faithful.⁴⁷ As noted, Cutlerites continued to see the upper room work in the representation of Moses in the Doctrine and Covenants and in the prophecy of

⁴⁴Emma Anderson, qtd. in Danny Jorgensen, “The Fiery Darts of the Adversary: An Interpretation of Early Cutlerism,” *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 10 (1990): 81.

⁴⁵Conference Minutes, April 9, 1876, Minutes of the New Record of the Church of Jesus Christ, September 6, 1874–November 12, 1875, 53, Box 2, fd. 10, Cutlerite Collection.

⁴⁶Emma Anderson, qtd. in Jorgensen, “The Fiery Darts of the Adversary,” 75.

⁴⁷Church Conference Minutes, April 10, 1892, History of the Church

crowning the ten tribes when they would return.

Yet-to-be-initiated Cutlerites also garnered strength through the community's appeal to this unique possession. Of course, I cannot claim to understand the sentiment of all Cutlerites; however, while the endowment was given individually, the strategy of the ritual system and its associated discourse was designed to produce a collective identity.⁴⁸ The progressive ritual system was intended to strengthen bonds within the community, as individuals advanced through the series of rites and ordinations. All Cutlerites were preparing for the work of the last days, as outlined above, and advancement was the key to begin this process.

The impact of these rituals for those who had yet to obtain them is evident when looking at a dream reported by Erle Whiting.⁴⁹ Cutlerite meetings during the post-1865 period when the community had withdrawn to Clitherall, frequently included relating a dream to the congregation and then receiving an inspired interpretation of that dream. In Erle Whiting's dream, he saw a boy staring out of the window in the dilapidated first meetinghouse in Clitherall. Perhaps it was his age that signaled to Whiting that he did not belong. Climbing a ladder that led to the upper room, he did not find the child, but instead saw "some kind of instrument piled up he did not examine it he thought he had no right to examine it so he did not know just what it was."⁵⁰ Even in his dream, Whiting respected the rules of the fold that forbade uncovering the sect's rituals without a proper initiation. Just as the community sought to prepare each Church member to ad-

of Jesus Christ (Cutlerite), Book 17, August 17, 1890–September 23, 1894, 33, Box 2, fd. 5, Cutlerite Collection.

⁴⁸Jan Shippo, *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985), 125, has argued similarly that, although many Brighamites were not polygamists "identity was maintained corporately, not individually, which explains why all the citizens of the kingdom—those who were involved in plural marriage and those who were not—were willing to defend to the last possible moment the practice of polygamy that kept them set apart."

⁴⁹Ivan Erle Whiting was the son of Isaac Whiting, the third president of the priesthood.

⁵⁰Elk Book 2, 58–61 in Edna I. Fletcher, comp., "History of the Church of Jesus Christ, Cutlerites," Book 319, 23, Box 2, fd. 8, Cutlerite Collection.

vance, individuals also made concentrated efforts to be found worthy of this privilege. Not surprisingly, the scene from Whiting's dream was interpreted as follows, "The mysterious work and material represents the Holy Order of the Melchisedec Priesthood."⁵¹

**GURLEY-CUTLER CORRESPONDENCE:
ESTABLISHING THE TERMS OF THE CONFLICT**

The Cutlerites would soon discover that they were not secluded from other branches of Mormonism on the Iowan prairie, even after most Brighamites had relocated to the West. (Kanesville stopped being a Mormon staging area in 1853.) Representatives of other expressions of Mormonism found their way to Manti in hopes of converting or reconverting the new sect. Although this development would come with losses to both the LDS Church and especially the RLDS Church, this trial proved to be beneficial as the Cutlerites worked out their identity in the trenches of sectarian debate. Like many religious organizations, the Church of Jesus Christ (Cutlerite) developed and strengthened its sense of mission through encounters with competitors they could effectively push against.

The first contact between the Cutlerites and the New Organization that would eventually become the RLDS Church came in November 1855 when Zenos H. Gurley, who had been ordained an apostle in 1853, drafted the first of two letters to Alpheus Cutler.⁵² Gurley provided news of the founding conferences of the new organization, expressed hope that Joseph Smith III would eventually accept the

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²When the new organization met to establish a Church government in 1853, they determined that a group of seven apostles, "a majority of the quorum" should be selected by a committee of three (echoing the role of the three witnesses in choosing the 1835 Quorum of the Twelve). Zenos H. Gurley, the "Senior Apostle," was one of the seven, ordained on April 8, 1853 by Jason Briggs, who had also been ordained on that day. Joseph Smith III, who accepted the position of Church president on April 6, 1830, did not change the quorum membership at that point. In essence, he was joining/leading a church already in motion. Joseph III and Heman C. Smith, *History of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1805–1890*, 4 vols.; continued by F. Henry Edwards as *The History of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints*, Vols. 5–8 (Independence: Herald House, 1897–1903, 1967 printing), 3:218–23.

Church presidency, and testified that miracles had attended early meetings. He made particular mention of two separate angelic appearances in April 1853. The first occurred in connection with a community prayer to know who should serve as president pro-tem, while the proto-congregation hopefully waited for Joseph III, then age twenty. Gurley recalled, “Our prayers were answered to the entire satisfaction of all present, and here, Brother Cutler, let me say the Angel of God came into our midst as the Spirit testified to many at the time; others saw the Angel; all were satisfied that He was with us (happy, happy time).”⁵³ He also reported that, in a prayer meeting preceding the New Organization’s 1853 conference, “the Angel of God again came among us; some saw, others, by the Spirit of God, knew for themselves it was so.” The fifty-four-year-old Gurley concluded this first letter with the information that he was currently arranging to travel from Fayette County, Wisconsin, to Manti “on foot through the cold.”⁵⁴

The harsh weather on the prairies rendered the Josephite apostle’s plans impossible. As a result, he drafted a second letter about six weeks later on January, 3, 1856. In it, he explained that a vision prompted his zeal to reach the community in Manti: “In the vision, you came before me as natural as when I last saw you in Nauvoo. It seemed to me that you had intimations that the Lord had somewhere commenced his work again. When I saw you in the vision you were looking north, east, and south. At that time the Spirit of God said to me three times, ‘go to him’. I saw you several times the two following days.”⁵⁵ The vision seemed to present Cutler looking for the Lord to act in all directions but west—that is, he knew the Brighamites were not the true continuation of the Church.

Gurley must have been surprised and disappointed by the letter he received from Cutler, penned on January 29, 1856.⁵⁶ His impression that Cutler was seeking a renewal of Mormonism may have been cor-

⁵³Ibid., 261. Jason Briggs was the congregation’s choice as president pro tem.

⁵⁴Ibid., 260.

⁵⁵Zenos H. Gurley, Letter to Alpheus Cutler, January 3, 1856, in *ibid.*, 263.

⁵⁶Alpheus Cutler, Letter to Zenos H. Gurley, January 29, 1856, in Fletcher and Fletcher, *Alpheus Cutler and the Church of Jesus Christ*, 264–65.

rect a few years earlier—but no longer. Cutler had found what he considered to be true Mormonism; and as Cutler would make all too clear, he did not think those involved in the New Organization could share anything of value with him. Cutler’s response merits careful attention because it not only offers his only complete first-hand explanation of his views, but also because it sets the terms for how the Manti Cutlerites would understand the Josephites thereafter. Furthermore, although Cutler intended his comments for Gurley, he also meant it as a public document—read before his own Church and cherished after his death. He urged Gurley to read the letter to the New Organization members as well. Thus, it was for all of these potential hearers and readers that Cutler differentiated the two reorganizations from one another.

One essential element in this letter is Cutler’s use of the strategy of lure and withdrawal. His use of specialized language such as “the Order of God” or the “Kingdom” hinted at the internal dynamics of Nauvoo Mormonism and sought to stir an interest in the mysteries that the Cutlerites possessed. This tactic is apparent from the beginning of Cutler’s letter, in which he emphasized Gurley’s uninitiated status, warning that the information would be difficult to understand and to relay. Similar statements preceded or concluded other well-known documents from those initiated in the Nauvoo mysteries to those who were yet to receive them.⁵⁷ As in these other cases, Cutler suggested that a face-to-face meeting would allow the revelation of further information:

I wish you had have come on to this place; then might I have said

Along with the Pliny Fisher blessing book, the letters found their way into the possession of the RLDS Church after the conversion of Cutlerite Jared Anderson in the 1880s. I have been unable to determine if he is related to Emma Anderson.

⁵⁷For example, Heber C. Kimball wrote to Parley P. Pratt concerning the introduction of the endowment in Nauvoo, “I can not give them to you on paper fore they are not to be riten. So you must come and get them your Self.” Heber C. Kimball, Letter to Parley P. Pratt, June 17, 1842, Parley P. Pratt Papers, LDS Church Library; see also Benjamin F. Johnson, Letter to George F. Gibbs, 1903, qtd. in E. Dale LeBaron, “Benjamin Franklin Johnson: Colonizer, Public Servant, and Church Leader” (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1967), 334; Lyman Wight, Letter to “Dear Brother and Sister,” November 29, 1844, qtd. in Lyman Wight, *An Address by the Way of an Abridged Account of My Life . . .* (N.p. [Texas], 1848), 4–7.

more than I shall attempt to write on paper at this time. . . . I am an old man, as well as an old soldier, in this last work of God, and I think I understand the Order of God, as established by Joseph Smith Jr., so well that I am willing to risk my salvation, and the salvation of mine, on that knowledge; which knowledge I have obtained from God, and through Joseph Smith, His Prophet; but whether I shall be able to portray it on paper before you, so that you will understand it, is more than I know; but I will try, and leave the event with God.⁵⁸

He concluded the letter in a similar vein, reinterpreting Gurley's vision to mean that it was Gurley who needed to receive instruction from Cutler: "Now Sir, you are in the same situation according to this work of yours, of a certain man that was commanded to send to Joppa and if, like him, you should act consistently on your vision and come to me, I will do as much as to tell you words by which you and your household can be saved; if you will live to them with honest hearts." While offering Gurley the possibility of learning these mysteries as Cornelius did from Peter, the words of the document also delegitimized the Josephites by observing: "You seem evidently to be laboring under some inconvenience in not having a full knowledge of God's work."⁵⁹ Cutler repudiated Gurley's expectation for leadership from Joseph Smith III with his own series of questions:

Do you know all who are the seed of Joseph? You will, no doubt, say "yes". Can you tell me what is necessary for the heir to do to prepare himself to inherit his Father's estate, either temporal or spiritual, or either the lesser or the greater, either real or honorary? If so, can you tell me, during the heir's minority, who was the lawful guardian in God's Order? By answering these questions you will give me a clue to authority; that I should know something that Joseph did, while yet alive and with us, for many say, "if we could see the work of Joseph go ahead, we are on hand with all we got." Who knew what Joseph did do? This knowledge would furnish a starting point.⁶⁰

Gurley's claim that the two conferences witnessed an angel brought the conversation squarely into the realm of Nauvoo esotericism. Cutler again posed a series of strategic questions: "Why

⁵⁸Cutler to Gurley, January 29, 1856, 264–65.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, 268.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, 270.

did not all see the heavenly messenger? God says He is no respecter of persons. Again, how do you, or how did you know that Angel to be an Angel of God? Who tried Him, and how was He tried? In what Priesthood did he deliver His message?" Concerning the second angel, Cutler asked, "Did you see him? If so, how did he look?"⁶¹ Here, Cutler alluded to one of the most interesting aspects of Mormon esotericism—its relationships with the supernatural world.

On June 27, 1839, nearly three years before Smith introduced the endowment in Nauvoo, he had explained an infallible method of detecting whether a supernatural being was a resurrected angel or an evil spirit who was impersonating a legitimate angel:

In order to detect the devel when he transforms himself nigh unto an angel of light. When an angel of God appears unto man face to face in personage & reaches out his hand unto the man & he takes hold of the angels hand & feels a substance the Same as one man would in shaking hands with another he may then know that it is an angel of God, & he should place all Confidence in him Such personages or angels are Saints with there resurrected Bodies, but if a personage appears unto man & offers him his hand & the man takes hold of it & he feels nothing or does not sens any substance he may know it is the devel, for when a Saint whose body is not resurrected appears unto man in the flesh he will not offer him his hand for this is against the law given him & in keeping in mind these things we may detec the devil that he decieved us not.⁶²

During this period, Smith also revealed details of angels' physical appearance: they had no wings and did not have "sandy coloured hair."⁶³ Only days before Joseph Smith first introduced the endowment in 1842, he preached a public sermon hinting at the connection between the endowment and this older idea of discerning supernatural visitors. "The keys are certain signs and words by which false spirits and personages may be detected from true, which cannot be revealed

⁶¹Ibid., 266.

⁶²Ehat and Cook, *Words of Joseph Smith*, 6. In December (no day) 1840, Smith explained that righteous spirits, yet to be resurrected, would "stand still and not offer you his hand." Ibid., 44.

⁶³Joseph Smith, "Try the Spirits," *Times and Seasons* 3, no. 11 (April 1, 1842): 747.

to the Elders till the Temple is completed.”⁶⁴ The procedures to determine angelic nature apparently had further nuances, as suggested by Cutler in his question of “in what priesthood did he deliver his message?” Similarly, in 1845, Apostle Orson Pratt noted in an editorial published in the Mormon *New York Messenger*, “Perhaps some may enquire, how the saints can distinguish between angels of authority, and such as have no authority, seeing there are so many different classes. We answer, that no one can distinguish correctly, without the keys of the priesthood, obtained through the ordinances of endowment.”⁶⁵ Like Pratt and Smith, Cutler insisted that only the elect who had advanced through the endowment ceremony could discern the nature of those supernatural beings that delivered messages to the righteous.

Despite the stark contrasts that Cutler emphasized between the two organizations, it is difficult to miss the similarities. Both were “reorganizations” of the original church. Both shared the idea that God had rejected this previous incarnation at Joseph Smith’s death. Yet they differed from each other in what this rejection implied and how the Church could be reestablished. Josephites insisted that only the Church as an institution was affected. Individual members still could claim all of the rites and ordinations they had previously received. As outlined above, Cutler saw both the traditional organization and the individuals who were part of it as rejected by God. Only authority above the Church continued to exist and could then be used to reorganize the structure in its original purity. Cutler argued:

Can a stream rise above its fountain, or can a stream rise without a fountain above it to supply it? . . . Surely God must have a principle of greater and lesser in all things revealed that none can deny; now if the Church is the greater, or greatest, what is the lesser? If the Church is the lesser, what is the greater? Herein is the stream and fountain illustrated. I boldly answer this short question; the Kingdom of God on the earth is the greater and by this authority were all revelations given in 1828 and 1829, as well as since, and by this authority was the church organized on the 6th of April, 1830.⁶⁶

Cutler’s entire letter emphasized his access to privileged knowl-

⁶⁴Ehat and Cook, *Words of Joseph Smith*, 119.

⁶⁵Orson Pratt, “Angels No. 2,” *New York Messenger*, October 18, 1845, 121.

⁶⁶Cutler to Gurley, January 29, 1856, 268–69.

edge and authority juxtaposed against Gurley's lack. Although Cutler and Gurley never met in person following this exchange, within a few years, other Josephite representatives would arrive in Cutler's colony to press RLDS claims more aggressively.

CONFLICT IN MANTI

If the first exchange between Josephites and Cutlerites, as represented in the Gurley-Cutler letters, shows how the Church of Jesus Christ used esotericism to assert legitimacy and as a means of attracting potential members, the next interaction would demonstrate the offensive strategies against esotericism employed by the Reorganization. The New Organization's abhorrence of secrecy and ritualism reflected broader American concerns with fraternal movements and echoed Protestant campaigns against esotericism. Josephites both shared these concerns and understood the danger of being affiliated with that which other Americans found distasteful. American society expected Mormonism to be secretive and, of course, to be polygamous. The key strategy was to fiercely rebuff both assumptions. Just as the Cutlerite claim of an exclusive ownership of an esoteric rite functioned as a strategy of identity formation, the Josephite vitriol against the endowment was a similar effort at collective definition. Specifically, the Josephites saw themselves as "moderate Mormons" able to hold a place within Protestant-dominated American society, and they wanted this sentiment expressed loudly and definitively.⁶⁷ Because the Cutlerites also rejected polygamy, the borders of the conflict between the two bodies would remain esotericism.

The Reorganization did not reject revelations predicting an endowment to be bestowed on the completion of the Nauvoo Temple, but they insisted that this endowment would be essentially be the much simpler ceremony performed in the Kirtland Temple in 1836. This ceremony—not protected by the same oaths of non-disclosure—included ritual washings and anointings, blessings pronounced by the Church's leaders, and a communal revival experience. This general spiritual and ecstatic outpouring seemed in stark contrast to the esoteric Masonic-like Nauvoo ceremony. Their claim—like that of

⁶⁷Alma R. Blair, "The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints: Moderate Mormons" 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.

various factions dissenting from the LDS Church—was that Brigham Young was responsible for altering the rite’s original form.⁶⁸

In the summer of 1859, the clashing RLDS-Cutlerite viewpoints came face-to-face when two of the New Organization’s most successful missionaries, Edmund Briggs and W. W. Blair set their sights on converting the Cutlerites. By the time they arrived in Manti in September, they had already visited a Cutlerite satellite community in Farm Creek, Iowa. There they had been warmly received and found a number of members willing to be converted to a belief in lineal succession and the messianic hope represented by Joseph III’s longed-for but not yet accepted leadership. The vast majority expressed their sympathies for the Reorganization. However, if Farm Creek represented fertile soil in which to plant the seed of their message, Manti surely was less hospitable. Edmund Briggs recorded the events when they arrived on September 12:

We arrived at our destination at 4:00 p.m., and called on Brother Alpheus Cutler. He seems to be the chief man of the place. He greeted us in rough and uncouth language, as apostates, and is so conceited and arrogant that it seems really strange to us that he has an influence with the people. Meekness and lowliness of heart do not appear to be any of his characteristics; but in a rough tone of voice he said, “I consider you apostates, but you are welcome to refreshments at my house.” We thanked him and took seats. After our supper, we visited with Brother Wheeler Baldwin, who welcomed us very cordially; but he remarked, “I consider you brethren like the sectarians—having no authority from God.”⁶⁹

Such an introduction was probably not unusual for strangers in Manti. A Strangite missionary who had visited the Cutlerite Church in 1855, recorded his impression of Cutler as “verry unbleving [sic]

⁶⁸This idea is present in the first exposé of the Nauvoo Temple ceremony published by a Strangite couple, Increase Van Dusen and Maria Van Dusen. See *Positively True: A Dialogue between Adam and Eve, the Lord and the Devil, Called the Endowment . . .* (Albany, N.Y.: C. Killmer, 1847).

⁶⁹Edmund Briggs, *Early History of the Reorganization: Autobiographical Sketches and Incidents in the Life of the Author* (Independence: Price Publishing, 1998), 174. This volume is Briggs’s memoirs as published serially in the *Saints’ Herald* between January 2, 1901, and July 8, 1903.

and foolish.”⁷⁰ Alpheus Cutler did not mince words in expressing distaste for a rival faction, although candor when announcing his sentiments did not always extend to explaining his own positions.

The Cutlerites in Manti had already received word that Briggs and Blair were en route, and the leadership had decided to instruct members to say little about the sect’s beliefs. This policy likely played a role in Blair’s first impression of the community, also recorded on September 12: “They appeared to be afraid of us and rather held us at arm’s length.”⁷¹ On the following morning, Edmund Briggs lamented that even after their meeting with Cutler and Baldwin, it achieved “no purpose as yet.” He was suspicious because “their ideas are so crude and disconnected, it seems to us, that they are under some constraint and hardly dare tell us their true position and faith that binds them together as a distinct body of believers, outside of the general first principles of the gospel.” Although the Cutlerites openly claimed to lead the Mormon people, they would not bother to “substantiate their authority and claim.”⁷²

However, on the second night when the duo met with Cutler and Baldwin, the Cutlerite leaders offered “their hopes and claims in plainness.” Baldwin explained that although they did not consider Cutler “to be the Prophet, Seer & Revelator & Translator,” a position that could be held only by Joseph Smith, they did consider him “the President of Church & Priesthood.”⁷³ According to Briggs, the conversation continued in some detail with Baldwin repeating Cutler’s argument that the kingdom stood above the church. However, his explanation differed from Cutler’s in that he did not equate the kingdom with a quorum of seven, but with the Council of Fifty itself. He captured their argument as follows: “All who held office in the Church lost their priesthood, except a quorum of fifty which was organized and called ‘the Kingdom’; and if it were not for said quorum of fifty, the priesthood would not be on the earth. And therefore the quorum of fifty high priests which they allude to, is going to be the sal-

⁷⁰Simon Dike (Dyke), *Diary*, November 30, 1854–May 1855, January 10, 1855, 18, P2, J151, Community of Christ Library-Archives.

⁷¹W. W. Blair, *Journal*, September 12, 1859, 14; March 4, 1859–January 14, 1860, P2, J1, Community of Christ Library-Archives.

⁷²Briggs, *Early History of the Reorganization*, 174.

⁷³Blair, *Journal*, September 14, 1859, 14.

vation of the Church, or Israel, as they look at it.”⁷⁴ This comment is strangely absent from Blair’s account; but if this conversation was in fact the source of Briggs’s equation of the Council of Fifty with the kingdom, it is an astounding moment of candor, never again duplicated in recorded Cutlerite history.⁷⁵

Despite this moment of openness from the Cutlerite hierarchy, Briggs noted that “the members generally seem scared and hardly dare to speak of their position of authority in the Church to us.”⁷⁶ On the following day, the two missionaries preached to “a small audience” of Cutlerites in Cutler’s home. Both RLDS elders spoke, identifying the major points of distinction between the two bodies: (1) the nature of God’s rejection of the original church, and (2) their hope that Joseph III would succeed his father. The sermon concluded with a diatribe against esotericism—the first of many to come: “And when we showed that all endowments that consisted in ceremonies, secret covenants and oaths, were the inventions of men or devils, in contrast and in opposition to the endowments of the gifts and powers of the Holy Ghost, as was enjoyed on the Day of Pentecost. . . . as was expected by the Saints in the event the temple was built in Nauvoo, it seemed to produce a hush all over the audience, and a feeling of surprise pervaded.”⁷⁷

It is difficult to know what lay behind the “hush” and “feeling of surprise” that Briggs observed. Blair interpreted the scene in much the same way as he had at other points of his visit: “The people [seem] to be afraid to investigate our position, or to have their investi-

⁷⁴Ibid., 175.

⁷⁵Possibly Briggs added these details to his autobiography based on later information he received from other sources, such as converted Cutlerites or from individuals such as James Whitehead, a clerk in Nauvoo, who joined the Reorganization and shared his knowledge of the Council of Fifty with interested members. On one occasion, he specifically discussed the responsibility Cutler was assigned by the council. James Whitehead, “Affidavit of James Whitehead,” August 27, 1891, Community of Christ Library-Archives.

⁷⁶Briggs, *Early History of the Reorganization*, 174.

⁷⁷Ibid., 177.

gated.”⁷⁸ Perhaps Briggs was merely confused by their continued refusal to defend their position, or perhaps, for some, the sermon may have struck his listeners as blaspheming against that which they considered most sacred. They may also have been genuinely surprised at so pointed a criticism against the central component of their identity.

However, it is worth juxtaposing this reaction with a similar one that occurred a decade later. After a large section of the Cutlerites had been baptized into the Reorganization, a Brighamite visitor who had formerly been part of the community during the Silver Creek period visited Manti in 1869 and preached a similar sermon before the Josephite branch that consisted of converts from Cutlerism with the opposite conclusion:

Gladly embracing the opportunity I reasoned in plainness on the principles and ordinances of the gospel as it was revealed and taught by Joseph Smith the Prophet, and was being carried out in Utah by President Brigham Young, the apostles, elders and members. The washings, and anointings, endowments, sealings, sacraments, baptism for the dead, etc., as instituted by the Prophet, few if any of which were observed by the reorganization [referring to the Josephites]. They did not attempt to reply to my discourse. In fact, in my conversation with their elders and members they did not seem to know what they believed in relation to these things, or what sort of foundation they were trying to build upon, only they thought they were teaching and living old primitive Mormonism.⁷⁹

Perhaps both congregations were reacting to the same dilemma: How do you speak about a matter which you have vowed not to discuss? It is equally possible that, both as Cutlerites and as Cutlerites-turned-Josephites, Gurley’s audience felt ambivalent about the endowment ceremony. Although the RLDS Church had, by the mid-1860s, arrived at a general consensus that Nauvoo plural marriage had its origins with Brigham Young—the position that Joseph Smith was not connected with Nauvoo esotericism was much less certain. Early Cutlerites had received a full training in this portion of the

⁷⁸Frederick B. Blair, comp., *The Memoirs of W. W. Blair* (Lamoni, Iowa: Herald Publishing House, 1908), 25.

⁷⁹Silas Richards, quoted in Danny Jorgensen, “The Scattered Saints of Southwestern Iowa: Cutlerite-Josephite Conflict and Rivalry, 1855–1865,” *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 13 (1993): 96.

Mormon past and could not feign ignorance. A comparison of these accounts shows an ongoing discomfort associated with the discussion of the upper room in mixed company, which is evident throughout the Josephite-Cutlerite conflict.

On September 15, Blair departed from Manti, leaving Briggs to continue his preaching as a representative of the New Organization. His autobiography continues to note the theme of secrecy. The Cutlerites were not only uncomfortable discussing matters of succession and ritual with the Josephites but were also unwilling to tell Briggs even so public a matter as their leaders' names. Such hesitance reflects enduring concerns over persecution during the Nauvoo period, particularly as it pertained to those in the Holy Order.⁸⁰ When the Cutlerites held a "private council meeting" on September 15, Briggs hazarded a guess at which members held leadership positions and recorded the names of seven of the "most prominent of the brethren."⁸¹

The purpose of this private council meeting was how best to achieve damage control at Farm Creek. Council representatives were assigned to travel to the branch and refute Briggs's and Blair's message. The following week, Briggs and several Cutlerites traveled together to Farm Creek where, on October 3, a public meeting openly addressed the concerns of the branch. Perhaps because the branch consisted largely of recent converts, who had yet to be endowed, it seems that esotericism was not discussed. Rather, the main topic was authority. Unfortunately the Cutlerites lacked an appreciation of the private religion of Nauvoo's innermost circle and did not successfully defend their position. William H. Kelly, a Cutlerite who would soon convert to the Reorganization, later described the spokesmen's responses as "dodging, squirming, twisting, and going clear around 'Robin Hood's barn' and coming in at the back

⁸⁰Vilate Kimball, Letter to "My Dear Dear Companion" [Heber C. Kimball], June 30, 1844, qtd. in Ronald K. Esplin, "Life in Nauvoo, June 1844: Vilate Kimball's Martyrdom Letters," *BYU Studies* 19, no. 2 (Winter 1979): 6-7; see also Andrew F. Ehat, "Joseph Smith's Introduction of Temple Ordinances and the 1844 Mormon Succession Question" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1982), 13-14.

⁸¹Briggs, *Early History of the Reorganization*, 178.

door.”⁸² At the end of the meeting, the congregation voted on who would continue to sustain Cutler as head of the Church. Although Briggs did not remember that anyone voted against Cutler, some refused to raise their hands to sustain him.⁸³ Therefore, he designated October 3, 1859, as “the downfall of the Cutlerite faction.”⁸⁴ It was certainly the beginning of the downfall of the Cutlerite branch in Farm Creek.

Less than two weeks later, Briggs had officially organized a branch of the Reorganization in its place. During its founding meeting on October 16, 1859, Briggs warned “that the endowment received in the non-completed temple at Nauvoo was not of God; and that the blessings promised in those paragraphs were not received by the Church. And the fullness of the priesthood contemplated therein was not given to man on the earth, as was promised, because the conditions were not lived up to by the people as specified in the revelation.” Having spoken against Nauvoo esotericism, he pointed to the alternative, “I then dwelt upon the law the Saints should be governed by, as found in the Scriptures of divine truth, and fully explained branch government as best I could.”⁸⁵ In other words, Josephite adherents would discard the esotericism that informed Cutlerite theology and Church structure in Manti for an entirely textual Mormonism.⁸⁶

Although the larger population of Cutlerites at Manti suffered few casualties, an RLDS presence would be an enduring feature of Cutlerite life for the next five years. After the failure of Cutlerite leaders to reclaim their members in Farm Creek, they felt conflicted about how best to respond to their new opponents. As one change, they no longer enforced a policy of non-response. For example, in December 1859, the council met “to take into consideration relative to exchanging our views and causing them to be published in Zenos H.

⁸²William Kelly’s Remarks on October 16, 1859, in Briggs, *Early History of the Reorganization*, 187.

⁸³Ibid., 183.

⁸⁴Ibid.

⁸⁵Ibid., 186.

⁸⁶Joseph Smith III would also use this strategy to rebuff Nauvoo innovations. Roger D. Launius, *Joseph Smith III: Pragmatic Prophet* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 152.

Gurley's paper," a reference to the RLDS *Saints Herald* which was soon to go to press. They decided "that anyone that wished to exchange views should have the privilege."⁸⁷ No one did. Instead, the record demonstrates a renewed emphasis on preaching concerning esotericism.

One key example occurred on April 6, 1863, when Edmund Fisher, who served as president of the Church,⁸⁸ began a memorable sermon lamenting the recent defections. He "spoke of the troubles around us, of some leaving these principles, that they once held sacred." Fisher next turned his attention to a scene recorded in John 13, "Referring to the circumstances of the woman washing the Saviours feet with her tears and wiping them with the hair of her head, and wondering if there were ever any order of things that will correspond to it." In the next breath, he referenced "the ordinances and blessings of the High Priesthood and the redemption of Zion and baptism of the dead, and of our advancing step by step until we gain the full blessing."⁸⁹ There was no mistaking the subject he alluded to.

That same year, 1863, Joseph Smith III himself visited the community and preached to the Cutlerite body. In later years, he remembered that he warned them against their zeal toward gathering and also against prophecies concerning the Saints' return to Jackson County, since he believed that the time had not yet come for such ventures.⁹⁰ Chancey Whiting described the visit in a letter to relatives in Utah:

In their preaching they had very little to say about their father or their father's work scarcely mentioning the thing at all. Their remarks

⁸⁷Council Minutes, December 26, 1859, Manti Book 2, October 6, 1857–December 16, 1860, 50, Box 1, fd. 2, Cutlerite Collection.

⁸⁸Cutlerites held that the position of the president of the Church was distinct from and subservient to that of president of the Melchisedec Priesthood, otherwise referred to as the "Head," or "Chief Councillor." See Organization of the Church, September 19, 1853, Manti Book 1, September 19, 1853–October 6, 1857, 1, Box 1, fd. 1, Cutlerite Collection.

⁸⁹Conference Minutes, April 6, 1863, Manti Book 2, October 6, 1857–December 16, 1860, 46, Box 1, fd. 2, Cutlerite Collection.

⁹⁰Mary Audentia Smith Anderson and Richard P. Howard, eds., *Memoirs of Joseph Smith III* (Independence: Herald Publishing House, 1979), 98–99.

were upon the sectarian order taking the Bible as their main guide. Their remarks did not harmonize with their father's words and preaching in his day, so that I could not indorse with them. Yet they gave good exertations [sic] which we all like but slipped early over the grand principle string of salvation and showing that they did not understand them, yet a portion of the people took up with it.⁹¹

Other Cutlerites also remembered Joseph III's attacks on the priesthood rites. When Sylvester J. Whiting recorded his own memoirs of the Josephites' several visits, he wrote: "Young Joseph said at Manti, Iowa in church, know ye that there is no private or secret endowment in the Priesthood of God. I heard him say it. He said all those secret endowments were of the devil. So did W. Blair while many knew that Blair and young Joseph was mistaken, being led by a spirit of deception."⁹²

Biloine Whiting Young, in her history of the Cutlerite community, expressed the appeal of the Reorganization as the draw of a more moderate faith—forward looking and at peace with American society.⁹³ To me, this view represents partly a twenty-first century idealization of the RLDS past. The Josephites lived in a world of the supernatural—their dreams were inspired, they practiced glossolalia, and encountered angels. The lower demands and costs of being a Josephite are apparent (e.g., no gathering, consecration, etc.) and may have played a significant role in attracting prospective members. However, I am not convinced that any of these reasons would have been clear to many of the Cutlerite converts. Instead, the appeal of the Reorganization, like the initial appeal of the Church of Jesus Christ, can be best explained by the subject of messianism.

The Cutlerites had come to think of themselves as messianic failures. Despite their efforts at sanctification, they were not playing the key role on the eschatological timeline they had expected. By 1863, Alpheus Cutler was seventy-three and seemed terminally ill; in fact, he died the next year. Sometime during the mid-nineteenth century,

⁹¹Chancey Whiting, Letter to unspecified relatives, December 13, 1863, qtd. in Clare B. Christensen, *Before and After Mt. Pisgah* (Salt Lake City: C. B. Christensen, 1979), 267.

⁹²Pierce's Memorandum and Account Book, Records Kept by Sylvester Whiting, 2, Box 2, fd. 7, Cutlerite Collection.

⁹³Biloine Whiting Young, *Obscure Believers: The Mormon Schism of Alpheus Cutler* (St. Paul, Minn.: Pogo Press, 2002), 157–58.

Cutlerites had even gone so far as to stop including the Lord's Supper at their worship services as a result of their sense of unworthiness.⁹⁴ The zeal behind early Cutlerism was fizzling out for many. So while some continued to ask why members of the Church of Jesus Christ were not yet endowed with power to fulfill their mission, others began to wonder if it was even their mission to fulfill after all.

The Reorganization's founding revelation had predicted the coming of one of Joseph Smith's sons as the one "mighty and strong" who would resolve the problems that had arisen since his father's death.⁹⁵ Joseph III's acceptance of the New Organization's leadership in 1860 was as a messianic figure. Add to this the fact that things seemed to be happening in the Reorganization. Even if Joseph Smith III pushed for a moderate approach to his father's faith, he was a symbol of prophecy fulfilled.

THE RESPONSE IN CLITHERALL

After Cutler's death, the remnant of his Church, numbering thirty-one families, relocated to Clitherall, Minnesota, in 1865, eager to put distance between themselves and the Josephites.⁹⁶ As before, they first sought to convert nearby Native Americans. Then, realizing that such efforts were not likely to prove successful, they turned their attention to more controllable factors of personal and communal sanctification through the upper-room work.

On January 1, 1871, they officially dedicated their recently constructed meetinghouse. At the service, Chancey Whiting, then president of the priesthood and thus Cutler's successor, preached a ser-

⁹⁴T. W. Smith, "The High Council at Clitherall, Minnesota," *Saints Herald*, 22, no. 20 (October 15, 1875): 610, noted and criticized this absence.

⁹⁵"History of the Reorganization of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints," *Messenger of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints* 2 (November 1875): 1.

⁹⁶Sylvester J. Whiting assigned three reasons for their departure from Manti, Iowa, "1st to labor for Israel, [i.e., convert Native Americans,] 2nd to get away from the [Civil] war. 3rd to be left alone in our church." Pierce's Memorandum and Account Book, Minutes, March 10, 1888, 3. These same three reasons were enunciated in Church Minutes, February 27, 1865, History of the Church of Jesus Christ (Cutlerites), Book 9, February 25, 1873–April 6, 1874, 42, Box 1, fd. 10, Cutlerite Collection.

mon connecting the building of the new house with temples from Mormonism's past. In it, he interpreted the command to build the Nauvoo Temple as unfulfilled, resulting in God's subsequent rejection of the Church. Despite the Saints' failure, he connected the Church of Jesus Christ and this earlier period by stating, "Yet Joseph prepared some to bear off the work after him, and of Father Cutler being one."⁹⁷ More importantly, Whiting drew links between the dedication of the new meetinghouse and the memorable dedication of the Kirtland Temple. Although the Cutlerites acknowledged a major distinction between their meetinghouse and a temple, he hoped that similar charismatic experiences would attend their dedication. Specifically, Whiting recalled "some seeing a gold chain pass through the room [of the Kirtland Temple]. And I desire that some now might have a view, if it be the will of the Lord."⁹⁸ Whether such an event occurred in Clitherall was not recorded.

Allusions to the upper room continued to appear frequently in sermons, as they did in the dream-telling and dream interpretation that dominated many of the sect's prayer services. Cutlerites frequently reported nighttime visions of the meetinghouse, the upper room, or the future Jackson County temple. For example, in 1885, Warren Whiting, Chancey Whiting's son and also a member of the Council, reported a dream in which he saw the old meetinghouse in Manti "filled with light." He also saw "Father Cutler's death bed pure and clean" and "an altar in the room and what it was for and knew things of the resurrection." As if to clinch the significance of the mystical events he witnessed, he became aware that "a woman [was] trying to peep into the house, saw her shudder when he opened the door."⁹⁹ He had prevented the uninitiated from prying into the Church's mysteries. Many other examples pointed to a future return to Jackson County.

In July 1875, Apostle T. W. Smith, a Josephite missionary, arrived at Clitherall, a decade after the Cutlerites had fled RLDS influence in Iowa. Smith was even more successful than Blair and Briggs

⁹⁷Dedication Service, January 1, 1871, History of the Church of Jesus Christ (Cutlerites), Book 8, September 7, 1868–May 17, 1871, 90, Box 1, fd. 8, Cutlerite Collection.

⁹⁸*Ibid.*, 91.

⁹⁹Pierce's Memorandum and Account Book, Minutes, March 10, 1888, 5.

had been in Farm Creek and Manti, resulting in the baptism of Lois Cutler and dozens of others. By August, he had “established two branches, containing fifty members,” although not all were converts from his labors among the Cutlerites.¹⁰⁰ On August 26, 1875, Marcus Shaw, an earlier RLDS convert then residing in Minnesota, wrote a letter to the *Saints Herald* announcing the good news to those who had converted in Iowa: “There is a goodly number of the Cutlerites who have, at this late day, came out of bondage, and have been made free by the light of the gospel.”¹⁰¹ Smith’s ministry also resulted in a more combative tone for Cutlerite/Josephite interactions. It seems to me that, in earlier periods, both communities kept their most aggressive rhetoric for private circles, but T. W. Smith preached his message unrestrained. Cutlerites would thereafter remember his predictions that their church would wither both spiritually and temporally.¹⁰²

As more and more Cutlerites united with the Reorganization, the conflict moved from one of institution versus institution to one fought between kinfolk. It was becoming increasingly personal. In the late nineteenth century, Cutlerite Abner Tucker told his Josephite daughter-in-law, Ethel Tucker, “with blazing eyes that he would rather see Frank [his son] in his coffin than to join the Josephites.” Ethel recalled her own reaction to her husband’s ordination in the Cutlerite Church: “It hurt me very much as I thought it would make it that much harder to convert Frank to my church.”¹⁰³ Ethel Tucker was not alone in thinking that the priesthood and its accompanying rituals made it harder to convert.

In turn, endowed Cutlerites faced greater disapproval from their Cutlerite family and friends when they converted to the Josephite faith. Emma Anderson, just such a convert, wrote: “My parents felt that it was worse for me than for my sisters Ella or May be-

¹⁰⁰Marcus Shaw, Letter to Joseph Smith III, August 26, 1875, *Saints Herald* 22, no. 18 (September 17, 1875): 563.

¹⁰¹*Ibid.*, 563–64.

¹⁰²See, for example, Council Minutes, December 28, 1884, History of the Church of Jesus Christ Cutlerites, Book 14, December 23, 1876–February 22, 1885, 2, Box 2, Fd. 2.

¹⁰³Ethel Tucker, Diary, 6; my notes in electronic file and paper copy in my possession, 2000. The original diary covering 1941–75, typescript, is housed at the Community of Christ Library-Archives.

cause upon me, as well as my husband, the high priesthood had been bestowed, and they thought we were throwing away our priesthood. It was true that in the early part of 1871 we had been taken into the high priests' quorum and received our endowment (as it was supposed)."¹⁰⁴

For faithful Cutlerites, the Reorganized Church became a voice of temptation, enticing them to avoid the divine mission with which they had been entrusted and to forget about the ceremonies, rather than maintaining them. In 1886, Sylvester Whiting wrote to a relative who had followed Brigham Young to Utah, noting that when one of the followers of Alpheus Cutler united with the Reorganization "they don't seem to have any of the real old fashioned Mormonism in them, [but] they seem like the Methodist."¹⁰⁵ Cutlerites-turned-Josephites seemed to have lost track of their identity—what made Mormonism unique.

Speaking of this same group of RLDS converts, Chancey Whiting, then president of the Cutlerite priesthood, wrote to a relative in Utah: "It is most sorrowful to think that a people raised up and schooled directly under the prophets watch care, and having a right in the order of the Holy Priesthood to hold converse with heaven, and learn of things past, present and future; should have overlooked the importance of obeying the last command."¹⁰⁶ Whiting was disappointed that those who had received the endowment (or would have, had they remained faithful Cutlerites), made covenants with God, and learned the ritualistic prayer of the "order of the Holy Priesthood" would join a body that, in his mind, was not living up to the gospel law.

The Josephites themselves came to realize that the strength of the Cutlerite community was based in their esoteric practices and their ability to maintain secrecy from outsiders. T. W. Smith wrote a letter to the *Saints Herald* shortly after his arrival in Clitherall in July 1875 expressing his desire to "capture some one or two of the best men they have here, who knowing the working of the inner circle can

¹⁰⁴Emma Anderson, qtd. in Jorgensen, "The Fiery Darts of the Adversary," 81.

¹⁰⁵S. J. Whiting, Letter to "Dear Sister" [Emeline Whiting Cox], April 27, 1886, LDS Church History Library.

¹⁰⁶Chancey Whiting, Letter to "Dear Sister Emeline [Whiting Cox,] n.d., qtd in Christensen, *Before and After Mt. Pisgah*, 419.

battle them on that account.”¹⁰⁷ Although several members of the priesthood united with the Reorganization, they never employed comments about the endowment to denigrate their former Church. As Hallie Gould, whose description of the Cutlerite meetinghouse begins this article, noted, “Even those of the priesthood who later forsook the church organization have been sufficiently true to the binding covenant made there to prevent their satisfying our demands for knowledge.”¹⁰⁸ Speculation flourished about the ceremonies of the upper room.

From the uninitiated, esotericism courts, in the words of Georg Simmel, “the anxious imaginativeness which inflates the unknown at once into gigantic dangers and horrors.”¹⁰⁹ Brighamites had to endure a variety of charges about what occurred inside the Mormon temple, some more accurate than others. The Josephites occasionally gave credence to the more imaginative goings-on in the Brighamite endowment house and early Utah temples, but their sentiment toward the Cutlerite upper room was seemingly more tempered. Yet rumors still circulated that the Cutlerites were secretly practicing plural marriage or other “immoralities.”¹¹⁰ More frequently, Josephite rhetoric positioned the upper room as a means to discredit Cutlerite leadership. Josephites used the separation of the initiated and the uninitiated to their own advantage. They pointed to the upper room, suggested that the common Cutlerite was not allowed to be involved, and that there was something unwholesome and manipulative about such secretive rites. Decent Cutlerites—who from the RLDS perspective were still Latter-day Saints, thanks to their membership in the pre-1844 Church—were being led by corrupt leaders.

During this period, Josephites employed a new term to describe the second floor of the Cutlerite meetinghouse, “the secret chamber” or “the secret endowment chamber.” Importantly, outsiders had, for decades, pointed to the Nauvoo Temple and the Brighamite temples

¹⁰⁷T. W. Smith, Letter to “Dear Bro. [M. B.] Oliver,” July 19, 1875, *Saints Herald* 22, no. 16 (August 15, 1875): 501.

¹⁰⁸Gould, “Like Sheep That Went Astray,” 53.

¹⁰⁹Simmel, “The Secret and the Secret Society,” 497.

¹¹⁰Church Minutes, May 14, 1911, History of the Church of Jesus Christ (Cutlerites), Book 18, November 4, 1894–June 24, 1911, 37, Box 2, fd. 6, Cutlerite Collection.

and Endowment House as locations of ritual performance that were called a “secret chamber.”¹¹¹ Cutlerites restricted the term “secrecy” to mean only that the upper room was the location for “secret prayer.” For example, Chancey Whiting explained to a local newspaper that the “upper room is more particularly for holding our solemn assemblies and secret prayers in conformity to the sixth chapter of Matthew, verses one to six inclusive.”¹¹² From the perspective of Josephite critics, the phrase “secret chamber” reminded the hearer not of the commended site of prayer, but the forbidden locale spoken of in Matthew 26, which warns believers against “false christs, and false prophets” who deceived seekers with the claim that they alone knew the location of the Savior.

This period of contestation also saw claims about the origins of the endowment, likely because of Cutlerite insistence that the order of the priesthood had been transmitted from Joseph Smith while the Reorganization claimed: “There were no

¹¹¹See, for example, John A. Forgeus, Letter to Samuel L. Forgeus, September 25, 1844 in *Latter Day Saints’ Messenger and Advocate* 1 (October 15, 1844): 3.

¹¹²Chancey Whiting, “The Pioneer of Ottertail,” Part 4, *Saints Herald* 51, no. 45 (November 9, 1904): 1050, quoted from an unspecified 1885 edition of the *Fergus Falls Journal*. F. Lewis Whiting also expressed shock that some were “down on endowments,” although scripture included references to the Lord “telling [Peter, James, and John] to pray in secret.” Conference Minutes, April 10, 1892, History of the Church of Jesus Christ (Cutlerite), Book 17, August 17, 1890–September 23, 1894, 33, Box 2, fd. 5, Cutlerite Collection. Matthew 6:1–6 reads: “Take heed that ye do not your alms before men, to be seen of them: otherwise ye have no reward of your Father which is in heaven. Therefore when thou doest thine alms, do not sound a trumpet before thee, as the hypocrites do in the synagogues and in the streets, that they may have glory of men. Verily I say unto you, They have their reward. But when thou doest alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth: That thine alms may be in secret: and thy Father which seeth in secret himself shall reward thee openly. And when thou prayest, thou shalt not be as the hypocrites are: for they love to pray standing in the synagogues and in the corners of the streets, that they may be seen of men. Verily I say unto you, They have their reward. But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father which is in secret; and thy Father which seeth in secret shall reward thee openly.”

secret endowments in Joseph's day but that was all Brigham Young's doings."¹¹³ Hallie Gould noted that the "doctrine of the secret order" had "crept in at Nauvoo through so many uniting with the Masonic Lodge. The oaths and covenants of the secret chamber are the same as the Masons, and that is where they originated, not with God or by his command."¹¹⁴ Cutlerites, like others who placed their faith in the antiquity of fraternal rites, did not see a ceremony stemming from God or from Freemasonry as mutually exclusive ideas. Tellingly a sermon preached by F. Lewis Whiting, a council member, argued that Masonry had first been revealed in King Solomon's temple.¹¹⁵ This concept was the internal Masonic narrative, which Latter-day Saints in Utah also believed.¹¹⁶

The impact of such criticisms is difficult to measure. It certainly introduced doubt concerning one of the most important elements of the Cutlerite tradition. Attacks on the "secret endowment chamber" also certainly helped those who had already left feel more certain of their decision. The introduction of doubt to believers could also have led some to refuse to participate in the ceremony (discussed below).

Cutlerite messianism was revived in the late 1880s, accompanying a growing concern that the faith community was rapidly dwindling and would not be able to fulfill its prophetic destiny. The Cutlerite brand of messianism had always been about investing others with the upper-room work and thus included the two goals of converting Native Americans and of endowing Cutlerite members. These matters were connected as one of four remaining

¹¹³Conference Minutes, April 10, 1892, History of the Church of Jesus Christ (Cutlerite), Book 17, August 17, 1890–September 23, 1894, 32, Box 2, fd. 5, Cutlerite Collection.

¹¹⁴Hallie Gould, "The Story of Alpheus Cutler," qtd. in Michael S. Riggs, "Joseph Smith's Conferral of Priesthood on Women: A Reappraisal," *Restoration Studies* 10 (2009): 25.

¹¹⁵Church Minutes, April 3, 1892, History of the Church of Jesus Christ (Cutlerite), Book 17, August 17, 1890–September 23, 1894, 31, Box 2, fd. 5, Cutlerite Collection. F. Lewis Whiting was the youngest brother of both Chancey and Sylvester Whiting.

¹¹⁶Michael W. Homer, "Similarity of Priesthood in Masonry": The Relationship between Freemasonry and Mormonism," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 27, no. 3 (Fall 1994): 4–5.

endowed Cutlerites noted in the summer of 1891, “Now there are only four left that has the right to and the authority to carry the work to the house of Israel.”¹¹⁷

In a council meeting on April 3, 1892, F. Lewis Whiting “spoke on the subject of what shall we do first to wake up those that were willing to and if the ordinances of the High Priesthood were necessary it seems that we should be a doing something to advance others and not those few die off and the Priesthood [be] lost.”¹¹⁸ It had been a frequent conversation for some time. Two years before, Whiting had “spoke[n] of our getting old, and could seven be found that could be advanced, that could hold the work when the old pass away?”¹¹⁹ In 1890, Council member Hiram Murdock questioned whether it was worth holding a conference that year since “the church has not seen the light of the work and of the obtaining of the two priesthoods etc.”¹²⁰

The Reorganization had hampered Cutlerite efforts to ordain and endow the next generation in Clitherall not only by converting a significant number of Cutlerites but also because of the influence of RLDS teachings. The Cutlerite council regularly discussed the problem of younger members who asserted that “all things in the ordinations should be done by revelation” as the Josephites taught.¹²¹ In other words, they rejected invitations to be ordained by insisting that Cutlerite leaders should have an individual revelation for each ordination. Cutlerites did not subscribe to this view, so logically at least

¹¹⁷Council Minutes, June 21, 1891, History of the Church of Jesus Christ (Cutlerite), Book 17, August 17, 1890–September 23, 1894, 23, Box 2, fd. 5, Cutlerite Collection.

¹¹⁸Council Minutes, July 24, 1896, History of the Church of Jesus Christ (Cutlerites), Book 18, November 4, 1894–June 24, 1911, 13, Box 2, fd. 6, Cutlerite Collection.

¹¹⁹Council Minutes, March 30, 1890, History of the Church of Jesus Christ (Cutlerite), Book 16, August 19, 1888–August 3, 1890, 53, Box 2, fd. 4, Cutlerite Collection.

¹²⁰Council Minutes, November 30, 1890, History of the Church of Jesus Christ (Cutlerite), Book 17, August 17, 1890–September 23, 1894, 14, Box 2, fd. 5, Cutlerite Collection.

¹²¹Council Minutes, July 24, 1896, History of the Church of Jesus Christ (Cutlerites), Book 18, November 4, 1894–June 24, 1911, 13, Box 2, fd. 6, Cutlerite Collection.

some of the potential candidates were not ordained. Just how many is not known nor is the percentage of younger members who were ordained. Perhaps the most prevalent reasons individuals refused to be endowed was that they felt (1) the weight of accepting the responsibility of the oath and covenant of the priesthood or (2) a sense of their own unworthiness. Isaac Whiting, Chancey Whiting's son, also reported to the council that "some of [those] being asked to advance in the Priesthood . . . were not believers."¹²²

These council meetings also frequently focused on fulfilling the group's role in converting the Native Americans. One council member noted that this proselytizing effort "appeared to be all the hope [of] salvation there is for us."¹²³ Conversation sometimes involved the hope that the Cutlerites could eventually be worthy to perform miracles of healing so that the Native Americans could not possibly reject their message. One important plan was to construct a large tabernacle in which they could perform the rites of the upper room. Minutes of a May 1889 council meeting include F. Lewis Whiting's comment about "a tabernacle in Moses' day and of the blessings that could be gained in there, that could not be gained out of that, and that if we go visit the red men, we may have to ask by the same keys or authority that Moses acted in."¹²⁴

A cloth tabernacle had been suggested earlier in Nauvoo when Joseph Smith called for the construction of a "Tabernacle for the congregation made of canvas."¹²⁵ The apostles arranged to purchase more than four thousand yards of canvas and envisioned a tabernacle raised beside the Nauvoo Temple as a large amphitheater "sufficient to contain eight or ten thousand persons."¹²⁶ It was not, however, intended for the performance of rituals or for council meetings.

¹²²Ibid.

¹²³Council Minutes, June 16, 1889, History of the Church of Jesus Christ (Cutlerite), Book 16, August 19, 1888–August 3, 1890, 33, Box 2, fd. 4, Cutlerite Collection.

¹²⁴Council Minutes, May 5, 1889, History of the Church of Jesus Christ (Cutlerite), Book 16, August 19, 1888–August 3, 1890, 29, Box 2, fd. 4, Cutlerite Collection.

¹²⁵*History of the LDS Church*, 7:427; see Elden J. Watson, "The Nauvoo Tabernacle," *BYU Studies* 19, no. 3 (1979): 416–21.

¹²⁶Orson Pratt, Letter to Reuben Hedlock, August 20, 1845, *New York*

Strangite convert Increase Van Dusen claimed that Brigham Young had promised “those who were not let into these Temple Mysteries, (for all did not go in for want of time and opportunity,) that when they got to California, there would be a tent pitched in the wilderness for the Indians’ benefit and all others that had not an opportunity at the Temple at Nauvoo.”¹²⁷ Like this earlier model, there is no evidence that the Cutlerites moved forward with the construction of the sacred tent,¹²⁸ and the canvas was turned into wagon covers as the Brighamites prepared to evacuate Nauvoo in 1846.

The Cutlerites continue to preach to the nearby Chippewa although they failed to convert any. The Cutlerites who remained faithful again saw their own failings and lack of faith as the case, rather than the state of the world or the Indians. Other conversations dealt with baptism for the dead. Drawing on Paul’s epistle to the Romans, Hiram Murdock noted that “it was not certain that the Indians needed to be baptized for their dead as they had no law.”¹²⁹ Chancey Whiting sought revelation on the matter and occasionally reported his thoughts; but if he came to a conclusion, the minutes did not record it. Just as preparations for the endowment provided a sense of control after the failure of the Indian mission on Silver Creek forty years earlier, discussions about tents and the salvation of the Indian dead deflected a sense of failure.

The Cutlerites did not baptize Native Americans and had no success in initiating the rising generation into the priesthood for two decades. In fact, the Church and council ceased meeting for fourteen years before a revival of the faith took place in 1910. Yet the council meetings, temple rituals, and even plans to perform them in the future allowed the remnant to continue to see them-

Messenger, August 30, 1845, 67.

¹²⁷Van Dusen and Van Dusen, *Positively True*, 13.

¹²⁸Alpheus Cutler had turned down Edmund Fisher when he had made a previous suggestion for such an edifice. Council Minutes, December 16, 1888, History of the Church of Jesus Christ (Cutlerite), Book 16, August 19, 1888–August 3, 1890, 19, Box 2, fd. 4, Cutlerite Collection.

¹²⁹Council Minutes, March 24, 1889, History of the Church of Jesus Christ (Cutlerite), Book 16, August 19, 1888–August 3, 1890, 24–25, Box 2, fd. 4, Cutlerite Collection. This idea is primarily based on Romans 2:14 and 4:15, in which Paul notes that the Gentiles “have not the law” and “where there is no law, there is no transgression.”

selves as active in their faith.

Following this revival, Isaac Whiting and his uncle, Sylvester J. Whiting, who would serve as president of the priesthood and as patriarch respectively, were the only endowed leaders still alive to induct Church members into the upper-room work. The following year, on October 14, 1911, during a worship service, Isaac Whiting shared a dream in which he had seen his father, Chancey “putting up the stairs.” Not surprisingly, the interpretation suggested that the stairs “represented the kingdom.”¹³⁰ The Church would follow Chancey’s example and shortly thereafter, would begin construction on a new meetinghouse to replace the dilapidated meetinghouse built forty-one years earlier. This third Cutlerite meetinghouse was dedicated on July 14, 1912. In addition to dedicating the baptismal font and lower room, Isaac Whiting “dedicated the upper room, for the purpose it was intended for.”¹³¹

Their efforts seemed pitiful to one RLDS minister J. W. Wight, who was traveling through the region at the time of the construction. He wrote to a friend at RLDS headquarters in Lamoni: “I presume you are aware that this is the place where the Cutlerites settled when they came north? Most of them have joined the reorganization. The few left are erecting a church with a font in [the] basement and are to commence baptizing for the dead. And so goes the story of a nearly depleted people. We have some fine saints from them.”¹³² A number of observers made similar comments; yet the Cutlerites are impressive in their ability to survive and, though numbering fewer than twenty, likely have several more priesthood holders today than they did a century ago. This identity-defining conversation has continued into the twenty-first century. In 1959, when Rupert J. Fletcher, then president of the priesthood, wrote a theological tract, he included a brief explanation of the mysteries: “I have written these things to

¹³⁰Church Minutes, October 14, 1911, History of the Church of Jesus Christ Cutlerites, Book 19, July 1, 1911–May 5, 1965, 8, Box 2, fd. 8, Cutlerite Collection.

¹³¹Minutes, July 14, 1912, History of the Church of Jesus Christ Cutlerites, Book 19, July 1, 1911–May 5, 1965, 21, Box 2, fd. 8, Cutlerite Collection.

¹³²J. W. Wight (Clitherall, Minnesota), Letter to R. M. Elvin (Lamoni, Iowa), June 25, 1912, typed original and typescript, P13, f1157, Community of Christ Library-Archives.

show how God has dealt with his people in times past and to show that there is a part which God holds sacred and although men may get slack and think some other way is as good, yet God does not forget, and that same Holy Order of the Son of God is on earth today, but one would hardly expect to find this order of things resident with a church or a people who do not believe in high priests after Christ's day, or in the so called, 'secret endowments.'"¹³³

His comments were ostensibly directed to the Hedrickites (who denied the office of high priest) and Josephites (who rejected "secret endowments"). These two bodies in twentieth-century Independence continued to ensure that the Cutlerites had to patrol their community's borders. To be sure, Cutlerites have other peculiarities than the continuation of Nauvoo esoterica. No other Restoration group has maintained the tenets of communal living (i.e., consecration) and gathering to one central location more faithfully than this Church of Jesus Christ. However, it has always been to the ordinances that they made reference when challenged by rival sects.

CONCLUSION

In 1990, Danny Jorgensen published an excellent article, "The Fiery Darts of the Adversary: An Interpretation of Early Cutlerism," in which he first began the academic conversation about the role that temple theology and practice played in the lives of nineteenth-century Cutlerites. Jorgensen argued:

With their rejection of plural marriage, the Cutlerites eliminated the most important symbolic innovation of temple Mormonism and severed their relationship to the history of the Nauvoo church. Once the founding generation had been initiated, endowed, and sealed, the Cutlerites were left with baptisms for the dead as the only remaining temple ritual of significance. With a declining membership of people closely interrelated by kinship, the need for this ritual most likely also declined. While the Cutlerites retained belief in temple Mormonism, their ability to practice it was severely limited. Without it they lacked the uniqueness of the Brighamites. Having repudiated their connection with Nauvoo Mormonism, subsequent generations were unable to

¹³³Rupert J. Fletcher, *The Scattered Children of Zion* (Independence: Church of Jesus Christ, 1959), 45.

reclaim it as a source of continuity or innovation.¹³⁴

While I remain impressed by the strength of this article and indebted to Jorgensen's research, my own study has led me to reconsider his conclusions. Admittedly, my claim that a strategy of esotericism helped to preserve the Cutlerites seems odd given (1) that the Church may have gone through periods of inactivity in which members did not perform these ordinances and (2) that the Cutlerites were severely reduced in numbers despite this strategy. However, I see the role of the endowment and the strategy of Cutlerite esotericism as an effective method that has led a movement to successfully survive into the twenty-first century—albeit with few members—with their own identity and a sense of communal purpose intact.

The Cutlerites, like many sects who have lived with expectations of an imminent apocalypse, experience no small amount of cognitive dissonance.¹³⁵ The believers were troubled by their apparent failures to convert the Native tribes, to build a utopian settlement, and to ensure that their children continued in the faith. Bonds became weak during periods in which the community's utopian expectations were not met. Their challenges included the failure of the Indian mission, the sickness and death of Alpheus Cutler, the apparent success of competing movements, and, specifically the conversion of so many Cutlerites to the RLDS Church. In this context, the upper-room work—the endowment—became the essential component in how Cutlerites understood themselves and their continued mission.

The Cutlerites found in the upper room a means to cement social ties. The privileged access to the rites, performed only in this locale, set them apart in the eyes of the community as an object of exceptional worth. These rites drew them from the periphery of involvement into the center of worship life, thus strengthening their loyalties to the community. If the community's mission to convert the Natives and build Zion seemingly came to a halt, an ongoing attempt to sanctify the Church through the upper-room work was something that was occurring in the present.

¹³⁴Jorgensen, "The Fiery Darts of the Adversary," 83.

¹³⁵Leon Festinger et al., *When Prophecy Fails: A Social and Psychological Study of a Modern Group That Predicted the Destruction of the World* (New York: Harper and Row, 1957).

As an important part of this process, the performances occurring in the upper room embodied the differences between the rival sects of Josephite and Cutlerite. Without knowledge or acceptance of the priesthood work, Josephites were seen as ignorant of or apostate from the esoteric teachings of Joseph Smith. Although the Reorganization was able to convert the majority of nineteenth-century Cutlerites, the upper-room work provided the means to ensure that the sect was not entirely absorbed.

THE CUMORAH BASEBALL CLUB: MORMON MISSIONARIES AND BASEBALL IN SOUTH AFRICA

Booker T. Alston

FOR MOST LATTER-DAY SAINTS, “Cumorah” conjures up images of a drumlin in upstate New York where ancient battles were fought, gold plates unearthed, and modern pilgrimages performed. However, for the Saints and citizens of mid-twentieth-century South Africa, the name became associated more with the crack of a baseball bat and the cheers of sports fans than with Moroni’s hiding place. The use of “Cumorah” by the founders of one of Cape Town’s most influential baseball clubs in the twentieth century stemmed from a desire to reinvent the popular image of Mormons and their church in South Africa.¹

What little press the Mormon Church did receive was often cloaked in sardonic and condescending rhetoric. A typical example is

BOOKER T. ALSTON {bookeralston@gmail.com} is a PhD candidate in religious studies at the University of Cape Town. His dissertation, “Transatlantic Latter-day Saints: Mormon Circulations between America and South Africa,” explores the history of Mormonism in South Africa through a comparative religions approach with an emphasis on the relationships among Mormonism, American religion, and popular culture, and South African religious and political history.

¹The history of Mormons and Mormonism in South Africa begins as early as 1852; however, by 1865 the missionaries and the vast majority of

a 1930s feature in the voice of a gossiping laundress: “It is astonishing how much persistence there is in this world, Mum, and how much of it is put to wrong uses,” begins the narrator after a clever segue of how “persistence and a bar of Public Opinion soap” is how she succeeds at her business. “Take them Latter Day Saints out Mowbray way, they are fair lickens for persistence but it will take a power of soap to clean up their past record.” She chatters about missionaries harassing and seducing women during regular working hours, Joseph Smith’s epilepsy-induced visions, plural marriage, and the lawlessness of Brigham Young’s Utah. Then, nearing the completion of her chore, the laundry lady concludes: “My old man says that a church that has sprung from such a lot of vileness and evil is not fit for a decent country like South Africa.”²

By coincidence, Verne D. Greene, a Mormon missionary tracting in the suburbs of Cape Town, unluckily knocked on the author’s door shortly after the article was put in print. Perhaps fearing a plot against his person, the male author threatened the young missionary that “he would be shot if he appeared in the street again,” according to the rebuttal of the mission president, Don Mack Dalton, published the following week in the same magazine. Dalton’s attempt at setting the record straight gets right to the point: “Such things as murder, rape, pillage, burning, bigamy, fits, and enticing girls to go to Utah for immoral purposes indicated in last week’s article, ‘Mowbray Mormonism,’ is just as far from the truth and high ideals of Mormonism as right is from wrong, and as Heaven is from Hell.”³

The debate between the “Wash-tub” and Dalton ran for the next few months. It seemed that each week the editors of the *South African*

converts had left to join their fellow Saints in Utah. A new era of missionary work began in the country after the completion of the final Boer War. From 1903 until Don Mack Dalton’s arrival in 1929, the LDS Church claimed fewer than six hundred members. Farrell Ray Monson, “History of the South African Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1853–1970” (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1971), 144–46, contains an annual record of membership totals.

²Truitje Roermy Nie, “Weekly Wash-tub: Mowbray Mormons,” *South African Review*, November 5, 1930, 3. I am quoting here from the original but a typescript copy appears in Evan P. Wright, *A History of the South African Mission: 1903–1944* (N.p., n.d.), 211–13.

³Don Mack Dalton, “Mowbray Mormons: My Reply to the ‘Review’

Review would fuel the argument by printing both pro and con pieces. A favorable article was local member Walter O. Hanson's passionate testimonial that concluded: "A study of so-called Mormonism will clean the brain, ennoble the character, and develop charity, which is the pure love of Christ."⁴ Decidedly unfavorable were letters by Edward Hunt, editor of the *Review*, to the Minister of the Interior and other government officials requesting an investigation into the Mormons' true purpose in South Africa. Hunt made no secret of his own conclusion: Such an investigation would discover that Mormons were in the country to recruit future plural wives.⁵ Attempting to petition the Minister to remain vigilant, Hunt suggests, "I think if a female detective could be had to enter one of their Missions and make herself adaptable she could obtain all the evidence needed right up to the departure of the boat. I should therefore like to be reassured that vigilance is still kept, especially on the question of female emigration."⁶ Despite the *Review's* positive articles, Dalton and his missionaries felt most keenly the negative ones. In a letter to "Uncle George Albert [Smith],"⁷ then an apostle and future Church president (1941–45), Dalton attached copies of the articles and asked for guidance in the way to handle the situation. Smith sympathetically advised on March 14, 1931: "I think the least said about the question of polygamy will be best in the end. We have no apologies to offer, but we can't make the other fellow believe as we do—that the Lord gave this revelation."⁸

Left primarily to his own inspiration, Dalton resolved to reinvent the image of Mormons and Mormonism in South Africa. Inter-

Article," *South African Review*, November 12, 1930, 4. Wright, *A History of the South African Mission*, 213–16, also records Dalton's reply.

⁴Walter O. Hanson, qtd. in Wright, *A History of the South African Mission*, 218–19.

⁵Edward Hunt, qtd. in *ibid.*, 218–19.

⁶*Ibid.*

⁷Don Mack Dalton was the great-great-grandson of Asahel Smith, the Prophet Joseph Smith Jr.'s grandfather; thus, Dalton was a distant cousin of the man he affectionately called, "Uncle George Albert."

⁸George Albert Smith, Letter to Don Mack Dalton, March 14, 1931, Don Mack Dalton Collection, L. Tom Perry Special Collections Library, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; hereafter Dalton Collection.

estingly enough, his opportunity did not come from newspaper rebuttals, community meetings, or dignified proselyting efforts, but from Dalton's boyhood passion for sports, the organization of baseball in Cape Town, and the formation of the Cumorah Baseball Club, or "the Cumorahs," as they were popularly known. This article presents a history of the team and how the mission used baseball in creating a new image of Mormons and Mormonism in South Africa. For context, I also review other missions that used baseball as a friendship-making device and briefly examine the history of baseball in South Africa.

MISSIONARIES AND BASEBALL

In addition to the traditional but monotonous proselytizing activity of door-to-door tracting, South African missionaries held public meetings, wrote and distributed tracts, performed a vast array of public services, formed touring choirs, and of course, played baseball.⁹ The emphasis on sports—specifically its baseball project—was not unique to South Africa. Works by Richard Ian Kimball and by Jessie L. Embry and John H. Brambaugh explore sport-related missionary techniques. While not mentioning South Africa, they provide the framework for this article.¹⁰

According to Kimball, Mormon missionaries in Japan were playing baseball as early as 1911; however, the "Tokyo-American Baseball Team" was a religiously eclectic mix consisting of "a Baptist, an Episcopalian, a Presbyterian, a Quaker, a Methodist, and a 'Mormon' missionary," not to mention an army officer who was not religiously affiliated, an electrical engineer, and two employees of the American embassy.¹¹ Somewhat less formal than league play in Japan were a series of games played in the Samoan Islands in 1923–24, during which a team of LDS missionaries took on "experienced baseball players from

⁹Monson, "History of the South African Mission," 65–74.

¹⁰Richard Ian Kimball, "Making the Most of Leisure: Depression, Recreation, and the *Improvement Era*," *Journal of Mormon History* 24, no. 2 (Fall 1998): 182–206; Richard Ian Kimball, *Sports in Zion: Mormon Recreation, 1890–1940* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003); Jessie L. Embry and John H. Brambaugh, "Preaching through Playing: Sports and Recreation in Missionary Work, 1911–64," *Journal of Mormon History* 35, no. 4 (Fall 2009): 53–84.

¹¹Kimball, *Sports in Zion*, 100; "Mutual Work—The Tokyo-American

American and British Samoa." More important than the outcome was the "hope that this play may be the means of more friendly relations and better understanding between us 'Mormon' missionaries and the local people in charge here."¹²

A decade later in April 1935, Harry Holland of the National Baseball Association of Great Britain called at the *Millennial Star* office and asked whether the Mormon missionaries would like to join the West-London League.¹³ The missionaries accepted the invitation enthusiastically and entered the association as the "Latter-day Saints." A total of eight teams comprised this league with fifty-nine other clubs competing in various divisions throughout England that same year. "To the Church," reported missionary and baseball player Wendell ("Buzz") Ashton, "baseball in Britain is proving a powerful instrument for breaking down barriers of prejudice that existed for nearly a century and for opening the way" for Britons "to hear the Gospel message. . . . Scores of people in Great Britain are learning through baseball that Mormon means 'more good.'"¹⁴

Embry and Brambaugh used these examples, among many others, to examine the efficacy of sports programs and other organized recreational activities in missionary work. Taking their findings one step further, Embry and Brambaugh subjected their case studies to a series of questions, perhaps the most demanding of which was: "How successful were these sports programs?" According to their results, they concluded: "In terms of directly generating baptisms, the answer is 'probably not,' especially since many other factors had to come into play even if sports had provided the initial introduction to Mormonism. But if the definition of 'success' includes the element of creating a positive public image and 'making friends' for the Church, the program was unquestionably successful."¹⁵

For missionary baseball in South Africa, these results hold true in both regards—unsuccessful in terms of convert baptisms but highly

Baseball Team," *Improvement Era* 15, no. 7 (May 1912): 663–64.

¹²"Messages from the Missions: Playing Ball," *Improvement Era*, 24, no. 5 (March 1924): 456–57.

¹³Wendell J. Ashton, "Baseball in England," *Improvement Era* 38, no. 10 (October 1935): 598–600, 644–45.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 645.

¹⁵Embry and Brambaugh, "Preaching through Playing," 59.

successful in terms of positive publicity.

Another relevant question stems from D. Michael Quinn's article on a Church-sanctioned missionary program in Great Britain during the 1950s and 1960s that linked the baptism of young men and boys to playing baseball. This program went beyond making friends and, in many cases, met what appear to be baptism quotas but failed to adequately teach these young sports enthusiasts the gospel.¹⁶ The Church later repudiated this ethically questionable approach, but the term "baseball baptisms" has retained a negative flavor ever since. Don Mack Dalton's Cumorah Baseball Club of the 1930s apparently did not serve the same purpose as T. Bowring Woodbury's baseball programs in the British Isles during the early 1960s. However, in response to Quinn's article, C. LaVarr Rockwood, a missionary serving in Johannesburg in 1949, reports tracking down two hundred individuals who had been baptized "expeditiously" during the "friendship baseball" era to "determine their interest in the Church. I don't remember one of them having the slightest idea of what, in their youth, they had committed to," wrote Rockwood.¹⁷ While there is no reason to doubt the veracity of Rockwood's memory, Dalton's purpose, at least as reflected in the available documents, in creating and promoting the Cumorahs, seems to have had no convert goals attached but was mainly a way for the mission president to combat the lingering impressions of Mormons as polygamists and exploiters of women. Its connection to proselytizing seems to be the second step of hoping his young missionaries would receive a warmer welcome during proselytizing hours. Dalton's program makes no mention of singling out unsuspecting youth nor of even teaching the game to others not involved already with the league. Consequently, Dalton's program matches Embry and Brambaugh's conclusion that such programs succeeded in "creating a positive image and 'making friends' for the Church."

¹⁶See D. Michael Quinn, "I-Thou vs. I-It Conversions: The Mormon 'Baseball Baptism' Era," *Sunstone*, 16, no. 7 (December 1993): 30-44; Richard Mavin, "The Woodbury Years: An Insider's Look at Baseball Baptisms in Britain," *Sunstone*, 19, no. 1 (March 1996): 56-60; and Cynthia Doxey, Robert C. Freeman, et al., eds., *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History: The British Isles* (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 2007), 246-49.

¹⁷C. LaVarr Rockwood, "1930s Baseball Baptisms," *Sunstone* 18, no. 1 (April 1995): 2.

SOUTH AFRICA AND BASEBALL

Very little has been written about the history of baseball in South Africa, most of it dealing with more recent decades. In 2006, Alan Klein included a chapter on the topic in his impressive study *Growing the Game: The Globalization of Major League Baseball*.¹⁸ Klein concentrates on baseball's role in the greater political narrative of South Africa in the 1990s with his most impressive and important contributions stemming from the many personal interviews he conducted.¹⁹ One was with Pett Yus, a one-time president of the South African Baseball Federation and a player in the exclusively "white" baseball leagues in the 1950s. He recalled the tradition that baseball was played in Cape Town in the 1930s by American shipping company employees and "a crowd called Mormons, religious people from Utah in the U.S., and baseball started with these Mormons, when they started playing in *Winderbosch* commons. These were pickup games, but they grew."²⁰ What they grew into were two 1950s baseball leagues, one for white South Africans and the other for non-whites, comprised of blacks, coloureds, and Indians. However, according to Yus and another interviewee, Edwin Bennett, "a Colored South African and one of the driving forces behind baseball in the country," the black and white leagues would play clandestinely against one another.²¹ Klein's history concentrates on more current issues, such as coaching, personnel, equipment, and facilities; but he consistently stresses his belief that baseball could and did transcend the race barrier.

In 2008, a British baseball player turned journalist,²² Josh Chetwynd, also mentioned racial diversity in South African baseball. However, Chetwynd's project for *Nine: A Journal of Baseball History and Culture* disagrees with Klein's study of when and where the game orig-

¹⁸Alan M. Klein, *Growing the Game: The Globalization of Major League Baseball* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2006), 196–214.

¹⁹Kevin G. Quinn, Review of "Growing the Game: The Globalization of Major League Baseball," *Nine: A Journal of Baseball History and Culture* 17, no. 1 (Fall 2008): 155–57.

²⁰Klein, *Growing the Game*, 202.

²¹*Ibid.*, 196, 202–3.

²²"Josh Chetwynd," in Baseball Reference, http://www.baseball-reference.com/bullpen/Josh_Chetwynd (accessed February 12, 2013).

inated in the country. According to his citation of two different *Washington Post* articles from the first decade of the 1900s, baseball actually originated in Transvaal mining communities in and around Johannesburg. He concludes that the sport began as early as 1895 with a league being organized by 1899 and a provincial association in 1904.²³ The South African Mission's publication, the *Cumorah's Southern Messenger*, in 1950 asked: "Do you know who started baseball in the Union of South Africa?"²⁴ Its answer concurs with Chetwynd's finding: "Contrary to popular belief, the Mormon missionaries were not the originators of baseball in the Union of South Africa. As early as 1895 the miners were playing baseball in the mining camps of the Goldfields of Johannesburg. In 1930 a league was organized in Natal, and in 1932 the American Consul-General, President Don Mack Dalton, and several others started a movement to organise a league in the Cape."²⁵

The second (1908) *Washington Post* article that Chetwynd located reported that the Transvaal League was composed of four teams: Johannesburgs, Wanderers, Internationals, and Germistons. According to the article, the Wanderers and Johannesburgs were clearly superior and about to engage in the season's championship game, with the winner being awarded the coveted H. A. Pitt Cup.²⁶ The article refers to a letter from Johannesburg resident L. A. Servatius, expressing the author's belief that the sport had a bright future in the country.

Chetwynd's history then describes the 1930s spread of the game from the Transvaal to Natal's port city of Durban and finally down along the coast to Cape Town.²⁷ However, he then focuses on the post-World War II period and South Africa's involvement in international competitions. Despite the importance of Chetwynd's history, it is weakened by his reliance on non-South African sources,

²³Josh Chetwynd, "A History of South African Baseball," *Nine: A Journal of Baseball History and Culture* 16, no. 2 (Spring 2008): 73-79.

²⁴"Do You Know?," *Cumorah's Southern Messenger*, 25, no. 9 (September 1950): 134.

²⁵*Ibid.*, 137.

²⁶Chetwynd, "A History of South African Baseball," 73-74; and "Baseball in South Africa," *Washington Post*, April 19, 1908.

²⁷Chetwynd, "A History of South African Baseball," 74.

mainly American newspaper articles. Despite this drawback, the *Baseball South Africa* website uses Chetwynd's article as a definitive history of the sport in that country.²⁸ This article provides much-needed information that fills in gaps about baseball's formative period in South Africa.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CUMORAHS: 1932–33

Don McCarrol ("Mack") Dalton was born May 12, 1895, in Manassa, Colorado, only a month before his life-long friend and world heavyweight boxing champion, William ("Jack") Dempsey.²⁹ From his youth, Dalton was competitively involved in sports, including baseball, boxing, and basketball.³⁰ As a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Dalton could trace his maternal heritage to Asahel Smith, the Prophet Joseph's grandfather. Dalton served a mission in the Central States (1914–16), enlisted in the U.S. Army during World War I, earned a law degree from the University of Utah, then served a second, seven-month mission in the Eastern States Mission (1927–28). He was then called as president of the South African Mission (1929–35).

Dalton's love of sports offered himself, his missionaries, and his church a strategy for reversing the negative public images being circulated about Mormonism in South Africa. The role Dalton played in forming the Western Province Baseball Association and especially in promoting it to the general public earned him the title "The Father of Baseball in South Africa."³¹

In Dalton's unpublished history of the formation of the Western Province Baseball Association, "A Baseball Story: It Can Be Done, It Was Done," Dalton describes the anxiety both his missionaries and

²⁸"History of Baseball in South Africa," in *Baseball South Africa*, <http://baseballsa.com/history.php> (accessed February 18, 2013).

²⁹"Biographical Sketch of the Life of Don Mack Dalton," 1; typescript, (n.d.), Dalton Collection.

³⁰*Ibid.*; see also "Progress in South Africa," *Cumorah's Southern Cross* 3, no. 9 (September 1929): 6–7.

³¹"Utah Couple Renew Links in Durban Visit," *Natal Mercury*, April 3, 1965, 11. Dalton's contributions to baseball in South Africa were also recognized during this visit to the country in "Baseball Pioneer in City," *Cape Argus*, March 9, 1965, clipping in Dalton Collection.

the local members felt over articles studded with “prejudice, misunderstanding and indifference.”³² Dalton, upon arriving in the Cape in 1929, capitalized on his friendship with Dempsey and achieved an interview with the *Cape Times* sports editor, who apparently “crumpled up his notes” when Dalton explained that he and Dempsey were both Mormons. Dejected, Dalton wondered: “Why should people be left in ignorance of the facts of Mormonism? Isn’t [sic] there more ways than talking about it to make people believe it? Isn’t [sic] there more ways to teach it than by word of mouth? Isn’t [sic] there more ways for people to understand it than by hearing and reading it? These ways are all good, but we are in modern days and much advertisement is done through the sense of sight. Seeing is believing. Hearing is sometimes deceiving.”³³

While he was mulling over this problem, Dalton and a few of his Cape Town missionaries attended the 1930 Western Province Rugby Championship game between the University of Cape Town and Stellenbosch University. Also in attendance was George Herbert Hyde Villiers, the sixth Earl of Clarendon, brother to Queen Mary, and the governor general of South Africa. The pregame festivities were infectious, and the missionaries were thoroughly enjoying themselves when a reverent hush swept through the crowd. The players and officials stood in perfect silence and formation as the governor general strode onto the field and personally greeted the athletes. The event deeply impressed Dalton: “Could it ever be that the dignity and majesty of Great Britain would do honor to some Mormon missionaries like was done to the athletes at Newlands before his eyes,” he wondered. “The missionaries were so little known, and save in the hearts of but a few they were reputedly known for bad, therefore, such a thought seemed absurd. But if it could happen it would be the best ad-

³²Don Mack Dalton, “A Baseball Story: It Can Be Done, It Was Done,” n.d., typescript, 4, Dalton Collection. Large parts of Dalton’s manuscript were presented in the October 1935 LDS general conference. *One Hundred Sixth Semiannual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, October 4, 5, 6* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1936), 37–40; rpt. as “Address at Semi-Annual Conference by Elder Don Mack Dalton at Tabernacle, Salt Lake City, Utah, October, 1935,” *Cumorah’s Southern Messenger* 10, no. 2 (February 1936): 23–24. He cites negative articles from the *South African Review*, the *Cape Argus*, and the *Cape Times*.

³³Dalton, “A Baseball Story,” 4–5.

vertising the Mormon Church ever had in that land of sunshine.”³⁴

Four years later, Dalton’s dream would come true. His opportunity to begin its realization came in August 1932 when he, several members of the Cape Town University Club, and numerous local businessmen were invited to attend a meeting held at the *Cape Argus* to discuss the possibility of forming a baseball league in Cape Town.³⁵ Those in attendance were enthusiastic about the new venture, and that very night a general committee was selected and the Western Province Baseball Association was organized. Dalton, elected as a committee member, shortly thereafter began managing one of the first two teams to join the league.

The inaugural meeting of the Cumorah Baseball Club took place in the Church’s building on Main Road in the Cape Town suburb of Mowbray on August 10, 1932.³⁶ Christened “Cumorah” some years previously, the hall served as a chapel, meeting room, office, and quarters for the Dalton family and several missionaries. Dalton named R. C. Robinson, a non-Mormon physician from Cape Town and possibly the best pitcher in the country, as captain. When the topic of naming the team came up, a missionary near the back quietly suggested “Cumorah.” Dalton’s first inclination was to downplay this suggestion but others thought the name “catchy and different.” Those in attendance included “several business men, two doctors, a lawyer, an undertaker, some students, a Bible student missionary (later a convert), an atheist, some railway men, some members of the church, and five missionaries.” They asked what the name meant and, after Dalton explained, the inquirer exclaimed, “Well, if we get the game with you fellows, we should have the name also, and I move we adopt the name Cumorah as our club name.” The motion passed, and the Cumorah Baseball Club was officially formed.³⁷

Practices and exhibition games began soon after these events in August and were held in places such as Green Point Common (now the home of a large football stadium built for the 2010 FIFA World Cup), Harteyvale Field in Observatory, and a large, flat pitch in Rosebank. The Cumorah Baseball Club (Cumorahs) held practices at

³⁴Ibid., 8–9.

³⁵Ibid., 11–12.

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷Ibid.

17:00 on Tuesdays and Fridays with games generally scheduled for Saturday afternoons. The Maroon and White Cumorahs opened their play against the Nomad Athletic Club (Nomads) on Wednesday, August 31, 1932, with a 6–3 victory. The game had started after working hours, and was called after five innings for lack of light.³⁸ “Doc” Robinson was considered the most valuable player of the game as he struck out ten and left five of the Nomads hitless. The lineup for the Cumorahs third game saw missionary Harold H. Smith lead off, followed by Dalton, local member E. E. Seeman, Elder Evan P. Wright clean-up, pitcher Robinson fifth, P. C. Westwood and F. A. Rainsu (professional and religious affiliations unknown), with member Alvin Park and missionary John C. Dalton, Don’s younger brother, sixth and seventh respectively.

“The Mormons Are Coming!” exclaimed the poster in December 1932. “Come and see the All American Team from Salt Lake City, Utah.”³⁹ The series between the Cumorahs and a team made up of the Transvaal’s most elite players was heralded as the first real test for Transvaal baseball, “unquestionably the strongest baseball centre in the Union.”⁴⁰ Johannesburg’s newspapers played up the coming event: “The Cumorah party is composed of 16 Mormon missionaries . . . and practically each member has been brought up on baseball in the country where it has been developed to an art.”⁴¹ The team’s seventeenth player was R. C. Robinson, the non-Mormon physician from Cape Town.

In Game 1 on Saturday, December 31, Robinson defended his reputation as the country’s best pitcher by shutting out the home team and allowing only five hits in nine innings. Game 2 on Monday bagged the headline: “Mormon Side Again in Action: Can Transvaal Turn the Tables?” The response to the sports writer’s question was answered in a game that had a little bit of everything baseball fans could possibly ask for. Robinson took the mound in the first inning

³⁸Ibid., 13; “‘Ball Game’ on the Common,” *Cape Argus*, September 1, 1932, clipping in Dalton Collection.

³⁹Poster qtd. in Helen Erickson Noble, “A History of Clarence Edward Randall,” [ca. 2002], typescript, LDS Church History Library.

⁴⁰This game was also reported in “Mormon Baseball Team Stands High in South Africa Games,” *Deseret News*, March 3, 1933, 2.

⁴¹“Mormons at the Wanderers,” *The Star* (Johannesburg), December 26, 1932.

but was obviously still exhausted after only one day's rest. The Cumorahs' second-best pitcher and lead-off hitter, missionary Clarence Randall, took over and "A Great Pitching Duel," which ultimately saw Robinson's four-run hole filled, commenced. By the bottom of the ninth, the score was tied 4-4 and the excitement of extra innings was equaled by the action on the field. One report read:

A moment's hesitation, a deficiency in speed of one yard in 160 yards made all the difference to the result of the last baseball match played by the Cumorahs in the Transvaal. Had D. M. Dalton not been held for a fraction of time at third base after bashing out a great hit to left field, he would have scored a home run instead of being put out by Duffus at the home plate and Cumorahs would have been the winners by 5 runs to 4 after 10 innings had been played. As it was Transvaal came to light with a batting streak in the 11th innings and eventually won by 7 runs to 6.⁴²

For Mormons and baseball fans in South Africa the series was a success. The games were highly competitive, a rarity for the Transvaal Baseball Association; and the Mormon missionaries received the positive press they had been seeking. The January 1933 edition of the *Cumorah's Southern Cross* provides a glimpse of just how welcome these new images of the Church really were: "The wonderful hospitality and kindness shown them [Cape Town missionaries] by members of the Transvaal Baseball Association, and Pretoria,⁴³ and the many splendid articles appearing in the *Daily Mail* and *Star* of Johannesburg . . . will long be remembered in pleasant retrospection."⁴⁴

Back in Cape Town the Cumorahs and Nomads would do battle

⁴²"Brilliant Baseball at Wanderers," qtd. in Noble, "A History of Clarence Edward Randall," 98.

⁴³The Cumorahs also played an exhibition game against a Pretoria baseball team on December 26, 1932, winning 11-3.

⁴⁴"Convention and Baseball," *Cumorah's Southern Cross* 7, no. 1 (January 1933): 7-8. The South African Mission's monthly newsletter was originally called the *Cumorah Monthly Bulletin* before being formalized as a registered magazine in 1929. The name was changed in July 1933 from *Cumorah's Southern Cross* to *Cumorah's Southern Messenger* when missionaries discovered that the Catholic Church in South Africa already had a publication named the *Southern Cross*. Wright, *A History of the South African Mission*, 230-31.

many times that first season with their rivalry culminating in a five-game championship series held over the last week of January and the first two weeks of February 1933. After four games, the winner of the Henry Hermann⁴⁵ Cup had yet to be determined, and Game 5 was scheduled for Saturday, February 11, at Hartleyvale Field in Observatory.⁴⁶ More than eight hundred fans witnessed the historic finale to the Western Province Baseball Championship. The game went into the final inning tied four all. The Nomads were held scoreless in the top half; and with two outs and a man on third in the bottom, it all came down to the “Suit Rack”—the nickname of the Cumorahs’ ninth man, a missionary who had not grown up playing the game and was not particularly good at it, especially when it came to hitting. According to Dalton, who never mentions the player by name,⁴⁷ the moniker was given the missionary simply because the team required nine players “so a suit was hung on him” to complete the lineup. Dalton’s energetic writing captures the moment:

Look! The score is four to four in the ninth and Cumorah is last at bat and has two men down, however, a man is on third and if he can be brought in, the game will be won. Imagine the publicity this will give the Mormons. But the “Suit Rack” was the man to go to the bat, and all Cumorah and friends let out a groan. He would fan for sure and the Nomads would get another chance and they were plenty strong and were trying hard to win. Boy! if a prayer could only be answered now in favor of Cumorah.

The “suit rack” knew his weakness and felt it more than any one else. He was the humblest of any man on the field and felt that too. He picked up a bat, it didn’t make any difference, which one it was, any one would do, the result would be the same. Charlie Converse the polished Nomads pitcher knew that and his winning smile became bigger

⁴⁵Hermann was a prominent Cape Town businessman who had become “very much enthused about baseball.” Dalton, “A Baseball Story,” 18.

⁴⁶This location is still a sports field, used mainly for field hockey. It stands almost directly across a small creek from the current South Africa Cape Town Mission office.

⁴⁷Perhaps this is because of the difficulties in maintaining the same team line-up (five missionaries and four local members), given the movement of missionaries from area to area and eventually back home. “Suit Rack” was Dalton’s younger brother, John C. Dalton. Don Dalton rarely uses his own name or those of his missionaries, instead relying on “missionary,” “Elder,” and individual nicknames.

and bigger as he looked about the in-field with satisfaction as [t]he eager team mates registered delight because of the poor plight Cumorah found itself in, which was all to the advantage of the Nomads.

The score keeper called a second time the name of the “suit rack” because he was so slow in performing his unwonted duty. He dragged the heavy bat over to the missionary [Don Dalton] and said, “Pray for me—, whereupon the missionary replied, “Pray for you! Yes, but I’m tired [of] praying for you!, go out there and hit that ball.”

The “suit rack” squared his shoulders and crunched his molars. His lower jaw became firm and set and he went to the plate,—a man. “Step into it Elder”, came the word from the bench as Converse wound up.

Down the alley, and through the groove the ball came, because there was no use using any more than three balls straight over the plate to strike out the “suit rack”. But WHAM!—WHAT! he stepped into it, a great hit, a Texas leaguer, where the infield could not reach it and too short for the outfield. Oh! Boy!—the crowd went wild. They didn’t even notice the winning run as one of the missionaries ran across the plate. All eyes were on the “suit rack”. It was a feast. Cheered and admired the humblest one of all was showered with congratulations. His best was not good enough, but the prayer that his best might be made better was answered. This was in fact his best missionary work.⁴⁸

Although this championship series was the culminating event of the 1932–33 season, exhibition games continued to be played over the next month. In the years to follow, due to an increase in the number of teams, the season was lengthened, with warm-up games being played as early as August and the finals occurring sometime in March. The final game of the inaugural season once again saw the Cumorahs clawing their way to a victory over the Nomads by scoring six runs in the final two innings to win 10–9.⁴⁹ As noted, exhibition games were also played that initial season in the Transvaal (present-day Gauteng); and during the season’s final months, a selection of

⁴⁸Dalton, “A Baseball Story,” 20–21.

⁴⁹The league was originally envisioned with eight full teams; however, little evidence can be found of play against these other teams until 1935 when reports were made that the Cumorahs played against the Sea Point Cardinals, Maitlands, University of Cape Town, University of Stellenbosch, and probably a team from Rosebank. Many of the games were played at the Rosebank Oval; often, there is no direct mention of Cumorah’s opponent when they play at this location. I am thus inferring

Cape Town's best players, including Dalton and a few missionaries, formed a Western Province team that hosted a side from Natal. Interestingly, as Dalton notes, most of the games in Johannesburg and Durban were played on Sundays and, by law, no admission fees could be charged.⁵⁰ This was not the case in Cape Town where, at the insistence of the Cumorahs, games were played on Saturdays and a ticket price enforced. For example, in an exhibition game between Western Province and Natal in February 1934 over 1,250 fans paid £1.30 to witness the action.⁵¹ Consequently, the only baseball association in the Union of South Africa with any money was the Western Province; and as a result, it often hosted when determining which province had South Africa's baseball players. This arrangement was, of course, another bonus for Mormons as the price of traveling throughout the country would have been a heavy burden for the mission. In fact, the 1932–33 exhibition games against Transvaal and Pretoria were held in conjunction with a general mission-wide conference, which, Dalton was happy to point out, was funded largely by the gate of those three games.⁵²

Baseball's first year in Cape Town was certainly a success, both from the sport's perspective as well as that of the missionaries. Dalton was quick to recognize this fact and immediately began petitioning his superiors in Salt Lake City to send him a few "good ball players, particularly a pitcher."⁵³ In another letter, this one to his uncle George Albert Smith, he wrote, "Would it be possible for you to help get some more Elders down here of those kind who are good ball players, a good pitcher is badly needed—that is if you approve of my activity in baseball."⁵⁴ It is not recorded whether George Albert Smith specifically approved of Dalton's request for missionaries with baseball skills to be called to serve under his direction; but Apostle Richard R. Lyman surely did. Several months after receiving Dalton's ap-

that Rosebank did, in fact, have a team of its own.

⁵⁰Dalton, "A Baseball Story," 23, 26.

⁵¹"Baseball," *Cumorah's Southern Messenger*, 8, no. 2 (February 1934): 27.

⁵²"Experiences," *Cumorah's Southern Cross* 7, no. 4 (April 1933): 57.

⁵³Dalton to Lyman, January 27, 1933.

⁵⁴Don Mack Dalton, Letter to George Albert Smith, January 30, 1933, Dalton Collection.

plication, a delay for which Lyman apologized,⁵⁵ Lyman wrote to J. Arthur Christensen, president of the North Sevier Stake, and to Harold G. Reynolds, a bishop in that stake, about the possibility of calling Christensen's son, Nyles, to the South African Mission. But Nyles, apparently a very talented left-handed pitcher, had recently fallen ill and the mission call was never extended.⁵⁶

The successful first season of the Western Province Baseball Association and the Cumorah Baseball Club would lead to nearly twenty years of Mormon involvement in the sport in South Africa. During that inaugural season the game of baseball became an attractive alternative to the more popular sports such as rugby, cricket, and football (soccer). As the *Cape Times* sports editor concluded about a particularly entertaining game between the Cumorahs and Nomads, "The sport will undoubtedly become popular. It deserves to!"⁵⁷ And in fact, during the 1930s, baseball became an exciting new sport to follow, and the Mormon missionaries of Cumorah played a large part in its acceptance.

"IT CAN BE DONE: IT WAS DONE": 1934–35

For Don Mack Dalton and his baseball-playing missionaries, the second and third seasons were full of highlights, championship games, and positive press coverage. The Cumorahs were in fine form during these two seasons, winning one league championship and losing the other in a valiantly fought final game to their rivals, the Nomads. However, Mormon athletic prowess really stood out in the missionaries' participation in the Western Province's select teams, both in 1934 and 1935. Dalton was chosen to captain the squad both years; and thanks to his tireless work, the national championship game in 1934 drew an unprecedented crowd of more than 2,500, including

⁵⁵Richard R. Lyman, Letter to Don Mack Dalton, September 25, 1933, Dalton Collection.

⁵⁶Richard R. Lyman, Letters to J. Arthur Christensen, September 25, 1933, and October 17, 1933; and Richard R. Lyman to Harold G. Reynolds, September 25, 1933, Dalton Collection.

⁵⁷"What D'ya Think uv That?" *Cape Times*, October 18, 1932, 5. See also Booker T. Alston, "Mormon Impressions: Locating Mormon Footprints on the South African Religious Landscape," *Journal for the Study of Religion* 25, no. 1 (Summer 2012): 52–80.

George Herbert Hyde Villiers, South Africa's Governor General.⁵⁸ For Dalton and the Mormons, this event was more than just a ball game. It was the culmination of their re-invented public image and their new, accepted status in South Africa. However, Dalton could not have accomplished this new image without the help of an eager new missionary, Elder Stanford G. Smith,⁵⁹ who arrived in the Cape in November 1932 and found, to his surprise, that his abilities on the diamond would be much more useful in terms of public relations than his proselyting efforts.

With a season of successful baseball under their belts, Don Mack Dalton and his missionaries set out to capitalize on their new, positive image in South Africa. However, this was not always an easy task, especially when Dalton had only nine new missionaries sent to his mission in 1933 and eight in 1934. To put these figures in perspective, during World War I, only two missionaries were called to South Africa in 1920 and nine in 1921; however, from that point on, the mission had consistently received fourteen or more missionaries annually until this unprecedented low in 1933.⁶⁰ Fortunately for the Cumorahs, one of these elders was Stan Smith, quickly nicknamed "The Bogy Man of Local Bat-

⁵⁸"Transvaal vs. Western Province," *Cumorah's Southern Messenger* 8, no. 4 (April 1934): 60.

⁵⁹Stanford Smith was no stranger to South Africa having moved to the country as a one-year-old when his father, Nicholas G. Smith, was called as mission president in 1913. Nicholas Smith served throughout World War I and was not released until March 1921. When Stanford returned to South Africa, he was met not only by old acquaintances but also by his older brother, John Henry, who also served his mission in South Africa from October 1930 to February 1933.

⁶⁰The mission always had trouble with numbers, usually not on the Mormon side, but on the South African government's side. For example, in 1914 a total of seven missionaries, who had just arrived by ship, were denied entry into the country. In one specific instance, five missionaries were placed in a "shanty of galvanized iron" for eight days until a trial could be arranged to determine their fate. Apparently the emigration board found these elders guilty of "illiteracy"; and even after a trial in which the mission president, Nicholas G. Smith, Stan Smith's father, hired an "eminent attorney," the elders were deported. Wright, *The South African Mission*, 99–100. In 1939 the South African government passed a quota law that limited the number of Mormon elders to forty—raised to seventy-five by 1947. Almost a

ters” by the *Cape Argus*.⁶¹ Next to Dalton, Stan Smith of Salt Lake City was easily the most influential Mormon in all of South Africa during his tenure in the country. The *Cape Times* also published features on his baseball prowess.⁶² According to an editorial circulated by the *Cumora*’s *Southern Messenger*, Smith’s heroics on the diamond received more attention than Prince George’s visit to the Cape in 1935.⁶³ While Smith’s pitching arm was undoubtedly his greatest prize, he was no slouch at the plate or on the bases either. In South African parlance, he received one of the greatest honors that could have possibly been bestowed on a player of a non-major sport⁶⁴ when the *Cape Argus* called him “the Bennie Osler of baseball.”⁶⁵ Smith played two and a half years for the Cumorahs and Western Province and was a key component in the sport’s popularity in those first few years in Cape Town.

To the South African Mission and Mormons in South Africa, Elder Smith was much more than a great pitcher and clutch hitter; he was key in reinventing the image of the Mormon Church in that land. “His prowess has probably brought the South African mission more publicity, and has placed the name of ‘Mormon’ on more lips than any other single thing,” one editorial in the May 1935 *Cumora*’s *Southern Messenger* read: “He has, no doubt, done more to shake the

decade later, the apartheid government restricted missionaries from the United States beginning in December 1955 and lasting until 1964. During this period, Canadian elders were called to fill the vacancies; and in 1957, sixty-five Canadians and one South African constituted the missionary force.

⁶¹Wallace F. Toronto, “The Bogy Man of South Africa,” *Cumora*’s *Southern Messenger* 9, no. 5 (May 1935): 72–74; Wright, *The South African Mission*, 293.

⁶²Wright, *The South African Mission*, 293–98.

⁶³Toronto, “The Bogy Man of South Africa,” 73.

⁶⁴The most popular sports in 1930s South Africa were rugby, cricket, and to some extent football (soccer).

⁶⁵Toronto, “The Bogy Man of South Africa,” 72. Osler had only recently retired as the South African Springboks’ captain. He was a fly-half known for his level head and kicking ability. He was inducted into the International Rugby Hall of Fame in 2007. “Benny Osler,” *International Rugby Hall of Fame*, <http://www.rugbyhalloffame.com/pages/osler2007.htm> (accessed May 9, 2013).



Mission President Don Mack Dalton holding bat demonstrates some tips for the Cumorah Baseball Club, December 29, 1932, in preparing for an exhibition game against a select team from the Transvaal in Johannesburg. The players are (left) Eldon Harris, Marcus F. Smith, John H. Smith, Stanford G. Smith (barely visible behind his brother John), Clarence D. Taylor, John C. Dalton (Mack's brother), Dr. R. C. Robinson (the only non-missionary), Clarence E. Randall, Harold H. Smith, and Evan P. Wright. Originally published in Johannesburg's Star, December 30, 1932, reproduced in "Mormon Missionaries Take Baseball Tips," Cumorah's Southern Cross 7, no. 1 (January 1933):

cold, unfriendly barriers of distrust and scepticism concerning the Mormons there than any other person, for through his baseball he has moved with ease among the higher social circle and government officials. But more than all of this, he is the friend of more young people, staunch admirers, than any other lad in South Africa."⁶⁶

With Smith's help the Mormons became known for something other than emigration and polygamy. This notoriety is perhaps best exemplified by the inclusion of a short chapter on the "Mormons in Africa" in *Stars and Stripes in Africa* by amateur historian Eric Rosenthal. Rosenthal's work was designed for the growing tourist population of Americans in South Africa, and it seems safe to assume that, without the success of the Cumorahs, there would have been no reason to include the Mormon Church in this work. Rosenthal exclaims emphati-

⁶⁶Toronto, "The Bogy Man of South Africa," 72.

cally: “[They] are the Union’s most successful baseball team!”⁶⁷

The timing of Stan Smith’s mission aligned perfectly with the baseball season. He arrived in November 1932, just a couple of months after the organization of the Western Province Baseball Association and the Cumorahs and was released two and a half years later in May 1935 just over a month after an impressive pitching performance that earned Western Province the national championship. Smith’s departure occurred two months after Don Mack Dalton’s own release that same year. The two made an impressive pitcher/catcher combination in the field, and their two-three punch in the lineup was always difficult to defend. However, their success, to Mormons and their Church, was measured in terms of positive publicity rather than in wins and losses. The *Cumorah’s Southern Messenger* devoted a major article to bid Smith farewell:

The Press is one hundred per cent, for “Stan.” Here is one of several like announcements: “Hear Stan Smith.” And then this follows: “Baseball players in the Western Province Leagues, and sportsmen as a whole, will rally to hear Stan Smith, the outstanding baseball pitcher, speak. Stan left his home in Salt Lake City some time ago as a Mormon missionary. For diversion and to keep physically fit he began playing baseball and his pitching brought honours. Being young and possessing outstanding athletic ability, Stan has achieved a wonderful degree of popularity which is well deserved. He has consented to lecture for us on Religious Ideals at the Railway Institute on Saturday evening at 8 o’clock. If Stan is as convincing from the platform as he is from the pitcher’s box his success is assured.”⁶⁸

This was exactly the “success” that Dalton and the Mormons were hoping to achieve by organizing and participating in baseball in Cape Town and South Africa as a whole. Without Smith’s “outstanding athletic ability” and Dalton’s leadership, a newspaper article whose reporter seems excited and even anxious to hear the testimony of a missionary could never have occurred.

Unquestionably, the high point of Mormon positive acceptance occurred on March 24, 1934, when an all-star Western Province squad consisting of five Cumorahs, all Mormons, and eleven other players

⁶⁷Eric Rosenthal, *Stars and Stripes in Africa* (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1938), 101–3; quotation from 103.

⁶⁸Toronto, “The Bogy Man of South Africa,” 73.

from the various Cape Town teams, once again hosted the unofficial national championship game against an improved Transvaal crew. The Mormon players were Don Mack Dalton, Elders Stanford G. Smith, John J. Bates, and Morris P. Woolley, and a local member, E. E. Seeman.⁶⁹ Twenty-five hundred spectators gathered at the Rosebank diamond.⁷⁰ As the players lined up along the base-paths, to Dalton's joy and pride, George Herbert Hyde Villiers, the sixth Earl of Clarendon and South Africa's governor general, strode onto the diamond. Dalton, as captain of the Western Province side, stepped out first and was introduced to the King's representative. The two engaged in a brief exchange of compliments with the governor general commenting on his excitement at the prospect of witnessing the championship game.⁷¹ Dalton then had the honor of introducing each of his players individually and was thrilled when the governor general greeted each of the missionaries as "Elder." This was undoubtedly the capstone of Dalton's reign as president of the South African Mission. He later wrote that this even fulfilled his ultimate goal of reinventing the Church's image in that nation:

The best advertising medium in South Africa had freely given his [the governor general] prestige to develop faith and aid the growth of understanding in the hearts of mankind. He had assisted the missionaries in their task to accumulate existent truth in the minds and hearts of the humble but great people of a great and humble land.

The missionaries had done their best to proclaim the Gospel by word of mouth and had prayed to the Lord to help them make their best better by helping others see the Gospel through the sense of sight. The missionaries had prayed that they would be able to let their light SO SHINE so that others could see it and that it might not be

⁶⁹According to Dalton, both E. E. Seeman and his wife were converted "as a result of baseball." Don Mack Dalton, Letter to Richard R. Lyman, January 27, 1933, Dalton Collection. There is a discrepancy in the figures here. Dalton, "A Baseball Story," 44, states consistently that six missionaries were part of this provincial team. However, the report of the same game, "Transvaal vs. Western Province," *Cumorah's Southern Messenger* 8, no. 4 (April 1934): 60, is quite clear that it was only these five missionaries who participated. I have taken the 1934 account as more accurate than Dalton's later recollection.

⁷⁰"Transvaal vs. Western Province," *Cumorah's Southern Messenger* 8, no. 4 (April 1934): 60.

⁷¹Dalton, "A Baseball Story," 44.



Mission President Don Mack Dalton introduces George Herbert Hyde Villiers, the Earl of Clarendon, governor general of South Africa, to the Western Province Baseball Team, March 24, 1934. Villiers is shaking hands with Cerry Brand, an accomplished South African rugby player. Behind Dalton is I. N. Linnell, the U.S. consul general. Stanford G. Smith (wearing a pull-over) is left of Brand. Other Cumorahs playing on the team (position not specified) are John J. Bates and Morris P. Woolley (missionaries) and E. E. Seeman, a local member of the Mowbray Branch. "Governor-General and U.S. Consul-General Greet Western Province Baseball Stars," Cumorah's Southern Messenger 8, no. 4 (April 1934): 60.

kept partly hidden by tradition [sic] and the ordinary way of doing missionary work.

These missionaries had feverishly and constantly hoped and prayed and worked so that what others had said couldn't be done, was done. The governor general had honored Mormon boys before a great throng of people as the missionary [Dalton] had seen in a vision would be done.⁷²

Western Province lost the championship game that year,

⁷²Ibid., 44–45. Although Dalton frequently uses the term "vision" to express his desire to see the image of Mormons and Mormonism reinvented

6–5;⁷³ however, the team was missing one of its better batsmen, Charles Converse, the Nomads' starting first baseman and occasional pitcher. He had been diagnosed with acute appendicitis just a few hours before the start of the game.⁷⁴ Almost exactly a year later on March 25, 1935, Western Province made up for this loss by shutting out the visiting Transvaal squad 10–0.⁷⁵ As in 1934, Stan Smith was the starting pitcher with Dalton behind the plate. Elder Woolley also represented the team in 1935, joined by Howard C. Badger, a new missionary and future South African Mission president (1967–70). The governor general again attended this game and, according to Dalton, remembered the returning missionaries by name.⁷⁶

The first three years of the Western Province Baseball Association and the Cumorah Baseball Club were giant successes as far as the Mormon missionaries were concerned. Not only were the Cumorahs one of the best teams in the league, but many of their players, especially Dalton and Smith, were considered provincial all-stars. With the end of the 1934–35 season, Dalton's tenure as mission president and Smith's two and a half years of missionary service ended. Dalton was both a skilled player and an expert manager; but his replacement, Le Grand P. Backman, a prominent Salt Lake attorney, was admittedly not very knowledgeable about baseball.⁷⁷ Still, Mormons and their missionaries continued to be influential in baseball's develop-

in South Africa, strictly speaking it was not a vision but rather a fervent hope. He first records this goal when he witnessed the response of the rugby spectators at Newlands Stadium in 1930. As the governor general strode out onto the field, "in the soul of one of them, a Mormon missionary [by which he meant himself], there came a vision of a marvelous work and a wonder to be done in South Africa." Dalton, "A Baseball Story," 8.

⁷³Dalton, "A Baseball Story," 45, records the score as 7–6; however, "Transvaal vs. Western Province," *Cumorah's Southern Messenger* 8, no. 4 (April 1934): 60, gives the score as 6–5. I have accepted it as the correct score, mainly because Dalton wrote his article a few years after returning to America.

⁷⁴"Transvaal vs. Western Province," 60–61.

⁷⁵"Western Province vs. Transvaal," *Cumorah's Southern Messenger* 9, no. 3 (March 1935): 43.

⁷⁶Dalton, "A Baseball Story," 44.

⁷⁷Wright, *The South African Mission*, 292.

ment throughout the Union, facilitating the game's spread to other cities along South Africa's coastline.

THE SPREAD OF BASEBALL IN THE UNION: 1935–40

As the popularity of baseball grew in Cape Town, thanks in large part to players and managers such as Don Mack Dalton, Stan Smith, Charlie Converse, and R. C. Robinson, the game spread to other port cities, notably Durban, Port Elizabeth, and East London. The game was also being developed further in Johannesburg. Once again, the missionaries played a central role in this expansion.

In Cape Town the league had steadily grown since that first season in 1932–33, and teams could be found throughout the city and its suburbs with many clubs forming “junior” squads that faced off in a second division. In fact, a Cumorah second division team was organized and saw action as early as the 1933–34 season.⁷⁸ Backman gallantly replaced Dalton as the Cumorahs' manager; and the team's momentum, amassed during the previous years, drove it to two championships under Backman's management.⁷⁹ It is a decisive measurement of the game's importance that it continued to have such a marked influence after Dalton's release.

The Cumorahs' starting lineup for the 1935–36 season saw missionaries fill all positions but short stop and one outfielder. The missionaries were Elders Albert E. Clarkson, William A. Sorenson (team captain), Ray F. Marsh, Julian B. Durham, John J. Bates, Lincoln W. Kener, Howard C. Badger, and Dee R. Parkinson, with “Master Dick Backman” as the team's mascot and ball boy.⁸⁰

Julian Durham would not complete the season with the team as he was reassigned to labor in Durban. He and his companion, Elder Robert R. Child, traveled with Natal's provincial team to play against a Western Province club that included three other Mormon missionaries—Sorenson, Badger, and Kener. Western Province clobbered the visitors 17–2; however, the report in the *Cumorah's Southern Messenger*

⁷⁸“Mission News, Cape District,” *Cumorah's Southern Messenger* 7, no. 11 (November 1933): 156.

⁷⁹Wright, *The South African Mission*, 292.

⁸⁰“Cumorah Baseball Team,” *Cumorah's Southern Messenger* 9, no. 10 (October 1935): 158. “Master Dick” was President Backman's son, Richard Price Backman.

communicated the missionaries' spirit of healthy competition and good sportsmanship:

At 4 o'clock, Saturday, 25th January [1936], the excitement began. The gates at the Rosebank Oval were flung open and in strode our three stalwarts, Elders Sorenson, Badger and Kener, all arrayed in Western Province splendour. Thrills and cheers met their ears, but look, a moment later two more staunch and sturdy trojans, Elders Durham and Child, were heralded in with the Natallers! Steadily Western Province built run on run—it was a bit one-sided. Two more innings to go and not a point for Natal. The crowd could not stand it—it was too much, when all of a sudden, "We want Durham! WE WANT DURHAM!" burst forth from the screaming mob. Durham had been playing first, but now he was put on the mound-pitcher. "Shut outs," both innings; the only time Natal had held the Provincers scoreless! Nice work, Elder Durham! In the 8th inning Natal scored two runs which did help; but anyway, our W.P.'s were too good. Sorenson and Kener just could not be "beat." Oh, yes, the score—17-2.⁸¹

This would not be the last time missionaries would be pitted against each other in provincial play. In fact, as the game spread it became a norm for each provincial team to have at least one Mormon missionary on its squad at any given time.

Outside of provincial tournaments and exhibition play, another example of missionaries competing against each other occurred in February 1936 when Orin Taysom, an elder playing for an East London team, traveled to Port Elizabeth to compete against the Port Elizabeth Red Sox, a club organized with the assistance of the missionaries during the 1934-35 season. After the game, Elder Taysom stayed in Port Elizabeth with his fellow missionaries for a few days before hitchhiking back up the coast.⁸² The Red Sox had a mediocre initial season but improved dramatically in their second and beat the defending champions, the Uitenhage Pirates, in the Eastern Province championship game in March 1936. Celebrating the Red Sox victory were two local Mormons, Otto and Bob Doller, as well as missionaries Ralph W.

⁸¹"Around the Diamond," *Southern Messenger* 10, no. 2 (February 1936): 25.

⁸²"Mission News, East London," *Cumorah's Southern Messenger* 10, no. 3 (March 1936): 45.

Millburn and Jack H. Bradshaw.⁸³

As the number of elders serving in the South African Mission increased (158 were called between 1935 and 1940), so, too, did their influence on baseball throughout the Union.⁸⁴ In Port Elizabeth, the increase generated the formation of a team that would provide overt advertisement for the Mormon cause.⁸⁵ In its only season of play, 1939–40, the Nauvoo Baseball Club, aptly nicknamed the Nauvoo Legion, had a difficult time maintaining a head of steam when two of its better players, Elders Preston T. Marchant and J. LeRoy Chatterley, were transferred halfway through the season. Its biggest accomplishment was upsetting the undefeated Uitenhage Pirates before ending a championship bid in a loss to the green and gold Firestones.⁸⁶ As the Nauvoo Legion case shows, the missionaries were often at a disadvantage due to transfers, releases, and of course, the fact that not all missionaries had played or even liked baseball. As the *Cumorah's Southern Messenger* put it: "The 'Mormon' ball team in P.E. [Port Elizabeth] this year, has met with its success and failure, but considering that the season was begun with five men who had never played a game of baseball, we feel that this year's ball playing has been great."⁸⁷ Furthermore, the focus on positive exposure and publicity, rather than wins and losses, was balm for the sting of defeat.

In addition to the Cumorahs and the Nauvoo Legion, the missionaries in South Africa organized a third baseball team. In September 1936, the elders serving in Johannesburg partnered with three former missionaries, all of whom had donned Cumorah uniforms in the past,⁸⁸ and organized an all-Mormon team called the Wembley

⁸³"Mission News, Port Elizabeth," *Cumorah's Southern Messenger* 10, no. 4 (April 1936): 62.

⁸⁴Monson, "History of the South African Mission," 145–46.

⁸⁵"District Highlights: East London," *Cumorah's Southern Messenger* 13, no. 11 (November 1939): 174.

⁸⁶"District Highlights: East London," *Cumorah's Southern Messenger* 14, no. 4 (April 1940): 62.

⁸⁷*Ibid.*

⁸⁸Randall and Wright as missionaries and Alldredge, who served his mission in 1927–29 before the organization of baseball, had been a mem-

Americans.⁸⁹ Clarence E. Randall, Evan P. Wright, and O. Layton Alldredge were American-born, former South African Mission missionaries who had returned to South Africa as businessmen to create a chain of ice cream parlors throughout the country.⁹⁰ Randall was definitely the most accomplished baseball player of the three and had previously been the Cumorahs' best Mormon pitcher (the best, R. C. Robinson, was not a Mormon) before Stan Smith's arrival. However, Wright was no slouch on the field nor was Alldredge who, despite having served his mission prior to the organization of the Cumorahs, had played for the maroon and white as a regular member and had even played for the Western Province all-stars one year.⁹¹ With the commitment of these members and an increased number of missionaries in Johannesburg, the Wembley Americans were able to field an all-Mormon team. The only South African was a convert named Bertie Price.⁹² Price was not only a valuable player but was also the team's coach and manager.

The team received a lot of press that first season, and expectations for the club were extremely high, especially in light of the reputation of the Cumorahs and the Mormons in Cape Town. An article published in Johannesburg's *Sunday Express* on October 25, 1936, spoke to public anticipation. The headline proclaimed, "Team of Non-Smokers and Teetotalers; American Ball Players at Wembley."

Among the new sides competing in the Saturday baseball league are the Wembley Americans, a club that promises to become one of the most popular in the competition. They are known as the Mormons, and for a very good reason, since the majority of the players are young missionaries from the State of Utah, assisting, among other things, to convince the world that Mormons are not polygamists. In every way

ber of the Mowbray Branch earlier in 1936.

⁸⁹"Mission News: Transvaal District," *Cumorah's Southern Messenger* 10, no. 10 (October 1936): 160.

⁹⁰Their parlors, the "Doll House," were quite successful for a time, but eventually the business was sold due to various circumstances, not the least of which was the effects of travel restrictions during World War II. Noble, "A History of Clarence Edward Randall," 123–72.

⁹¹"The Wembley Americans," *Cumorah's Southern Messenger* 10, no. 11 (November 1936): 165.

⁹²*Ibid.*

these Americans can be called a team. They are always in one another's company, they dine together and they play the game in a happy-go-lucky spirit that is certain to appeal. That they should not experience any great difficulty in attaining physical fitness is obvious from the mode of livelihood, for they are total abstainers and non-smokers, while in addition, they do not drink either tea or coffee.⁹³

The Wembley Americans did not disappoint that first year, clinching the Transvaal Baseball League's pennant with a victory over the Crown Mine Giants, 3–2.⁹⁴ Another noteworthy victory came when Harold Frederick Schauer, a long-time Cumorahs supporter transferred his loyalty to the Wembley Americans after he relocated to Johannesburg.⁹⁵ He was baptized by Elder Howard C. Badger (former Cumorahs captain and Western Province star turned Wembley Americans captain and Transvaal star) and confirmed by Elder Robert R. Child (former Natal player). That same year, Badger, Bertie Price, and Clarence Randall were moved from Johannesburg to Cape Town (in baseball terminology “traded” from the Wembley Americans to the Cumorahs), and, with Elder Dee R. Parkinson, were selected to play for Transvaal in another championship match against Western Province. The Cumorahs' star catcher, Elder William A. Sorenson, emerged victorious over his fellow missionaries.⁹⁶

During 1935–40, baseball spread throughout the Union of South Africa, and the Mormons and their missionaries seemed to be there every step of the way. By the time the 1939–40 season was com-

⁹³“The Wembley Americans,” *Cumorah's Southern Messenger* 10, no. 11 (November 1936): 165. Howard Pearson, “Mormon Missionary Baseball Team Makes Friends in South Africa,” *Deseret News*, January 23, 1937, 3, gives an account of the Wembley Americans and emphasizes the South African press's interest in the Word of Wisdom as a plausible reason for the team's athletic prowess and success.

⁹⁴“Mission News: Transvaal District,” *Cumorah's Southern Messenger* 11, no. 3 (March 1937): 47.

⁹⁵“Mission News: Transvaal District,” *Cumorah's Southern Messenger* 11, no. 2 (February 1937): 30.

⁹⁶*Ibid.*, 29–30. Although Parkinson was no longer living in Cape Town, the Western Province had already selected its team; when the Transvaal captain heard this, he immediately asked the young missionary to join the Transvaal side.

pleted, Mormon baseball teams could be found in Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, and Johannesburg with individual missionaries and members representing the Church in Durban and East London. President Backman was replaced in April 1938 by Richard E. Folland, who served through the end of World War II in 1944. Folland continued to emphasize baseball's usefulness as a positive missionary activity; and during that final season, the Cumorahs went on an eight-game winning streak until, in the 1940 championship game, Peninsula scored nine runs to Cumorahs' four.⁹⁷ This was the last game played by the Cumorahs or any other Mormon missionary and team in South Africa for nearly seven years. By the end of 1940, the only missionaries in the country were President Folland and his wife, Josephine; the rest had been called back to the United States and military service.⁹⁸

However, the war was an interruption, not the end for the Cumorah Baseball Club. When young missionaries were once again sent to South Africa, beginning in October 1946,⁹⁹ they donned anew the maroon and white uniforms of the Cumorahs.

THE FINAL YEARS OF THE CUMORAHS: 1947–54

The Cumorah Baseball Club went back into action on October 11, 1947. "If one would happen to pass Cumorah during off hours these days you would see baseballs flying in all directions, bats swinging, hear the thud of balls being caught in mits [sic], and encouraging shouts and ball talk," reported the *Cumorah's Southern Messenger* in its October 1947 issue.¹⁰⁰ Because of their past reputation and successes, the team was automatically placed in the first division and, despite some trepidation about predicting the team's future that season, the mission magazine's author concludes: "If the team gets as hot as it sounds and looks they should be able to give the local talent plenty of

⁹⁷William D. Wiscomb, "Baseball," *Cumorah's Southern Messenger* 14, no. 5 (May 1940): 72–73.

⁹⁸All but one of Folland's missionaries were American. The exception was Norman G. Muir of Johannesburg who served a three-month mission in the Eastern Province. Wright, *The South African Mission*, 308.

⁹⁹Monson, "History of the South African Mission," 104.

¹⁰⁰"About the Mission," *Cumorah's Southern Messenger* 22, no. 10 (October 1947): 134.

competition. Everyone is rarin' to go!"¹⁰¹ The Cumorahs fell in their first game to the University of Cape Town, 7-1, at Rondebosch Diamond.¹⁰² However, the missionaries were heartened by older fans from past years who supported them with shouts of "Cumorah" and "Mormon!"

No other mention is made of games during that first season in the *Cumorah's Southern Messenger*. In fact, it was not until September 1948 that the mission magazine mentioned baseball in the context of preparations for the new season.¹⁰³ This gap in reporting suggests that, despite the reorganization of the Cumorahs, baseball after World War II had moved from the center of missionary practice to the periphery. The next month, the magazine reported that a new pitcher, Ted Adderly, had joined the Cumorahs from a Transvaal team.¹⁰⁴ However, in October alone, the Cumorahs lost to the Varsity Old Boys, 3-2; the University of Cape Town, 2-1; and Stellenbosch University, 3-1.¹⁰⁵ Despite the lack of success, the mission and its current, though soon to be replaced, president, June Bennion Sharp,¹⁰⁶ were still hopeful that the team could turn the season around. The November 1948 *Cumorah's Southern Messenger* reported that "they showed lots of pluck, however, and insist that they are determined to redeem these losses in the near future." This same review also contained the first mention of a women's softball league in Cape Town, in which a Cumorah team, nicknamed the "Mormon Maids," participated under the tutelage of coaches Elders Heber R. Olsen and G. Ronald

¹⁰¹Ibid.

¹⁰²"Mission News," *Cumorah's Southern Messenger* 22, no. 11 (October 1947): 144.

¹⁰³"District Highlights: Mowbray Branch," *Cumorah's Southern Messenger* 23, no. 9 (September 1948): 93.

¹⁰⁴"District Highlights: Cape District," *Cumorah's Southern Messenger* 23, no. 11 (November 1948): 116. There is no evidence that Adderly was either a Mormon or a missionary.

¹⁰⁵"District Highlights: Cape District," *Cumorah's Southern Messenger* 23, no. 11 (November 1948): 116.

¹⁰⁶Sharp, who had served as a missionary in South Africa under Nicholas G. Smith (1913-15), was mission president from August 1944 to November 1948 when Evan P. Wright was assigned to be his replacement.

Bowles.¹⁰⁷ This softball team existed as late as the 1951–52 season.¹⁰⁸ The women’s team in its initial season, 1948–49, made it to the semi-finals of the provincial championships, beating Sea Point, Varsity, and the University of Cape Town before falling victim to the Ace of Clubs.¹⁰⁹ Joan Baker, the team’s star pitcher, was chosen to represent Western Province that year and shut out the Eastern Province’s best during exhibition play.¹¹⁰

During the 1948–49 season, the *Cumorah’s Southern Messenger* reported monthly on the Cumorahs’ activities; but it lost all of its games during the first three months of play, October through December. Their first and only win of the season finally came in January 1949 when the team beat the Varsity Old Boys 9–8.¹¹¹ For the next two years, the Cumorahs played in the second division; and except for two victories at the opening of the 1951–52 season, its activities no longer appeared in the mission magazine.¹¹² During the 1951–52 season, the team improved drastically and played in the first division for its penultimate season in 1952–53 with two missionaries, Leo Miller and Don Manning, as its stars.¹¹³ Both were selected to play for Western Province and led the Cumorahs to their best finish since World War II—fourth out of eight teams in the first division.¹¹⁴

The last mention of the Cumorah Baseball Club in the *Cumorah’s Southern Messenger* was a simple report of an end-of-season celebration in May 1954.¹¹⁵ It coincided with the farewell celebration for the mission president, Evan Wright, one of Don Mack Dalton’s original players. The reduced number of wins, coupled with a fall in

¹⁰⁷Ibid.

¹⁰⁸Beatrice E. Smith, “District Highlights: Cape District,” *Cumorah’s Southern Messenger* 26, no. 11 (November 1951): 173.

¹⁰⁹Beatrice E. Smith, “District Highlights: Softball Double Eliminator,” *Cumorah’s Southern Messenger* 24, no. 3 (March 1949): 40.

¹¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹¹“Mission News: Baseball Win,” *Cumorah’s Southern Messenger* 24, no. 1 (January 1949): 7

¹¹²Beatrice E. Smith, “District Highlights: Cape District,” *Cumorah’s Southern Messenger* 26, no. 11 (November 1951): 173.

¹¹³Wright, *The South African Mission*, 101.

¹¹⁴Ibid.

¹¹⁵Beatrice E. Smith, “District Highlights: Mowbray Branch,”

media coverage reduced the significance of its “friend-making” goals; but interestingly, rising to capture public interest was American basketball in which Mormon missionaries again participated.¹¹⁶

CONCLUSION

While probably few living Mormons or baseball fans witnessed the Cumorah Baseball Club in action, its legacy as one of the earliest and most successful baseball teams in South Africa endures. The story of the Cumorahs cannot be separated from its founder, manager, catcher, and first captain, Don Mack Dalton. Indeed, it was due to this charismatic Mormon that the club and the Mormon Church in South Africa were able to compete both on and off the diamond. Dalton’s efforts were leveraged by the timely arrival of Elder Stanford Smith, who became the poster boy for Mormonism and baseball in South Africa, and it was because of the increasing popularity of the sport that Dalton’s hope of shaking hands with the governor general of South Africa became a reality.

Even after the departure of Dalton and Smith, the Cumorahs continued to earn positive results on the diamond and won multiple championships before World War II suspended play throughout the country. Despite the difficulties faced in combining a sports program with missionary service—callings, releases, transfers, tracting, and branch responsibilities—baseball spread throughout the mission between 1935 and 1940. Missionaries organized teams in Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth, while individual missionaries and members played for teams in Durban and East London. During this period of expansion, Mormon missionaries played for four separate provincial teams at the same time. Western Province always had a ready supply of Cumorah athletes, while Eastern Province drew first from the Red Sox and later from the Mormon Nauvoo Legion. For Transvaal, the Wembley Americans became a main source of talent; and in Natal, various missionaries played in exhibition games and national championship runs.

World War II not only put an end to baseball in South Africa but also to the presence of Mormon missionaries until 1946. It took an

Cumorah’s Southern Messenger 29, no. 5 (May 1954): 82.

¹¹⁶See, e.g., James Arcot, “Mormons among Us,” *Spotlight* (Johannesburg), September 24, 1948, 3–5.

other year for the Western Province Baseball Association to reorganize with an offer being made to the Cumorahs to join the league's first division. The missionaries obliged the league; but despite their enthusiasm, they could not match their pre-war record; and after two seasons with only a single victory, they were relegated to the second division. Two years later, the club made a comeback and, in its penultimate season, competed in the league's top division. This renewed effort was no doubt spearheaded by Evan P. Wright, the mission's new president and former player for the Cumorahs and Wembley Americans. Wright's term as president began late in 1948 and lasted until January 1953. After Wright's departure, the Cumorahs played one final season, then retired from the league in 1954.

This chronicle has been written to benefit the history of baseball in South Africa as well as the history of Mormonism in the country. In the narrative of baseball in South Africa, the Cumorah Baseball Club plays a central role in its introductory period. Don Mack Dalton cannot be separated from the organization of the Western Province Baseball Association, nor can he and Stanford Smith be omitted from a list of the best players to ever don Western Province baseball colors. The club's initial and continued success from 1932 to 1940 was unparalleled by any other team, and with this success came popularity that helped the game to grow and expand.

The story of the Cumorahs and Mormonism run parallel during this period in South Africa. Before Dalton's presidency, the Church had fewer than six hundred adherents in the whole of South Africa. Furthermore, most citizens disdained it. While the Cumorahs and the other Mormon baseball teams cannot claim large numbers of converts, they succeeded in reinventing the Mormon image in South Africa. Press coverage was positive. Missionaries, as exemplified by Elder Stan Smith, were welcomed by large and respectful audiences. In sum, the Cumorah Baseball Club played an important introductory role in transforming the image of Mormonism from nineteenth-century polygamy to an admirable twentieth-century form of Christianity.

MORMONS AND INDIANS IN CENTRAL VIRGINIA: J. GOLDEN KIMBALL AND THE MASON FAMILY'S NATIVE AMERICAN ORIGINS

Jay Hansford C. Vest

IN 1883 MORMON MISSIONARIES J. GOLDEN KIMBALL and Charles Welch arrived at Riverside Station in eastern Rockbridge County, Virginia. Some twelve days later, the elders made their way to a mountain outpost known as Orinoco where they met members of the Peter Mason family. Upon meeting the family patriarch, Kimball wrote: "He was of Indian descent, his skin being almost as dark as an Indian's. His hair was long and black."¹ He further commented that Mrs. Mason "was somewhat of a doctress," thus emphasizing her use of traditional herbal medicines characteristic of the Native community.

JAY HANSFORD C. VEST {jay.vest@uncp.edu} is an enrolled member of the Monacan Indian Nation, a direct descendent of Opechanchanough (Pamunkey), and an Honorary Pikuni (Blackfeet) through a ceremonial adoption (June 1989). He is a professor of American Indian studies at the University of North Carolina at Pembroke.

¹Ruth Knight Bailey, "Lost Tribes: Indian Mormons in the Blue Ridge Mountains of Virginia," *Crossroads: A Southern Culture Annual*, edited by Ted Olson (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 2004), 141-47; rpt., with updates and additional illustrations, as "Virginia Race Records, Mormon Priesthood, and Indian Identity," *Proceedings of the Rockbridge Historical Soci-*

Kimball's observations are significant in giving ethnic and racial origins to the Mason family and in affirming the central Virginia Indian remnant in its survival. Identifying the Mason family as Indian, Kimball encouraged them to convert to Mormonism. Subsequently his efforts led to a long-standing Mormon Indian community in the central Blue Ridge region at Buena Vista, Virginia. This LDS branch affirmed a continuing devotion to the Mormon faith. In doing so, they crafted a religion merging Western and indigenous values that persisted despite the racial oppression of Virginia-mandated discrimination. This article examines the indigenous origins of the Mason family and others in the Rockbridge Mormon-Indian community.

Remnants of a significant Native American community in north central Virginia along the spine of the Blue Ridge Mountains have long been acknowledged. Scholars have identified two interconnected cells across the central Blue Ridge in contemporary Rockbridge and Amherst counties, Virginia. Initially dubbed with derogatory labels—Rockbridge “Brownies” and Amherst “Issues”—these cells have long maintained their indigenous heritage while fighting the apartheid segregation politics of exclusion common to Virginia in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.² In part this indigenous community has been acknowledged and affirmed as the Monacan Indian Nation—tribally recognized by the state of Virginia in 1989.³ However, a significant portion of the community associated with the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has been overlooked and excluded from Monacan tribal enrollment. In an effort to clarify and affirm the American Indian ancestry of these overlooked Natives, I offer this explication of Mormon missionary activities with the Mason family dating to the nineteenth century and its Native

ety, edited by Robert S. Keefe (Lexington, Va.: Rockbridge Historical Society, 2009).

²Jay Hansford C. Vest, “Native, Aboriginal, Indigenous: Who Counts as Indian in Virginia?” in *Mid-Atlantic Conference on the Scholarship of Diversity: Conference Proceedings*, edited by Janet Sawyer (Blacksburg: Virginia Tech, 2004), <http://nativeamericansofdelawarestate.com/who%20counts%20as%20indian%20in%20post%20apartheid%20virginia.pdf> (accessed December 13, 2013).

³General Assembly of Virginia, *House Joint Resolution No. 390* offered January 24, 1989, extending state recognition to the Monacan Indian Tribe of Amherst County.

American heritage as affirmed in the historical record. My intent is to affirm Indian identity across the Blue Ridge inclusive of the hitherto-excluded Mormon mission. This group has been excluded in the acknowledgment of the Monacan Indian Nation at Bear Mountain in Amherst Country, Virginia.

Upon the arrival of the English in 1607, the interior province of present-day Virginia—including the Piedmont, Blue Ridge, and Shenandoah Valley area, and westward along the New River into the present-day Alleghany Mountains of West Virginia—were held exclusively by the Monacan Indian Alliance of tribes. Of these, the Nahyssan group, including the Monasukapanough or Saponi and the Yesang or Tutelo occupied the central Piedmont, Blue Ridge, and Shenandoah Valley region—an area of general expanse from present-day Charlottesville to Roanoke.⁴

Anthropologist James Mooney writes that, until 1670, these Monacan tribes had been “little disturbed by whites,” although they were given to much shifting about due to “the wars waged against them by the Iroquois.”⁵ Initial contacts with colonial explorers and the Nahyssans, Yesang, and Saponi began in the 1670s with the German physician-explorer, John Lederer, as well as the trade-oriented Batts and Fallam expedition. Independent Indian traders had apparently already made commercial and social inroads among the central Virginia tribes. By the time of Bacon’s Rebellion in 1676, the Monacan tribes began to ally themselves with their Occaneechi confederates on a series of islands in the Roanoke River (formerly Saponi River) near contemporary Clarksville, Virginia. Prompted to take this defensive strategy by their implacable enemies from the north, the Iroquois, the Monacans sought security in forming a treaty alliance with the Virginia colony.⁶

By 1685, Iroquois raids directed at the Tuteloes in Virginia prompted the colonial governor of Virginia, Lord Francis Howard, fifth Baron of Effingham and governor of Virginia (1683–92), to treat

⁴James Mooney, *The Siouan Tribes of the East*, U.S. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 22, Smithsonian Institution (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1984), 23–55.

⁵*Ibid.*, 26.

⁶“Treaty between Virginia and the Indians, 1677,” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 14, no. 3 (January 1907): 289–97.

with the Hodenosaunee at Albany. The Iroquois had been harassing the Tuteloes, who were under the supervision and protection of Virginia, with the intent of driving them “into the Covenant Chain as direct tributaries of the Five Nations rather than through the intermediation of Virginia.”⁷ Lord Howard’s treaty concluded with a pledge from the Iroquois to stay behind the mountains and beyond the Virginia settlements; the Hodenosaunee “demanded that the Virginians send one of their allied tribes to become an Iroquois tributary.”⁸ While Lord Howard assumed that he had secured the Iroquois League’s agreement to halt its wars upon the Virginia tribal tributaries, the matter was by no means settled; and the Iroquois continued to raid the Nahyssans.

In accordance with the frontier policy of Virginia Governor Alexander Spotswood, these Nahyssan tribes agreed in 1714 by treaty to occupy and possess the Fort Christanna Reservation near present-day Lawrenceville, Virginia. A mutual protection compact, the 1714 treaty provided for a reservation of six miles square, 23,040 acres, a palisaded fort with cannons, a group of armed rangers for defense, and a school for Indian children, as well as a governing factor commanding the post and administering Indian affairs under the authority of the Virginia Indian Company.⁹ Continuing their depredations against the Nahyssans, the Iroquois in 1717 launched an attack upon a visiting delegation of Catawba leaders who were camped outside the fort as invited guests of the Virginia government.¹⁰ While Iroquois raiding parties continued to boldly march through the colonial settlements of Virginia in 1719, Spotswood began negotiations with the governors of Pennsylvania and New York, seeking a means to secure peace with the Hodenosaunee. As his concerns increased, Spotswood communicated his fears regarding these “Northern Indians” to the Virginia executive council, declaring that the Iroquois were “threat-

⁷Francis Jennings, *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire: The Covenant Chain Confederation of Indian Tribes with English Colonies* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1984), 180.

⁸*Ibid.*, 182.

⁹“Treaty of Peace between Virginia and the Saponies, Stuckanoes, Occoneechees, and Totteros, Feb. 27, 1713[14]” (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, document CO5/1316), 619–27.

¹⁰H. R. McIlwaine, ed., *Executive Journal of the Council of Colonial Virginia* (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1928), 3:450–52.

ening to come in greater Numbers to Fall upon the English of the Colony and so cutt off and destroy the Saponie Indians.”¹¹ Spotswood accordingly petitioned the New York government and the Hodelsaunee for a conference designed to secure a lasting peace.

In September 1722, during the treaty conference at Albany, the Iroquois revealed their bitter hatred toward the Nahyssan tribes. “Though there is among you,” they replied to the Virginians, “a nation, the Todirichones, against whom we have had so inveterate an enmity that we thought it could only be extinguished by their total extirpation, yet, since you desire it, we are willing to receive them into this peace, and to forget all the past.”¹² Even afterwards, in 1729 when renewing the covenant of 1685 with Virginia and Maryland, the Iroquois deputies presented a wampum belt to Governor Spotswood “in token of their friendship, and blandly requested permission to exterminate the Totero [Tutelo].”¹³ Mooney concluded, “The great overmastering fact in the history of the Siouan tribes of the east is that of their destruction by the Iroquois.”¹⁴

Although it would appear that the Monacan tribes had departed from Virginia in about 1740 to join the Iroquois in New York, an aboriginal population has long been noted in Amherst, Nelson, and Rockbridge counties along the central Blue Ridge.¹⁵ In recent years, scholarly consideration of these central Blue Ridge Indian communities has advanced considerably, thanks to the work of Peter Houck. Houck’s *Indian Island in Amherst County*¹⁶ manifests significant scholarly efforts in exploring and explicating the mystery and history of the Rockbridge-Amherst Indian communities that William Harlan

¹¹Ibid., 2:507–9.

¹²E. B. O’Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of New York: Procured in Holland, England, and France by John Romeyn Brodhead* (Albany, N.Y.: Weed, Parsons, 1853–87), 5:660.

¹³Leonidas Dodson, *Alexander Spotswood: Governor of Colonial Virginia 1710–1722* (1932; rpt., New York: AMS Press, 1969), 105.

¹⁴Mooney, *Siouan Tribes of the East*, 14.

¹⁵William Harlan Gilbert Jr., “Surviving Indian Groups in the Eastern United States,” *Annual Report*, Smithsonian Institution (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1948), 407.

¹⁶Peter W. Houck, *Indian Island in Amherst County* (Lynchburg, Va.: Warwick House for Lynchburg Historical Society, 1984).

Gilbert noted in 1948. Indeed, Houck's work served as the benchmark for the state's formal recognition of the Monacan tribe of Virginia in 1989.

While Houck, Karenne Wood, and Diane Shields¹⁷ accept the Monacan as resident at the Fort Christanna Reservation, they provide no evidentiary link. In fact, the Monacan Indian Nation presumes an *in situ* relation at Bear Mountain in Amherst County as if they had never left the region during the height of Iroquois depredations. As support for this position, they cite archaeologist David Bushnell's 1914 work, but Bushnell only speculated on Monacan origins. Examining "the Indian Grave" near Monticello in Albemarle County, Bushnell noted Jefferson's reference to Indian mourners attending the site in about 1780. He also recognized that other area residents witnessed Indian mourners at local burial mounds. He concluded: "At present time there are living along the foot of the Blue Ridge, in Amherst County, a number of families who possess Indian features and other characteristics of Aborigines. Their language contains Indian words; but as yet no study has been made of their language. While these people may represent the last remnants of various tribes, still it is highly probable that among them are living the last of the Monacan."¹⁸ Acknowledging that "remnants of various tribes" are manifest in the central Blue Ridge region, this deduction, unlike Gilbert's conclusion, is, nonetheless, highly plausible and aboriginally manifest in the Monacan Indian Nation.

Although never explicitly traced, several historical and genealogical sources tend to affirm that the Monacan Nation and their Indian associates in Rockbridge-Amherst Counties are derived from the Fort Christanna Reservation. First is a correspondence of surnames in the community—Urvin (Irvine), Turner, Floyd, and West (Vest)—that are associated with land patents adjoining Saponi Old Fort and Unote in

¹⁷Ibid., 26; Karenne Wood and Diane Shields, *The Monacan Indians: Our Own Story* (Madison Heights, Va.: Office of Historical Research, Monacan Indian Nation, n.d.), 16–17.

¹⁸David I. Bushnell Jr., "The Indian Grave: A Monacan Site in Albemarle County, Virginia," *William and Mary Historical Quarterly Magazine* 23, no. 2 (October 1914): 112.

southside Virginia.¹⁹ Second, the surnames of several Indian traders—Beverly, Irwin (Irvine), Jones (Johns), and Hix (Hicks)—who were members of the Virginia Indian Company that governed Fort Christanna under the Indian Trade Act, have survived in part among the Monacan tribe today.²⁰ Third, in 1728, while these Saponies occupied Fort Christanna, William Byrd II conducted, on behalf of Colonial Virginia, a survey of the dividing line between Virginia and North Carolina designed to resolve border settlement disputes.²¹

In a widely reported oral tradition, an Indian trader named Hughes was reportedly active among the Rockbridge/Amherst Indians as early as 1720.²² While this date may not be exact, due to the Iroquois hostilities and the evidence that the Saponi-Monacan tribes were then at the Fort Christanna Reservation, Trader Hughes was no doubt active within the area sometime from the 1720s to the 1740s.

Local folklore has preserved the legend of Hughes, the Indian trader, and his Indian wife, Nicketti. Omitting Trader Hughes from the legend, Brown wrote: “Opechancanough, the celebrated chief of the Powhatans, who was brutally murdered, while a prisoner, in 1644, left a lovely young daughter, the child of his old age, the Princess Nicketti—‘she sweeps the dew from the flowers.’ Some years after this graceful Indian maiden had reached the years of mature womanhood, a member (the name is not given) of one of the Cavalier families of Virginia ‘fell in love with her and she with him,’ and the result was a clandestine marriage, and a half-breed Indian girl who married about the year 1680 a Welshman (others say a native of Devonshire, England,) named Nathaniel Davis, an Indian trader, and, according

¹⁹Jane Douglas Summers Brown, “The Saponi Indians: Their Town and Fort of 1708–1714,” *Quarterly Bulletin [of the Archeological Society of Virginia]* 50, no. 2 (June 1995): 1–12; Roy R. Sasser and Denis Hodgins, “Colonial Land Patents for Saponi Old Fort and Unote,” in *ibid.*, 20–23.

²⁰Dodson, *Alexander Spotswood*, 85 note 23.

²¹William G. Stannard, ed., “The Indians of Southern Virginia, 1650–1711,” *The Magazine of History and Biography* 7, no. 4 (April 1900): 337.

²²Rev. Edgar Woods, *Albemarle County in Virginia* (Charlottesville, Va.: Michie Company Printers, 1901), 49–50; Catherine Seaman, *Tuckahoe and Cohees: The Settlers and Cultures of Amherst and Nelson Counties 1607–1807* (Sweetbriar, Va.: The Sweet Briar College Printing Press, 1992), 156–57; and Houck, *Indian Island in Amherst County*, 31.

to some accounts, a Quaker.”²³ Although fanciful, this account is reportedly an oral tradition recorded for the Floyd family who claimed Indian descent from “Princess Nicketti.”

Significantly, a Dr. Harry Floyd is reported to be a grantee of Saponi land as early as 1719 in the near vicinity of Fort Christanna.²⁴ Floyd was, therefore, both an associate of the Saponi-Monacan and Francis West, the son of Captain John West. While the story does not match an exact chronology, it figuratively matches several historical events. First, the daughter of Opechancanough fell in love with a member of a Cavalier family and had a child. Historically Cockacoeske, the daughter of Opechancanough in his late years, did in fact have a child by Colonel John West, who was a descendant of an “old Cavalier family” and former colonial governor. Referred to as a “princess” in the narrative, Opechancanough’s daughter Cockacoeske was in fact the subsequent sovereign of her people and known as Ann, Queen of Pamunkey.²⁵ Her son, Colonel John West, was born in approximately 1656, named for his father, and became known as Captain John West. At age twenty, he joined his mother in signing the treaty of the Middle Plantation in 1677. While the legend suggests that “Princess Nicketti” married a Welshman or Quaker named Davis about 1680, it seems more probable that Captain John West had a daughter at this time who was more probably Nicketti. Accordingly, “Princess Nicketti” was the sister of Francis West and properly a West herself.²⁶ Nicketti would then be an appropriate age for a union with Trader Hughes, and their children would have been about the same ages as those born to the Dr. Harry Floyd

²³Alexander Brown, *The Cabells and Their Kin* (Richmond, Va.: Garrett and Massie, 1939), 46–47.

²⁴Sasser and Hodgins, “Colonial Land Patents for Saponi Old Fort and Unote,” 20–23.

²⁵Helen C. Rountree, *Pocahontas’s People: The Powhatan Indians of Tidewater Virginia through Four Centuries* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 98–112.

²⁶Personal knowledge from oral tradition, the Nicketti legend also survived in the Vest family, whose surname is devolved from “West.” See also Jay Hansford C. Vest, “Opechancanough and the Monacans: The Legend of Trader Hughes and Princess Nicketti Reconsidered,” *Quarterly Bulletin [of the Archeological Society of Virginia]* 60, no. 4 (December 2005):

who lived nearby Fort Christanna in 1719.

Although several tribal segments or bands, including members of the Tutelo, Saponi, and Occaneechi, joined the Iroquois in the Hodenosaunee confederation, aboriginal Monacans, nonetheless, appear to have returned from Fort Christanna to the central Blue Ridge region of Rockbridge and Amherst Counties about 1740. An indication of these survivals is, moreover, evidenced in the appearance of some twenty-six Sapony Indians in an Orange County Court in May 1740. These Saponi then inhabited land belonging to the former colonial governor, Alexander Spotswood, at Fox Neck near Germanna on the north side of the Rapidan River.²⁷ In January 1742–43, ten Sapony Indians were subsequently arrested for hog stealing and burning the woods, among other charges, and were brought before the Orange Court, then held near Somerville Ford on the Rapidan River. These men included Alex Machartion, John Bowling, Maniassa, Caft Tom, Isaac Harry, Blind Tom, Foolish Jack, Charles Griffin, John Collins, and Little Jack.²⁸ Their apparent benefactor, Spotswood, had secured the Fort Christanna Reservation by treaty in 1714 and the Germanna colony that he founded during the same period.²⁹ Based on the court record, these Saponi had been removed from their treaty lands and were living in the central Blue Ridge. With the acknowledgment of Charles Griffin, the apparent son of the Fort Christanna schoolmaster of the same name, there can be little doubt that their tribal origin devolved through Fort Christanna. What remains in question is whether they subsequently joined the Iroquois or retained a homeland in the central Blue Ridge region. Grinnan noted that “several white gentlemen sympathizing with them, went security on their bail bonds, and the poor fellows soon settled up their affairs and left the county. Tradition however says that one remained and long lived on the Gwin Mountains below

198–215; and Jay Hansford C. Vest, “From Nansemond to Monacan: The Legacy of the Pochick-Nansemond upon the Bear Mountain Monacan,” *American Indian Quarterly*, 27, no. 3 (Fall 2003): 781–806.

²⁷A. G. Grinnan, “The Last Indians in Orange County, Virginia,” *Virginia Historical Magazine* 3, no. 2 (1895–96): 189.

²⁸*Ibid.*, 190.

²⁹“Treaty of Peace between Virginia and the Saponies, Stuckanoes, Occoneechees, and Totteros, Feb. 27, 1713[14].”

Rapidan Station, subsisting by hunting and charity of neighboring farmers.”³⁰

Given that old Orange County joined old Augusta County from whence Rockbridge came, and that Amherst and Nelson counties devolved from old Albemarle County, the Fox Neck-Rapidan Station area is some sixty to eighty miles distant from the Rockbridge-Amherst area where the remaining Monacan is said to have survived in the 1740s. As a result, we can suspect the probability of an affiliation between the last Saponi of Orange County and the Indians of Rockbridge-Amherst counties. In fact, at approximately the same period as the Orange County Court proceedings involving the Saponi, there is evidence of a significant Indian presence in the Rockbridge-Amherst counties area. Historian [Jane] Douglas Summers Brown, writing about the early Quaker community near Lynchburg, reports: “When the scouts who proceeded the Hat Creek colony in 1742 went over this ground they could find only one aged white man. He was the only one of his kind in a radius of forty-five miles. Indians who disputed its possession, and offered combat with the Whites from the first[,] inhabited the region. Some were of the Saponi nation but most of these red men were of the Tuscaroras tribe and were commonly called Monocans.”³¹ The historical Monacan communities of Bear Mountain, Oronoco, Irish Creek, and Hico are all within this forty-five mile radius of Hat Creek.

The antiquity of the Rockbridge-Amherst Indian communities is further affirmed by surveyor William Cabell. In 1743, he noted that the area was almost exclusively inhabited by Indians who robbed him while he was surveying the land: “I was the occasion of carrying the settlements at 50 miles to the Westward when no other man would attempt it. . . . In one of my attempts to locate those outlands I was robbed by the Indians of little less than £90, as I am able to prove.”³² An Order of Council subsequently approved Cabell’s patent for land

³⁰Grinnan, “Last Indians in Orange County, Virginia,” 190.

³¹[Jane] Douglas Summers Brown, *A History of Lynchburg’s Pioneer Quakers and Their Meeting House, 1670–1758* (Lynchburg, Va.: J. P. Bell, 1936), 41–42.

³²Brown, *The Cabells and Their Kin*, 49–50.

in the area on May 6, 1743.³³ In fact a decade earlier, ca. 1730–34, Cabell reported that he was “chopping out” survey lands when his party was surrounded by a large body of Indians. The Indians had followed his “chops” through the woods and they were very incensed about them. Credited with being a quick-witted fellow, Cabell is said to have explained that the marks were only a means of finding their way back. This explanation reportedly pacified the Indians so that they spared his life.³⁴ As a result, these obscure references establish two interrelated points: first, Indians almost exclusively inhabited the area, and second, it was an area untrammled by colonialists—Europeans and Africans—in the 1740s. It thus appears that the Indians living there were sovereigns of their land, acting as such when they challenged Cabell as an interloper.

The question remains, however, of where these Indians connected with the “last Saponey” of Orange County. While largely overlooked by scholars and undervalued by the tribe, there does appear to be a source that ties these “last Saponey Indians of Orange County” with the contemporary Monacan community. First, it should be noted that, by the last quarter of the seventeenth century, Virginia Indians were increasingly using first names and some surnames.³⁵ It is this practice and the genealogy that devolves from it that permits us to address this question. The surname in common with both the Orange County Saponey and the Bear Mountain Monacan is Jack. Two of the Saponey Indians called into Orange County Court in 1742 are identified by the soubriquets of “Foolish Jack” and “Little Jack.” It seems highly probable that they are the source of the Jack surname among the Monacan that Cathy Smoot Carson identified. In her work, *Matohe*, Carson traces her ancestry through her grandmother Sarah Susan Vess Jack, declaring it to be German with roots in Pennsylvania. However the evidence of the Jack surname among the Saponi and the immediacy of Germanna, the German colony estab-

³³Ibid., 49–50.

³⁴Ibid., 43.

³⁵Rountree, *Pocahontas's People*, 112, 154–55; Jay Hansford C. Vest, *Hico Legacy: The Indian Ancestry of the Vest, Hamilton, Ramsey, Jarvis, Bias, Laurman, Mays, Shepherd, Camden, Clark, Evans, Hicks, Urwin Families of Rockbridge-Amherst Counties, Virginia* (Clinton, N.Y.: Hamilton College Print Shop, 2002), 1–23.

lished at Fox Neck by Governor Spotswood in 1713, suggests a more compelling genealogy given the other significant Monacan surname associations with the Redcross and Vest/West/Vess lineages.³⁶ That the Jack lineage would appear in the ancestry of a contemporary Monacan tribal member suggests that the known Saponey Indians, Foolish Jack and Little Jack, were among the progenitors of the Rockbridge-Amherst Indian community during the 1740 era surveys of Cabell. A connection to the Fort Christanna Saponi Reservation is clearly implicated in this Orange County history of the “last Saponey Indians” and the Indians of Rockbridge-Amherst counties during the 1740s, as well as in today’s Monacan Indian Nation.

In a related connection to Orange County and former colonial Governor Alexander Spotswood’s holdings there, James Hamilton turned in wolf’s heads during 1737–45.³⁷ Hamilton, an ancestral surname acknowledged by the contemporary Monacan Indian Nation, was probably a descendant of George Hamilton, an Indian trader involved with the Saponi at Fort Christanna, ca. 1720s. Hamilton’s turning in wolf heads in old Orange County when a band of Saponi Indians was present in the area,³⁸ is significant given the fact that tributary Indians were required to turn in a specified number of wolf heads each year. In 1772, a James Hamilton subsequently accompanied his apparent uncle, Luke Hamilton, to the Montebello area in old Amherst County. At Montebello, these Hamiltons joined their kinsman, Henry Hamilton, who had been an original landowner in the area, accounted then as old Albemarle County since 1744.³⁹ These two events (turning in wolf heads as required of Indians in an area with an active Native presence and residing in an exclusively Indian domain—the Montebello area of 1744)⁴⁰ affirm the Hamiltons as Saponi descendants who were consolidating themselves into an

³⁶Cathy Smoot Carson, *Matohe: A Labour of Love*, researched and documented by Mary B. Oliver, genealogist (Lynchburg, Va.: Warwicke House, n.d.), 44–85.

³⁷Oren Morton, *History of Rockbridge County Virginia* (Baltimore, Md.: Clearfield Company, 1994), 54.

³⁸Grinnan, “Last Indians in Orange County, Virginia,” 191.

³⁹Albemarle County Court House, Charlottesville, Virginia, Survey: Amherst 1744–1748 Deed Book 21:364.

⁴⁰Summers Brown, “The Saponi Indians,” 1–12.

Indian nation in the central Blue Ridge.

A confirmation of the Fort Christanna connection nevertheless stands prominently as the contemporary Monacan Nation seeks to assert its sovereignty and affirm its historic cultural ties to a Siouan ancestry. In the first case, a historical connection to Fort Christanna and the Saponi occupants is necessary to affirm the treaty rights that entail a continuing fiduciary obligation with the United States. In this manner, Monacan sovereignty is affirmed via the Fort Christanna treaty of 1714. In the second case, as the contemporary Monacan Nation seeks to revive its Indian cultural ancestry, a historical tie to specific Native peoples is essential to an affirmation of their cultural authenticity.

Acknowledging the central Blue Ridge Native community in 1755, cartographer Lewis Evans published a map that located the "Monacan and Tuscarora" Indians in the Tobacco Row and adjacent mountains.⁴¹ Subsequently, on April 29, 1757, a delegation of Tuscarora, Maherrins, Saponies, and Nottoways visited Williamsburg and were given an audience with colonial officials. At this meeting, the Saponi, Tuscaroras, and allies agreed to assist the English and go to war against the French.⁴² It was thought that, at this time (1757), the Tuscaroras had removed to New York where they lived near the Oneida and that the Saponi had joined the Tutelo in removing to Shamokin, Pennsylvania, under the protection of the Six Nations. This engagement, however, with colonial Virginia officials, together with the Evans map, suggest that remnants of these tribes were now inhabiting the central Blue Ridge. In seeking to secure the colonial frontier, Governor Spotswood in 1713 proposed the settlement of tributary Indians and a band of German immigrants along the borders. Under assault from the Iroquois, the Monacan tribes left their homelands by about 1700 and joined together in southside Virginia near Unote, present-day Emporia. In a treaty agreement (traditionally dated 1713, actually 1714), Spotswood assured them of a reservation at Fort Christanna where they were to protect the southwestern flank

⁴¹Lewis Evans, "General Map of the Middle British Colonies and the Country of the Confederate Indian," 2d ed. (Philadelphia, 1755); Lewis Evans, "Map of His Majesty's Dominion and Colony of Virginia, 1755," Archives, Alderman Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville.

⁴²McIllwaine, *Executive Journal of the Council of Colonial Virginia*, 6:38–39.

of the colony.⁴³ Having land interests along the northwest flank of the colony, Spotswood settled a group of Germans there in the outpost called Germanna. These two settlements, Christanna and Germanna, were planned to better defend the colony.⁴⁴

Spotswood's plan for securing the Virginia frontier called for the Tuscaroras and their allies to occupy the central Virginia piedmont at the head of the James River. In a subsequent agreement, the Saponi and the Nottoway were given joint occupation of a hunting rights on the land between the Rappahannock and the James Rivers, which was assigned to the Tuscaroras and their allies.⁴⁵ The Saponi and their allies had sought a fort built for them above the fork of the James River in their aboriginal homelands, and in 1713 they consented to remove to the proposed settlement at the head of the James River where they would continue as tributaries.⁴⁶ Inexplicably, however, the Saponi concluded their treaty in 1714 by accepting the Fort Christanna Reservation, near present-day Lawrenceville, Virginia, on the Maherrin River.⁴⁷ As a result, the protection plan shifted to locating the Tuscarora, and possibly the Nottoway, to a settlement proposed for them at the head of the James.⁴⁸ Having reconnoitered the upper James, the Nottoways and Maherrins determined that, owing to the "bareness" of the land at the fork of the James River, it was impossible to settle there, and they took a tract on the north side of the Maherrin River opposite of Fort Christanna.⁴⁹

These negotiations and outcomes suggest several conclusions. First, archaeologists have documented the ancient Monacan village of Rassawek as occupying this site at the conflu-

⁴³Dodson, *Alexander Spotswood*, 76–77.

⁴⁴McIllwaine, *Executive Journal of the Council of Colonial Virginia*, 3:400–401.

⁴⁵Dodson, *Alexander Spotswood*, 77.

⁴⁶McIllwaine, *Executive Journal of the Council of Colonial Virginia*, 3:362–66.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, 3:375–76.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, 3:367–68, 373.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 3:375–76.

ence of the Rivanna and the James River.⁵⁰ The head of the James, however, would properly be the region where the river emerges from the Blue Ridge. Above Lynchburg extending to Glasgow, the James River passes through a gorge and a series of falls, known today as Balcony Falls, which properly constitutes the “head of the James River” identified in these negotiations. This location is immediately south of the area surveyed by Cabell. Second, the head of the James was the aboriginal home of the Saponi and their allies, so their willingness to relocate there as colonial tributaries must be taken as a predictable outcome; however, a consummated treaty indicates that they inhabited the Fort Christanna Reservation. Third, these findings indicate that the Tuscarora—and possibly the Nottoway and Maherrin—were designated to occupy the head of the James but deemed the territory too barren; however, the Evans map and the Cabell testimony indicate that they did in fact take possession of this tribal domain.

The case for Tuscarora-Nottoway-Maherrin Indian occupation may be furthered when supplementing early colonial records with the reports of J. Golden Kimball, who concluded that the Mason family, living in the upper Pedlar River-Irish Creek community, were Indians, based on their physical appearance.⁵¹ On December 30, 1883, Kimball and his companion, Elder Charles Welch, arrived by way of the Shenandoah Railway at Riverside Station in Rockbridge County, Virginia.⁵² During their visit at Riverside, they had been referred to a Mr. Mason living atop the Blue Ridge. After twelve days in the region, Kimball and Welch set out in a hard rain, climbing muddy footpaths to the remote ridgeline summit and crossing icy Pedlar Creek. They arrived at a mountain outpost known as Orinoco.⁵³ Upon reaching the home of their referral, Kimball wrote, “I could not stand erect in the house. They had two beds and nine of us to stow

⁵⁰David I. Bushnell, “The Five Monacan Towns in Virginia, 1607,” *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, 82, no. 12 (n.d.): 1–41.

⁵¹Bailey, “Lost Tribes,” 141–47.

⁵²*Ibid.*, 141.

⁵³Bailey, “Lost Tribes,” 142 note 37.

away. It was accomplished but how I cannot tell.”⁵⁴ With only a schoolhouse and a post office, mountain people lived “in a scattered condition in the woods.”⁵⁵

Commonly the mountaintop schoolhouses in the region served as community meetinghouses for both social and religious gatherings. Following this practice, the Mormon missionaries scheduled the schoolhouse a few days later and announced a preaching service; however, they arrived to find that a “Dunkard exhorter” had just finished a prayer meeting.⁵⁶ He proceeded to serve Kimball and Welch a notice from the school commissioner denying access to the elders and anyone interested in hearing their message. As a result, the LDS missionaries and their followers were forced to sing hymns while standing in the snow. Despite the rebuff of their neighbors, Mr. Mason hospitably insisted the Mormon elders remain another night within his home and offered them refuge there “any time . . . night or day.”⁵⁷

The first significant inroad that the Mormons made in the community occurred on January 20, 1884, when twenty people “who did not belong to any church” showed up to hear the missionaries preach the LDS message.⁵⁸ They listened “without spirit,” which discouraged Kimball; however, after the service, many of the people quietly

⁵⁴Ibid., 141–42 quoting J. Golden Kimball, *Journal*, December 30, 1883, and January 11, 1884, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City.

⁵⁵Michael W. Eldridge, ed., *The Mission Journals of Joseph Underwood Eldridge, Virginia Conference of the Southern States Mission* (Salt Lake City: Mill Creek Press, 1992), 3–4, quoted in Bailey, “Lost Tribes,” 142 note 37.

⁵⁶A part of the Anabaptist movement, the Dunkards were associated with the Old German Baptist Brethren and the Brethren Church, which began its immigration to North America ca. 1719. Donald B. Kraybill and C. Nelson Hostetter, *Anabaptist World USA* (Harrisonburg, Va.: Herald Press, 2001); Donald B. Kraybill and Carl D. Bowman, *On the Backroad to Heaven: Old Order Hutterites, Mennonites, Amish, and Brethren* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).

⁵⁷Kimball, *Journal*, January 13, 1884, quoted in Bailey, “Lost Tribes,” 142.

⁵⁸Kimball, *Journal*, January 20, 1884, quoted in Bailey, “Lost Tribes,” 142.

invited the missionaries to call upon them in their homes.⁵⁹ In doing so, Kimball and Welch found tiny log houses scattered throughout the woods, many of them belonging to members of the Mason family. One day as the elders' mission in the mountains continued, John Mason took them to meet his parents—Peter Mason and Dianah Sorrells Mason. Fifteen Mason family members gathered at the old couple's home to meet the missionaries.⁶⁰ These people were all of an unusual appearance and that evening Kimball wrote in his journal:

At 10:00 a. m. started for Mr. Marvel Mason's. took dinner with them. After dinner accompanied by Mr. Mason, we started for John Mason's. His wife had applied for baptism. He took us to his father's house, Peter Mason. A stranger sight I never saw. His father was 70 years old, was born and raised at this same place, at the top of the Blue Ridge Mountains. He was of Indian descent, his skin, being almost as dark as an Indian's, his hair being long and black. Mrs. Mason, his wife, was very old. She said what she thought and was somewhat of a doctress. They had 17 children, twelve boys and five girls. Children and grandchildren about 42. Indian blood was discernible in most of their faces. Look which way you might, poverty was everywhere to be seen. They were but little ahead of the Indian people in education. None of them had ever belonged to a church of any kind. About 15 of the family gathered together and asked if we would preach. The affirmative answer was given. Opened meeting in the usual way. I spoke about one hour on the first principles. Elder Welch took up the Holy Ghost, speaking 35 minutes. Our preaching had some little effect. The old gentleman was deeply imbued with the doctrine of the Old Primitive Baptists, Hell being a flaming fire and no possible chance of change. I reasoned with him for some time but apparently it had no effect. We talked until 12 o'clock and retired. Walked 7 miles.⁶¹

In identifying Peter and Dianah Mason as Indians, Kimball and Welch were not merely guessing. Both missionaries were well aware of

⁵⁹Kimball, *Journal*, January 23, 1884, quoted in Bailey, "Lost Tribes," 143.

⁶⁰Kimball, *Journal*, January 25, 1884, quoted in Bailey, "Lost Tribes," 143.

⁶¹Kimball, *Journal*, January 23, 1884, quoted in Bailey, "Lost Tribes," 144.

phenotypes characteristic of western Indians.⁶² It is further significant that the Mormon missionaries who visited Pedlar Creek did not mention skin color in describing the Masons, which indicates that they did not consider them to be African American. In other communities, the elders commonly noticed and mentioned black skin since, at that time, LDS policy excluded black men from the Mormon priesthood. Although blacks were still candidates for baptism, as a practical matter, exclusion from the priesthood in a church officered completely by lay members almost always meant a suspension of proselytizing because of mutual discomfort on both sides.⁶³ In LDS doctrine, American Indians are referenced as “Lamanites” and as such hold something of a “chosen people” status within the Mormon tradition, since they were presumed to be descendants of the house of Israel.⁶⁴ For instance, during the same period, other Mormon elders ministered to the Catawba Indians as a “chosen people” in South Carolina where virtually all of the Siouan-speaking Catawba converted to Mormonism at the time.⁶⁵ In addition, other LDS elders likewise approached the Cherokee of North Carolina as a “chosen people.”⁶⁶

Despite the fact that there was no acknowledged reservation within the area, it was, nevertheless, a region long associated with a

⁶²Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 145–58; David J. Whittaker, “Mormons and Native Americans: A Historical and Bibliographical Introduction,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18, no. 4 (Winter 1985): 33–64.

⁶³See, for example, Joseph Underwood Eldridge, *Journal*, 1884–85; Newell Kimball, *Journal*, 1882–84; Peter Peterson, *Journal*, 1888–89, all three at LDS Church History Library, quoted in Bailey, “Lost Tribes,” 145 note 48.

⁶⁴Terryl L. Givens, *By the Hand of Mormon: The American Scripture that Launched a New World Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 99, 127.

⁶⁵Charles M. Hudson, *The Catawba Nation* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1970); Jerry D. Lee, “A Study of the Influence of the Mormon Church on the Catawba Indians of South Carolina” (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1976); *Columbia South Carolina Stake Fortieth Anniversary* (Columbia, S.C.: n.pub., 1987), 11–14, 199–204.

⁶⁶Andrew Jensen, *Encyclopedic History of the Church of Jesus Christ of*

surviving Native American remnant population. In addition to their own observations, Kimball and Welch may have reflected some local understanding of the Mormon association with Native Americans in identifying the Mason family as Indian. For instance, in 1911, ethnologist James Mooney of the Smithsonian Institution wrote the postmaster of nearby Buena Vista in Rockbridge County, Virginia, seeking evidence regarding “the Indian tribe near this place.” J. M. Updike responded, naming Josiah Wilmer, a sawmill owner at nearby Cornwall, W. A. Ramsey of Rockbridge County, and William Beverly of Chestnut Mountain in Amherst County, all of whom he identified as Indians living near Buena Vista.⁶⁷ Hence, there was both local and national knowledge of an American Indian community within the area.

Family stories likewise affirm this residual Native American population. In a 1992 interview, according to Ruth Knight Bailey, “Alvin Woodrow Coleman and Garvis Wheeler mentioned several people who had remembered their great-grandfather, Peter H. Mason, when he was very old. All described Peter Mason as an ‘Indian’ with long, straight, ‘coal black’ hair that ‘hung down to his hips.’”⁶⁸ Having been mentored by both Coleman and Wheeler during my youth and personally knowing many other members of the Mason family, I can likewise affirm that these recollections of Peter and Dianah Mason as Indians were common knowledge locally. In fact many of the descendants of Peter Mason exhibited a strong Native American phenotype and maintained a personal identity as “Cherokee Indians.” Indeed, American Indian identity was firmly held and prevalent among the LDS community that emerged at Riverside and

Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Publishing Co., 1941) 821; *Columbia South Carolina Stake Fortieth Anniversary*, 13–14, 201, quoting the *Deseret News*, July 31, 1885. The *Deseret News* also published a letter from an author identified only by the initials “E.S.,” “In The Hands of the Lawless: A Missionary’s Experience in North Carolina,” *Deseret News*, April 20, 1887.

⁶⁷J. M. Updike, Post Master, Buena Vista, Virginia, Letter to James Mooney, Anthropologist, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., May 30, 1911, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C.

⁶⁸Alvin Woodrow Coleman and Garvis Wheeler, interviewed by Ruth Knight Bailey, December 27, 1992, quoted in Bailey, “Lost Tribes,” 144 note 43.

later when it shifted to nearby Buena Vista, Virginia.⁶⁹

Returning to the Kimball-Welch experience of 1884, Kimball's reference to twenty people "who did not belong to any church" is intriguing when considering the Native American background of the Mason family and other associated families atop the Blue Ridge. Their collective lack of church membership seems to bespeak a cultural heritage differing from that of their neighbors that belies an American Indian ancestry. For instance, in 1885 when recalling one of the mountain revivals, another Mormon missionary, Joseph Underwood Eldridge, described a woman "crying and rocking herself as [he had] seen a female Indian do when grieving for dead friends."⁷⁰ Earlier Kimball had described "incoherent prayers which were mixed up with groans and moans"⁷¹ that are often common features in Native American throat singing during ritual practices. Hence, when a third Mormon missionary, Newell Kimball, J. Golden's half-brother, described Peter Mason as a "full-blooded Lamanite,"⁷² a designation used by Mormons to reference American Indians,⁷³ there is every reason to accept a Native American ancestry for the Mason family and their associates.

Kimball's recognition of Peter and Dianah Mason as Indians is significant, given their expertise with western Indians;⁷⁴ however, they give no clue about tribal identity. Nevertheless, Mormon mis-

⁶⁹My personal knowledge as a member of the Mormon Indian community in Buena Vista, Virginia, ca. 1950s–1960s.

⁷⁰Eldridge, *Journal*, August 23, 1885, quoted in Bailey, "Lost Tribes," 243 note 40.

⁷¹J. Golden Kimball, *Journal*, January 13, 1884, March 5, 1884; see also Newell Kimball, *Journal*, May 11, 1884, quoted in Bailey, "Lost Tribes," 143 note 40.

⁷²Newell Kimball, *Journal*, June 4, 1884, quoted in Bailey, "Lost Tribes," 145.

⁷³Givens, *By the Hand of Mormon*, 99, 127. Hawaiians and Polynesians were also firmly identified as descendants of ancestral Lamanites as identified in the foundational scripture, the Book of Mormon. Marjorie Newton, *Mormon and Maori* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2014), 21–29.

⁷⁴Donna Huffer, *Fare Thee Well, Old Joe Clark: History of the Clark Family of Rockbridge County* (Craig, Va.: Privately Printed, n.d.); see also J. Golden Kimball, *Journal*, January 23, 1884, quoted in Bailey, "Lost Tribes," 144.

sionary activities in the Irish Creek-upper Pedlar River settlements during 1882–85 were themselves an indicator of the community's Native ancestry. As a bulwark against racism and equipped with a mythology of American Indian progenitors, the Mormon religion had considerable appeal to surviving Indian groups in the apartheid South. For example, in South Carolina, the entire Catawba tribe converted to Mormonism in 1883. Grounded in the "colored" racial status of southern Indians, the conversion to Mormonism appealed as a vehicle of social legitimacy for the Natives. Explaining the social order and power structure, Charles Hudson comments: "Whites had a monopoly of power, and a law was passed in 1879 making interracial marriage illegal. This law forbade marriage between white and Indian as well as between white and black. The Catawbas found themselves living in an enforced endogamous enclave on fewer than 700 acres of poor land. They could not hope to sustain themselves with so little land, but if they moved away they faced the possibility of relinquishing their Indian identity and of being categorized as 'mixed bloods,' a far more ambiguous and troublesome status."⁷⁵

Contextually, in practice, these Catawba experiences were very similar and akin to those endured by the Rockbridge-Amherst Monacans as expressed in the 1823 and 1924 Racial Integrity Laws of Virginia.⁷⁶ In the racial integrity legislation, the Virginia laws classified Indians as "colored" with the 1924 Pocahontas exception of one-sixteenth Indian blood. Accordingly, Virginia Indians legally became a lost race in a bi-racial apartheid system.⁷⁷ As a way of differentiating themselves from "colored" (blacks), Indians were eligible for Mormon priesthood while blacks were excluded. Thus, by accepting Mormonism, Native converts could socially distance themselves from the "Black codes" and bi-racial apartheid conditions.

In addition, there seems to have been a "chosen people" ap-

⁷⁵Charles M. Hudson, "The Catawba Indians of South Carolina: A Question of Ethnic Survival," in *Southeastern Indians since the Removal Era*, edited by Walter L. Williams (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1979), 115; see also Hudson, *The Catawba Nation*, 69–71.

⁷⁶William Walter Henning, ed., *The Statutes at Large* (Philadelphia: Thomas De Silver, 1823), 4:252.

⁷⁷Helen C. Rountree, "The Indians of Virginia: A Third Race in a Bi-racial State," in *Southeastern Indians since the Removal Era*, edited by Walter L. Williams (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1979), 27–48.

peal for Natives whose forebears were mythologically linked to the ancient Hebrews of the Bible in Mormon doctrine.⁷⁸ Affirming these conclusions, Hudson wrote, "In addition to maintaining some claim on Indian identity in these ways, the Catawbas made themselves distinctive from whites in another way—they became Mormon converts."⁷⁹ The Catawbas had requested a Christian missionary effort as early as 1773, but the traditional sects had given them little attention. Hudson explained: "They did not want seats in the back of the church. But when two Mormon missionaries visited the Rock Hill area in 1883, Catawbas became their first converts. The whites in the area were openly hostile toward the Mormons, and they were similarly hostile toward the possibility of the Catawbas' becoming Mormon converts."⁸⁰ This ancillary hostility against Mormons and Indian conversion was likewise strong in the Irish Creek district when, in 1882, J. Golden Kimball and his companion worked to convert the Indians of Irish Creek to Mormonism.⁸¹ Family oral tradition relating the experience of Jacob Hamilton, an early convert to Mormonism in the Indian enclave, maintains that two Mormon elders were tarred and feathered and one murdered in the Irish Creek area during this mission.⁸²

Considering the motives behind the Catawbas' conversion, Hudson concluded: "Regardless of the dominant motives of the first Catawbas to join the Mormon church, their identification with the church was a source of alternative values. At a time when they were becoming physically and culturally like whites, it both set them apart from whites, mestizos, and Negroes and made them feel that they were in some sense a chosen people. It was a source of self-esteem. The first elders, for example, felt that the whites did not want the Catawbas to become Mormons because it might interfere with their hav-

⁷⁸Hudson, *The Catawba Nation*, 77–80.

⁷⁹Hudson, "The Catawba Indians of South Carolina," 116.

⁸⁰Ibid.

⁸¹Huffer, *Fare Thee Well, Old Joe Clark*, 70; and Bailey, "Lost Tribes," 141–69.

⁸²Oral tradition passed down from Jacob Hamilton, my great-grandfather.

ing sexual relations with Catawba women.”⁸³ As a remnant Indian group seeking to survive in a hostile racial environment, the Irish Creek Saponi-Monacan attraction to the Mormons and their doctrines parallels that of the Catawba recorded here.

In this regard Hudson further explained, “Both the Mormons and the Catawbas thought of themselves as being in conflict with ‘so-called civilization’; they embraced a religion that both made this conflict explicit and provided a source of self-esteem.”⁸⁴ Despite its alien Middle Eastern doctrines and European influences, Mormonism supplied a revisionist mythology reconciling ancient America with Christian conquest. Unlike the apartheid biracial system, this doctrine included American Indians. Likewise the Mormon elders found a receptive audience among the Irish Creek-upper Pedlar River Monacans. Among local families embracing the Mormon faith appear the surnames of Coleman, Clark, Floyd, Gilbert, Hamilton, Hartless, Jarvis, Mason, Robinson, Southers, Vest, and Wheeler, all of whom have roots back to the original Indian community.⁸⁵

In ascribing a motive to the Irish Creek-upper Pedlar River group’s conversion to Mormonism, Huffer contrasts Mormonism with Primitive Baptists, thereby overlooking the racial problems plaguing the Indians there. She writes, “The Primitive Baptist way of thinking became heavily entrenched in the Blue Ridge Mountains until 1882 when the Mormons arrived. Mormonism offered a more cheerful outlook on life, preaching that one’s actions do determine the destination of one’s soul after death. Prophecy, secret rituals, and again lay men as clergy had a strong appeal to the mountain people.”⁸⁶ These comments seem to focus on style before substance as a basis of spiritual motivation; however, the more esoteric Mormon doctrine of ancient American Indian civilizations linked the American Indians to the biblical Hebrews as a “chosen people” in a promising way. Hence, Mormon doctrine offered more substance to the Indian people in the face of racial hatred and social apartheid, which re-

⁸³Hudson, *The Catawba Nation*, 80.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, 80.

⁸⁵Huffer, *Fare Thee Well, Old Joe Clark*, 70; see also Bailey, “Lost Tribes,” 141–69.

⁸⁶Huffer, *Fare Thee Well, Old Joe Clark*, 70; see also Bailey, “Lost Tribes,” 146–47.

sulted in their being deprived of civil rights. That the Irish Creek-upper Pedlar Indians so embraced Mormonism and that the Mormons affirmed them substantiated their remnant status as an American Indian enclave ostracized by racism and apartheid. This experience, so similar to that of the Catawba, seems to favorably indicate the Indian heritage of these Irish Creek-upper Pedlar families who initially embraced the Mormon faith in 1883 when Golden Kimball came to visit the Blue Ridge Indian people.⁸⁷

As for the Mason family and their tribal origin, family legends offer conflicting accounts. Huffer suggests that the Mason family arrived in the Pedlar District shortly after the Revolutionary War, having migrated from Hanover County, North Carolina.⁸⁸ According to her, Thomas Mason Sr. and his wife, Jane, had a daughter, Mary, who never married but who raised a son, Peter H. Mason. A family legend maintained that this boy was, in fact, a full-blooded Indian. "An Indian mother and her infant son came to Mary's house after running away from their home. When the Indians came to get the mother, Mary hid the baby in the woods. Peter Mason's true mother was dragged away, never to be heard of again while Mary raised the baby as her own."⁸⁹ At best a fanciful account, it implicates an unlikely Indian obsession with authority and cruelty. This legend, moreover, implies the captivity narrative in reverse. In it an Indian child is given to a white woman, as opposed to the standard trope where a white child is taken captive while his mother is dragged away and killed.⁹⁰ Mormon records indicate that Peter Mason's father was named John Jenkins; however, the family contended that matriarch Mary made up the "Jenkins" surname. On the supposition that no Jenkins family lived in Amherst County during this time, Huffer concurs with the notion of a Jenkins pseudonym.⁹¹ Families are often concerned with protecting the honor of esteemed ancestors; and in this case, apartheid considerations might have stigmatized them for generations

⁸⁷Bailey, "Lost Tribes," 141-69.

⁸⁸Huffer, *Fare Thee Well, Old Joe Clark*, 330.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*

⁹⁰Phillips D. Carleton, "The Indian Captivity," *American Literature* 15 (May 1843): 169-80; and Roy Harvey Pearce, "The Significance of the Captivity Narrative," *American Literature* 19, no. 1 (March 1947): 1-20.

⁹¹Huffer, *Fare Thee Well, Old Joe Clark*, 330.

during the segregation era in Virginia. With long, straight, black hair and dark skin, Peter Mason had the unmistakable appearance of an Indian. Given the apartheid social limitations and stigma attached to being the unwed mother of an apparent Indian child, this story has the appearance of a cover-up legend.

The Mason family may well have had an affirmable tribal Indian ancestry associated with southside Virginia where the name was noted among the Tuscarora Indians. On October 25, 1707, a warrant was issued to seize and apprehend several Tuscarora Indians including “Charles, Tom Jumper, Stephen, George, *Jack Mason & Will Mason*” who were said to have “barbarously murdered” Jeremiah Pate “on or about ye 14th of this inst.”⁹² “Jack Mason a Tuscaruro Indian,” was convicted of Pate’s murder and sentenced to death; but it became apparent that the evidence against him did not constitute legal proof. A petition before the council at Williamsburg pled “for the sd [said] Jack Mason” as “a proper Object of Mercy.”⁹³ In pursuit of the order of the council dated March 18, [1708?], Colonel William Bassett made inquiries “into the truth of what was alleged by Jack Mason a Tuscaruro Indian on his tryal.” Mason had maintained that “he was at Collo [Colonel] Hills quarter all that day on which Jeremiah Pate was said to be killed and that night until bedtime which was about two or three hours within night and that he went to the place where he used to sleep and was there early next morning.”⁹⁴ Following the confirmation of this evidence, the council decreed:

On consideration of which Report it is the unanimous opinion of this Board that he[,] the said Jack Mason[,] is a proper object of Mercy, But for as much as he is convicted of willful murder which this Board have no power to pardon Therefore the said Mason is humbly recommended to her Majestys mercy and ordered that he be re-privied till further order And it is ordered that the Gaoler cause the said Mason to be favourably treated and that he be provided with such necessarys as he shall want.

. . . Jack Mason has been tryed and there is some reason to believe he was not actually concerned in the murder Wherefore the Council have caused them [him] to be well used & he is reprivied and is now in

⁹²McIllwaine, *Executive Journal of the Council of Colonial Virginia*, 3:158–60; emphasis mine.

⁹³Ibid., 3:167.

⁹⁴Ibid., 3:173.

good health. . . . [T]here is ground to believe from the Evidence of their own indians that Charles, Stephen and Will Mason three of that Nation were Actors in the murder of Jeremiah Pate and that the said three Indians . . . [are] now in the Tuscaruro towns.⁹⁵

Mason's case was subsequently pled before the Queen. Presumably he was pardoned and his erroneous conviction cancelled.⁹⁶

As a result, it is evident that the Mason surname has a long-standing association in the Tuscarora Nation. While the bulk of the Tuscaroras were known to have moved north to join the Iroquois League in about 1715, the tribe had close ties and associations with the linguistically related Nottoway and Maherrin tribes. As has been shown earlier, these tribes, in part, had gathered across the Maherrin River opposite Fort Christanna; and in fact, the colonial Virginia government mandated the education of their children at the Christanna School. Considered with the subsequent 1755 Evans map locating the Tuscaroras and Monacans in the central Blue Ridge, as well as the aforementioned Saponi evidence linking the Rockbridge-Amherst Indians with Fort Christanna, the facts here tend to sustain Peter Mason's identity as a descendant of the Tuscarora-Nottoway-Maherrin peoples. The Mason presence in the central Blue Ridge reaffirms the Evans Tuscarora and Monacan identification, as well as a multiple stock foundation for the contemporary Rockbridge-Amherst Indians.

According to oral tradition as passed to me from my father, Hansford C. Vest, the Mormon Indian community was deeply entrenched despite its abandonment by the LDS Church. Before his death, he recalled the following account for me:

On August 2, 1926, two Mormon elders returned to Hico after a thirty-year absence to baptize Marie, Louis, and Myrtle [my father's siblings]. Also baptized at that time were three of Uncle Finn's [Hamilton's] children—Tracy, Racy and Gracie. Down by the ole buckeye tree, we made a dam on the creek. It made a good deep pond but the water was very cold. After the baptism, some of our neighbors, we never knew who, came along and burst the dam. Although these Elders baptized many of our community, we still had no leaders among us who held the priesthood necessary for conductin' church meetings. The congregation was all-Indian including many from the Ma-

⁹⁵Ibid., 3:173.

⁹⁶William P. Palmer, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers, and Other Manuscripts, 1652–1781* (Richmond, Va.: n.pub., 1875), 123–24.

son, Clark, Southers, Hamilton, Ramsey, and Vest families, among others. We gathered on Pedlar and at Cornwall for our services. Even though no one among us had the priesthood, “Brother” Jacob Mason led the meetings. Grandpa [Jacob Hamilton] was one of the elders and I remember well many of the old “Brothers,” includin’ Coon Mason, George Mason, George Clark, Will Southers, Dan Clark and the Coleman brothers—Shady and “Vollie” Willis.

In particular, I like to think of ole “Brother” George Mason as I reflect on the meetings. In those days, Buena Vista employed this Indian man to sweep the streets. He was not just any man. This street sweeper was a kind and peaceful man. Even though his status was that of a lowly street sweeper, he did his job with dignity and integrity. A very humble man in his job, he spread good will to all and smiled at everyone. Soon the town’s people began to identify him with the Mormon Church. His behavior made it easier for folks to accept our people and the Mormon faith in the town. Still there were others who decried us as too colored to associate with white people. They said we had too much pride to go to a black church, but truth be known, we were Native American and the Mormons had embraced us.

Members of the Indian-based Mormon Church met under an oak tree near South River. In 1939, I remember that “Brother” Will Southers was the acting branch president, but there was no priesthood among us because of the long standin’ racism that denied our Indian heritage in the community. In our meetings, our leaders included “Brother” Jacob Mason who would read from the Book of Mormon and the Bible. Often the old people would bear their testimony of faith, and I really enjoyed hearing those of “Brothers” Coon and George Mason. We also had singin’, both hymns and our native songs, during these devotions. Because of the color barrier, it was not until 1951 that some of us, includin’ Hansford Cash, Alvin Coleman and myself, were ordained with the priesthood. —Hansford C. Vest.⁹⁷

Hence the LDS community established by Elders Kimball and Welch remained steadfast in its devotion to the Mormon faith that had first embraced it as a “chosen people” indigenous to the Americas. Its history, furthermore, as an American Indian community is evidenced and affirmed in the historical record as reported herein. As a result the Indian tribe near Buena Vista that Postmaster Updike reported to anthropologist Mooney in 1911 is a composite community of Algonquian, Iroquoian, and Siouan tribes as devolved from the

⁹⁷Oral tradition as passed from Hansford C. Vest, my father, to me; punctuation and capitalization standardized. See also Jay Hansford C. Vest, *The Bobtail Stories: Growing Up Monacan* (forthcoming).

eighteenth century Fort Christanna Reservation near present-day Lawrenceville, Virginia. Acknowledged in the Lewis Evans map of 1755, the Mason family heritage confirms the Tuscarora (Iroquoian) element in this remnant band of Indian survivors whom J. Golden Kimball, a subsequent General Authority (First Council of the Seventy) of the Mormon Church, entreated in 1884. Let his legacy be a blessing on all who survived.

IDENTIFYING JOSEPH SMITH'S PLURAL WIVES

Brian C. Hales

IN THE DECADES SINCE THE 1940s, numerous researchers have sifted through historical documents and records to identify Joseph Smith's plural wives. Of those investigators, thirteen men and women have analyzed data from nineteenth-century sources and have created their own lists of women for whom they can make a case of being married to Joseph Smith as plural wives. This article will identify the primary sources that these researchers have used and compare their individual inventories. I capture this admittedly complicated subject in a table that covers what I believe is currently the most valid summary of documentary sources, researchers, and candidate-wives.¹

BRIAN C. HALES {brianhales@msn.com} is the author of six books dealing with Mormon polygamy, most recently *Joseph Smith's Polygamy: History and Theology*, 3 vols. (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2013). His *Modern Polygamy and Mormon Fundamentalism: The Generations after the Manifesto* received the "Best Book of 2007 Award" from the John Whitmer Historical Association. Brian works as an anesthesiologist and has served as president of both the Utah Medical Association and the Medical Staff at the Davis Hospital and Medical Center in Layton, Utah.

¹For a list of evidence supporting the sealing of each of the thirty-five wives to Joseph Smith, see <http://www.josephsmithspolygamy.org/history-2/plural-wives/overview>. Click on the name of the woman for the documentation regarding her sealing to Joseph Smith.

**TWELVE HISTORICAL SOURCES THAT NAME
JOSEPH SMITH'S PLURAL WIVES**

The most important sources of information regarding Joseph Smith's plural wives are ten individuals who were either personally involved with the Prophet, positioned to hear reliable second-hand reports, or able to interview participants. Through a variety of venues, they reported the names of women who ostensibly were sealed to him in polygamy. Besides individuals, two additional sources are temple records. On two occasions, in the Nauvoo Temple—in 1845–46 under the direction of Brigham Young and again in the Salt Lake Temple in 1899 under the direction of Lorenzo Snow—women were sealed to Joseph Smith by proxy.

1. John C. Bennett (1842). Bennett claimed to be a polygamy insider, but I interpret his acknowledgement that he never learned of “eternal” marriage in Nauvoo as a strong indication that he never learned of plural marriage directly from the Prophet.² Nevertheless, he was clearly positioned to gain information secondhand. His exposé, *History of the Saints*, provided seven names using the initials of the women with asterisks standing for the intervening letters.³ Five have been identified and verified: Mrs. A**** S**** (Agnes Coolbrith Smith), Miss L***** B***** (Louisa Beaman), Mrs. B**** (Presendia Huntington Buell), Mrs. D***** (Elizabeth Davis Durfee), and Mrs. S***** (Patty Sessions). The other two—“Mrs. G*****” and a “Miss B*****”—have not yet been successfully identified and cannot be matched to any women known to be wives.⁴

2. Joseph H. Jackson (1844). Jackson claimed to be a confidant of the Prophet, even though no contemporary evidence beyond his own claims exists on that point. He capitalized on the interest in plural marriage in his 1844 autobiography, *A Narrative of the Adventures and Experiences of Joseph H. Jackson in Nauvoo, Exposing the Depths of*

²John C. Bennett, “Letter from General Bennett,” dated October 28, 1843, *Hawk Eye* (Burlington, Iowa), December 7, 1843, 1. See also, Brian C. Hales, “John C. Bennett and Joseph Smith’s Polygamy: Addressing the Question of Reliability,” *Journal of Mormon History*, forthcoming.

³John C. Bennett, *The History of the Saints: Or an Exposé of Joe Smith and Mormonism* (Boston: Leland & Whiting, 1842), 256.

⁴See discussion in Brian C. Hales, *Joseph Smith’s Polygamy: History and Theology*, 3 vols. (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2013), 1:547–74.

Mormon Villainy. He listed no names of Joseph Smith's plural wives but referred to three "Mothers in Israel" who, according to him, facilitated new plural marriages.⁵ It is possible that these three women were sealed to the Prophet.

3. Nauvoo Temple Proxy Sealings (1845–46). Twenty-nine living women were sealed to Joseph Smith vicariously in separate ordinances performed in the Nauvoo Temple during January of 1846.⁶ Twenty-two of them had been sealed to Joseph during his lifetime; but the remaining seven had not. They are: Olive Andrews Jane Tibbets, Phebe Watrous, Sophia Woodman, Cordelia Morley, Mary Huston, and Mary Ann Frost.⁷ (See table at end of article: "Thirty-Five Wives Sealed to Joseph Smith, 1842–46.")

4. Joseph F. Smith Affidavits (1869–70). Apostle Joseph F. Smith compiled fifteen affidavits from Joseph Smith's plural wives to use as evidence against RLDS missionaries, Alexander and David, sons of Joseph and Emma Smith, who took the position that Joseph was not a polygamist.⁸

5. George A. Smith (1869). George A. Smith wrote to his first cousin once removed, Joseph Smith III, then president of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. He apparently quotes information found in the Joseph F. Smith affidavit collection. (See table: "Thirty-Five Wives Sealed to Joseph Smith, 1842–46.") George A. mentioned only women who were sealed to Joseph Smith

⁵Joseph H. Jackson, *A Narrative of the Adventures and Experiences of Joseph H. Jackson in Nauvoo, Exposing the Depths of Mormon Villainy* (1844; rpt., Morrison, Ill.: for Karl Yost, 1960), 13.

⁶Lisle G Brown, *Nauvoo Sealings, Adoptions, and Anointings: A Comprehensive Register of Persons Receiving LDS Temple Ordinances, 1841–1846* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2006), 281–86; see also Thomas Milton Tinney, *The Royal Family of the Prophet Joseph Smith, Jr.* (Salt Lake City: Tinney-Greene Family Organization, 1973), 8–12. Brown incorrectly lists Marinda Hyde as sealed to Joseph Smith on January 11, 1846. She was sealed to Orson Hyde on that date. Lisle Brown, email to Brian Hales, September 23, 2008.

⁷Thomas Milton Tinney, *The Royal Family of the Prophet Joseph Smith, Jr.* (Salt Lake City: Tinney-Greene Family Organization, 1973), 8–12.

⁸Joseph F. Smith, Affidavits, MS 3423, LDS Church History Library. Smith also collected dozens of additional affidavits from other Nauvoo polygamists.

for “time and eternity.”⁹

6. William Clayton (1874). Clayton gave the names of nine wives but acknowledged that Joseph Smith had “other” wives.¹⁰

7. Eliza R. Snow and Malissa Lott (1887). Eliza R. Snow and Malissa Lott provided twenty-six names to Andrew Jenson. Jenson jotted down thirteen of those names while he interviewed Malissa. Eliza herself wrote down the names of the other thirteen.¹¹

8. Andrew Jenson (1887). Andrew Jenson published a list of twenty-seven plural wives in his article “Plural Marriage,” printed in July 1887 in his periodical, *Historical Record*.¹² His handwritten notes indicate that he knew of four more possible wives but did not include their names among his twenty-seven: Patty Bartlett, Marinda N. Johnson, Fanny Young, and Rhoda Richards.

9. Orson F. Whitney (1888). The son of Helen Mar Kimball Whitney and Horace Whitney, Orson included in his 1888 biography of his grandfather, *Life of Heber C. Kimball*, the names of nine women who, he believed, were Joseph Smith’s wives and who were also later sealed to Kimball.¹³ Whitney did not indicate the source of his information although his mother, who had been sealed in May 1843 as a plural wife to the Prophet, would undoubtedly have known of some of the women.¹⁴

10. Edmond Cameron Brand (1894). Joseph Smith III commissioned Utah-based RLDS leader E. C. Brand to identify Joseph III’s “respective step-mothers, and possible half brothers & sisters by the same

⁹George A. Smith, Letter to Joseph Smith III, October 9, 1869, Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (chronological scrapbook of typed entries and newspaper clippings, 1830-present), October 9, 1869, LDS Church History Library.

¹⁰William Clayton, Affidavit, February 16, 1874, MS 3412_1_30.jpg, LDS Church History Library; published in Andrew Jenson, “Plural Marriage,” *Historical Record* 6 (July 1887): 225.

¹¹Document #1, “First List of Wives,” Andrew Jenson Papers, MS 17956, Box 49, fd. 16, LDS Church History Library.

¹²Jenson, “Plural Marriage,” 233–34.

¹³Orson F. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball*, 9th ed. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1945), 418–19.

¹⁴*Ibid.*

. . . to look after the 'limbs of the' family tree."¹⁵ Brand listed twenty-one women, some with very incomplete information. Fifteen are common to other lists, with six new names not found on the chart including: Jane Law, who was married to William Law; Adeline Amarilla Hamblin who married Lyman Omer Littlefield in 1846 and later divorced him; Mary Ann Angell who married Brigham Young in 1834; Esther Reese (husband is "Russell"); Lucy Havers (possibly Lucinda Harris or Lucy Walker?); and a woman "_____Bust." I have been unable to find any additional information on the last three women.

11. Benjamin F. Johnson (1896). In his autobiography, *My Life's Review*, written when he was seventy-eight, Johnson lists twelve women. Among them are Mary E. Lott and Delcena Johnson (his sister), which are not corroborated in other lists.¹⁶

12. Lorenzo Snow and Salt Lake Temple Proxy Sealings (1899). In 1899, LDS President Lorenzo Snow instructed Church historians to compile a list of women sealed to Joseph Smith for whom a written record was not available. Subsequently, proxy sealings were performed for eleven plural marriages, ten of which had been previously documented.¹⁷ Fanny Alger, Sarah Kingsley, Lucinda Pendleton, Sylvia Sessions, Ruth Vose, Flora Ann Woodworth, Almera Johnson, Hannah Ells, Olive G. Frost, and Fanny Young. This list adds a new name, Sarah Rapson, which could be a conflation of other names such as "Sarah Bapson."¹⁸ However, no woman by the name of "Sarah Rapson" or "Bapson" has been identified as living in Nauvoo at any time.

TWELVE COMPILERS OF PLURAL WIVES LISTS

Decades after the last Nauvoo polygamists had passed away, re-

¹⁵Joseph Smith III, Letter to Bro. E. C. Brand, January 26, 1894, Joseph Smith III Letter Press Book, P6, JSLB4, 63–67, Community of Christ Library-Archives.

¹⁶Benjamin F. Johnson, *My Life's Review* (1896; rpt., Mesa, Ariz.: 21st Century Printing, 1992), 96–97.

¹⁷Salt Lake Temple Sealing Records, Book D, 243, April 4, 1899, quoted in Tinney, *The Royal Family of the Prophet Joseph Smith, Jr.*, 41.

¹⁸Other possibilities include "Sarah Poulterer," "Sarah Poulter," "Sarah Davis," or "Sarah Royson." See discussion in Hales, *Joseph Smith's Polygamy*, 1:554–58.

searchers began compiling lists of the names of Joseph Smith's plural wives using the documents produced by the "reporters" above and other specific evidence supporting individual plural wives.¹⁹ Being chronologically removed from the men and women who knew the Prophet and his dealings, they pursue the most accurate accounting of the identities and number of Joseph Smith's plural wives possible given the secondhand nature of their data.

1. Vesta Pierce Crawford (1940s). Born in 1899, Vesta Pierce Crawford received a B.A. from Brigham Young University and a master's degree in literature and journalism in 1928 from the University of Wyoming. She was appointed editorial secretary of the *Relief Society Magazine* in 1945 and associate editor in 1947. A prolific writer, Crawford composed over six hundred poems and received numerous state and national prizes and awards for her compositions. Her articles and poems appeared in many nationally circulated magazines and newspapers, as well as in LDS publications. In 1965, Vesta Crawford was awarded Utah Poet of the Year for her compilation of poems, *Short Grass Woman*. In addition to these numerous projects, she also privately composed "Emma Smith, The Elect Lady," which remained unfinished and unpublished at her death. In her typed and handwritten research notes, now located in her files in Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, she compiled three or four different lists of Joseph Smith's plural wives, which I have compiled as one list. Her tally of thirty-three includes Rachel Ridgeway Ivins Grant and Martha Scott.²⁰

2. Stanley S. Ivins (1950s). Stanley S. Ivins (1891–1967), the son of Apostle Anthony W. Ivins, spent decades investigating Joseph Smith's plural marriages. His voluminous materials, now housed at the Utah State Historical Society, contain fifteen bound composition books of notes and transcriptions from hundreds of publications that mentioned Mormon polygamy. Perhaps no other researcher has spent

¹⁹See *ibid.*, Appendix B, 2:323–41. See also <http://www.josephsmithspolygamy.org/history-2/plural-wives-overview/> (accessed January 14, 2014).

²⁰"Joseph Smith's Plural Wives," three or four lists by Vesta Pierce Crawford, compiled into one. See her Papers, Marriott Library Special Collections, MS 0125, Box 1, fds. 6–7, 10–11. See also Peter Crawley, *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Mormon Church*. 2 vols. (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies, 1997).

more time than Ivins investigating this topic. Ivins compiled the longest list of candidates for Joseph's plural wives sealed to him during his lifetime (fifty-one) and those by proxy (thirty-three).²¹

3. Fawn M. Brodie (1945–71). Fawn McKay Brodie, the first compiler to publish a list of Joseph Smith's plural wives, tabulated forty-six, including women who could be only poorly documented. Her list contains forty-eight names but duplicates entries for two women: Mrs. Durfee #11 (p. 469) as Elizabeth Davis #38 (p. 485) and Nancy Maria Smith #44 (p. 487) as Nancy Mariah Winchester #47 (p. 488).²²

4. Danel W. Bachman (1975). In his unpublished master's thesis, "A Study of the Mormon Practice of Plural Marriage before the Death of Joseph Smith," Bachman started with Fawn Brodie's list of forty-eight names, trimming it down to thirty-one women whom he considered to be the more plausible wives.²³

5. D. Michael Quinn (1994). Quinn lists forty-six wives—as many as Brodie—but the two lists differ regarding twelve different names. Unfortunately, Quinn provides no documentation for any of them.²⁴

6. Todd M. Compton (1996). In his voluminous collection of biographies, Compton investigates the lives of thirty-three women for

²¹Stanley S. Ivins, "Wives of Joseph Smith," n.d. Stanley S. Ivins Collection, Box 12, fd. 1, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City. Ivins's list is faithfully reproduced in Jerald Tanner and Sandra Tanner, *Joseph Smith and Polygamy* (Salt Lake City: Modern Microfilm, ca. 1966–67), 41–47.

²²Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet*, 2d rev. ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971), 335–36, 457–88. Marvin S. Hill observed: "Allowing her moral indignation to cause her to overstate her case, Brodie depends heavily upon hearsay and circumstantial evidence to make it seem that Smith was largely driven in this matter by expansive sexual appetites. She lists 48 women who were Smith's plural wives and implies that he lived with most of them. But she acknowledges that her list 'includes several whose relationship to Joseph is admittedly little more than presumptive.'" Marvin S. Hill, "Secular or Sectarian History? A Critique of *No Man Knows My History*," in *Reconsidering No Man Knows My History: Fawn M. Brodie and Joseph Smith in Retrospect*, edited by Newell G. Bringham (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1996), 80.

²³Danel W. Bachman, "A Study of the Mormon Practice of Plural Marriage before the Death of Joseph Smith" (M.A. thesis, Purdue University, 1975), 113–15.

²⁴D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (Salt Lake

which he feels a plausible case can be made for being sealed to the Prophet. His list is the best documented but does not distinguish the type of sealing: “time only,” “time and eternity,” or “eternity only.” He also includes a second list of eight “possible wives.”²⁵

7. Lyndon W. Cook (2004). A footnote in Cook’s *Nauwoo Marriages, Proxy Sealings 1843–1846* lists thirty-seven plural wives for the Prophet without providing any documentation.²⁶

8. Richard Lyman Bushman (2005). In Bushman’s biography of Joseph Smith, he lists thirty-two plural wives, all of whom appear on Compton’s list. Bushman wrote: “I follow the count of Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness*, save for Lucinda Pendleton Morgan Harris, whose marriage to Joseph Smith in 1838 is contested.”²⁷

9. Gary J. Bergera (2005). As part of his article, “Identifying the Earliest Mormon Polygamists, 1841–1844,” Bergera names thirty-six plural wives without supplying any specific documentation.²⁸

10. H. Michael Marquardt (2005). In his book *The Rise of Mormonism: 1816–1844*, Michael Marquardt identifies twenty-six plural wives, providing some documentation for those included.²⁹

11. Lisle G Brown (2006). In his massive *Nauwoo Sealings, Adoptions, and Anointings: A Comprehensive Register of Persons Receiving LDS Temple Ordinances, 1841–1846*, Brown names forty-two plural wives, relying, according to his introduction, on Gary Bergera’s and Lyndon

City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1994), 587–88.

²⁵Todd M. Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness: The Plural Wives of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997), 4–9.

²⁶Lyndon W. Cook, *Nauwoo Marriages, Proxy Sealings 1843–1846* (Provo, Utah: Grandin Book, 2004), note 3 spanning pp. 12–15.

²⁷Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), 644 note 1.

²⁸Gary J. Bergera, “Identifying the Earliest Mormon Polygamists, 1841–1844,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 38, no. 2 (Fall 2005): 1–74.

²⁹H. Michael Marquardt, *The Rise of Mormonism: 1816–1844* (Longwood, Fla.: Xulon Press, 2005), 559–61. The second edition (2013) contains no changes regarding the identities of Joseph Smith’s plural wives.

Cook's research.³⁰

12. George D. Smith (2008). George D. Smith accepts all of Todd Compton's thirty-three, except for Fanny Alger, which he does not consider a plural marriage. He also includes Emma, whose marriage to Joseph has never been in dispute, and lists the names of five additional women but without supplying any new supporting evidence.³¹ His criteria for inclusion are less strict than Compton's.

MY RESEARCH CONCLUSIONS

I published my own research in 2013, in three volumes, two dealing with the history and a third with the theology of Joseph Smith's plural marriages.³² I agree with Todd Compton's list of thirty-three sealed plural wives while adding two more. One, Esther Dutcher, was discovered by Joseph Johnstun and Michael Marquardt.³³ The second addition is Mary Heron. My research further divides the women into three categories based on the type of sealing the women apparently contracted with the Prophet, nineteen for "time and eternity," three for "time only," and thirteen for "eternity only." (See table, "Thirty-Five Wives Sealed to Joseph Smith, 1842–46," for the type of sealing.)

I consider Joseph Smith's union to Fanny Alger to be the first plural marriage; but since it occurred before the keys of sealing authority were restored, I believe it was a marriage performed by priesthood authority for "time only" (Levi Hancock reportedly officiated) and would have required being performed a second time by proxy using sealing authority in a temple setting to become a "time and eternity" marriage. As observed above, most of Joseph Smith's plural wives were sealed to him vicariously in the Nauvoo Temple in January of 1846. Fifty-three years later, because a temple record did not exist for all of Joseph's polygamous sealings, Lorenzo Snow had additional

³⁰Brown, *Nauvoo Sealings, Adoptions, and Anointings*, 281–86.

³¹George D. Smith, *Nauvoo Polygamy: "... but we called it celestial marriage"* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2008), 223–24. He includes Sarah Bapson, Mary Ann Frost, Sarah Scott, Phebe Woodworth, and Mary Houston.

³²Hales, *Joseph Smith Polygamy*, 1:460–74.

³³Daniel H. Wells, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, June 25, 1888, MS 1325, Box 16, fd. 9, LDS Church History Library, in Richard E. Turley Jr., ed., *Selected Collections from the Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 2 vols. DVD (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 2002), 1:29.

proxy sealing ordinances performed in the Salt Lake Temple. These observations support my conclusion that all sealings performed outside of a temple needed to be repeated by the same participants, or by proxy, within temple walls at some point including Fanny Alger's.

The other two plural marriages between Joseph Smith that I consider to be "time only" sealings were to widows. Delcena Johnson's husband, Royal Lyman Sherman, a close friend of the Prophet, died in early 1839. She left no record of her relationship with Joseph and was later sealed for eternity to Sherman by proxy in the Nauvoo Temple, indicating that the sealing to the Prophet was for time only.³⁴ I assume that Agnes Moulton Coolbrith was also sealed for eternity to her civil husband, Don Carlos Smith, by proxy, because a ceremony for them was performed in the Nauvoo Temple.³⁵ I find the circumstances between Joseph and Agnes as consistent with a Levirate marriage for time only.

Martha McBride Knight, widow of fellow polygamist Vinson Knight, may have been initially married to the Prophet for "time only" and perhaps was even sealed to Vinson for "time and eternity" in early 1842.³⁶ However, in the Nauvoo Temple on January 26, 1846, Martha chose to be sealed for eternity to Joseph Smith by proxy. Precisely who should be regarded as her eternal husband is not entirely clear. Lucy Walker remembered the Prophet's emphasis that plural wives should be allowed to choose: "A woman would have her choice, this was a privilege that could not be denied her."³⁷ The sealing authority can eternally bind and can eternally loosen (D&C 128:8, 10). So a couple who is temple-sealed could thereafter be unsealed or "loosened" if either party desired.³⁸ Since 1998 a deceased woman has been permitted to be sealed by proxy to all the men with

³⁴Brown, *Nauvoo Sealings, Adoptions, and Anointings*, 272.

³⁵*Ibid.*, 276. The ceremony was not a sealing but was recorded in the Nauvoo Temple "Book of Anointings."

³⁶Bergera, "Identifying the Earliest Mormon Polygamists," 14.

³⁷Lucy Walker Kimball, "A Brief Biographical Sketch of the Life and Labors of Lucy Walker Kimball Smith," quoted in Lyman Omer Littlefield, *Reminiscences of Latter-day Saints: Giving an Account of Much Individual Suffering Endured for Religious Conscience* (Logan: Utah Journal, 1888), 46.

³⁸President Joseph F. Smith in 1915 taught: "If a man and woman should be joined together who are incompatible to each other it would be a mercy to them to be separated that they might have a chance to find other

whom she lived as a legal wife during mortality after her husbands are also dead. All of Joseph Smith's teachings concerning polyandry condemn it as adultery (D&C 132:41–42, 61–63).³⁹ When Brigham Young was asked in 1852, “What do you think of a woman having more husbands than one?” he answered, “This is not known to the law.”⁴⁰ Accordingly, Martha can be the eternal mate of only one man. It is obvious that some sorting out of these timeless issues will need to occur during the millennium, because after the resurrection, “they neither marry, nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels of God in heaven” (Matt. 22:30).

I have categorized thirteen of the marriages as “eternity only” sealings. These thirteen comprise eleven “polyandrous” unions as well as Joseph’s sealing to Rhoda Richards and Fanny Young, both spinsters for whose eternal welfare Joseph expressed concern if they were to die without being sealed to someone.⁴¹ Details are unavailable, but the other eleven women apparently chose Joseph over their legal husbands as an eternal spouse, being sealed to him in a union that would not begin until the next life. This seems strange, but none of the men or women left statements criticizing Joseph for allowing those sealings, so perhaps observers should not criticize him either.

spirits that will be congenial to them. We may bind on earth and it will be bound in Heaven, and loose on earth and it will be loosed in Heaven.” James R. Clark, ed., *Messages of the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1833–1964*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965–75), 4:330–31.

³⁹See Brian C. Hales, “Joseph Smith and the Puzzlement of Polyandry,” in Newell G. Bringhurst and Craig L. Foster, eds., *The Persistence of Polygamy: Joseph Smith and the Origins of Mormon Polygamy*, 3 vols. (Independence: John Whitmer Books, 2010), 1:99–151.

⁴⁰Brigham Young, August 1, 1852, *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London and Liverpool: LDS Booksellers Depot, 1855–86), 1:361. Six years later, Orson Pratt instructed: “God has strictly forbidden, in this Bible, plurality of husbands, and proclaimed against it in his law.” Orson Pratt, July 11, 1875, *Journal of Discourses*, 18:55–56.

⁴¹Brigham Young, August 31, 1873, *Journal of Discourses*, 16:166–67, describes the sealing of his sister Fanny to Joseph Smith; see also Rhoda Richards, qtd. in Edward W. Tullidge, *The Women of Mormondom* (New York City: n.pub., 1877), 422.

When classifying the marriage relationships, I acknowledge that any sealing on earth that exists without sexual relations (and therefore has no chance of mortal offspring) would resemble in many ways a sealing for “eternity,” irrespective of the language used in the ceremony. Since the wording used to seal Joseph Smith to his thirty-five wives is unavailable (except for his “time and eternity” sealing to Sarah Ann Whitney⁴²) and since sexual relations are documented in fewer than half of Joseph’s plural sealings, discerning between “time and eternity” and “eternity only” sealings is often difficult.

The table also acknowledges that in three of the “polyandrous” relationships, those with Zina Huntington, Nancy Marinda Johnson, and Elvira Cowles, the information clarifying the details of the sealing is incomplete. (See Table, “Thirty-Five Wives Sealed to Joseph Smith, 1842–46.”) Any of these women might have experienced a “time and eternity” sealing to Joseph Smith that would have superseded the legal marriage (see D&C 22:1, 132:4) from a religious standpoint. Effectively they would be divorced while possibly still being provided for by their legal husbands. The described “pretend” marriage to protect the Prophet was not completely outlandish, since Joseph Smith, after his sealing on July 27, 1842, to Sarah Ann Whitney, asked Joseph C. Kingsbury, then unmarried, to enter what Kingsbury called “a pretend marriage” on April 23, 1843, to conceal Joseph and Sarah Ann’s relationship. This situation might also have occurred with Patty Bartlett, Elizabeth Davis, and Lucinda Pendleton, but I consider the likelihood to be much less probable than for the first three women.

Such an odd arrangement is difficult to fathom but might have been triggered by a woman’s desires to be sealed to someone other than her legal husband. An example is Ruth Vose Sayers whose legal husband was a nonmember and who sought out Joseph Smith in order to be sealed to him.⁴³ Those relationships appear against a gray background in the “time and eternity” column (see table p. 167), but are tabulated with the “eternity only” sealings.

Perhaps in the years to come, new evidence will emerge that can further clarify the women married to Joseph Smith as plural wives and explicate the types of marital relationships they experienced with him.

⁴³See Andrew Jenson Papers [ca. 1871–1942], fifth document, MS 17956, Box 49, fd. 16, LDS Church History Library.

A SOCIETY OF LIKE-MINDED MEN: AMERICAN LOCALISM AND THE MORMON EXPULSION FROM JACKSON COUNTY

Matthew B. Lund

FROM ITS FOUNDING, MORMONISM AROUSED intense opposition. Individual hostility directed at Joseph Smith, the religion's prophet founder, eventually gave way to collective violence against the entire Mormon community. Conflict intensified in proportion to swelling Mormon ranks. Progressively, the source of the violence directed at Mormonism first involved individuals, next entire communities, then the power of states and eventually the whole nation. Indeed, according to historian Gordon Wood, "Mormonism was undeniably the most original and persecuted religion of this period or of any period of American history."¹ In recounting their persecuted past, Mormons tend to view the Missouri period from 1831 to 1839 as the darkest era in their Church's history. In the summer of 1831, just a year after Joseph Smith officially organized

MATTHEW B. LUND {lundmb@gmail.com} received his master's degree from Utah State University in U.S. history with an emphasis in Mormon studies. He teaches in the LDS Seminary program in Logan, Utah.

¹Gordon S. Wood, "Evangelical America and Early Mormonism," *New York History* 61 (October 1980): 380.

the restored Church of Christ, the Mormon prophet declared Jackson County, Missouri, as the central gathering place where the Saints would build the city of Zion in preparation for Christ's millennial reign. Within a few years, Mormon settlers in Jackson County numbered over a thousand. The rapid influx of Mormons to the area, combined with their unorthodox theology, religious practices, and publicized declarations of divine entitlement to Missouri lands, provoked the animosity of the local citizenry.

Hostilities erupted on July 20, 1833, when a large band of citizens confronted Mormon leaders in Independence demanding that all Mormons leave the county. When Church leaders refused, Missourians resorted to violence. The vigilante crowd ransacked the printing office and home of Mormon editor W. W. Phelps. A similar fate awaited the Church-owned store before its owner pledged to cease operation. Before the Missourians dispersed, Bishop Edward Partridge and Charles Allen were publicly tarred and feathered. Three days later, armed citizens again rushed into Independence, threatening Mormons and destroying homes and crops. Seeking to prevent further violence, local Mormon leaders, under duress, signed a document agreeing to leave Jackson County by the following spring.

Three months later, enraged by the Mormon decision to stay in Jackson County and defend their rights legally, the Missourians attacked Mormon settlements, whipped and beat Mormon men, and destroyed homes and property. Mormons retaliated, meeting Missourian violence with violence. The conflict reached a climax on November 4, 1833, when a battle broke out between Mormon defenders and Jackson County vigilantes, resulting in deaths on both sides. After local militia intervened, Mormons relinquished their arms and agreed to leave the county. Fleeing their homes into Clay County, Mormons took refuge in temporary shelters across the Missouri River in the midst of winter. After four months of conflict, Missouri vigilantes drove more than a thousand Mormons from the county and burned over two hundred homes.

Past studies of the conflict in Jackson County have emphasized the dissimilarities in respective value orientations between Mormons and the rest of American society to explain hostility and violence toward the new faith. In his study of the conflict in Jackson County, Missouri state historian Warren Jennings maintained that Missourians brought with them a devotion to a southern liberal individualism while the Mormons swarmed into the state with a puritan-minded cul-

ture emphasizing communal or corporate solidarity. For Jennings, this dissimilarity in value orientations lay at the core of Missourian opposition to the Mormons.² In *Mormonism and the American Experience*, Klaus Hansen followed suit, concluding that “the individualistic, competitive values of the Missourians were clearly incompatible with those of the Saints.”³ Kenneth Winn’s *Exiles in a Land of Liberty* contended that Mormonism offered a different interpretation of American republicanism in answer to the social, economic, and religious fragmentation of the Jacksonian era. Seeing Mormonism as more of a political movement, Winn argued that Mormon communal republicanism conflicted with Missourian liberal republicanism.⁴ In his history of social violence in America, Paul Gilje took the position that Mormons posed a threat to “frontier cultural values,” which in Missouri emphasized individualism, slavery, and an irreligious lifestyle.⁵ Thus, Jennings, Hansen, Winn, and Gilje explain the hostility and conflict between the two groups as resulting in large part from the collision of Mormon communalism and Jacksonian individual-

²Warren Jennings, “The City in the Garden: Social Conflict in Jackson County, Missouri,” 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), 99–119. Jennings argues that if the Mormons had become politically dominant in Jackson County their “moralistic” communal culture would have replaced the individualistic culture brought to Missouri by the original settlers (ibid., 108–9). See also Warren Jennings “Zion Is Fled: The Expulsion of the Mormons from Jackson County, Missouri” (Ph.D. diss., University of Florida, 1962). Patricia A. Zahniser, “Violence in Missouri, 1831–1839: The Case of the Mormon Persecution” (M.A. thesis, Florida Atlantic University, 1973), 80. Patricia Zahniser also considers the issue of cultural dominance an important factor in the Mormon-Missourian conflict: “When the Saints made their move to Missouri in 1831, the old settlers were building a community based upon Jacksonian individualism.”

³Klaus Hansen, *Mormonism and the American Experience* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 136.

⁴Kenneth Winn, *Exiles in a Land of Liberty: Mormons in America, 1830–1846* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 39–53.

⁵Paul Gilje, *Rioting in America* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1996), 77–78.

ism.⁶ As a radical countercultural movement, Mormonism clashed with a society perceived as degenerate, fragmented, and in need of reformation. However, by overemphasizing the cultural differences and partially misunderstanding and exaggerating Missourian individualism, historians have tended to erect artificial dichotomies to explain Mormon conflict with their Gentile neighbors.

This interpretive model is particularly ineffectual in explaining the Mormon expulsion from Jackson County, Missouri, where the new faith was in its infancy. With a religious and cultural identity still unfolding, converts were learning to “be” Mormon. Gordon Wood contextualizes the new faith: “[Mormonism] defied as no other religion did both the orthodox culture and evangelical counter-culture. Yet at the same time it drew heavily on both these cultures. . . . Mormonism was both mystical and secular, restorationist and progressive, communitarian and individualist, hierarchical and congregational, authoritarian and democratic . . . anti-clerical and priestly; revelatory and empirical; utopian and practical; ecumenical and nationalist.”⁷

Naturally, historians focus on Mormonism’s divergent beliefs, cultural views, and lifestyle to explain causes of conflict with American society. However, as indicated above, Mormonism also drew heavily from the very cultures that some historians argue they defied. While cultural dissimilarities no doubt played a key role in hostility and violence between Mormons and Missourians, so, paradoxically, did their similarities.

⁶Another work employing a cultural approach to violence between Mormons and non-Mormons is John E. Hallwas and Roger D. Launius, eds., *Cultures in Conflict: A Documentary History of the Mormon War in Illinois* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1995), 4. They approach Mormon/non-Mormon conflict by considering the ideals, values, and motives of each side. The documents, they concluded, demonstrate that conflict in Illinois was “not a matter of religious persecution” but rather “was essentially an ideological struggle between two cultures.”

⁷Wood, “Evangelical America and Early Mormonism,” 379–80. Wood also defines orthodox culture and evangelical counter-culture, both of which he applies to Mormonism. He defines orthodox culture as mystical, restorationist, communitarian, hierarchical, authoritarian, priestly, revelatory, utopian and nationalist, while the evangelical counter-culture he characterizes as secular, progressive, individualist, congregational, democratic, anti-clerical, empirical, practical, and ecumenical.

Mormons and Missourians grew up in an antebellum society that stressed local autonomy and control. American localism was marked by communal regulation and a distrust of outside intrusion or interference by centralized authority. Self-government was conceived of as the collective right of a people to govern and regulate their local community interests. With a lack of tolerance toward non-conformity and social deviance, individuals were expected to conform to local rules and expectations.⁸ Private rights were often subordinated to the perceived welfare of the public, even if that meant bypassing constituted law, authorities, and due process. Thus, “power was diffused and flowed from the bottom-up” as nineteenth-century American governance remained decidedly local.⁹

Willard Hurst, a leading historian of nineteenth-century law, argued that “localism” became ingrained in American life during the nineteenth century, in part as “a natural accommodation to a frontier country of great distances and poor communications.”¹⁰ In his study on vigilantism, Richard Maxwell Brown maintained that, in a

⁸William J. Novak, *The People's Welfare: Law and Regulation in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 8–13, 169, 237–44. Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815–1848* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 40, describes early antebellum society: “They usually lived in communities with others of their own backgrounds. . . . Within the small communities, consensus appeared more often than divisions of opinion. Local pressures to conformity of opinion were substantial. Ordinary people usually regarded outsiders with suspicion, especially those with pretensions to elite status.”

⁹Novak, *The People's Welfare*, 8–13. It is important, however, to understand the complexity of the social and political climate during this era. Localism, with its concomitant public rights and majoritarian interests, represented the dominant current that prevailed in the United States through the mid-1800s, particularly in the South and in frontier rural communities. Private or vested rights of individuals represented an ascendant counterweight to the collective rights of a community. Similar tension existed between states' rights and federal authority, as well as popular sovereignty and judicial supremacy. Moreover, biblical injunctions, common and constitutional law, and appeals to the laws of nature added to the dynamics of contested authority in the early republic.

¹⁰James Willard Hurst, *The Growth of American Law: The Law Makers*

“sparsely settled country with poor communications and people of small means, men naturally sought to bring the administration of justice closer to home.”¹¹ This was particularly true of frontier society and the South. In his study of anti-Mormon violence in the post-bellum South, Patrick Q. Mason noted: “Rather than seeking to be free of communal norms, they [Southerners] asserted their right to live according to their own shared values as opposed to outsiders imposing foreign values onto their . . . society. Freedom was to be exercised within communally approved boundaries—to go outside those boundaries threatened social order.”¹²

Slavery in southern states further localized political power and authority. Southerners feared that outside, centralized government would interfere with slavery and southern ways more generally. To the white southerner, liberty was tied inextricably to the preservation of slavery. Therefore, southerners advocated state and local sovereignty to protect their political and social interests from federal intrusion.¹³ It was this tradition of localized self-government, communal regulation, and distrust of outside interference that Missourian settlers brought with them from the upper South—a tradition whose “anti-despotic thrust is often mistaken for [the] liberal individualism” upon which some historians have based their assumptions.¹⁴

Mormon settlers and Missourians in Jackson County shared this tradition of popular self-government which emphasized local control. This localist outlook shaped, in part, the way both groups perceived and treated the other. Each laid claim to Jackson County—the Missou-

(Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1950), 39, 90–93.

¹¹Richard Maxwell Brown, *Strain of Violence: Historical Studies of American Violence and Vigilantism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 153.

¹²Patrick Q. Mason, *The Mormon Menace: Violence and Anti-Mormonism in the Postbellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 97.

¹³William J. Cooper Jr., *Liberty and Slavery: Southern Politics to 1860* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1983), 179–80. Cooper argued, “This cherished liberty depended upon the southern whites retaining unqualified dominion over their peculiar institution. Their losing control of slavery would signal that an outside force directed the local affairs as well as [that] the destiny of the white Southerners would be shackled by someone else just as they shackled their own slaves. Free men would fall into slavery.”

¹⁴Novak, *The People’s Welfare*, 10.

rians as the original settlers and the Mormons by divine decree. Therefore, as advocates of radical popular sovereignty, both groups felt that local society should reflect their own community's will and morality.¹⁵ Those perceived as social deviants were expected to conform or settle elsewhere. For both groups, freedom to govern and regulate their own community was possible only within a society of like-minded men.¹⁶ Viewing separation as the only solution, Missouri vigilantes and even some Mormons threatened to expel the other through violent means.

CONFORMITY OF THE "OTHER"

In describing the steps that lead to violence, Regina M. Schwarz wrote that "violence is not only what we do to the Other. It is prior to that. Violence is the very construction of the Other."¹⁷ The Mormon construction of Missouri otherness began when they first arrived in the state. In the summer of 1831, Joseph Smith, along with other Mormon elders, arrived in Jackson County. After viewing the country and prayerfully seeking direction, Smith received a revelation in which God "manifested himself unto me, and designated to me and others, the very spot upon which he designed to commence the work of gathering, and the upbuilding of an holy city, which should be called Zion."¹⁸ Associated with this revelation was Smith's characterization of the state of society in Jackson County at the time: "Our reflections were many, coming as we had from a highly cultivated state of society

¹⁵Jennet Kirkpatrick, *Uncivil Disobedience: Studies in Violence and Democratic Politics* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2008), 40. One of Kirkpatrick's distinctive contributions to the field of social disorder is her persuasive conclusion that vigilante violence did not so much reflect disdain for procedure in and of itself, but rather opposition to legal procedures that "obfuscated the will of the people or made the will of the people untenable because they gave voice to dissent and difference" (60).

¹⁶Barry Alan Shain, *The Myth of American Individualism: The Protestant Origins of American Political Thought* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994), 48.

¹⁷Regina M. Schwarz, *The Curse of Cain: The Violent Legacy of Monotheism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 5.

¹⁸"To Oliver Cowdery," *Messenger and Advocate* 1 (September 1835): 179.

in the east, and standing now upon the confines or western limits of the United States, and looking into the vast wilderness of those that sat in darkness; how natural it was to observe the degradation, leanness of intellect, ferocity, and jealousy of a people that were nearly a century behind the times.”¹⁹ From their first encounter with the Missourians, the Mormons set themselves apart.

Within months of Smith’s revelation, Mormon settlers began making preparations to gather to Jackson County in obedience to the commandment of God spoken through their prophet. Mormon settlers moved into a society that at the time was “homogeneous and simple,” according to Jackson County resident Alexander Majors.²⁰ Named after Andrew Jackson, the famed military hero and future president, Jackson County was organized in 1826, five years after statehood. The original settlers to the county came principally from Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Kentucky.²¹ By 1830, Jackson County residents numbered about 2,600 in addition to their 193 slaves. The Mormon influx to the state reflected the boom in Missouri’s population during the 1830s, which grew from 140,455 to 383,702. As new settlers arrived, Missourians methodically divided their land into numerous counties. Less than fifty years after statehood, Missourians had carved their state’s 69,686 square miles into 114 counties; only three states had more.²² In considering why Missourians divided their state into so many counties, one state historian cited the Missouri tradition “that every person should be within a day’s horseback ride of his county seat. . . . This suggests,” she concludes, “the priority of local control and numerous political opportu-

¹⁹Joseph Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, edited by B. H. Roberts, 2d ed. rev., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1902–12, printing of 1948–51), 1:189 (hereafter cited as *History of the Church* by volume and page).

²⁰Alexander Majors, *Seventy Years on the Frontier* (Columbus, Ohio: Long’s College Book, 1950), 28. Majors lived in Jackson County at the time of the Mormon expulsion. His father, Benjamin Majors, was a captain in the county militia and participated in the conflict against the Mormons.

²¹*Ibid.*, 55. See also Perry McCandless, *A History of Missouri, 1820–1860* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1972), 37.

²²Marian M. Ohman, “Missouri County Organization, 1812–1876,” *Missouri Historical Review* 76 (April 1982): 279.

nities.”²³ Missouri state officials left much of the local decision-making to settlers. Such a trend was a carryover from Missouri’s territorial days, when full responsibility for internal improvements, education, poor relief, and community policing fell to local authorities.²⁴ Thus, when Mormon settlers began pouring into Jackson County in the summer and fall of 1831 they met a locally minded people who, as the first settlers of western Missouri, felt they had prior rights under “natural law” in organizing and governing the region.²⁵

A revelation from Joseph Smith prophesied: “The righteous shall be gathered out from among all nations, and shall come to Zion, singing with songs of everlasting joy.”²⁶ Although Smith’s revelations counseled the Saints not to “gather in haste, lest there be confusion,” entire bodies of Mormon congregations moved to Jackson County. Shortly after Smith’s first visit to Missouri, he recorded the revelatory counsel that the gathering begin with “the rich and the learned, the wise and the noble. . . . [T]hen shall the poor, the

²³Ibid., 279. Commenting on the unequaled local control exercised by towns and congregations in America, a British official, after a fourteen-month visit to the United States in 1807, observed that “whether Anglican or separatist, we [the English] have a notion of Church and nation. In the American states, even Anglicans speak only of village and congregation.” Samuel Benninger, quoted in Gregory H. Singleton, “Protestant Voluntary Organizations and the Shaping of Victorian America,” *American Quarterly* 27 (December 1975): 551.

²⁴William E. Foley, *A History of Missouri: Volume 1, 1673–1820* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1971), 191–206.

²⁵“Samuel C. Owens,” *Missouri Argus* 2, no. 15 (July 29, 1836), qtd. in Marvin S. Hill, *Quest For Refuge: The Mormon Flight from American Pluralism* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989), 41. Owens used this point to defend the anti-Mormon activities of Missourians, including his own. According to Mormon settler John Patten, when Missourians asked him to leave the county, they stated “that they were the first settlers” and therefore “would not suffer the Church to settle in the County.” Affidavit of John Patten, October 28, 1839, Box 2, fd. 7, in Mormon Affidavits and Petitions relating to the Missouri persecutions, Special Collections and Archives, Merrill-Cazier Library, Utah State University, Logan (hereafter cited as Mormon Affidavits and Petitions).

²⁶“Extract of a Prophecy Given March 7, 1831,” *Evening and the Morning Star* 1 (June 1832): 2.

lame, and the blind, and the deaf, come in unto the marriage of the Lamb.”²⁷ However, “this regulation was not attended to,” Mormon John Corrill wrote, “for the church got crazy to go up to Zion, as it was then called. The rich were afraid to send up their money to purchase lands, and the poor crowded up in numbers, without having any places provided, contrary to the advice of the bishop and others.”²⁸ Trusting that they were the chosen people of God, the more destitute Mormons rushed to Zion expecting to receive the blessings of the Lord. The land of Zion was their “inheritance”; and according to one revelation, the Lord promised to “consecrate the riches of the Gentiles, unto my people which are of the house of Israel.”²⁹ Within two years of settlement, Mormons numbered 1,200—a third of the county’s population.

According to Jackson County resident John McCoy, interviewed more than fifty years later, Mormon settlers were at first “regarded as harmless fanatics.”³⁰ However, as Mormon settlers increased, so did Missourian fear and apprehension.³¹ Missouri citizens complained that “little more than two years ago, some two or three of these people made their appearance on the Upper Missouri, and they now number some twelve hundred souls in this county; and each successive au-

²⁷*History of the Church*, 1:191–92.

²⁸John Corrill, *A Brief History of the Church of Christ of Latter Day Saints* (St. Louis, Mo.: n.pub., 1839), 19. Following the Mormon expulsion from Jackson County, a revelation to Smith put the blame on their covetous desires: “Behold, I say unto you, there were jarrings, and contentions, and envying, and strifes, and lustful and covetous desires among them; therefore by these things they polluted their inheritances.” *History of the Church*, 1:458.

²⁹“Extract of Covenants for the Church of the Latter Day Saints,” *Evening and the Morning Star* 1 (July 1832): 30–31.

³⁰John C. McCoy, “A Famous Town,” *Kansas City Sunday Journal*, January 18, 1885, 8.

³¹In a memorial to the Missouri Legislature submitted in December 1838, the Mormons maintained that “soon after the settlement began, persecution began, and as the society increased persecution also increased.” John P. Greene, *Facts Relative to the Expulsion of the Mormons, or Latter Day Saints from the State of Mo., under “Exterminating Order”* (Cincinnati, Ohio: R. P. Brooks, 1839), 10.

tumn and spring pours forth its swarms among us.”³² Emily Austin, a Mormon convert, wrote, “On several occasions we received intelligence that the inhabitants of Jackson county were displeased at the idea of so many coming into the county. They said the range for their county would be taken by the Mormon cattle, and the ‘shuck’ devoured by Mormon pigs.”³³ Austin did not clarify whether Missourians made their complaints in reference to actual Mormon livestock or to the Mormon people themselves. Regardless, Mormon otherness eventually reached the point of association with a people whom the Missourians viewed as racially inferior: “Each successive spring and autumn pours forth its swarms among them with a gradual falling off in the character of those who compose them, until they have now nearly reached the low condition of the black population.”³⁴

The flood of Mormon settlers concerned local Missourians for two reasons. First, a growing body of Mormons seemed a threat economically, particularly to land speculators and squatters. Ezra Booth, a Mormon missionary who traveled to Missouri from Ohio wrote: “It is conjectured by the inhabitants of Jackson county, that the Mormonites, as a body are wealthy, and many of them entertain fears that next December, when the list of lands is exposed for sale, they [the Mormons] will out-bid others, and establish themselves as the most powerful body in the county.”³⁵

Second, the Missourians feared that a Mormon majority would threaten their political power. Local resident Josiah Gregg explained: “The people now began to perceive, that, at the rate the intruders were increasing, they would soon be able to command a majority of

³²“Mormonism,” in *History of the Church*, 1:396.

³³Emily Austin, *Mormonism, Or, Life among the Mormons* (Madison, Wisc.: M. J. Cantwell, 1882), 68.

³⁴“Regulating the Mormonites,” *Niles’ Register* (Baltimore, Maryland), 4th series, 3, no. 9 (September 14, 1833): 47–48. Davis Bitton and Gary Bunker, *The Mormon Graphic Image, 1834–1914* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983), 77, have studied periodical illustrations that associate Mormonism with undesirable ethnic groups. They found that “the specific groups most frequently linked to Mormons in prints” were “Irish, Catholics, blacks, Chinese, [and] native Americans.”

³⁵Ezra Booth Letters, 1831, in E. D. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled* (Painsville, Ohio: Printed and published by Howe, 1834), 195.

the county, and consequently the entire control of affairs would fall into their hands.”³⁶ Thus, to many Missourians, the invasion of Mormon settlers represented a hostile takeover.

Missourian fears seemed substantiated by the contents of the Mormon newspaper printed in Independence—the *Evening and the Morning Star*. To what extent non-Mormon residents read the newspaper is unknown. However, no other newspaper was being published within 120 miles, suggesting that local non-Mormons either read the *Star* or went without. The *Star* not only published revelations commanding the Saints to gather to Zion but also gave instructions on how to do so. In addition, articles informed readers about the numbers of Mormons planning to migrate to Jackson County. An article in the July 1832 issue advised readers that “churches of fifty or a hundred souls each, are coming to the land of Zion from different parts of the nation.”³⁷ Another issue announced that “many branches of this church . . . in Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Virginia, Pennsylvania, New York, Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Maine and Canada . . . will come up this season” to Zion.³⁸ Mormons not only anticipated that converts from the states would gather to Jackson County but also, according to one article, the gospel “is to be preached to every nation on the globe so that some may be gathered out of every kindred, tongue and people, and be brought to Zion.”³⁹ Thus, the gathering entailed not only those in the states but foreigners out of every country. It must have been especially disconcerting for non-Mormons to read in July 1833 that, despite the twelve hundred Mormons then living in Jackson County, the “gathering has continued *slowly*.”⁴⁰

Compounding the rapid Mormon influx to Jackson County was

³⁶Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies, Or, the Journal of a Santa Fe Trader, during Eight Expeditions across the Great Western Prairies, and a Residence of Nearly Nine Years in Northern Mexico* (Carlisle, Mass.: Applewood Books, 1845), 95.

³⁷“The Elders in the Land of Zion to the Church of Christ Scattered Abroad,” *Evening and the Morning Star* 1 (July 1832): 24–25.

³⁸“Prospects of the Church,” *Evening and the Morning Star* 1 (March 1833): 76.

³⁹“Autumn,” *Evening and the Morning Star* 1 (November 1832): 87–88.

⁴⁰“The Elders in the Land of Zion to the Church of Christ Scattered

the Mormon apartness from the rest of the community. From the outset, Mormon settlers worked to establish their own separate community—their religious Zion. Hence, they constituted a community within a community. Guidebooks of the era, written for the general public, warned new settlers “to mingle freely and familiarly with neighbors, and above all to pretend no superiority, if they wished to be accepted.”⁴¹ Mormon settlers, however, did not seem concerned about Missourian acceptance. They certainly did not “mingle freely and familiarly” with their non-Mormon neighbors. This self-isolation concerned Missourians, who “at first kindly received” the Mormons. Although viewed by their new neighbors as religious fanatics, citizens such as Josiah Gregg believed they were “very susceptible of being moulded into good and honest citizens.”⁴² This statement reflects the sentiment shared by Americans during the early American republic. Individuals were at liberty to settle in a community as long as they were willing to abide by and conform to certain local expectations and standards of behavior. As historian Edward Pessen comments, this view “challenges the stereotypical notion of an inner-directed American, marching to his own music, living his life according to his own and his family’s notions as to how it should be lived.” Instead, “observers during the Jacksonian era saw a very different American, indeed. The American was a conformist, in the opinion of foreigner and native, to the sympathetic as to the jaundiced.”⁴³

The Mormons and Missourians alike expected the other to conform because each community laid claim to the lands in Jackson

Abroad,” *Evening and the Morning Star* 2 (July 1833): 24–25; emphasis mine.

⁴¹Ray Allen Billington, “Frontier Democracy: Social Aspects,” in *The Turner Thesis: Concerning the Role of the Frontier in American History*, edited by George Rogers Taylor, 3rd ed. (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath, 1972), 178.

⁴²Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 218; emphasis mine.

⁴³Edward Pessen, *Jacksonian America: Society, Personality, and Politics*, rev. ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985), 17–18: “To [Charles] Dickens, the Americans were ‘all alike . . . no diversity in Character.’ Their ‘fear of singularity’ accounted for what Miss [Harriet] Martineau believed to be their main fault: ‘a deficiency of moral independence.’ In this land of conformity, she wrote, ‘worship of opinion is, at this day, the established religion of the United States.’” Writing of the power of public opinion to influence conformity, American novelist James Fenimore Cooper wrote,

County. In speaking of gathering to Zion, the revelations and articles in the *Evening and the Morning Star* designated Jackson County as the land of the Mormon inheritance. Some Mormons interpreted that designation to mean that God had given the Saints the land by divine decree. As a result, “there were among us a *few* ignorant and simple-minded persons who were continually making boasts to the Jackson county people, that they intended to possess the entire county,” Mormon resident David Whitmer stated.⁴⁴ Jackson County resident John McCoy related an account of an “old, gray-headed Mormon named Pryor,” who claimed God had given him their Missouri lands. “Brother M[cCoy], I have the greatest regard and friendship for you,” the old man would say to John’s father. He continued: “This land of promise is already parceled to the Saints by divine authority. Your tract, brother M., is included in my inheritance and in the Lord’s own good time I will possess it, for it is so recorded. But fear not, brother M. The Lord will either open your eyes to become one of us, or He will make me an instrument for your welfare.”⁴⁵

Bitter at the condescending tone of such claims, the Missourians complained, “We are daily told, and not by the ignorant alone, but by all classes of them, that we, (the Gentiles) of this county are to be cut off, and our lands appropriated by them for inheritances.”⁴⁶ Isaac McCoy, a Baptist minister, estimated that the Mormons had declared “perhaps hundreds of times, that this county was theirs, the Almighty

“they say,’ is the monarch of this country.” Francis Grund discovered that, in Boston, “the habit of conforming to each other’s opinion, and the penalty set upon every transgression . . . , are sufficient to prevent a man from wearing a coat cut in a different fashion, or a shirt-collar no longer *à la mode*, or, in fact, to do, say, or appear anything which would render him unpopular.” In matters of great moral significance “[George] Combe was struck that . . . [Americans] feared to affirm what they knew was right, because of fear of majority opinion.”

⁴⁴David Whitmer, “Mormonism,” *Kansas City Daily Journal*, June 5, 1881, 1; emphasis mine.

⁴⁵John C. McCoy, “A Famous Town,” *Kansas City Sunday Journal*, January 18, 1885, 8.

⁴⁶“Mormonism,” written by Richard Simpson of Jackson County and originally published in the *Western Monitor* at Fayette, Missouri, reproduced in *History of the Church*, 1:395–96. Alexander Doniphan, a resident in nearby Clay County and lawyer for the Mormons stated: “Soon after they came to

had given it to them, and that they would surely have entire possession of it in a few years.”⁴⁷ Jackson County resident and militia officer Thomas Pitcher asserted that “the troubles of 1833, which led to [the Mormon] expulsion from the county, were originated by those fanatics making boasts that they intended to possess the entire county, saying that God had promised it to them and they were going to have it.”⁴⁸ W. W. Phelps, editor of the *Evening and the Morning Star*, warned non-Mormons that if they did not repent and receive baptism they would be “taken out of the world by the pestilential arrows of the Almighty.”⁴⁹

For the Mormons in Jackson County, conformity required conversion. According to an 1832 editorial, Mormon missionaries preached that God commanded them to declare repentance to this generation, saying, “that all who *do not embrace their faith* and mode of worship, forsake their friends, houses, and lands, and go with them to a place of safety, which is in the state of Missouri . . . will be destroyed by

Jackson county, they established a newspaper at Independence, called the Morning and Evening Star [sic], edited by W. W. Phelps, in which they published their peculiar tenets and pretended revelations, in which they set forth that they had been sent to Jackson county by divine Providence, and that they, as a church were to possess the whole of the county, which then embraced what is now Jackson, Cass, and Bates counties.” Alexander Doniphan, “Mormonism. The Settlement of the Peculiar People in Jackson County. And Subsequent Expulsion, Gen. Doniphan’s Recollections of the Troubles of that Early Time,” *Kansas City Daily Journal*, June 12, 1881; reprinted in *Saints’ Herald* 28 (August 2, 1884): 230.

⁴⁷Isaac McCoy, “Disturbances in Jackson County,” *Daily Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), December 20, 2–3.

⁴⁸Col. Thomas Pitcher, “Mormon History,” *Kansas City Daily Journal*, June 19, 1881, 12.

⁴⁹“The Children of the Kingdom,” *Evening and the Morning Star* 1 (January 1833): 120–21. In the Fishing River revelation (June 22, 1834), Latter-day Saints received the counsel to “be very faithful, and prayerful, and humble . . . and reveal not the things which I [the Lord] have revealed unto them, until it is wisdom in me that they should be revealed. Talk not judgment, neither boast of faith, nor of mighty works; but carefully gather together, as much in one region as can be consistently with the feelings of the people.” *History of the Church*, 2:108–11.

sword, famine[,] pestilence, earthquakes, &c.”⁵⁰ Commenting on the invitation to become Mormons or suffer the wrath of an angry God, Jackson County resident Alexander Majors wrote in his reminiscences when he was seventy-nine: “They claimed that God had given them that locality, and whoever joined the Mormons, and helped prepare for the next coming of the Lord Jesus Christ, would be accepted and all right; but if they did not go into the fold of the Latter Day Saints, that it was only a matter of time when they would be crushed out, for that was the promised land and they had come to possess it.”⁵¹ Fellow resident John McCoy recalled in 1885 that, as Mormon settlers increased, “they began to openly avow their purpose of possessing the entire country peaceably by converting the Gentiles to the Mormon faith, if they could, but failing in this, to possess it any way, and if necessary by the shedding of blood, and when this determination on the part of the Mormons became manifest to the original settlers . . . bitter and relentless hostility grew up and increased.”⁵²

As Mormon settlers flooded into Missouri, they followed their Prophet’s injunction to go “forth into the western countries” and “call upon the inhabitants to repent.”⁵³ However, some failed to follow Smith’s counsel to raise a warning voice “in mildness and in meekness,” declaring “none other things than the prophets and apostles.”⁵⁴ Instead of warning people to flee wickedness by embracing the restored gospel of Christ, many, with millenarian fervor, raised a warning voice of calamity, destruction, and doom. Smith’s revelations counseled the Missourian Saints to “renounce war and proclaim peace” and warned them not to speak of judgments upon

⁵⁰B. Pixley, *Independent Messenger* (Boston), June 7, 1832, in William Mulder and A. R. Mortensen, eds., *Among the Mormons: Historic Accounts by Contemporary Observers* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1958), 72; emphasis mine.

⁵¹Majors, *Seventy Years on the Frontier*, 45.

⁵²John C. McCoy, “A Famous Town,” *Kansas City Sunday Journal*, January 18, 1885, 8.

⁵³“Extract of a Prophecy Given March 7, 1831,” *Evening and the Morning Star* 1 (June 1832): 5–6.

⁵⁴*History of the Church*, 1:140–43, 175–79. It is important to note that Smith never called for conversion by coercion. Nor did he preach taking Jackson County by force. *Ibid.*, 1:206–11.

the wicked or boast of their own faith and miraculous works.⁵⁵ The Mormon “voice of warning” to the Missourians fell on deaf ears, for most rejected the call to repentance, and few converted to the new faith.⁵⁶

As a result of Missourian nonconformity, Mormons in their speech and in writings often classified non-Mormons as “the wicked.” When a cholera epidemic threatened the county, one Latter-day Saint told Isaac McCoy that “this plague was for the destruction of the wicked, whilst . . . the righteous would escape.”⁵⁷ Frequently, articles in the *Evening and the Morning Star*, printed at Independence, described the calamities that would befall the wicked if they did not repent. According to one article, at the Second Coming “the wicked are consumed, for every soul that will not hear the Lord . . . must be cut off.”⁵⁸ Another article predicted that “sickness, sorrow, pain, and death will come upon the wicked” while “the righteous will be gathered . . . to Zion.”⁵⁹ Whereas the *Star* spoke of those who rejected the restored gospel as “wicked,” it referred to the Mormon faithful as “Saints,” the “elect of God,” “children of the kingdom,” “the righteous,” and “the Lord’s people.”⁶⁰

Mormons were not unique in their belief of being divinely favored and chosen of God. Throughout history, the chosen people ideology not only helped fashion group identity and solidarity, but also defined a group’s role in the “moral economy of global salva-

⁵⁵Ibid., 2:108–11.

⁵⁶John McCoy, years later, claimed the Mormons converted fewer than a dozen Missourians. McCoy, “A Famous Town,” 8.

⁵⁷Isaac McCoy, “Disturbances in Jackson County,” *Daily Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), December 20, 1833, 2–3.

⁵⁸“The Old and New Revelations,” *Evening and the Morning Star* 1 (September 1832): 56–57.

⁵⁹“The Last Days,” *Evening and the Morning Star* 1 (February 1833): 129–34.

⁶⁰See “To the Saints of Christ Jesus, Scattered Abroad,” *Evening and the Morning Star* 1 (June 1832): 15; “The Progress of the Church of Christ,” *Evening and the Morning Star* 2 (June 1833): 199–200; “The Children of the Kingdom,” *Evening and the Morning Star* 1 (January 1833): 120–21; “The Last Days,” *Evening and the Morning Star* 1 (February 1833): 129–34.

tion.”⁶¹ Consequently, belief in chosenness has served as both impetus and justification for conquest and colonialism, proselytization and imperialism, settlement and kingdom building. Converts to Mormonism brought with them a tradition of chosenness, a tradition they inherited from their English, Puritan, and American forebears. For example, John Milton believed that England was “chos’n before any other” and that when “God is decreeing to begin some new and great period . . . what does he then but reveal Himself . . . as his manner is first to his English-men?”⁶² The Puritans believed, like ancient Israel, that they had been chosen and singled out by God to build a city on a hill as an example for the nations. Thomas Jefferson in his second inaugural address proclaimed, “I shall need . . . the favor of that Being in whose hands we are, who led our fathers, as Israel of old, from their native land and planted them in a country flowing with all the necessaries and comforts of life.”⁶³ As God’s chosen people, Americans considered it their divine mission to serve as an example to the rest of the world, to spread progress, Protestant morality, and democracy across the continent and eventually to the world. Like the other peoples who defined themselves as “chosen,” Mormons considered themselves divinely favored of God and assigned a supremely important role in achieving global salvation.

Perhaps it was this Mormon self-identification that the Missourians found “very distasteful,” for with it the Mormons “set forth that they had been sent to Jackson county by divine Providence, and that they, as a church were to possess the whole of the county.”⁶⁴ The message to non-Mormons seemed clear—God had given Jackson County to Latter-day Saints as an inheritance, leaving them with the option of becoming Mormon or perishing, in which case Mormons would annex their property.

While Mormons hoped Missourians would adopt their faith, Missourians demanded that Mormons abandon the religious tenets

⁶¹Anthony D. Smith, *Chosen Peoples: Sacred Sources of National Identity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 49.

⁶²Quoted in *ibid.*, 47.

⁶³Andrew A. Libscomb and Albert Ellery Bergh, eds., *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, 20 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Thomas Jefferson Memorial Association, 1907), 10:217.

⁶⁴Doniphan, “Mormonism,” 230.

that united them as a community. Some historians dismiss or downplay Missourian opposition to the Mormons on religious grounds. One historian went so far as to claim, "The Missourians displayed a relative indifference to the actual content of Mormon theology."⁶⁵ However, as Mormon affidavits show, the nature of conformity Missouri vigilantes required of their Mormon neighbors revealed this point as a principal source of opposition. While the Mormon affidavits provide rich source material for the events surrounding the expulsion from Jackson County, caution must dictate their use. First, most of the affidavits date seven to eight years after the events took place, increasing the possibility of misremembering or forgetting and then reconstructing memory. Second, the Mormons produced the affidavits to present before the U.S. Congress in an effort to seek redress and restoration to their lands in Jackson County. It was therefore advantageous for Mormon petitioners to cast themselves as victims of religious persecution. With these caveats, however, even the documents that Missouri vigilantes produced to justify their course of action cited Mormon religious belief as a major cause for concern.⁶⁶ By comparing the affidavits and utilizing parts that corroborate one another, a general pattern of behavior emerges of how Missouri vigilantes expected Mormons to conform.

Consider first the experience of Mormon settler David Pettigrew. After converting to Mormonism in Ohio, Pettigrew settled in Jackson County with his family during the summer of 1833:

I was at work in my field, and a man by the name of Allen, and others with him, came along and cried out, "Mr. Pettigrew, you are at work as though you were determined to stay here, but we are determined that you shall leave the county immediately." I replied that I was a free born citizen of the United States, and had done harm to no man. "I therefore claim protection by the law of the land," and that the law and the Constitution of the land would not suffer them to commit so horrid a crime. They then replied that "the old law and Constitution is

⁶⁵Winn, *Exiles in a Land of Liberty*, 89.

⁶⁶"The Manifesto of the Mob," in *History of the Church*, July 1833, 1:376. See also "Regulating the Mormonites," *Niles' Register* (Baltimore, Md.) 4th series, 3, no. 9 (September 14, 1833): 47-48.

worn out, and we are about to make a new one.”⁶⁷

A few days later, Pettigrew attended a Mormon prayer meeting that was interrupted by two Missourians. They had been sent by the “mob party to inform us what their intentions were.” According to Pettigrew, it was not a discussion but an ultimatum: “I was at a meeting where we had met for prayer, and a man by the name of Masters came and desired an interview with us; he then stated that he was sent by the mob to inform us, that if we would forsake our ‘Mormon’ and Prophet religion, and become of their religion, they, the mob, would be our brothers, and would fight for us; ‘but if you will not, we are ready and will drive you from the county.’”⁶⁸

Gipson Gates, a Mormon resident of Jackson County, confirmed Pettigrew’s general account. According to Gates, while Mormons gathered together for worship a man named Masters “came to us stating that he was sent By the mob to inform us that if we would forsake our religion they were willing to Be our Brother[s] and to fight for us But if not said he our young men are ready and we can scarce constrain them from falling upon you.”⁶⁹

Other accounts also substantiate Pettigrew’s story. Orrin Porter Rockwell, a boyhood friend of Joseph Smith, operated a ferry near Independence. He reported that Missouri vigilantes “had resolved to drive [the Mormons] out of the County and that if my father and myself would not renounce our doctrine and religious faith as Mormons we should share the same fate.”⁷⁰ According to David Frampton, Jackson County militia leader Thomas Pitcher “swore by

⁶⁷Affidavit of David Pettigrew, in *History of the Church*, 4:71–72. See also David Pettegrew, Affidavit, March 21, 1840, in *Mormon Redress Petitions: Documents of the 1833–1838 Missouri Conflict*, edited by Clark V. Johnson (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 315–16. According to Mormon sources in July of 1833, Missouri vigilantes wrote a document outlining their complaints against the Mormons and their intentions to expel them from their community. Mormon sources refer to this document as the “Manifesto of the Mob” or “The Secret Constitution,” reproduced in *History of the Church*, 1:374.

⁶⁸*History of the Church*, 4:72.

⁶⁹Gipson Gates, Affidavit, March 20, 1840, in *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 212–13.

⁷⁰Orrin Porter Rockwell, Affidavit, February 3, 1840, in *Mormon Re-*

God the Mormons Would go Except 2 families that had denied the faith.”⁷¹ Another Mormon settler, Charles Patten, recalled that, shortly after his arrival in Jackson County in 1833, he heard a petition read by county clerk Samuel Owens, after which Owens announced: “‘The Mormons must leave the Co. or deny their religion.’ When a gentleman asked him what he had against the Mormons Owens replied ‘We cannot agree’ and ‘If we do not disperse them [and] stop the emigration they will [soon] become so numerous that they will rule the County.’”⁷² While at the house of fellow Mormon Jacob Foutz, Gipson Gates stated that a company of Missourians with faces painted black appeared. Their leader, Captain Comstock, demanded that Gates leave the county immediately, denounce Mormonism or go to Richmond to stand trial for resisting the Missouri vigilantes. “I ast him what it was I must deny,” Gates recalled. “He Said I must deny Jo Smyths being a prophet.”⁷³ Truman Brace, a Mormon convert from Ohio, related: “One day as I was hauling a load of wood I saw a number of armed men on the prairies[.] When the[y] saw me two of them came up to me. They ordered me to Stop or they would Shoot me. One of them named J Young asked me if I believed the book of Mormon; I told them that ‘I did’ They said that I must leave the County.”⁷⁴

Similarly, Barnet Cole, a Mormon resident of Jackson County, swore an affidavit that Missourian vigilantes asked him if he believed in the Book of Mormon. After he responded affirmatively, the crowd of men removed his coat and “laid on ten lashes.” Five weeks later, a “Mob

dress Petitions, 525.

⁷¹David Frampton, Affidavit, March 17, 1840, in *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 209–10. Stephen C. LeSueur, *The 1838 Mormon War in Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1987), 247, noted “that Missourians who were acquainted with individual Mormons generally believed they were honest and industrious citizens. Many Mormons reported that, after the surrender, their neighbors invited them to remain in Missouri—if they renounced Mormonism.”

⁷²Charles Patten, Affidavit, January 8, 1840, in *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 515–16.

⁷³Gates, in *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 212–13.

⁷⁴Truman Brace, Affidavit, January 3, 1840, in *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 423–24.

headed by Wilson & Johnson” forced their way into his home, whipped him again, and ordered him to leave the county.⁷⁵ Thus, Missourian vigilantes expected the Mormons to conform to the local culture by abandoning certain religious beliefs that influenced Mormon behavior. These particulars went beyond abandonment of a northern lifestyle, abolitionist sentiments, peculiar attitudes toward Native Americans, and the Mormon communal economic plan. Rather, Missourians defined a Mormon in religious terms—by his belief in and acceptance of the Book of Mormon and Joseph Smith as a prophet. Not only did Missourians use such beliefs to set Mormons apart and characterize them, but Mormons set themselves apart by such beliefs.

Just as it was in the interests of the Mormons to characterize the conflict as nothing but religious persecution, so it was to the advantage of those who opposed the Mormons to frame their objections as anything but religious opposition. In his study of anti-Mormon rhetoric and literature, Terryl Givens explains the conflict in Missouri this way: “Obviously, just as the persecutors’ moral authority depended upon their suppression of the religious dimensions of the conflict, so did the Mormons’ depend upon its centrality. Of course, nonreligious factors contributed to the problem, and in significant ways. . . . But it is abundantly clear . . . that religious difference of a particular kind aggravated, if it did not generate, the conflict.”⁷⁶

Michael Feldberg, a historian of social violence in Jacksonian America, pointed to the beliefs of unpopular minorities as potential cause for violence. Nineteenth-century majorities “used extralegal violence or intimidation to compel acquiescence from weak or unpopular minorities, or to punish them for their *beliefs* or their behaviors.”⁷⁷ That is not to say that Mormon beliefs alone incited violence in Jackson County. However, an analysis of the conflict through the lens of

⁷⁵Barnet Cole, Affidavit, January 7, 1840, in *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 431–32.

⁷⁶Terryl L. Givens, *The Viper on the Hearth: Mormons, Myths, and the Construction of Heresy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 46. Givens points out that “as late as 1898, the multid denominational League for Social Service published its manifesto of anti-Mormonism, *Ten Reasons Why Christians Cannot Fellowship the Mormon Church*. Its major objections? Belief in modern prophets, continuing revelation, an authority vested in the priesthood, and a repugnant doctrine of deity” (59).

⁷⁷Michael Feldberg, *The Turbulent Era: Riot and Disorder in Jacksonian*

American localism reveals the extent to which Mormons acting out their beliefs challenged customary notions of local sovereignty, authority and control.

Their faith in a modern-day prophet and revelation influenced new converts to gather in great numbers to Jackson County. Smith's revelations were phrased in the first-person voice of God. The first edition of the *Evening and the Morning Star* contained a revelation to Smith known as "The Articles and Covenants of the Church of Christ," which stated that the commandments "were given to Joseph, who was called of God and ordained an Apostle of Jesus Christ."⁷⁸ In another revelation, the Lord said: "Search these commandments for they are true . . . and the prophecies and promises which are in them, shall all be fulfilled. . . . Whether by mine own voice, or by the voice of my servants, *it is the same*."⁷⁹ Thus, for Mormons, the command to forsake home and family to gather to Missouri, build temples, consecrate material wealth, and build up the kingdom of God came not from the prophet but from Deity.

One historian commented that "Smith's revelations created the dynamics for both loyalty and hostility" for "they gave him political power."⁸⁰ Consequently, Smith's revelations had social, political, and economic implications. His revelations were all the more explosive because they did not distinguish between the spiritual and the temporal. Establishing Zion not only involved building spirituality but also building actual communities—communities separate and apart from an unbelieving world. Mormons held tenaciously to the tenets of their new faith while emphasizing their differences, apartness, and chosen status. Hence, Mormons were nonconformists. As a result of their refusal to assimilate, conflict and violence pursued them wherever they settled through the end of the century. They did not receive a reprieve from an antagonistic American society until they agreed to conform,

America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 90–91; emphasis mine.

⁷⁸"The Articles and Covenants of the Church of Christ," *Evening and the Morning Star* 1 (June 1832): 2–4.

⁷⁹"Revelation," *Evening and the Morning Star* 1 (March 1833): 155–56; emphasis mine.

⁸⁰Steven C. Harper, "Dictated by Christ: Joseph Smith and the Politics of Revelation," *Journal of the Early Republic* 26 (Summer 2006): 281.

in part, to societal norms and expectations of a religious body.⁸¹

“PEACEABLY IF WE CAN, FORCIBLY IF WE MUST”

When considering the culture with which Mormons came into conflict, one should recognize that, while Americans shared common traditions, values, institutions, and history, America was, nevertheless, “a heterogeneous culture made up of homogeneous and largely isolated individual units.”⁸² So while the United States as a whole tolerated diversity by necessity, society at the most basic levels demanded relative uniformity. When significant ethical or religious differences developed between divergent groups, “separation was often seen as the only solution” as smaller communities “simply could not conceive of successfully maintaining structural diversity. Harmony required homogeneity.”⁸³ Neither the Mormons nor the Missourians seem to have considered the possibility of permanent coexistence upon the lands in Jackson County. In December 1836, the state legislature created Caldwell County, apparently for the express purpose of segregating the Mormons from the non-Mormon population. Missourian Josiah Gregg voiced this sentiment in his 1851 history: “It was evident, then that one of the two parties would in the course of time have to abandon the country; for the old settlers could not think of bringing up their families in the midst of such a corrupt state of society as the Mormons were establishing.”⁸⁴ When efforts at conformity failed to homogenize Jackson County, Mormons and Missourians alike promoted separation, ending in rupture and finally forced removal.

According to letters written by Missouri resident and judge Joseph Thorp, Mormons told local settlers that “this country was theirs

⁸¹Sarah Barringer Gordon, *The Mormon Question: Polygamy and Constitutional Conflict in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); Kathleen Flake, *The Politics of American Religious Identity: The Seating of Senator Reed Smoot, Mormon Apostle* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

⁸²Shain, *The Myth of American Individualism*, 62. This general pattern, of course, had regional variations but was particularly the case in frontier societies.

⁸³Ibid.

⁸⁴Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairie*, 315–19.

by the gift of the Lord, and it was folly for them [the Missourians] to improve their lands, they would not enjoy the fruits of their labor; that it would finally fall into the hands of the saints.”⁸⁵ Perhaps such boastful statements were made by the “few ignorant and simple-minded” Latter-day Saints, of whom David Whitmer spoke. Thorp indignantly continued: “Their paper was filled up weekly with revelations, promising great things to the saints who were faithful, and threatening destruction to the citizens if they did not give up their lands and homes peaceably, and leave them in peaceful possession, contending that the Jew and Gentile could not live together in the same locality.”⁸⁶

While most Missourians rejected the call to conform through conversion, evidence suggests that many residents considered the invitation to leave Jackson County to the Mormons. Missouri resident John McCoy recalled that even the more “respectable, law-abiding portion” of Jackson County residents had become “convinced that the time was rapidly approaching when they would either be compelled to give way to that fanatical horde of newcomers . . . and leave the field, or they would be overwhelmed and absorbed in the brotherhood.”⁸⁷ As Missourians saw their county filling up with principally poor emigrant Mormons, they became increasingly dissatisfied. Many, “in view of the speedy ascendancy of the Mormons, socially and politically in the county, were unwilling to risk their fortunes” and “many . . . were disposed to get away,” remembered McCoy.⁸⁸ According to Mormon leader John Corrill, the Missourians became so disgruntled with their new neighbors that they offered “from time to time . . . to sell their farms and possessions, but the Mormons, though desirous, were too poor to purchase them.”⁸⁹ Even when Missourians could sell their lands, Mormons dictated the price. McCoy maintained, “No one but a Mormon could be induced to buy land to settle

⁸⁵Joseph Thorp, *Early Days in the West: Along the Missouri One Hundred Years Ago* (Liberty, Mo.: Liberty Tribune, 1924), 79. Reprinted in 1924 from letters originally published in the *Liberty Tribune* in the 1880s.

⁸⁶Ibid.

⁸⁷John McCoy, “Tales of an Old Timer,” *Kansas City Daily Journal*, February 16, 1879, 2.

⁸⁸John C. McCoy, “A Famous Town,” *Kansas City Sunday Journal*, January 18, 1885, 8.

⁸⁹Corrill, *A Brief History of the Church*, 19.

upon, and they in the few purchases by them fixed ruinous prices.”⁹⁰ Thus, at least some of the more “respectable, law-abiding” citizens of Jackson County became increasingly frustrated by the growing Mormon presence.

According to Josiah Gregg, Missourian annoyance turned violent when Mormons threatened to use physical force to obtain possession of their promised land: “In a little paper printed at Independence [the *Evening and the Morning Star*] . . . everything was said that could provoke hostility between the ‘saints’ and their ‘worldly’ neighbors, until at last they became so emboldened by impunity, as openly to boast of their determination to be the sole proprietors of the ‘Land of Zion;’ a revelation to that effect having been made to their prophet. . . . Still the nuisance was endured very patiently, and without any attempt at retaliation, until the ‘saints’ *actually threatened to eject* their opponents by main force.”⁹¹

The revelation to which Gregg alluded, published in February 1833, stated that “the land of Zion shall not be obtained but by purchase, or by blood.” The revelation forbade the Saints to shed blood and therefore commanded them to “purchase the lands.”⁹² In July 1833, Phelps reprinted portions of this revelation and added: “To suppose we can come up here and take possession of this land by the shedding of blood would be setting at naught the law of the glorious gospel. . . . And to suppose that we can take possession of this country, without making regular purchases of the same according to the laws of our nation, would be reproaching this great Republic.”⁹³

Phelps clearly corroborated that the Mormons intended to “take possession” of Jackson County, for God had commanded them to do so. If any of the Saints, or Missourians, for that matter, doubted the

⁹⁰McCoy, “A Famous Town,” 8.

⁹¹Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 315–19; emphasis mine. Similarly, John C. McCoy, “A Famous Town,” 8, hypothesized: “The supreme folly of the Mormon leaders was in prematurely assuming the aggressive [sic] toward the old residents. . . . If they had not provoked the hostility of the Gentiles only another year’s occupancy would have given them a sure footing, and the forced exodus would have been comprised of Gentiles instead of saints.”

⁹²“Revelation Given,” *Evening and the Morning Star* 1 (February 1833): 140–41.

⁹³“The Elders in the Land of Zion,” 24–25.

eventual outcome, Phelps boldly concluded: "No matter what foolish reports the wicked may circulate to gratify an evil disposition, the Lord will continue to gather the righteous, and destroy the wicked, till the sound goes forth, IT IS FINISHED."⁹⁴ Thus, to the Mormons, taking possession of the Missouri settlers' land was a foregone conclusion.

In general, Mormons collectively seemed more concerned with building their own community than with physically displacing the Missourians. However, some of their more zealous members apparently made use of Smith's revelations and Phelps's inflammatory words to intimate that they would expel the Missourians by force. According to Baptist missionary Benton Pixley, some Mormons claimed that "the present inhabitants would be driven off unless they sold to the Mormons and went off peaceably, that they, the Mormons, should possess the country."⁹⁵ Those Missourians most opposed to the Mormons exploited such assertions. In outlining their justifications for use of extra-legal violence, Missouri vigilantes again complained of Mormon boasts to obtain their lands for an inheritance: "Whether this is to be accomplished by the hand of the destroying Angel, the judgments of God, or the arm of power, they are not fully agreed among themselves. Some recent remarks in the 'Evening and the Morning Star,' their organ, in this place . . . show plainly that many of this deluded and infatuated people have been taught to believe that our lands are to be taken from us by the sword."⁹⁶

In a letter to Saints in Missouri, Frederick G. Williams, then a counselor in Joseph Smith's First Presidency, censured members for discussing the possibility of mobilizing Native Americans ("Lamanites" in Book of Mormon terminology) for assistance in wresting Jackson County from the non-Mormons:

We have seen a letter, written to Sister Whitney, in Nelson [Ohio], that has a great deal to say about the gift of tongues, and the interpretation which was given by way of prophecy, namely, "that Zion would be

⁹⁴Ibid.

⁹⁵Benton Pixley, Letter to the editor, November 7, 1833, published in *New York Observer* and reprinted in the *Daily National Intelligencer*, December 24, 1833.

⁹⁶"Propositions of the Mob," *Western Monitor* (Fayette, Mo.), August 2, 1833, in *History of the Church*, 1:396.

delivered by judgments;" and that certain ones named, would go to such and such places among the Lamanites and "great things would be done by them;" and also, that two Lamanites were at a meeting, and the following prophecy was delivered to them:—"That they were our friends and that the Lord had sent them there; and the time would soon come, when they would embrace the Gospel;" and, also, "that if we will not fight for ourselves, *the Indians will fight for us.*" Though all this may be true, yet, it is not needful that it should be spoken, for it is of no service to the Saints and has a tendency to *stir up the people to anger.*⁹⁷

Such beliefs and expressions by Mormons, expanded by rumor and exaggeration in the retelling, did, in fact, stir the Missourians to anger. Another justification for violence used by Missouri vigilantes was the claim that Mormons colluded with the Indians to take their lands by force. The outbreak of the Black Hawk war in the spring of 1832 may have heightened Missourian fear of Indian attack.

Despite the claims and assertions made by a portion of their community, Mormon rhetoric did not translate into collective action—at least, not initially. Contrary to what some Missourians claimed, evidence suggests the Mormons, as a body, were industrious, peaceable citizens.⁹⁸ Jackson County resident Jacob Gregg recalled years later that the Mormons "appeared to be a law-abiding class of

⁹⁷Frederick G. Williams, Letter to the Saints in Missouri, October 10, 1833, in *History of the Church*, 1:419; emphasis mine. In a letter to Mormon editor W. W. Phelps, Joseph Smith expressed concern over letters written to relatives from members in Jackson County. Smith condemned those "who have a zeal but not according to knowledge" for prophesying "falsly [sic] which excites many to believe that you are putting up the Indians to slay the Gentiles." Smith feared that such claims "exposes the lives of the Saints evry [sic] where." Joseph Smith, Letter to W. W. Phelps, July 31, 1832, in *Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, edited by Dean C. Jessee (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 2002), 273.

⁹⁸Some Missourians maintained that the Mormons were lazy and, with few exceptions, brought "little or no property, and left less behind them; and we infer, that those only, yoked themselves to the Mormon car, who had nothing earthly or heavenly to lose . . . and we fear that if some of the leaders among them, had paid the forfeit due to crime, instead of being chosen ambassadors [sic] of the Most High, would have been inmates of solitary cells." Quoted in Parley P. Pratt, *History of the Late Persecution of the Mor-*

citizens, and I think they were about as good and intelligent as their neighbors.”⁹⁹ Another resident, Alexander Majors, dismissed claims of idle and unlawful behavior: “[The Mormons] were industrious, hard-working people, and worked for whatever they wanted to live upon, obtaining it by their industry.”¹⁰⁰ However, such statements describe the Mormon community generally and not necessarily individual Mormons.¹⁰¹ Alexander Doniphan, a Missouri resident, who served as legal counsel for Mormon leaders, stated: “The majority of them were intelligent, industrious and law abiding citizens,” but he also acknowledged the presence among them of “some ignorant, simple minded fanatics . . . who people said would steal.”¹⁰² With so many indigent settlers rushing to Jackson County expecting God to consecrate the riches of the Gentiles to them, claims that some Mormons were thieves seems plausible. However, as Mormon leaders later pointed out, Missourians never attempted to bring individual Mormons to trial for lawless behavior.¹⁰³ Instead, vigilantes in Jackson County applied their generalized perceptions to the entire Mormon community. The beliefs, expressions, and actions of some Mormons thus became the beliefs, expressions and actions of all Mormons, and the collective Mormon community bore the consequences inflicted by Missouri vigilantes.

Decades after the violent events in Jackson County, John McCoy acknowledged, “The Mormons received at the hands of their Gentile neighbors very harsh treatment. . . . It was cruel.” He continued, “In

mons inflicted by the State of Missouri upon the Mormons . . . (Detroit: Dawson & Bates, 1839), 63.

⁹⁹Testimony of Jacob Gregg, in *The Temple Lot Case* (Lamoni, Iowa: Herald Publishing House, 1893), 289. The Temple Lot Case was a legal case in the 1890s. The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints claimed legal title to the Temple Lot in Independence, Missouri, which the Church of Christ then occupied. Jacob Gregg along with his younger brother Josiah were among the first settlers of Jackson County.

¹⁰⁰Majors, *Seventy Years on the Frontier*, 50.

¹⁰¹W. W. Phelps, “Cleanliness Necessary for Salvation,” *Messenger and Advocate* 1 (September 1835): 187–88, acknowledged that the Latter-day Saints consisted of “all sorts and classes of people.”

¹⁰²Doniphan, “Mormonism,” 230; emphasis mine.

¹⁰³Pratt, *History of the Late Persecution*, 63.

nearly every instance the overt acts of aggression were perpetrated by the party opposing them.”¹⁰⁴ Ironically, as McCoy points out, Missouri vigilantes, as the more aggressive party, acted out what individual Mormons had only verbally threatened—violent expulsion. Those Missourians who opposed the Mormons declared they would rid their society of the sect “peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must.”¹⁰⁵ “Peaceably” meant that concerned citizens warned those designated as social deviants or a threat to the well-being of their community to leave the county.¹⁰⁶ If Mormons refused to leave, Missouri vigilantes felt justified in expelling them by force.

On July 20, 1833, a crowd of four to five hundred Missourians assembled at the courthouse in the town of Independence. Composed of residents from all parts of Jackson County, they appointed a committee to draft a set of resolutions aimed at removing that “pretended religious sect” of Mormons from their community.¹⁰⁷ The resolutions required Mormon leaders to use their influence to prevent further immigration to Jackson County and for those currently in the

¹⁰⁴McCoy, “A Famous Town,” 8.

¹⁰⁵“The Manifesto of the Mob” written by non-Mormon citizens in Jackson County in July 1833, in *History of the Church*, 1:374; see also “Regulating the Mormonites,” *Niles’ Register* (Baltimore, Md.) 4th series, 3, no. 9 (14 September 1833): 47–48.

¹⁰⁶To legitimize their use of force against the Mormon community, Jackson County citizens formed a vigilance committee and classified Mormons as a public nuisance. “The Manifesto of the Mob,” 1:374–76. Common during the antebellum era, communities used the public nuisance doctrine for what they termed “self-preservation” and to regulate what they argued was the health, safety, and moral well-being of their society. See, for example, William J. Novak, *The People’s Welfare: Law and Regulation in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 60, and Richard B. Kielbowicz, “The Law and Mob Law in Attacks on Antislavery Newspapers, 1833–1860,” *Law and History Review* 24 (Fall 2006): 559–600. By imitating legal form and procedure, Missouri citizens represented their actions against Latter-day Saints as local democracy in action. The vigilance committee and public nuisance doctrine served to strengthen and reinforce the collective right of Missourians to govern and regulate their local community interests.

¹⁰⁷“The Manifesto of the Mob,” 1:374. See also “To His Excellency, Daniel Dunklin,” *Evening and the Morning Star* 2 (December 1833): 226–31.

county to leave “within a reasonable time.”¹⁰⁸ When presented with the resolutions, the Mormon leaders “asked for three months for consideration—[the committee] would not grant it—We asked for ten days—They would not grant it but said fifteen minutes was the longest.”¹⁰⁹ When the Mormon leaders refused to comply with the demands, the committee returned to the courthouse and informed the assembled citizens that the Mormons “declined giving any direct answer to the requisitions made of them, and wished an unreasonable time for consultation.”¹¹⁰ Consequently, those citizens in attendance unanimously voted to use physical force to evict the Mormons from the county.

CONCLUSION

By concluding to drive the Mormons from the county, Missouri vigilantes assumed many of the alleged characteristics of those whom they opposed. Missourians condemned fanatical allegiance to a religious ideology while affirming their own zealous devotion to frontier vigilantism. They disparaged Mormons for claiming divine entitlement to Jackson County while proclaiming their own right to the county as the original settlers. Depicting and setting apart Mormon settlers as an alien community accompanied Mormon construction of Missouri otherness. Missourians disparaged Mormons for their attempts to convert their society while demanding that Mormons conform to their own local expectations. Finally, in response to perceived Mormon verbal bellicosity, they concluded to expel their entire community by force.

Missourians and Mormons alike subscribed to a tradition of popular self-government that emphasized local autonomy and control. In this view, individual or collective dissidents must either reconcile themselves to local community expectations and standards or settle elsewhere. What they could not choose was individualistic self-defined freedom independent of the established norms and values of the community. Those who would not conform or peaceably leave were subject to expulsion. This localist way of thinking influenced

¹⁰⁸“Regulating the Mormonites,” *Niles’ Register* (Baltimore, Md.) 4th series, 3, no. 9 (September 14, 1833): 47–48.

¹⁰⁹“To His Excellency, Daniel Dunklin,” 226–31.

¹¹⁰“Regulating the Mormonites,” 47–48.

how both Mormons and Missourians in Jackson County perceived and treated the other. Thus, while divergent beliefs and ways of living sparked antipathy between Mormons and Missourians, a cultural tradition of localism shared by both competing communities fanned the flames of hostility and finally led to violent conflict.

TREASURES AND A TRASH HEAP: AN EARLY REFERENCE TO THE JOSEPH SMITH FAMILY IN PALMYRA

Donald L. Enders

ONE OF THE BENEFITS OF THE JOSEPH SMITH PAPERS project has been the steady trickle of exciting discoveries that illuminate the earliest years of Mormonism. These discoveries range from identifying a better date when a revelation was given to the dazzling Book of Revelations and Commandments that John Whitmer painstakingly assembled and took with him to Independence in early 1832, constituting the earliest known form of some of these foundational revelations and, in a few cases, the only known form. This book, painstakingly edited and published in full color and real-page size may well be the crown jewel of the Joseph Smith Collection.¹

But other, smaller discoveries also provide glimmers of illumination by which we see encounters, connections, and slowly developing glimpses of Palmyra's society. One such discovery is a collection

DONALD L. ENDERS {ld1968@msn.com} and his wife, Loretta, are service missionaries in the LDS Historic Sites Division. He spent his career in the LDS Historical Department on projects in Vermont, Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio, Illinois, Winter Quarters, and Utah.

¹Robin Scott Jensen, Robert J. Woodford, and Steven C. Harper, eds., *Manuscript Revelation Books, Facsimile Edition*, in the Revelations and Translations series, THE JOSEPH SMITH PAPERS, general editors Dean C. Jessee, Ronald K. Esplin, and Richard Lyman Bushman (Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Press, October 2009).

of documents, now digitized in full color, bound, and titled *Philander Packard School Records, Starting 1815*. It references the Smith family and dates to September 1817, the first year of their residence in Palmyra. In this case, an enthralling story unfolds of how its guardians became aware of it, saved it from being taken to the trash heap, and became part of a network that resulted in its permanent preservation. These documentary adventures keep archivists hopping eagerly out of bed in the morning.

Although the book is much damaged and the paper is fragile, it seems to be substantially complete—132 pages bearing text and fewer than a half-dozen blank pages. The entire book is penned in brown ink on paper that has also acquired a tan tinge over time. Its author is Philander Packard, who had exquisite penmanship and sometimes spent the time to create elaborate headings of different sizes with shading and leaf-like designs.

He took his responsibilities as schoolmaster seriously, for example, heading a page: “This ninth day of September one thousand eight-hundred and seventeen I Philander Packard began school in the first school district in Palmyra for 15 dollars per month.” What follows is a carefully ruled page that spans the gutter, thus creating a double spread organized in columns created for the day of the week, paired with the day of the month (beginning “Tuesday, September 9,” and “Continued by Philander Packard 7th Oct. 1817.” The columns are blank after Friday, October 10, possibly because it was harvest time, even though the headings continue through Saturday, November 1.

Down the left-hand column march the names of twenty-four Palmyra families who sent children to Packard’s school. Sixth from the bottom is “Joseph Smith.” Farther up the column is “Gain Robinson,” the local pharmacist and the Smith family doctor. A few names higher appears “Abner Cole,” who pirated sheets of the Book of Mormon being printed in E. B. Grandin’s printshop and began a satirical version in 1829. The record also bears the names of other Palmyra people who played significant roles in the lives of the Smith family.

At this point, the story splits in two: (1) Philander Packard’s experiences and what they tell us about Palmyra neighbors—including the Smith family in 1817, and (2) the remarkable story of how the record was professionally preserved and copied and found a proper home in the locales that would value it the most.

This ninth day of September one thousand eight hundred and seventeen Philander Packard began school in the first school district in Palmyra for 15 dollars per month 1817

Day of the week	Sun	Mon	Tue	Wed	Thur	Fri	Sat	Sun	Mon	Tue	Wed	Thur	Fri	Sat	Sun	Mon	Tue	Wed	Thur	Fri	Sat	Sun	Mon	Tue	Wed	Thur	Fri	Sat	Sun	Mon	Tue	Wed	Thur	Fri	Sat	Sun		
Henry Jessup	3	3	2	1/4	2	3	1	2	4	4	4	4	3	4	3	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Ira Selby	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Samuel Wagstaff	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2
James Pease	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	1	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
James White	1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Zebulon Williams	3	3	1	2	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	2	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Abner Chadwick	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Esa Lilly	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Solomon Rice	1	1	2	2	1	2	1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Phineas Brown	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Abner Cole	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Salmon Hathaway	1	1	1	1	2	3	1	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Gain Robinson	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Benjamin Rabel	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
John Tiffany	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
James Betson	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Evencen H. Gump	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Zebulon Reeves	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2
Joseph Smith	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Mannah Karbut	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Theron Kenna	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
David L. Ackway	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
John Carpenter	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Marshall Cannon	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2

Philander Packard's list of heads of families for September-October 1817 shows Joseph Smith Sr.'s name sixth from the bottom. Image photographed by D. Michael Hansen. Photo courtesy of D. Michael Hansen.

PHILANDER PACKARD IN PALMYRA

Philander Packard was born April 29, 1797,² in Macedon, a village four miles to the west of Palmyra. The family's American adventures had begun a century and a half earlier when Samuel Packard, his wife, Elizabeth, and a child, emigrated from Wymondham, England, to Plymouth Colony, arriving August 10, 1638. A generation or two later, about 1770, the family settled in Cummington, Hampshire County, Massachusetts, 125 miles west of Plymouth.³

Barnabas, a second great-grandson, and his wife, Sarah Ford, also lived in Cummington. Parents of a large family of sons and daughters, they sought opportunities for their children. In late 1791, Barnabas, then age fifty-six, was drawn to the rich lands of the Genessee country of western New York. Although the Packards left no record of what drew them out of Cummington, it was surely the promise of fertile land and economic security that so powerfully attracted them and other friends and neighbors from Massachusetts into New York. Fifty-six-year-old Barnabas, like Father Joseph Smith a generation later, made his scouting expedition in early 1791 and bought 640 acres near the west border of the new settlement of Macedon in Ontario County, paying 18 3/4th cents per acre.⁴ He built a log cabin on the property, then returned to Massachusetts and arranged for three of his older sons to move onto the new property during the next winter.⁵ Barnabas and Sarah remained in Massachusetts and died there.

"Traveling by ox-sled with supplies to establish farms," sons Barnabas Jr., Cyrus, and John spent six weeks on the road and reached Macedon on February 22, 1792.⁶ Barnabas settled on part of his father's purchase near the west boundary of what would become Macedon Township in 1823. He and his wife, Mary ("Polly")

²Information about the Packard family and its history is taken from Mary Louise Eldredge, *Pioneers of Macedon: Compiled from the Papers of the Macedon Center History Society* (Fairport, N.Y.: The Mail Printing House, 1912), 27; and "Philander Packard" (1797-1857), Find a Grave Memorial, <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=68150224>.

³Eldredge, *Pioneers of Macedon*, 25-26.

⁴*Ibid.*, 26.

⁵*Ibid.*

⁶*Ibid.*, and "Cyrus Packard" (1771- 1825), Find a Grave Memorial, <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=13030462>.

Nash Packard, raised a large family and to this day, more than two centuries later, have numerous descendants in the Macedon area. Cyrus married Sally Pullin, then later Leah Beal, raising a family of seven children. His family spent a dozen years on the homestead but, by 1807, had sold their holdings and moved a few miles west to Perinton where they stayed for the rest of their lives. There they built and operated a general store and a gristmill. Cyrus served as a justice of the peace and became an extensive landowner.⁷ John married Amity Braley,⁸ and the couple raised five children on his portion of the homestead. After almost forty years on the inherited land, they had, by 1830, moved to Michigan.

Bartimeus, another of the older sons, married Abigail (“Nabby”) Packard, a relative, in January 1794 in Massachusetts,⁹ the year after his three brothers had moved to Macedon. The newlyweds followed the three brothers to Macedon, arriving in early 1794. They also journeyed in the winter, despite the challenges of traveling in the frigid New England winter, because it was the slack time between fall harvest and spring plowing. Furthermore, solidly frozen roads presented more advantages to travel than the water-filled ruts and soggy bogs that spring roads invariably turned into.

They were considered “honest, industrious, and frugal” people, no doubt benefiting from the reputation already established by Bartimeus’s brothers. They moved into the log cabin on the family purchase and “promptly began to clear away the trees and fit the ground for farming. Their first child, Hervey, was born November 23, 1794, the same year as their arrival.¹⁰ Their second child, Philander, the focus of this account, was born two and a half years later on April 29, 1797. He spent his first eleven years in the log cabin built by his grandfather. Eventually six more sons and two daughters joined the family;¹¹ and within five years of their arrival, Bartimeus built a

⁷Eldredge, *Pioneers of Macedon*, 24.

⁸Ibid., 29.

⁹“Philander Packard” (1797-1857), Find a Grave Memorial, <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=68150224>.

¹⁰Eldredge, *The Pioneers of Macedon*, 26.

¹¹<http://wc.rootsweb.ances->

frame barn, “one of the first in the township.”¹²

Once crops and livestock were assured, Bartimeus turned his attention to building a frame home, finished in 1808. It was “a steeped roof” Cape style, set “on a rise of ground about two miles west of the present village of Macedon. A large family group lived in the household. Bartimeus and Nabby enjoyed its shelter for years, living in it “to a good old age. The house was occupied by their family and descendants for nearly a century.”¹³ The home was a popular gathering place for family and acquaintances. Philander’s brothers, sisters, and numerous cousins surrounded him as he grew to maturity. The Packard name was respected and had considerable influence in the community.¹⁴ As of 2010, a Packard farm in the Macedon area was still being run by the family after two hundred years.¹⁵

Philander was probably expected, like his siblings and cousins, to master the skills of a competent farmer, but he also had “a thirst for books” that propelled him beyond his modest common school education, according to local historian Mary Louise Eldredge.¹⁶ “Spelling, writing, arithmetic, and grammar, were the only branches taught in the common school system of his day,” so that was where he began.¹⁷ He was mostly self-taught; but he early acquired knowledge sufficient to teach others, and records show that he taught in the common schools as early as 1815, the year he turned eighteen. According to Eldredge, he “increased his store of knowledge by studying evening[s] by the light from the blazing fireplace.”¹⁸ To further his ability, he attended the Palmyra Academy, a private high school established in 1821, which held sessions in a two-story brick building on the east side of Church Street in Palmyra village. The academy stood a

try.com/cgi-bin/igm.cgi?op=GET&db=maryepackard&id=P1339.

¹²Eldredge, *Pioneers of Macedon*, 26.

¹³*Ibid.*, 26.

¹⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁵Sally Millick, Personal statement, n.d., 1, typescript in my possession.

¹⁶Eldredge, *Pioneers of Macedon*, 27.

¹⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁸*Ibid.*

To Extract the Square Root of Vulgar Fractions

Rule.

Reduce the fraction to its lowest terms for this and all other roots then
 1 Extract the root of the numerator for the new numerator and the root of the denominator for a new denominator
 2 If the fraction be a mixed reduce it to a decimal and extract its root

1 What is the square root of $\frac{18}{64}$

$$\sqrt{\frac{18}{64}} = \frac{\sqrt{18}}{\sqrt{64}} = \frac{3\sqrt{2}}{8}$$

What is the square root of $\frac{225}{1024}$

$$\sqrt{\frac{225}{1024}} = \frac{\sqrt{225}}{\sqrt{1024}} = \frac{15}{32}$$

Examples

2 What is the square root of $\frac{112}{4}$

$$\sqrt{\frac{112}{4}} = \frac{\sqrt{112}}{\sqrt{4}} = \frac{4\sqrt{7}}{2} = 2\sqrt{7}$$

What is the square root of $20\frac{1}{4}$

$$\sqrt{20\frac{1}{4}} = \sqrt{\frac{81}{4}} = \frac{9}{2} = 4\frac{1}{2}$$

What is the square root of $24\frac{3}{5}$

$$\sqrt{24\frac{3}{5}} = \sqrt{\frac{123}{5}} \approx 4.97$$

Surd's

What is the square root of 25 Ans 5

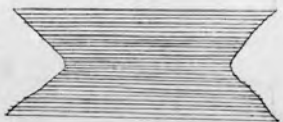
$$\sqrt{25} = 5$$

What is the square root of $\frac{32}{80}$ Ans $2\sqrt{2}$

$$\sqrt{\frac{32}{80}} = \sqrt{\frac{2}{5}} = \frac{\sqrt{2}}{\sqrt{5}} = \frac{\sqrt{10}}{5}$$

Required the square root of $36\frac{1}{4}$

$$\sqrt{36\frac{1}{4}} = \sqrt{\frac{145}{4}} = \frac{\sqrt{145}}{2}$$



This carefully designed and executed page includes the rules for extracting square roots, examples, and even a little decoration with which Philander Packard often embellished his pages. Image photographed by D. Michael Hansen. Photo courtesy of D. Michael Hansen.

few rods north of Main Street¹⁹ near the Western Presbyterian Church that Lucy Mack Smith and some of her children attended.

Packard's teaching record includes actual lessons. One page, elegantly headed "To Extract the Square Root of Vulgar Fractions," is divided with horizontal and vertical rules and double lines. It begins with the neatly spelled out:

Rule:

Reduce the fraction to its lowest terms for this and all the roots; then:

1. Extract the root of the numerator for the new numerator and the root of the denominator for a new denominator.
2. If the fraction be a surd reduce it to 2 decimal and extract its root.

Five boxes of figures under "Examples" follow. The next third of the page is headed "Surds," with instructions and examples, and the page ends with carefully shaded lines and a geometric figure, drawn freehand.

Philander farmed with his father in summers, teaching school and studying in the winters. Gain Robinson, the local pharmacist and Smith family doctor, provided some hands-on tutoring in medicine for Philander. Another student was Alexander McIntyre, whose path also crossed the Smith family's.²⁰

Four years after this first experience in schoolteaching, on November 29, 1821, at age twenty-four, Philander, a Baptist, married Minerva Lapham, born April 17, 1801, the daughter of Ira Lapham and Polly Beal Lapham.²¹ The Laphams were a Quaker family in Macedon, and Minerva shared Philander's interest in education. She had attended a Friends school in Aurora, Cayuga County, New York, and was twenty at the time of the marriage. Minerva's "marriage portion" was eighty acres in western Macedon, some six or seven miles west of Palmyra village. As their own parents had done, the newlyweds moved into "a log home," possibly the one built by Philander's par-

¹⁹Ibid., 27.

²⁰Ibid. President of the county medical association and a community leader, McIntyre was the Smith family doctor and assisted Gain Robinson with the autopsy performed on Alvin's body. For a biographical summary, see Lavina Fielding Anderson, ed., *Lucy's Book: A Critical Edition of Lucy Mack Smith's Family Memoir* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2001), 830.

²¹Eldredge, *Pioneers of Macedon*, 27.



Philander Packard's gravestone reads: "Philander Packard / Died April 2, 1857 / Aged 59 years / 11 mos and 3ds. Photo courtesy of Sally Millick.

ents. Here the first of their five daughters and two sons were born. Through hard work and diligence, they enlarged their farm by purchasing adjacent acreage, and as a family they attended the Orthodox Friends Church.²²

As a couple, they were "actively interested in whatever would advance practical education, not only in their own family, but in the families around them."²³ Philander believed that "knowledge acquired from books increased the well being of an individual." Philander attended the school district's annual meetings and made it clear that "teachers should be properly qualified to instruct." But he "knew the advancement of the scholars was mainly due to his or her own exertion and perseverance,"²⁴ a point he had already exemplified in his own disciplined life. Philander also engaged in an active civic life, playing an in-

²²Ibid., 27.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Ibid.



Minerva's gravestone reads: Minerva. / Wife of / Philander Packard / died 10 mos 30 1881 / Aged 89 Years 6 mos and 12 ds. / Photo courtesy of Sally Millick.

fluent role in establishing the Macedon Academy in 1841, a private high school like the Palmyra Academy with a curriculum “between the district school level and college.”²⁵ Moreover, Philander served in various town offices and encouraged the area’s growth by supporting the New York Central Railroad. Confronting two of the key social issues of the day, he aligned himself with other supporters of the temperance and anti-slavery movements.²⁶ Considering his support for the railroad, it is ironic that he died, having been struck by a train, on April 2, 1857, three weeks before his sixtieth birthday.²⁷

Much information remains to be mined from Philander Packard’s pages about neighborhood structure and interactions, the economic transactions of parents’ arrangements to pay, the teacher’s requirement of doing the actual collecting, and an exciting array of

²⁵<http://wayne-nygenweb.net/macedon/macedonacademydir.html>.

²⁶*Ibid.*, 27-28.

²⁷Eldredge, *Pioneers of Macedon*, 27-28.

sample lessons. Philander Packard seems to have had unusual interest in mathematics and geometry, filling several pages with geometric images sectioned to show their angles. How typical was he among fellow schoolteachers? He also carefully copied proverbs decrying procrastination and wrote out “story problems” in detail. Were these activities also typical of his fellows? Palmyra was only a village school. Were other country school teachers—among them Oliver Cowdery and Hyrum Smith, who taught in two Manchester school districts—competent in these same mathematical skills or was Philander Packard unusual? His carefully ruled attendance pages end in January 1822, but a page close to the end of the book on “Division of Vulgar Fractions” is dated January 31, 1838, suggesting that he continued teaching for at least twenty-three years.

But of greatest interest to readers of the *Journal of Mormon History* is the glimpse of Smith family life offered by this rare book. The book is not paginated, but Joseph Smith Sr.’s name appears about 53 pages after the first written leaf. (One page can be determined to be missing.)

THE JOSEPH SMITH FAMILY IN PALMYRA

Early in their marriage, Joseph and Lucy Smith owned a small farm at Tunbridge, Vermont. They had money in savings, enjoyed good health, had commenced a family, and appreciated the presence of nearby kin. Life seemed promising. They rented out their farm and went into merchandising. Then misfortune struck. About 1802, New England suffered a major economic downturn. The Smiths were forced to sell their farm, used their savings to pay their debts, and lost their mercantile business. They crossed the line from land ownership to land rental and, for the next fourteen years, resorted to rented land and day-labor. But that was only the beginning of troubles. Seasons of ill health attacked the family. A decade of drought, followed by seasons of crippling cold, gripped much of New England, ultimately forcing tens of thousands beyond the Alleghenies. In 1816, the Smiths, penniless after three years of crop failure and “warned out” of their home village, turned toward the fertile land and more moderate climate of the “Genesee country” in western New York.

They settled in Palmyra, a village mainly of log and frame buildings where five or six hundred people lived. They rented a small frame house on the west end of Main Street. They were northern New Englanders trying to fit into a culture of principally southern New

Englishers, some of whom looked down on the Smiths as unpolished country people, a view exacerbated by their persistent poverty. The Smiths knew their economic situation and something of their reputation and exerted strenuous efforts to correct both. They set the goal of purchasing land and developing it into a farm. They spent the next two years earning money for a down payment, with Father Smith, Alvin, and Hyrum working at many day-labor tasks. Lucy designed and painted oilcloth to sell, and the younger children took on family chores and did whatever they could to assist the family. One of their projects was helping at a family “Cake and Beer Shop” established at the east end of the village. The family also built a pushcart, from which Joseph Jr. sold pastries and rootbeer.

Family members also participated in social events. They often attended the Western Presbyterian Church, which stood near the intersection of Main and Church streets. Also nearby were the parade grounds where the Palmyra militia drilled, in which surely Alvin and Hyrum were members. School for the children was also a high value for Joseph and Lucy.

Although state and local law expresses an ideal that reality often failed to match, tuition for a quarter’s instruction in “Reading, Writing, and Arithmetick” was \$1.50. The more specialized study of “English Grammar and Geography” cost an additional 25 cents each, while the unspecified “higher branches of English education” commanded an additional fifty cents. State law defined “common school” age as beginning at age five and running through age fifteen.²⁸

Philander Packard’s school record gives a telling glimpse of the Smith family’s struggle to rise from poverty. Out of the twenty-four heads of families who appear on Packard’s list for sending their children to his school, commencing in September 9, 1817, Smith children attended on only two days. On September 17, one and “one-half” children were marked present (presumably meaning that one child stayed for the whole day and the other was present for only a half-day). On the 18th, only one Smith child was in Packard’s school. In no other family was attendance so abbreviated. Up to four children from other families attended, their lines marching solidly across the page to show daily attendance. The next closest attendance record in sparseness is that of widow Hannah Hurlbut, whose child attended

²⁸Donald L. Enders, “Smiths and Schooling,” n.d., unpublished typescript, 2.

three days and two half-days.

What was going on with the Smith household? In September 1817 when Packard's school opened, the Smith family consisted of eight children. An unnamed first child and a son, Ephraim, born in 1810 died within days of birth. Alvin was nineteen, unmarried but considered an adult in the household. Hyrum was seventeen, and Sophronia was fourteen. They may have been carrying adult-level responsibilities and certainly major chores around the household, but the next three children seem strong candidates for schooling. Joseph Jr. would turn twelve three months later, Samuel was nine, and William was six. The family also had two younger children: Katharine, who was not quite four, and Don Carlos, who was a toddler at about eighteen months. The last child, daughter Lucy, would be born four years later in the summer of 1821. Which of these children would have received the two and a half days of formal schooling, and what circumstances made it impossible for them to continue?

Certainly, the family's poverty was a major factor in limiting educational opportunities. Joseph Jr. later explained: "At the age of about ten years my Father Joseph Smith Seignior [sic] moved to Palmyra, Ontario County in the State of New York and being in indigent circumstances were obliged to labour hard for the support of a large Family having nine [sic] children and as it required the exertions of all that were able to render any assistance for the support of the Family therefore we were deprived of the bennifit of an education suffice it to say I was nearly instructtid in reading and writing and the ground <rules> of Arithmatic [sic] which const[it]uted my whole literary acquirements."²⁹ In his account of the First Vision, which he dated about two years later when he was fourteen, he described himself as "an obscure boy of a little over fourteen years of age and one too who was doomed to the necessity of obtaining a scanty maintenance by his daily labor."³⁰

Orson Pratt published *A[n] Interesting Account of Several Remarkable Visions* in 1840 in Scotland that also depicted the Smith family as

²⁹"History, Circa Summer 1832," in Karen Lynn Davidson, David J. Whittaker, Mark Ashurst-McGee, and Richard L. Jensen, in *Histories, Volume 1: Joseph Smith Histories, 1832-1844*, JOSEPH SMITH PAPERS (Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Press, 2012), 11.

³⁰"Draft 2" of "History Drafts, 1838-circa 1841," in *ibid.*, 216.

living close to the bone: “Cultivating the earth for a livelihood was his occupation, in which he [was] employed the most of his time. His advantages, for acquiring literary knowledge, were exceedingly small; hence, his education was limited to a slight acquaintance with two or three of the ground rules of arithmetic. These were his highest and only attainments; while the rest of those branches, so universally taught in the common schools throughout the United States, were entirely unknown to him.”³¹ William Smith, the only surviving Smith brother after 1844, briefly discussed and dismissed his education as typical of “other boys of my age and circumstances,” which he described as “limited opportunities for acquiring an education.”³²

Could the Smith children have attended school somewhere else? Almost certainly not. In 1817, the schoolhouse where Philander Packard was teaching, likely known as the “Federal School,” was the only one in the village, standing at East Main and Mill streets. That year, the township (as opposed to the village) had at least eight school districts; but as late as November 1821, Palmyra’s newspaper, the *Western Farmer*, suggests that the village still had only one schoolhouse.³³

Another relevant question is how many families in Palmyra’s

³¹Orson Pratt, “Appendix: A[n] Interesting Account of Several Remarkable Visions, 1840,” in *ibid.*, 522.

³²William Smith, *William Smith on Mormonism* (Lamoni, Iowa: Herald Steam Book and Job Office, 1883), 6.

³³“School Excursion,” *Western Farmer*, November 28, 1821, 3. According to New York State’s “Common School Law,” each school district was to have three trustees, a schoolhouse, and a schoolmaster. Packard taught in District #1, which comprised the entire village. District #1 extended east from the Macedon town line through the village to where Vienna Street exits the community, more than a mile distant. Its north boundary was Mud Creek, which parallels Main Street, a quarter mile away. Its south border is unknown. We know a little about the boundaries and locations of the others. North of Mud Creek was School District #6 (whether it had a schoolhouse is unknown); and east of the village where Durfee Street commenced was District #5, which had a red frame school near the district’s west limits. This “red” school was probably known as the “Democrat School” and was a mile and a half east of the Smith home. Thomas Cook, *Palmyra and Vicinity* (Palmyra, N.Y.: Press of the Palmyra Courier-Journal, 1930), 266; “Palmyra of the Past,” *Palmyra Democrat Chronicle*, September 22, 1916. When Pal-

District #1 did not send their children to school at all—either because they were indifferent to education or because, like the Smiths, they were struggling against crushing poverty. The Palmyra Property Tax Record for 1817 and Philander Packard’s school record for the same year document that about sixty families lived in District #1 where Packard’s school was located. Matching these families with the 1810 and 1820 federal censuses gives an estimate of about 120 children of school age. With Packard teaching “43 different scholars” from twenty-four families and with Packard as the only teacher in the village suggests that seventy-nine (or 65 percent) of the school-age children received no formal instruction during the fall of 1817.³⁴

Joseph’s continued hunger for learning manifested itself throughout his life, but his opportunities for formal learning, for all practical purposes, ended with the School of the Prophets in Kirtland, Ohio.

THE REDISCOVERY OF PHILANDER PACKARD’S RECORD

The next phase of the story is its twenty-first-century chapter and involves three remarkable history lovers: Sally Millick, a friendly neighbor and curious amateur historian in Macedon; Peter Evans, Wayne County Historian; and D. Michael Hansen, Regional Sales Manager for Kirtas Technologies, a company located in Victor, New York, that specializes in digitization and archival imaging for libraries worldwide. Sally was the link that connected all three, including me and LDS archivist Scott Christensen, with documents that had survived 170 years. Sally explains:

My friend and neighbour, Jon Youngman, passed away in October 2008, having lived his final years in the house that his great-grandfather, Jeremiah Thistlethwaite, had built for the family in the 1850s. Jeremiah had been active in local village affairs, as his family had settled in the area in the early nineteenth century. Jon’s mother, Gail Thistlethwaite Youngman, was a graduate of the University of Rochester in 1920; she became a teacher and had an avid interest in history. As such, she collected family documents and pictures, and all was kept in this house that had always been a family homestead. . . .

Jon and I had become good friends, many times enjoying our

myra extended its village boundaries east, this schoolhouse would also sometimes be called a “village” school. The adolescent Joseph Smith’s debating society met in this structure.

³⁴Enders, “Smiths and Schooling,” 2.

daily walks around the neighborhood. So when he passed, over the coming months I helped his family clear out the house and prepare it for sale. That meant clearing out 150+ years of accumulation. Jon knew of my interest in history and had asked his family to allow me to go through and take anything of local historical value. Prior to his death, he had given me an 1876 collection of Dickens's works, since he knew I liked Dickens.

One day I was helping the family and noticed Jon's nephew taking a pile of papers to the garbage. I asked if I could see them, as the paper looked old, and discovered these papers were dated 1815–1830. We couldn't figure out exactly what they were, but many of the pages had headings about an ancestor, Philander Packard, running a school session in Palmyra, Macedon, or Farmington. Below were listed the names of students and whether their parents had paid (sometimes with wheat, not money) and who attended. There were also examples of lessons he would present to the students, primarily in math. To my delight, Jon's sister asked if I'd like to have them, and I said yes.³⁵

Sally took the fragile record to the local library, which had a historic book collection. Both the librarian and the town historian suggested first making photocopies, "but I didn't want to risk the papers on the copier; so I just held onto them." As she read the record, she recognized many family names, including some from Palmyra, from which Macedon had separated in 1823. When she saw the name "Joseph Smith," the thought crossed her mind: Could this be *the* Joseph Smith? But her interest was in preserving "the whole set of documents for their historical value to the area."³⁶

AND EVEN BEFORE THE PACKARD DISCOVERY . . .

This record was not the only discovery Sally had made. Also in 2008, she found the original minute book of the Macedon Town Record for 1823–51, literally wedged in the back of a drawer at the Macedon Academy (1823–51). It had been damaged by wear and mildew. What made the discovery even more intriguing was that the record was housed in an outer case with an inscribed plaque telling of the book's survival during a barn fire sometime in the 1950s. Indeed, it was Sally's discovery of this earliest Macedon Town Record book that

³⁵Sally Millick and D. Michael Hansen, Untitled introduction, March 2010, to *Philander Packard School Records, Starting 1815* (n.p.: LDS Church History Library, 2010), not paginated; Sally Millick, Personal statement, 1.

³⁶*Ibid.*

ultimately led us next to Philander Packard.

Several months before learning of Sally's discoveries, Michael asked Peter Evans at the Wayne County Historian's office in Lyons, New York, whether the county would have any interest in digitizing its historical records. Michael and Peter had worked on a few earlier projects together, and Peter explained that a proposal was coincidentally sitting on his desk from the LDS Church, drafted by Scott Christensen, Historical Department Archivist, and me. (I was then a Historic Sites Curator in the LDS Church History Department.)

Kirtas's expertise proved to be the ideal resolution of a project that was otherwise progressing very slowly. Peter explained to Michael that "negotiations regarding the digitization proposal from the LDS Church History Department were progressing very slowly for a number of reasons, and the county clerk was hesitant to move forward." It became clear that allowing a third party with whom the county was familiar, Kirtas Technologies, to assist with the digitization and contract negotiation would not only help things proceed more quickly and ease concerns of county committee members, but also produce higher resolution images and faster turnaround, using local, fully trained operators. This method would also result in a much lower overall expense to the Church or any Church volunteers.³⁷

THE SALT LAKE CONNECTION

From that point, the connections were made quickly. Peter, who was well aware of the Church's interest in documents with a possible connection to the Smith family and the Palmyra area, introduced me to Michael via an email. I promptly told Scott Christensen about Michael Hansen; and then we flew out "to physically assess and examine the documents dating from 1822 to 1845 held in the basement of the Wayne County Clerk's office." Michael recalls the hours we spent "[making] our way through the dusty stacks of the clerk's basement storage area where we found several interesting volumes."³⁸

Scott headed the effort to secure LDS History Department funding to "cover expenses associated with preserving the documents digitally and reprinting the records." After the "arduous

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸Hansen, Revised Statement, 1.

county approval process,” recalls Michael, “at last we received permission to digitally image all the documents we had selected. The records were transported to Kirtas’s service bureau in Victor” and, after the images were made, “returned to both the Wayne County Clerk and the Wayne County Historian with digital copies. The LDS Church received digital copies and physical color reprints of the materials in hard-bound format in August 2010.³⁹

After Kirtas had begun digitizing these records, Peter Evans contacted me again and mentioned Sally Millick’s discovery of the earliest Macedon Town record book from 1823 and its history of being rescued from a barn fire. Scott and I called Michael to enlist his assistance in locating the record book and offered to have the Church cover costs for Kirtas to add this new record book to the other materials currently being digitized.

Peter Evans quickly put Michael in touch with Sally, who explained that the town clerk, Judy Gravino, had hired someone locally to clean the record and restore the pages as much as possible, so the book could be physically handled without causing further deterioration. These painstaking steps would take months; but if Judy Gravino approved of the project, Kirtas would have the opportunity to digitize the book. Michael contacted Judy Gravino and received approval.

YET ANOTHER CONNECTION . . .

During the time the book was away for preservation, a serendipitous event occurred. Michael traveled in March 2009 to a Preservation Conference at the National Archives in Washington, D.C. Only a small handful of vendors were attending the conference. Michael had barely finished setting up his digital imaging equipment in the basement hallway when he was approached by an enthusiastic gentleman who introduced himself as Edward Papenfuse, the Maryland State Archivist. Mr. Papenfuse said he was aware that Kirtas was located in upstate New York near Rochester. After inquiring if Michael had performed digitization services for some of the counties near Rochester, including Wayne County, Mr. Papenfuse then asked, “Have you ever come across any records from the Town of Macedon that were saved from a barn fire, or ever heard anyone speak of their whereabouts?”

Michael was startled that anyone in Washington, D.C., would know about the existence of the early Macedon record and, moreover,

³⁹Ibid.



Sally Millick, left, Judy Gravino, Macedon Town Clerk, Edward Papenfuse, Maryland State Archivist, and D. Michael Hansen, Regional Sales Manager for Kirtas Technologies, celebrate the discovery, preservation, and digitization of Macedon's first town record, dating from 1823. Photo courtesy of Sally Millick.

ask about the book's whereabouts. Michael explained that Sally Millick had recently found this record, that it was currently undergoing preservation, and that the LDS Church was interested in having it digitized. Mr. Papenfuse was ecstatic. He replied, "You don't know how long I've been trying to find somebody who knew anything about these records." Mr. Papenfuse then explained that he was originally from the Town of Macedon. His uncle, John Wilson, had saved the town's first recorded minutes from a barn fire in the 1950s and had later passed them on to Papenfuse. Aware of their historic significance, Papenfuse had personally financed the construction of a hard box in which to store and preserve the record with an inscribed plaque detailing its significance. He explained that the record had

then been presented to a town congressman in a special ceremony. Little else was known until its discovery by Sally Millick in the Macedon Academy in 2008 wedged in the back of a filing cabinet.

Michael explains:

Before he left our booth, Ed Papenfuse thanked me and eagerly requested that I put him in contact with the historians in Wayne County. He wanted to personally express his gratitude to them and share interesting research about the history of Macedon and its special role in the Abolitionist Movement. I immediately contacted Sally Millick and Peter Evans; and through the weekend, a flurry of email exchanges went back and forth amongst a group of historians. The following Monday, Sally called me to express her appreciation for connecting her to Mr. Papenfuse. She explained that, during a recent presentation to the Wayne Historians Organization, she had presented a list of unanswered questions about the Town of Macedon. Mr. Papenfuse, she said, had answered all of them and more. She then requested that we arrange a visit at Kirtas together so she could show me other records in her possession which might also be of interest to digitize.

The next day, Sally and I sat in a small conference room and recapped the entire experience of how a visit to Washington, D.C., sparked a connection with Macedon and the “barn fire” town record book. She then reached into her handbag and pulled out additional documents that had recently come into her possession. Sally explained that they were personal records kept by Philander Packard, a schoolteacher in the Palmyra-Macedon area, beginning in 1815 through the 1850s, and explained how they had come into her possession after her neighbor’s death.

Sally asked me if the LDS Church might also be interested in digitizing these small school records from Philander Packard. I said it probably would and that I would certainly let representatives know of her proposal. We took accurate details of the book’s size and page count, and I prepared a preliminary quote. During our examination of the pages together, we noticed the name “Joseph Smith” on a ledger page dated September 9, 1817. We concluded that the name, date, and place made it likely that this was perhaps a reference to Joseph Smith, or Joseph’s family, who had just moved to the area in 1816–17. I told Sally I would call Salt Lake after our meeting to confirm if this was the case. Sally then left the documents in my possession.

When Michael contacted Scott and me later that day to describe Sally Millick’s discovery, he was pretty sure we’d be excited to know about it, and he was right. We assured him of our enthusiasm. Michael stayed at work until almost midnight that evening, digitizing the re-

cord. He then sent us an email containing images of a few selected pages for our review.

The next morning, Scott telephoned Michael, confirming the document's significance. He said that, if "Joseph Smith" was Joseph Smith Jr., then it would be the earliest known public document listing Joseph's name. On the other hand, when viewed in context with other names on the list, seemed likely that this ledger recorded the names of heads of household—and was thus a reference to Joseph Smith Sr. The latter proved to be the case.

During our next visit to Palmyra and Macedon, Scott and I met Sally in person and examined the schoolmaster's record. As I read down the list of names, I couldn't help feeling that they were my neighbors as well as Joseph and Lucy Smith's.

The Church History Library, the Wayne County Historian's Office, Michael Hansen, and Sally Millick each received digital copies of the images from the Philander Packard School Record, along with a printed, color replica. This record has been accessioned into the LDS Church History Library archives and is available for viewing.

Digital images of the Packard record and a printed replica of the Macedon Town Record book were also presented to the town of Macedon in a special presentation at a Macedon Town Meeting.

"Please understand, I'm an amateur historian," Sally explains, "and it was amazing to me that I'd been led to find both of these sets of documents through my interest and curiosity. And if I hadn't found the town records, I never would have met Mr. Hansen, who was so key in this adventure."

Michael summarizes, "The Lord's hand was truly in the details of carefully piecing each of these separate events together into one cohesive experience."⁴⁰ Since this project, he has assisted the Church History Department in digitizing the first Farmington town records dating from 1797, coordinating a multi-library initiative to digitally image a newspaper printed in the early 1820 and '30s (the *Palmyra Freeman*), and tracking down the original copyright registration for the Book of Mormon in Special Collections at the Library of Congress. The copyright was accompanied by a single sheet, loose-leaf title page of the Book of Mormon that differs slightly from the official title page in first editions of the Book of Mormon.

Sally Millick concludes: "I am humbled by the fact that an 'ordi-

⁴⁰Hansen, Personal statement.

nary' person like myself can still make extraordinary historical finds, and how the whole sequence of events played out to bring this important set of manuscripts to Don Enders's and Scott Christensen's attention. . . . I feel fortunate to be part of bringing all of these documents to the people of the twenty-first century, where we can all study and learn from them. It's especially gratifying to know the meaning of these documents to people whom I never would have met otherwise. It's as if we all came together within a certain timeframe, and everything revealed itself at the proper time; I was just a conduit. Thanks, Jon, for one of the greatest gifts I've ever had, though you probably didn't even know what treasures were within these 'old papers.'"⁴¹

⁴¹Millick, Personal statement.

REVIEWS

Drew Briney. *Apostles on Trial: Examining the Membership Trials of Apostles Taylor and Cowley*. N.p.: Hindsight Publications, a dba of Drew Briney, 2012. Pp. xvii, 269. Notes, illustrations, three appendices, index. Hardback: \$29.99; paperback: \$19.99. No ISBN.

Reviewed by Daniel P. Dwyer, O.F.M.

This book should be perused by anyone interested in post-Manifesto polygamy. Attorney Drew Briney brings his literary and legal skills to bear on a wealth of material relating to the 1911 ecclesiastical trials of LDS apostles John W. Taylor and Matthias Cowley. Noting his debt to historians D. Michael Quinn, Kenneth L. Cannon II, and B. Carmon Hardy, Briney's work builds on theirs to provide clarity and a legal analysis of the actual trials of 1911. He provides an extended introduction and three chapters that comprise the heart of this work. There are, in addition, three helpful appendices and a selection of useful charts.

The introduction entices the reader by highlighting disparities in the treatment of the two defendants and by alluding to such fascinating topics as the 1886 revelation by President John Taylor in which a divine vision confirmed that the practice of plural marriage should continue. As President Taylor was the father of one of the central protagonists in this volume, one grasps the family context for much of what follows. Refreshingly, Briney provides a straightforward articulation of his goal in a brief section titled "The Purpose of This Volume." He summarizes this section, and issues a caveat: "This volume is intended to offer the reader a stronger understanding of why Apostles Taylor and Cowley did what they did rather than argue *whether or not they were justified in what they did*. Besides, whether or not they were justified is really just a religious question disguised as a legitimate historical question" (xiv; emphasis his).

In the first chapter, "Behold Our Confusion," Briney succinctly and logi-

cally describes the context for the trials of the two apostles. As a non-member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, I found this section particularly helpful. Briney organizes his summary by answering such thought-provoking and intriguing questions as “Which Church presidents denied that the 1890 Manifesto was a revelation?” (3–7). The answers that he provides are clear and help the reader to make sense of a convoluted and often obscure transition to the monogamous twentieth-century LDS Church. While academics might be very comfortable with Briney’s findings in this chapter, I imagine some Latter-day Saints might have to wrestle with a few of his conclusions. For example, in an erudite paragraph that betrays his legal training, he indicates that “Official Declaration 1” in the *Doctrine and Covenants* is, at least in some ways, “a farce”:

In sum, objective evidence demonstrates that President Woodruff’s 1890 manifesto contained a number of false and misleading statements even after several revisions had been made. Subjective evidence suggests that a number of apostles were aware that the 1890 manifesto contained a number of materially false statements. Further, subjective evidence almost indisputably proves that the whole concept behind the 1890 manifesto was so full of factual errors that one can only read the section making factual denials as a politically motivated farce. (31)

After setting the stage, Briney uses the other two chapters to provide transcripts of the trials: first, John W. Taylor’s, and next Matthias F. Cowley’s. He seemingly followed a convoluted path to get his hands on these records, which might raise questions in the mind of the discerning reader. For example, in regard to the Taylor trial, Briney states: “Dallas Barrett claims that he obtained a copy of the original trial minutes. He thereafter gave the minutes to Guy Musser who gave the minutes to Joseph Musser; those typescript trial minutes and copies of the original handwritten letters were then given to Ivan Nielsen by Joseph Musser’s widow and remain in his possession” (112).

Briney skillfully employs copious footnotes to enhance the reader’s understanding and to draw attention to previously mentioned testimony or background. Each of these two sections begins with a “Biographical Vignette,” that introduces each defendant in summary form. A nice feature here and throughout the book is the reproduction of documents which are then transcribed on the facing page. Seeing the actual stationery and signatures helps the reader feel contemporaneous with the events of a century ago. Although neither historians nor casual readers can ever really fathom the workings of their hearts and minds, the ambiguities, compromises, and deceptions of the participants in these trials are made stunningly real. Some of the passions that were aroused by these cases are evident, for example, in President Francis M. Lyman’s summation of the case against John W. Taylor:

He has cursed and threatened his brethren. *He has put out a purported*

revelation of his father's which his father never presented to the Church nor his brethren. *His construction upon it is very mischievous* and against the position and discipline of the Church by the living oracles. . . . He had no change of heart since he resigned his position in the Council. He has not met us in a friendly and penitent spirit. He blames us instead of himself for his troubles. . . . When his brethren reported his cursing of George Albert Smith, he said they were liars. . . . In a threatening manner he tells us of the awful things that would happen to the Church if he should open his mouth and tell what he knows. (138)

Briney concludes his work with three appendices. The first, "Dynamics of the Jury," provides vignettes on each of the apostles, whether in attendance at the trials or not. This information provides significant documentation of his argument about "the culpability of the available jury pool" (vi) and his conclusion that "most of the apostles involved in these trials engaged in deceptive practices at some level" (xii). The biographical vignettes also include the members of the First Presidency (then consisting of Joseph F. Smith, John Henry Smith, and Anthon H. Lund), none of whom attended either of the trials.

Appendix 2 consists of two charts ("[All] Persons & Marriages Mentioned in the Trials" and "The List and the Manifesto: *Salt Lake Tribune*"), and a facsimile of two lists of "new" polygamists published by the *Tribune* (i.e., those allegedly married between 1890 and 1910). Briney cross-references the names from the *Tribune's* list that were mentioned at one or both of the trials, or on the list of marriages maintained by Anthony W. Ivins in Mexico.

Despite the fact that Briney, of necessity, focuses on apostles and other General Authorities, there are many players in the background. It is fascinating to note that the defendants are often asked if they performed the marriage of one or another male Church member—almost as though the bride was irrelevant. One might be excused, under slightly different circumstances, for thinking that this is the story of same-sex marriage when reading passages such as President Francis Marion Lyman's question to Matthias Cowley, "How did you come to marry Thomas Chamberlain?" (188). Still, the reader gets a glimpse of fascinating women such as Lenora ("Nora") Taylor Cowley who felt, according to her father, that Matthias Cowley had persuaded, and almost compelled, her to marry him. Lenora's father wrote that Cowley used all the influence he had as an apostle, soliciting the aid of at least another apostle and the Bishop of a ward and the President [?—Briney's question mark] of church schools, plus a number of other people and insisting on her not writing to her parents about the matter with the excuse that the letters might get lost" (158–59). In these pages one also meets Wilhelmina Cannon, daughter of Angus Munn Cannon and wife of Abraham H. Cannon, who testified at the Reed Smoot hearings that her husband's plural marriage meant that she refused "to live with him when her marriage would not be acknowledged by the

church or the land” (205).

It is instructive to note how often Briney refers to the Reed Smoot hearings (1904–7) to shed light on the apostles’ trials’ contents and on the inner workings of the Church hierarchy.

For the uninitiated member of the Church, this work may raise many uncomfortable questions. The twisting of the truth, on all sides, is a central theme; and yet the work enlists the reader’s sympathies for apparently sincere people caught in a terrible dilemma. There are no real heroes in this work, but neither are there any real villains.

This is not a perfect book, but it is a very helpful and attractively packaged reference. It should be required reading for anyone who wishes to understand Mormonism, human nature, and American citizenship at the turn of the twentieth century.

DANIEL P. DWYER, O.F.M., {ddwyer@siena.edu} has been a member of the Order of Friars Minor (Franciscans) since 1982 and a Catholic priest since 1988. Fr. Dwyer received his B.A. in history from Siena College, Loudonville, New York, an M.A. in history from the College of St. Rose, Albany, New York; an M.A. in theology from the Washington Theological Union in Silver Spring, Maryland, and his Ph.D. in history from Tulane University in New Orleans. Fr. Dwyer is a long-time member of the Mormon History Association and a former trustee of St. Bonaventure University in Olean, New York. He is currently an associate professor of history at Siena College and Vice-Chair of the Academy of American Franciscan History.

Armand L. Mauss. *Shifting Borders and a Tattered Passport: Intellectual Journeys of a Mormon Academic*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2012. 258 pp. Notes, bibliography, index. Cloth: \$25.00; ISBN: 978-1-60781-204-3

Reviewed by Casey Paul Griffiths

Armand L. Mauss’s autobiography tells the tale of one of the intellectual pioneers of Mormon studies, a man whose groundbreaking work paved the ways for numerous young scholars to follow. As I read the book, I found myself constantly thinking of the autobiography of another vanguard scholar of Mormonism, Leonard J. Arrington, and his delightful work, *Adventures of a Church Historian* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998), though with two key distinctions. Where Arrington’s work told the story of a key developer of the field of Mormon history, Mauss’s work is an invaluable account of the application of the field of sociology to Mor-

mon studies. Where Arrington wrote from the perspective of someone who worked near the center of the Church hierarchy, Mauss played the role of an outsider whose intellectual life developed outside of the world of Mormon studies.

Though affiliated with the Church throughout his life, the majority of Mauss's work on Mormonism was completed later in his career—"from outside the inner circle of institutional scholars employed by the church, who have been far more privy than I to ecclesiastical politics that have influenced the nature and direction of sponsored research" (xv). Despite his position as an outsider, the breadth and depth of Mauss's work on Mormonism, combined with his considerable influence in the Latter-day Saint intellectual community, makes this book an invaluable and instructional tale for scholars of Mormonism.

The title of the book is drawn from a statement by Neal A. Maxwell during his tenure as Church Commissioner of Education. Maxwell admonished LDS scholars to maintain citizenship in the kingdom of God, but also a passport into their professional worlds (1). The "shifting borders" in the title refer to the trend within the faith away from and toward retrenchment, where scholars sometime find themselves in the awkward position of being seen at best as a gadfly, and at worst as an outright apostate.

Mauss's personal odyssey through these social movements intertwines with the intellectual history of Mormonism throughout the second half of the twentieth century, beginning with his childhood, taken to the peripheries of Mormondom when his father, Vinal G. Mauss, accepted a call as a mission president in Japan. The narrative of Mauss's early life is brief, quickly reviewing his service as a missionary traveling without "purse or scrip" in New England, then leading up through his time as a researcher and scholar during the racial tumult of the 1960s, and continuing through the gradual movement of his work into Mormon studies in the 1980s and beyond. As compact as this section is, it does provide some beguiling details of his early life; for example, he almost considered an alternate career as an opera singer (12).

The details of Mauss's early life are quickly dealt with, leaving the reader wanting more. In the end, this brevity may be a boon to the book because it leaves the balance of the work to deal with Mauss's intriguing research and how it impacted his professional career and spiritual life. Some of the most fascinating portions of the book delve into Mauss's studies on racism in the Church before the 1978 revelation on priesthood. On the emotionally charged issue of Mormons and questions of race, Mauss brought a singularly dispassionate perspective to his studies. "My argument was: however one might feel about the traditional teaching and policies of the LDS Church, where is the evidence that Mormons treat black people different in *secular*; *civil society*? My evidence indicated that Mormons did not have especially high

levels of prejudice against 'Negroes.' . . . My main argument to *outsiders* was that as long as Mormons could not be shown as more prejudiced or discriminatory than others in *secular, civil matters*, the church should be left alone to solve its own internal ecclesiastical problems" (97).

Mauss's gradual movement into Mormon studies culminated in his groundbreaking book, *The Angel and the Beehive: The Mormon Struggle with Assimilation* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), which won the "best book" prize from the Mormon History Association and was lauded by the *Religious Studies Review* as "the best study to date on the modern Mormon Church" (89). In *The Angel and the Beehive*, Mauss argued a thesis about retrenchment, citing the move toward a more conservative posture by the Church in the latter half of the twentieth century as a reversal of the usual "sect-to-church" sociological trajectory of most religious movements. "Retrenchment," as Mauss labeled it, became a major factor in the development of the modern Church.

In *Shifting Borders*, Mauss offers two additional points to the original thesis of *The Angel and Beehive*: "LDS 'retrenchment' after around 1960 was primarily an *internal* process, affecting the ways in which the church and religion were experienced by its *members*. The *external* posture of the church has remained essentially assimilationist, driven by a public relations strategy aimed at convincing the world that the Mormon Church is fundamentally a respectable *Christian* denomination in the United States" (90; emphasis his). Second, Mauss argues "that the most recent retrenchment phase of Mormon history seems to be receding, as a new assimilationist posture is emerging with a new generation of leaders" (91). He credits Church president Gordon B. Hinckley and Thomas S. Monson as the leaders who deserve the most credit for this new direction.

Mauss's other work, which he also discusses in *Shifting Borders*, is *All Abraham's Children: Changing Mormon Conceptions of Race and Lineage* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003), a work that has been termed his "Magnum Opus" (111). A penetrating view of the development of views on race within Mormonism, *All Abraham's Children* outlines Mormon views on race and lineage. I am in agreement that this book, the pinnacle of Mauss's research, really does present an extraordinary thesis. While not pulling any punches on Mormon treatment of race in the past, the most astounding achievement of *All Abraham's Children* is its conclusion on a hopeful note. Mauss writes that Mormonism "always was universalistic in its aspirations and its ultimate theological claims. It never actually lost sight of the Pauline promise that all believers could eventually become the children of Abraham" (*All Abraham's Children*, 276). Knowing the background behind the development of *All Abraham's Children* inevitably sheds light on and deepens the meaning of that work.

As an update of Mauss's other research, *Shifting Borders* is an important and

thoughtful work. Furthermore, it is also enjoyable as the record of a gifted intellectual who rubbed shoulders with some of the most important scholars in the field of religion. Different chapters mention Mauss's affiliations with Rodney Stark, Leonard Arrington, Richard Bushman, Marlin K. Jensen, and a host of others. Mauss spends a chapter dealing with his work over the last four decades to fund and moderate the voice of one of the most distinctive voices in the realm of Mormon studies, *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*. One of the most fascinating chapters in the book deals with Mauss's work to launch what he dubs the "Claremont Experiment," the Mormon studies program at Claremont University and the quest to find Mormon intellectuals of sufficient stature to lead the program.

Any criticisms of the work might rest in its brevity. Several important episodes pass too quickly for my taste, and I found myself wishing the modest Mauss had provided greater details, particularly in his accounts of encounters with people holding critical views of the Church during the civil rights era. In his defense, Mauss frankly admits at the book's beginning that he kept no journal and is writing largely from memory. In a *Dialogue* podcast recorded near the release of the book (which I recommend for those interested in this work, or in Mauss's work in general) Mauss states that the manuscript was originally only intended for his family and that he was persuaded to publish it for a wider audience. (This free podcast may be accessed at <https://www.dialoguejournal.com/podcasts/>.) In some cases, brevity may have been the more generous course to take. In his clashes with his ecclesiastical leaders—and there are several mentioned throughout the book—Mauss takes the high road, makes an attempt to explain their motives, and, in most instances, does not mention names. The book also lacks any photographs, charts, or tables. One extra which I greatly appreciated is Mauss's impressive bibliography of books and articles written over the course of his fruitful career.

For me the most moving and best-written parts of the book are where Mauss explains how his beliefs have matured as his knowledge has grown. When Mauss speaks on his disenchantment with the faith, he makes some important distinctions:

Note well that I use the term *disenchantment*, not *disillusionment*. Perhaps I could just as well say *disenthralment*. I mean only that for me, the institutional church and its leaders no longer embody an otherworldly *mystique*, as they did when I was a young man. . . . Yet—and this is important—it has been precisely my *disenchantment* that has inoculated me against *disillusionment*, because of the concomitant reductions in my expectations. That is, an understanding of the church and its leaders as human and mortal has kept me from holding out unrealistic expectations for their performance. This has left me free to offer them my own support, loyalty, and respect, and appreciation as fellow laborers in the vineyard, but not as contingent on an inerrant execution of their duties. (189, 193; emphasis his)

As a portrait of a disciplined and responsible scholar, *Shifting Borders* is a gem that anyone interested in the development of the Mormon intellectual tradition may enjoy. As a depiction of a generous, high-minded scholar, Mauss offers anyone in the field of Mormon studies an inspiring role model.

CASEY PAUL GRIFFITHS {griffithscp@yahoo.com} is an instructional designer for the Church Educational System and adjunct professor of Church history and doctrine at Brigham Young University.

Craig Livingston. *From Above and Below: The Mormon Embrace of Revolution, 1840–1940*. Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2013. xxii, 428 pp. Notes, illustrations, biographical register, bibliography, index. Paper: \$34.95; ISBN 13: 978-1-58958-621-5

Reviewed by Will Bagley

It is hard to find a perspective from which to see and comment about a subject as shopworn as Mormonism. The most difficult feat for anyone practicing the craft of history is to look at an old subject and interpret the same events in a new way, not dependent on or distracted by the accepted wisdom or the dominant myth. In *From Above and Below: The Mormon Embrace of Revolution, 1840–1940*, Craig Livingston accomplishes both feats. He brings a broad and independent perspective to his study of Mormon sympathy for and commentary on revolutionary movements spanning continents and hemispheres during the Restoration's first century, with a "Coda" on the forces that dissipated that relationship during the Great Depression.

Simply stated, Livingston's thesis is that "Mormon observers used the revolutions of other peoples to demonstrate a Mormon view of justice and millennial hope" (xii). *From Above and Below* brings persuasive evidence to bear to support that thesis. Early Latter-day Saint sermons, newspapers, and pamphlets sounded "notes of radical Mormon belief. Individually the notes are discordant. Together, they form a chorus. Often soft but occasionally rising to a crescendo, the theme heard throughout is a steady revolutionary chant" (xx).

Anyone studying Deseret becomes aware of the extraordinarily diverse people from around the world drawn to frontier Utah as Mormonism sought recruits in Britain, Scandinavia, France, Waldensia, Polynesia, Chile, India, and China. *From Above and Below* begins with an overview of the secular and religious movements of the mid-nineteenth century, at a time when "Mormons believed that human action could call into existence the paradise fore-

cast by the prophets” (2). Chapter 2 looks at Latter-day enthusiasm for the 1848 European revolutions and the subsequent “Bitterness of Reaction.” Chapter 3 analyzes LDS revolutionary symbolism, examining the faith’s adaptation of imagery and concepts from Masonry, Illuminism, and Pythagorean numerology. “The presence in Mormonism of bloody skies, red flags, Phrygian caps, seismic events, and utopian fiction suggests fertilization from Revolutionary thought,” Livingston writes, as the faith left behind the “secret meetings of Nauvoo . . . for the open skies and mountaintops of the West” (107).

Livingston extends his interpretation beyond the obvious sympathy between American religious revolutionaries and those who sought to overthrow the old order in Europe in 1848. I was skeptical that Mormon enthusiasm for revolutionary movements extended deep into the twentieth century and its transformation from an intensely millennial movement into a modern corporate religion, but Livingston provides extensive evidence it did. *From Above and Below* introduces a host of forgotten but fascinating LDS leaders—Anthony W. Ivins, Rey L. Pratt, and surprisingly, J. Reuben Clark—who shared a love of Mexico and devoted their lives to achieving the ideals of justice and equality for humankind.

Surprising socialists emerge in Chapter 4, ranging from BYU professor Alice Louise Reynolds to University of Utah art professor Virginia Snow Stephen, who contributed to the Mormon critique of industrialization, as did Charles W. Nibley (who served as Presiding Bishop), Joseph M. Tanner, and B. H. Roberts.

Chapter 6 examines the Mormon anti-colonialist response to colonialism. “Mormon observers placed the Church at the center of the global transformation” as a “utopian faith fired by the revolutionary method,” Livingston writes. Nibley called on Latter-day Saints to make “poverty extinct in the world” as the faith’s “true socialism” became “the universal order, promoting universal joy, prosperity and peace” (189). *From Above and Below*’s Chapters 7–8 focus on Mexico and the uprisings that generated turmoil south of the Rio Grande. It then looks at Russia and the birth of the Soviet Union (Chapter 9), and finally the “Golden Age of Revolutions in South America” between 1925 and 1931 (Chapter 10).

Livingston doesn’t use provocative rhetoric to make his case. He lets a host of famous Mormon revolutionaries handle the task, notably Parley P. Pratt and the two Orsons, Pratt and Hyde, not to mention a host of forgotten but lovable early Saints such as William I. Appleby, Curtis Bolton, and my favorite, Louis Alphonse. A disciple of utopian socialist Etienne Cabet, whom he called “the pope of communism,” Bertrand shifted his allegiance to “*le pape des Mormons*,” Brigham Young. (Ironically, Cabet established an Icarian community at Nauvoo, Illinois, in March 1849 after fleeing France when the Revolutionary Committee collapsed.)

It is refreshing to see younger Restoration historians link the ideas and passions that created a new American religion to broader global themes, such as economic history and class warfare in Europe and South America. Livingston's innovative division of historians of Mormonism into what he calls "the Kingdom school," who see the religion as an evolutionary work-in-progress, and those who insist that the movement "was part of the American mainstream all along, and that Mormonism never intended a separate political, social, and economic body" (xvi) is especially insightful. As a dedicated Kingdom schooler since first reading Robert B. Flanders, Samuel W. Taylor, and Klaus Hansen decades ago, I find the alternative "faithful" (and institutional) arguments that Mormon doctrine is unchanging baffling. One of the main reasons the religion has survived is that it has been as adaptable to its environment as a chameleon. Joseph Smith planned to set up "the kingdom of Daniel by the word of the Lord," he said, and intended "to lay a foundation that will revolutionize the whole world."¹ Today's *Mormon Times* seldom mentions world revolution or claims, as *Times and Seasons* did in March 1844, that the "Church must not triumph over State, but [must] actually swallow it up like Moses' rod swallowed up the rods of the Egyptians.—If this be not so, the kingdom of God can never come." Modern prophets no longer want to "roll on the work of the last days, gather the Saints, . . . and revolutionize the whole world" as Brigham Young proclaimed in September 1855,² or as he pointed out in 1866, "Every government of the world has the seeds of its own destruction in itself." Livingston comments on that nineteenth-century worldview that theocratic rule "would supplant the atomized world of competing sovereignties" (27, 26).

The book's forty-three-page bibliography shows the thoroughness of Livingston's comprehensive and wide-ranging research, but he missed Michael W. Homer's *On the Way to Somewhere Else: European Sojourners in the Mormon West, 1834–1930* (Spokane: Arthur H. Clark Co., 2006). Homer's too-often neglected study presents more autocratic French, Austrian, German, and Italian aristocrats than revolutionaries like Bertrand, but Homer's work presents the surprising array of revolutionary Europeans who found refuge in Zion from the violent reactionary dousing of the fires of 1848.

Livingston also missed a wonderful opportunity to connect his thesis with the burgeoning study of New Religious Movements (NRM). "As the Church bureaucratized and assimilated to mainstream American and capitalist values, Mormons became champions of the conservative view of political and so-

¹Joseph Smith Jr. et al., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, edited by B. H. Roberts, 2d ed. rev. (6 vols., 1902–12, Vol. 7, 1932), 6:276, 365; and "Religion and Politics," *Times and Seasons* 5 (March 15, 1844): 470/2, 477/1.

²Brigham Young, September 16, 1855, *Journal of Discourses*, 3:5.

cial development for which they are known today,” his book’s blurb notes. “The first Mormon converts in Mexico and France, both political radicals, would scarcely recognize the arch-conservative twenty-first century Church.” Truer words were never written, but as Islamic scholars of NRMs have observed since the Middle Ages, every charismatic new religion begins as a revolutionary lightning strike aimed at overthrowing the established order. Yet within a generation or two, every successful new religion abandons charisma to become precisely what it set out to destroy.

Craig Livingston represents the best of a new generation of scholars who are bringing a wider and much more interesting perspective to the study of the Mormon past. His command of revolutionary literature, his insights into the conflicts between Marxists, Syndicalists, Anarchists, and Socialists, and his knowledge of the secondary literature on two vast subjects reflects the quality of the education he received at Temple University. I certainly learned a lot: I’d long wondered what qualified James Billington to be the Librarian of Congress, and thanks to Livingston’s extensive use of the insights in Billington’s *Fire in the Minds of Men: The Origins of the Revolutionary Faith* (New York: Basic Books, 1980), now I know.

From Above and Below also indicates that Livingston is a great teacher. If he uses a technical term, he provides a definition to clear the path for ignoramuses like me. For example, “Liberal statist—that is, liberals who understood the institutions of the state as the chief guarantors of individual rights and national values—shared Ivins’s support of Mexican anti-clericalism,” he writes (243). It was also a revelation that leaders such as Ivins viewed democratic governments as a bulwark against the intrusions of organized religion and implicitly rejected early LDS certainty that the Kingdom of God would govern all aspects of a united world.

Given the generally cartoonish quality of Glen Beck and Mike Lee, two notorious purveyors of Mormon political thought in the early twenty-first century, it is refreshing to recall a lost age when the faith’s progressive thinkers could embrace the most advanced social thinking and call for peace, equality, and justice for the working poor. “Mormon observers spoke a language of social progress,” Livingston writes. “Triumph was certain, but the path toward the great transition was strewn with obstacles” (222). In an age of increasingly corporate Mormonism, *From Above and Below* serves as a bracing reminder that once upon a time the followers of Joseph Smith shared a passionate longing for a Utopian brother/sisterhood of humanity with the disciples of Auguste Comte, Robert Owen, Giuseppe Mazzini, Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, and various scientific socialists who embraced historically inevitable revolutions and the creation of Zion, be it a workers’ paradise or the kingdom of God.

WILL BAGLEY {wlbagley@xmission.com} is editing the final volume of the KINGDOM IN THE WEST series, *A Lion among the Lambs: Narratives of the Mormon-Indian Frontier*.

Joann Follett Mortensen. *The Man behind the Discourse: A Biography of King Follett*. Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2011. xvi, 603 pp. Introduction, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index, appendices, illustrations, and maps. Paperback: \$29.95. ISBN 978-1-58958-036-7

Reviewed by Brent M. Rogers

For approximately thirty-five years, Joann Follett Mortensen labored in town halls, county historical societies, and just about every other place a researcher could find a historical record to locate the scraps of evidence connected to her ancestor King Follett and his family. This book is the result of her copious research and is a terrific accomplishment. It is a biography of Mortensen's ancestor, but it is also a family history of the Folletts and, to a lesser extent, the story of a family historian's journey. From disparate and fragmentary evidence found in vital, probate, land, census, tax, and military records, as well as in newspapers and contemporary diaries and journals, Mortensen reconstructs King Follett's life and contextualizes it in the larger story of early Mormonism. Her efforts to exhaust the family and social historical resources and piece them together should be lauded as a contribution to the field of family history and as a resource for historians interested in the experiences of early Mormon converts and the stories that contributed to Mormonism's beginnings and development.

King Follett, an early convert to Mormonism, is best known for his death—more specifically, for the King Follett Discourse, an influential theological sermon Joseph Smith gave at a general conference on April 7, 1844, shortly after King's funeral service. Mortensen's study, however, takes the reader far beyond the context of that sermon. It proceeds largely chronologically from King's birth in New Hampshire through his moves with his family to New York, Ohio, and Missouri before they settled and he died in Nauvoo, Illinois. Because of the scarcity of sources on the Follett family, Mortensen often fills in the gaps with responsible speculation and parallel sources to surmise what the Folletts might have experienced. For instance, when introducing the family's conversion to Mormonism in Portage County, Ohio, in 1831, Mortensen writes, "It would have been impossible for the Folletts not to have heard about Mormonism, but I cannot identify which elements in the gospel message resonated most deeply with King and Louisa nor what experiences confirmed their faith to the degree that they not only joined the Church but remained faithful to the gospel for the rest of their lives, even though being

Mormon in many ways made their lives harder.” Mortensen then proposes that the Folletts’ conversion may have resembled that of another early convert whose story of enthusiastic acceptance of the church can be found in the historical record (46–47).

Mortensen employs this tactic throughout her book. When discussing the Missouri persecutions, Mortensen states, “King and Louisa were among those forced from their homes with their children. Although they left no record, their experiences were probably similar to the reminiscences of their friend and neighbor, Levi Jackman, of the Whitmer Settlement, who wrote an autobiographical sketch eighteen years later” (98–99). Summing up King’s life, Mortensen states, “Not, I believe, that he saw himself as any different from others who lived during this time and were early Mormon converts. In fact, I believe he would readily admit he was just one of many who early developed a testimony of the Church, its teachings, and its Prophet” (467). By fusing the Folletts’ experience with that of other early Mormons, Mortensen seems to suggest that King, his wife, Louisa, and his family were representative of ordinary early Mormons. In other words, in the absence of other information, Mortensen shades her “representative” ancestor so that he embodies the best stereotypical traits of the iconic faithful Mormon.

King Follett and his family seem to appear at, witness, or influence nearly every major Church event from 1831 through 1844. Again, this may be the result of the paucity of sources related to the Follett family and Mortensen’s attempt to place the Follett family in the context of early Mormonism. Nevertheless, Mortensen rightly emphasizes and highlights the scenes where King or his family appear in the historical record, particularly King’s imprisonment in the Richmond jail, his death, and the subsequent Joseph Smith sermon. Chapters 12 and 13, two of the book’s best, are vivid depictions of the jailing of Follett alongside Joseph Smith and others and his attempted escapes from imprisonment in late 1838 and early 1839. Though King left no record of his incarceration, the author effectively uses the records of fellow prisoners Morris C. Phelps and Parley P. Pratt to recreate that harrowing time (248–58).

This book is a family history of the Folletts just as much as it is a biography of King. Some of the more intriguing parts of the book are written through the lens of Louisa Follett and shed light on women’s history in Nauvoo (381–83). However, I had the same concern about source usage—the conflation of Louisa with all Mormon women. For example, Mortensen suggests that twenty-two-year-old Bathsheba Wilson Bigler Smith is a representative woman and that her experiences “may have been typical of Louisa’s as well” (383). This parallel would be stronger if the two women were a better demographic match. Louisa in 1844 was forty-four, and Bathsheba was the mother of one toddler and pregnant with her second child while Louisa’s family consisted of six living children ranging in age from twenty-eight to six, three of

whom lived at home and assisted her with household work.

Aside from this shortcoming, though, Mortensen's use of Louisa's diary, especially to describe her trip to New York following King's death, introduces raw emotions and provides unfiltered insight into Louisa's personality and "views about the family and her faith in and support of Mormonism" (429). Louisa departed from Nauvoo on June 5, 1844, en route for her childhood home in St. Lawrence County, New York. On July 21, while in Parma, Ohio, Louisa received a copy of the *Nauvoo Neighbor*, which "authenticated entelegence of the Death of the Prophet and his brother." "Alass my heart bleeds," Louisa wrote, "at the remeberances of those sceanes that have spred devestation desolation and death over our once happy land" (500). Louisa reached her destination on September 17 and visited the place where she and King had begun married life together. "At present my life is a composition of joy and sorrow," she inscribed in her diary that day as she mourned that "no kind Husband meets my fond imbrace" (503). Louisa's diary is one of the only first-person family documents uncovered by Mortensen.

Louisa returned to Nauvoo late in the summer of 1845 in the midst of the Church's succession crisis. The Follett family splintered as did the Church in the years after 1844. Louisa's son-in-law Nathan West, and probably her daughter Adeline, assisted Alpheus Cutler and lived among the Cutlerite community in Iowa, while Louisa herself eventually joined the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in July of 1863 (461–62). Only William Alexander Follett, King and Louisa's fifth-born, followed Brigham Young's Church contingent to the Great Basin (524). Mortensen's family history of the Folletts, therefore, offers insights into the difficulties that individuals and families faced during the Church schism.

One other concern I had with this book is its length. Entire chapters appear to be superfluous because of their focus on general Mormon history and not on the Follett family. Chapter 5, "The Mormon Church Comes to Ohio, 1830–1831," for example, interrupts the narrative flow and provides an "overview of Joseph Smith's life and prophetic mission as context for the changes in the Follett family's life" already established in the preceding chapter (59). Chapter 9, dealing with Kirtland in the mid-1830s while the Follett family resided in Missouri, suffers similarly. Ultimately, Mortensen could have made this book much more succinct and still maintained the impact gained from telling the Follett family's journey.

Still, *The Man behind the Discourse* solidifies Joann Follett Mortensen's work as an important contribution to the genre of family history. She is to be congratulated and applauded for sharing her family history and compiling these stories. She has contributed an important resource for understanding the Follett family and the often-tumultuous experience of the ordinary men and women in the early Church. The book contains many useful illustrations, im-

ages, maps, and tables that provide a nice visual supplement to the text. Notes at the end of each chapter and the thirty-seven-page bibliography highlight the vast array of sources that the author relied on. Though some of these records must be used cautiously, they should prove helpful for the historian interested in the Mormon experience in the 1830s and 1840s. While this is not a work of analytical historical scholarship, it provides valuable facts, details, and stories and is worthy of the attention of scholars and interested readers.

BRENT M. ROGERS {brentrogers2121@gmail.com} is a historian for the Joseph Smith Papers Project and coeditor of the forthcoming *Documents, Vol. 3: February 1833–March 1834*, JOSEPH SMITH PAPERS (Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Press, 2014). He holds a B.A. in history from San Diego State University, an M.A. in public history from California State University, Sacramento, and a Ph.D. in nineteenth-century U.S. history from the University of Nebraska-Lincoln.

Reid L. Neilson. *Early Mormon Missionary Activities in Japan, 1901–1924*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2010. ix–xi, 214 pp. Images, notes, bibliography, index. Paperback: \$29.95; ISBN: 978–0–87480–989–3

Reviewed by Ronald E. Bartholomew

Early Mormon Missionary Activities in Japan is the printed result of work Reid L. Neilson did as part of his Ph.D. dissertation at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

In the introduction, Neilson notes that his study begins to fill two long-standing gaps in mission studies: (1) given the fact that two other scholars have noted that “there is no other religious denomination in the world—Catholic, Protestant, or non-Christian—whose full-time evangelizing force is even close in size to that recruited, trained and supported by the LDS Church,” Neilson asserts that “one could argue that Mormon mission history is American mission history” (x). Yet “missiologists have ignored the Mormon contributions to the spread of Christianity in Asia, including Japan, as well as the rest of the globe. LDS missionary work is the elephant in the mission studies room that is apparent to all but discussed by few” (x). (2) What is more, “although hagiographic missionary chronicles abound, they usually lack historical perspective and a relationship with the larger Christian missionary community.” In fact, Neilson argues, “I am unaware of a single attempt to compare the Mormon missionary system with that of other Christian organizations in any region, nation or time period” (x). Neilson offers his book as an attempt to fill these gaps in both American religious history and in mission studies.

Neilson states his thesis succinctly: “In this book I argue that the same nineteenth-century LDS theology, practices, and traditions that gave rise to the early LDS Japan Mission in 1901, were paradoxically also responsible for its eventual demise in 1924.” This is because, he continues, “the normative LDS missionary approach was so poorly suited to evangelize non-Christian, non-Western peoples. . . . An unvaried sense of evangelism propriety and practices hindered Mormon missionaries from adapting their message to new cultures, particularly in Asia where the cultural needs were so different. . . . Consequently, the Japan Mission had fewer conversions than other contemporary LDS mission fields and it struggled in comparison with the intra-country Protestant efforts among the Japanese” (xi).

Neilson makes good on his word: This book really is the first in-depth study that situates LDS missionary activities in the context of the general spread of Christianity during the same time period among the same people. In addition, he situates the LDS Church’s understanding of and position toward Asia and Asian religions as well. Not only does he chronicle the various “happencance” intersections between Japanese civic leaders and Church leaders in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, but he notes the First Presidency’s participation in the World Parliament of Religions in Chicago in 1893, and its subsequent theological impact on them—and subsequently on the Church.

Neilson demonstrates skillfully the impact of this meeting on the theological framework of these key Church leaders, who shifted their thinking from “everyone was born with the light of Christ and therefore will respond to the gospel message” to a position that occurred as a possible reaction to the presentation of the Asian religions, which all pre-date the advent of Christianity. Instead, they began to teach and write that these ancient Asian religions contained truth that was a remnant of ancient Christianity dating back to Adam and therefore were in need of the pure truths brought forth through the Restoration movement. Importantly, he notes (1) that, as a result of their interactions with key Japanese leaders and individuals, Church leaders were convinced that Japan, not China, held the key to evangelization in Asia; (2) however, for some reason, the Latter-day Saints “made little effort to evangelize the first and second generation Japanese living in Mormon country, although they would eventually expend tremendous resources to run a mission in Japan” (32). Neilson asserts that this blind spot was because most Mormons were unable to look beyond the stereotype of seeing the Japanese in the United States as a highly desired labor pool, rather than as prospective converts. It would take a major decline in missionary success in the Atlantic, as well as a continued emphasis on millennialism to convince Church leaders that it was time to fully embrace the Great Commission and send missionaries to Asia.

As noted in the introduction, Neilson begins, in Chapter 3, to explain that

the nineteenth-century LDS missionaries' "mode of evangelism and theological claims to primitive Christianity fired the imagination of prospective converts already saturated in a biblical culture. . . . This entrenched pattern of evangelism, however, paradoxically hampered LDS missionary efforts in non-Christian, non-Western nations during the same era" (35). He explains that, despite the favorable and informative intersections with the Japanese prior to the opening of the Japanese Mission in 1901, this did not "motivate the Latter-day Saints to alter their Euro-American evangelism for . . . Asia" (35). As a result, "the nineteenth century Mormon evangelists 'imposed' or 'translated' their religious systems in Asia, while other, more successful Christian groups 'adapted' or 'inculturated' their faith traditions" (36).

What follows is an exceptional taxonomy of "inculturation" versus the "imposed, translated, or adapted" missionary approaches, as well a brief historical survey and comparison between the nineteenth-century LDS missionary model and the American Protestant foreign (APF) model of the same time period. He notes that the APF missionaries were divided over "Christ versus culture" approaches. Some believed that their purpose was solely to bring souls to Christ, while others felt deeply the need to bring the Christian culture of welfare care first, and then teach about Jesus after caring for the people's temporal needs. And some, of course, embraced a combined approach.

In contrast, LDS missionaries during this time period "did not typically offer educational or social welfare services" but rather focused entirely on "unadulterated evangelism," which meant "preaching Christ, not advancing Western culture, especially American culture, which they often viewed as the antithesis of their gospel message" (43–44).

In contrasting the missionaries themselves, Neilson points out that APF missionaries and LDS foreign missionaries differed in four significant ways—ways that determined the success of the former and the failure of the latter in Asia. First, APF missionaries were primarily from rural backgrounds and were entirely self-selected, serving as life-time salaried professionals. LDS missionaries, on the other hand, were primarily married men ranging in age from thirty to forty, called by their leaders, without prior notice or application, to serve from fourteen to thirty months. This service was at their own or the members' expense, relying on the New Testament model of evangelizing "without purse or scrip," which often required a tremendous sacrifice for the families they left behind as well as the members entrusted with their care.

Second, in addition, the vast majority of APF missionaries (approximately 90 percent by the turn of the century) received formal training in colleges and were highly educated compared to the larger American population. Conversely, amateur Mormon missionaries received "informal and narrow preparation" (47) because their leaders expected them to learn evangelization through practice. As a result, LDS mission presidents lamented that mission-

aries arrived in their assigned fields of labor lacking virtually any training in proselytizing; furthermore, very few had received any higher education. The overall “haphazard preparation [of LDS missionaries] paled in comparison to the missionary schooling of their Protestant contemporaries at divinity schools and missionary colleges” throughout the nineteenth century (48).

Third, the majority of LDS missionaries during this time period bypassed the need for formal language training since Church leaders typically assigned those emigrating from western Europe (or their sons) to return to their native lands as missionaries. In contrast, APF missionaries arrived in their mission fields with the realization that they had the rest of their life to master the language and had funds provided to allow that educational pursuit. In contrast, LDS missionaries to Asia not only received no formal language training prior to entering their fields of labor but could not afford that training upon arrival.

Fourth, APF missionaries were sent to the non-Christian, non-Western World, unlike LDS foreign missionaries who served almost exclusively in the Christianized West. As a result, the LDS foreign missionaries were not prepared to teach non-Christian, non-Western peoples like those in Asia. The combination of these factors, in addition to the fact that APF missionaries focused, not only on bringing souls to Christ but also on providing educational and welfare services through schools and hospitals as part of their mission outreach, provide the framework for the remainder of Neilson’s missiological study and the primary evidence for his thesis.

Before analyzing the early twentieth-century failure of the Japanese mission, Neilson applied the construct above to aptly demonstrate the reasons behind the failed mission to China (Hong Kong) in 1852. Without exception, his paradigm proved true: The 1852 LDS missionaries to China were inadequately trained in Chinese language and culture; they had insufficient funds to live in China, much less hire an expensive tutor to teach them Chinese. In contrast to the APF missionaries who were not dependent upon the Chinese for survival but who conveyed an air of comparative success and refinement, the LDS missionaries were clearly impoverished, a condition that the Chinese rejected although it called forth sympathy and compassionate treatment for the missionaries in western Europe. Furthermore, unlike the APF missionaries, the LDS missionaries did not set up schools or offer any social services, which caused a further rift between them and the Chinese. Finally, the methods of evangelizing Americans and Europeans—namely door-to-door tracting, preaching meetings, telling stories, hymn-singing, and exercising spiritual gifts—further distanced them from the peoples of China. As a result, after only a few weeks, the LDS missionaries abandoned their mission to China, while their contemporaneous APF missionaries were able to build up Chinese churches before, during, and after the short 1852 LDS mission to China.

The next section of the book, “Twentieth-Century Challenges in Japan,”

not only chronicles the failures of LDS evangelism in contrast with the successes of the Catholic, Orthodox, Anglican, and Protestant missionary efforts, but it also explains why, using the paradigm put forward in the hypothesis and illustrated by historical analysis. The chilling result is an unfavorable, at times disconcerting, portrayal of LDS missionaries and their leaders, evoking the image of the “blind leading the blind.” LDS leaders and their missionaries were blinded by their theological paradigm, which was obsessed with identifying the Japanese as descendants of Book of Mormon peoples, thus legitimizing the primary Mormon mission of seeking after the “believing blood of Israel.” In addition, they were equally blinded by their missionary methodologies that worked impressively well in North America, Europe, and Scandinavia, but which nearly universally miscarried in non-Christian Asia.

Neilson is very thorough and accurate in his detailed comparative analysis of the evangelistic methodologies employed by the various groups, more particularly showing the failures of the various methods utilized by the Mormons and the reasons for those failures, in contrast with the comparative successes of the Protestants. This discussion, of course, is the heart of the book and is exceptionally well done. Neilson provides a near-comprehensive treatment of each aspect of missionary methodology used in the Japanese experiment during this time period, basing his historical analysis on primary documents, including missionary correspondence, journals, newspaper accounts, etc. While his critical analysis of this particular Mormon evangelical experience is not flattering about LDS missionaries and their leaders—much less faith-promoting for the LDS reader—it is useful to both the scholar and lay Latter-day Saint today in that it proffers invaluable and still salient insights.

The next chapter analyzes the reasons surrounding the decision to close the Japanese mission and Neilson’s perception of those reasons’ validity. He quotes a 1970s study by historian R. Lanier Britsch who proposed three reasons for the closure: (1) problems associated with evangelizing in Japan, which Neilson would argue were within the missionaries’ control; (2) problems outside of the control of the missionaries and their leaders—for example, tensions between the U.S. and Japanese governments or the 1923 Tokyo earthquake; and (3) the inspiration, as well as the anxieties, of leaders in Salt Lake City regarding the mission and its failures to bring converts into the Church. While Neilson does not dismiss Britsch’s findings, he points out that

analyzing the final years of the mission through the framework of the Euro-American missionary model yields a clearer understanding of the church’s temporary retreat from Asia. The homogeneity of the missionaries’ personal backgrounds, lack of missionary preparation, and costly financial burdens, together with the church’s relative neglect of the Japan Mission’s need for human resources—the remaining components of the Mormon missionary approach—compounded these problems. Unable to move truly beyond the Euro-American missionary model, the Japan mis-

sion was less successful than other LDS mission fields worldwide, and it floundered in comparison with the intra-country Protestant efforts. (121–22).

This chapter contains a scrupulously detailed historical analysis of the withdrawal of the missionary force in the context of these variables, as well as the other variables identified in the Britsch study. However, Neilson is quick to assert that, although the external variables, including political tensions, natural disasters, and Church leaders' inspirations and anxieties, "had a negative bearing on the Japan Mission" in that they "precipitated a sense of crisis," still, it was neither internal or external factors that "doomed the missionary field. Ultimately, church leaders instead closed the mission because of the poor evangelistic results. . . . [I]t was the failure of the Latter-day Saints to fundamentally modify their Euro-American missionary model to better meet the needs of the non-Christian, non-Western, Japanese audience that led to the mission's closure" (122).

In an extremely interesting epilogue, Neilson reveals, for the first time, the startling remarks of then-Church President Lorenzo Snow at the missionary farewell meeting in Salt Lake City, where the four missionaries embarking to open the Japan Mission had gathered for their send-off. Uncharacteristically, President Snow shared somber remarks, indicating that the annals of prophetic history included many examples of devout preachers of the gospel, specifically mentioning Noah, Moses, and latter-day missionary Orson Pratt, who failed in their efforts to evangelize their target audiences. "Not surprisingly," Neilson notes, "Snow's remarks sobered the festivities that evening" (147). Interestingly, however, Neilson points out that the missionaries themselves (with the notable exception of Apostle Heber J. Grant, a future Church president, who was responsible for temporarily closing the mission) did not see themselves or their efforts as failures. Rather, possessing their "premillenarian orientation," they did not expect to change the world, only to warn it.

Despite the initial failure to find fertile ground for their message among the Japanese people, eventually President Grant would pioneer the efforts to evangelize the Japanese living in the Hawaiian Islands; and after that successful endeavor, his successor, George Albert Smith, would reopen the Japan Mission in 1948. The LDS Church has had a constant presence there ever since, with numbers soaring beyond 120,000 in the first decade of the twenty-first century. Neilson's study concludes that, since the time of the ill-fated Japan Mission of the early twentieth century, the Mormons have overcome nearly all of their former problems, including localizing evangelical practices, providing months of language and culture training, standardizing the length of the missionary's terms of service, and subsidizing and then equalizing missionary costs. The net effect is a much more "inculturated" and subsequently more successful approach in the twenty-first century.

This book is a welcome addition to the corpus of both religious studies and mission studies literature and is an important first step toward filling the gap Neilson mentions in his foreword. This study's strengths include Neilson's clear and concise writing style, as well as his near-comprehensive use of available primary source materials that enabled him to create this carefully composed historical analysis. Additional strengths include the painstaking details incorporated into these comparative analyses between the LDS missionary efforts and those of other Christian faiths during the same time period and location, and the effective way Neilson situated the LDS Japan Mission in its accurate historical context. About the only drawback to this study was a repeated restatement of the hypothesis and findings. Perhaps the post-dissertation editing process could have smoothed out some of the repetition to provide an easier reading experience for the reader, considering that it was being published in book form as the findings of a prior study. However, in fairness, this approach is rather typical and accepted in dissertation writing.

RONALD E. BARTHOLOMEW {bartholomewre@ldschurch.org}, holds a faculty position at the Orem LDS Institute of Religion (adjacent to Utah Valley University). He is a missiologist, and his mission studies research has been published in various scholarly journals in the United States and Great Britain.

Reid L. Neilson and Fred E. Woods, eds. *Go Ye into All the World: The Growth and Development of Mormon Missionary Work*. Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center/Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2012. xii, 572 pp. Photographs, maps, notes, index. Cloth: \$28.99; ISBN-13: 978-0-8425-2821-4

Reviewed by Gary James Bergera

Go Ye into All the World is a compilation of essays concerning LDS missionary-related activities mostly selected from presentations delivered on March 5, 2011, at the annual Church History Symposium sponsored by the Religious Studies Center at Brigham Young University. (For the complete symposium program, see <http://rsc.byu.edu/symposia/churchhistory/2011>; accessed June 24, 2013.)

Of the twenty-eight papers presented, editors Reid L. Neilson and Fred E. Woods chose the following nineteen for publication: R. Lanier Britsch, "By All Means: The Boldness of the Mormon Missionary Enterprise"; Richard O. Cowan, "'Called to Serve': A History of Missionary Training"; John P. Livingstone and Richard E. Bennett, "'Remember the New Covenant, Even the Book of Mormon' (D&C 84:57)"; Dennis A. Wright and Janine Gallagher

Doot, "Missionary Materials and Methods: A Preliminary Study"; Jessie L. Embry, "'New Ways of Proselyting': Radio and Missionary Work in the 1930s"; Benjamin Hyrum White, "The History of *Preach My Gospel*"; Mary Jane Woodger "The Ten Pioneering Missionaries of the Sandwich Islands, 1850–54"; Michael A. Goodman, "Elam Luddington: First Latter-day Saint Missionary to Thailand"; Kathleen C. Perrin, "Louisa Barnes Pratt: Self-Reliant Missionary Wife"; Brian D. Reeves, "'Divert the Minds of the People': Mountain Meadows Massacre Recitals and Missionary Work"; Heather M. Seferovich, "Hospitality and Hostility: Missionary Work in the American South, 1875–98"; Kenneth L. Alford, "Ben E. Rich: Sharing the Gospel Creatively"; Brett D. Dowdle, "'There Is No More Satisfying Activity': D. Arthur Haycock's Lifetime of Missionary Labors"; Scott C. Esplin, "A Place for 'the Weary Traveler': Nauvoo and a Changing Missionary Emphasis for Church Historic Sites"; Clinton D. Christensen, "Senior Missionaries in the Caribbean: Opening the Islands of the Sea, 1978–90"; Ronald E. Bartholomew, "The Role of Local Missionaries in Nineteenth-Century England"; Jay H. Buckley, "'Good News' at the Cape of Good Hope: Early LDS Missionary Activities in South America"; Alexander L. Baugh, "Defending Mormonism: The Scandinavian Mission Presidency of Andrew Jenson, 1909–12," and Kahlile B. Mehr, "The Mission of the Kyiv Ukraine Temple."

The editors also included their own essays, neither of which had been presented at the symposium: Reid L. Neilson, "The Nineteenth-Century Euro-American Mormon Missionary Model," and Fred E. Woods, "Launching Mormonism in the South Pacific: The Voyage of the *Timoleon*."

Of the contributors, eighteen (78 percent) are men, five women. Twenty-one (91 percent) were, at the time of their presentations, tied professionally to the LDS Church (as employees, teachers, or, in one instance, a student). None of the essays, except Woods's (which appeared in 2005), had been previously published.

As with all such compilations, a spectrum of approach, methodology, quality, and tone prevails. For me, I especially enjoyed the Cowan, Wright/Doot, Embry, and Bartholomew essays. Each was insightful, informative, and contained, at least for me, much new information. If I had to pick one or two essays that stood out, however, I would probably point to Reid Neilson's insightful contribution on the nineteenth-century LDS missionary model and to Benjamin White's piece on the history of the current LDS missionary discussions, *Preach My Gospel*. According to Nielson, nineteenth-century LDS evangelism was both unique and sufficiently entrenched to hamper "LDS missionary efforts in non-Christian, non-Western nations during the same era" (65). Not surprisingly, "Latter-day Saints focused their resources on the Christian, Western world. . . . In short they allocated an eye-popping 93 percent of their missionaries to the Atlantic world during the nineteenth century" (83).

White's study of the development of the LDS Church's present approach to proselytizing is, in my view, a major contribution not only to LDS missiology but more broadly to the dynamics of internal decision-making in the late twentieth-century/early twenty-first-century LDS Church. He cautiously, yet insightfully, navigates the various processes and personalities involved in the creation and implementation of a major Church initiative. White notes that one of the goals, perhaps the primary goal, of the current missionary "discussions" (the written text missionaries use to "preach the gospel") is the conversion of the missionaries themselves as much as the conversion of potential Church members.

In offering this assessment, I do not mean to minimize the contributions of the other essays, almost all of which feature enough interesting new material to merit inclusion. I might quibble over what seems to me to be an over-emphasis on certain geographic locations of missionary activity, on certain time periods, on the significance of certain subjects, as well as the decision to include co-editor Woods's previously published essay. Given the editors' decision to include articles that had not been presented at the symposium, I might also wish they had expanded the scope and reach of their compilation. Such an expansion could have included, for example, the growth of the LDS Church in Africa (other than South Africa, which is covered), in Mongolia, in Southeast Asia (other than Thailand), in Europe (other than Scandinavia at the turn of the twentieth century), and in the South Pacific (Australia, New Zealand, etc.). I would like to think the editors wanted to include many more topics but that various constraints prevented their doing so. Regardless, there is enough in almost every one of the essays printed to interest just about every reader.

I have decided not to point to those essays that, in my opinion, suffer unfavorably in comparison to the other essays. There are only two or three that fall into this category for me. It is quite possible that other readers might disagree with my judgments, and I hesitate to second-guess the decisions of the editors. So I choose not to discourage readers from possibly benefiting from the editors' recommendations.

One question surfaced repeatedly as I read the essays: Proselytizing "success" seems to be most easily measured in terms of growth, that is, convert baptisms. I have not followed the various debates regarding the reliability of official growth statistics, but I wonder if the fact that none of the authors addresses the matter head-on might be an important oversight. Just how reliable are the numbers each author uses? I understand, I think, the promotional value in using the raw number(s) of convert baptisms, especially when the numbers seem to be growing. But are such statistics truly *useful* measures of "success"? (I'm sure there's a more appropriate, less loaded term, but I can't think of it.) Wouldn't retention and activity rates be more factually reliable in-

dicators? Wouldn't such studies—say, according to time period and geographic location, for example—tell us considerable about the efficacy and effectiveness of the LDS Church's various proselytizing activities and programs? It is difficult to think of a more appropriate forum—except for a book compiled and written largely by LDS Church employees—for an informed, accurate discussion of quantifiable missionary “success.” If this is not possible, it would be helpful to know the specific reasons why not. The absence of any such a discussion strikes me as a regrettable missed opportunity.

I confess that I probably would not have read *Go Ye into All the World* except at the invitation of the *Journal of Mormon History's* book review editor. I don't think I would have responded to the topic as especially interesting, and I think I would have assumed that the scholarship might be inadequate and the approach heavy-handed and apologetic. I readily admit that I would have been wrong on all counts. I am glad I read this book; almost all of it is insightful and rewarding; and while some of the authors clearly, and proudly, wear their belief in the LDS Church on their sleeves, such conviction rarely distracts from what is generally a scholarly approach to the subject. And when such declarations of personal faith do intrude, at least for me, they are neither distractingly egregious nor entirely unexpected.

GARY JAMES BERGERA is the managing director of the Smith-Pettit Foundation, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Catherine A. Brekus and W. Clark Gilpin, eds. *American Christianities: A History of Dominance and Diversity*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011. 534 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. Cloth: \$75.00; Paper: \$34.95; ISBN 978-0-8078-7231-0

Reviewed by Elizabeth Brocious

American Christianities addresses the need for religious historians to reconsider the assumptions of uniformity regarding Christianity in America. In the past, the term “Christianity” has been linked uncritically to “religion” in discussions of American identity and history. But just as a more accurate perspective of religion in America would include a diverse field that incorporates traditions like Judaism, Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Native American religions in addition to Christianity, a more accurate perspective of Christianity would include a diverse field within Christianity itself.

Many contributors to this volume echo what the editors establish in their introduction: Historically, Protestantism has dominated the religious landscape within America to such an extent that its hegemony has been largely in-

visible. As a result, Protestantism has come generally to be synonymous with American Christianity, a melding that has not accurately made allowance for the diversity within Protestantism itself nor for the other vibrant traditions existing alongside Protestantism. The chapters in this volume seek to examine and clarify not only the relationship of Protestantism to American identity and cultural structures, but also the important influence and participation of other Christianities, such as Catholicism and Mormonism, in the American experience.

The book consists of a total of twenty-two original essays, written by scholars who work across the fields of religious studies, religious history, theology, journalism, English, and American studies. Mirroring the goal of illustrating pluralism within American Christianity, the book includes essays on a variety of topics that examine how that pluralism plays out within religious experience, including visual art, legal issues, popular culture, attitudes toward and use of popular media, economics, gender and sexual orientation, patriotism, war, and social reform movements.

The book is organized in four parts. Each section begins with a brief editorial introduction and also contains a more theoretical or broadly contextual essay that helps situate the other chapters' closer scrutiny on specific topics. Part 1, "Christian Diversity in America," challenges the assumptions of a unified Christianity in America by demonstrating the wide array of religions that exist and have existed in America, both historically and currently. It begins with a historical narrative of Christian formation by Catherine Albanese that counters common myths of historiography and continues with case studies highlighting the diversity of American Christianity, including Native American Christianity (Michael D. McNally), Asian and Latino immigrants (Timothy S. Lee), African American Christianity (Curtis J. Evans), and non-Christians (Jonathan D. Sarna). The section is rounded out with James B. Bennett's survey of conflicts that have played out among the various Christian groups in America. Overall, the section seeks to illustrate the tensions, cooperation, borrowings, or compromises that Christian and non-Christian groups must negotiate in relation to each other, and it also considers the negotiations these groups must make internally in response to the inevitable changes that occur through time.

Part 2, "Practicing Christianity in America," explores the connection between the theory of religion (i.e., theology) and the various ways individuals live out religious theory. The essays here examine modes of "theory-laden" practice such as ritual, symbols, texts, statuary, and architectural space, as well as the varied beliefs behind these objects' creation and use. This section also seeks to understand the nature of changing practices through time within one tradition and through space from one tradition to another. To set up the section, W. Clark Gilpin begins with an exploration of how "three dimensions" of

historical consciousness (“historical change, contingency, and choice”) have allowed modern Christians to arrive at a sense of meaning and consistency in the face of changing and diverging realities (155). The four chapters that follow include Sally M. Promey’s examination of material objects used in religious practice; David W. Kling’s discussion of the diverging interpretations of the Bible; Jeanne Halgren Kilde’s discussion of spatial, material, and performative aspects of religious worship; and Edith L. Blumhofer’s look at proselyting efforts among three Christian groups, including Mormons, discussed below in greater detail.

Part 3, “Christianity and American Culture,” begins with an introduction that frames the essays with two of Alexis de Tocqueville’s observations: first, Christianity holds a unique influence in America, and, second, the American spirit can be understood as individualism. This section, then, explores the relationship, connections, and tensions between Christianity and individualism in American culture, examining when and how American Christian religions have overwhelmingly appropriated individualism in their theology and practice—and when such appropriation is seen as problematic. The essays include considerations of capitalism and consumerism (Catherine A. Brekus), literature (Kristina Bross), science (Jon H. Roberts), sexual orientation and psychiatry (Rebecca L. Davis), and media (Stewart M. Hoover). Mark A. Noll’s essay on the distinctiveness (as opposed to the “exceptionalism”) of the American experience serves as a bridge to Part 4, “Christianity and the American Nation.”

This section’s chapters explore how Christianity has helped form America’s national identity and considers the political consequences of Christianity’s influence on American civic life. Its editorial introduction posits the belief in American exceptionalism as a common thread throughout the various modes of national identity creation, a belief that has rivaled the intensity of religious belief. As such, Americans have adopted Christian religious imagery and language to promote their national self-conceptions, thereby diluting the distinctions between Christianity and national identity. The essays in this section discuss the political implications of religious practices such as Christian social reform (Dan McKanan), the language of war and sacrifice (Jon Pahl), women and the U.S. Constitution (Ann Braude), and disestablishment issues surrounding the interpretation of the First Amendment (Kathleen Flake). These four chapters are introduced by Tracy Fessenden’s first chapter of the section, which is a broader examination into why adherents to a variety of religions in America have been willing to work politically under the framework of Christianity—specifically Protestantism—and have done so in the name of religious freedom and national identity.

As noted earlier, *American Christianities* acknowledges the dominance of Protestantism in America and thus deals mostly with Protestants and Catholics (as the most visible target of Protestantism), but it provides discussion of

other denominations, including a few treatments of Mormonism, as the goal of diversifying conceptions of American Christianity would make necessary. It is also worth noting that, while Mormonism is generally integrated into the larger story of Christianity, it is also consistently depicted as existing outside the dominant structures of Protestant America. But other non-Protestant groups are depicted this way as well since that division of inside/outside is what identifies a dominant religious group in the first place. Because the book seeks to expose the problems with the equation between Protestantism and American religion, the fact that Mormons are depicted as anomalous to the dominant structures is meant to be a critique of the structures rather than of Mormonism itself.

Nine essays at least mention Mormonism, and most of those nine either mention it briefly or use it as a minor piece of evidence for their arguments. The two most notable minor treatments are Flake's discussion of legal battles over polygamy as one example of the U.S.'s enforcement of Protestant ideology and Albanese's use of Mormonism as an example of the still relevant questions surrounding how to define the term "Christian," particularly in light of early Mormonism's "extra-Christian metaphysical proclivities" (35). Two essays, Blumhofer's and Braude's, are particularly noteworthy because they use Mormonism as one of the main case studies for their argument. While neither of these two presents strikingly new information for Mormon studies—indeed, none of the essays in the book do—they are both solid contributions, although Braude's analysis is more incisive than Blumhofer's.

Blumhofer's "Spreading the Gospel in Christian America" discusses a historic "Protestant-Catholic-Mormon rivalry" (261) for souls, which led to fierce proselyting efforts and a competitive environment for spreading the gospel, with each of the three churches making a unique case for its vision of religious promise. The tensions between Protestants and Mormons during the nineteenth century are documented with excerpts of polemic rhetoric and stories of the ensuing animosities. For example, Blumhofer relates the acerbic prediction by Martin Harris, echoed somewhat by Parley Pratt a few years later, that "every sectarian and religious denomination in the United States, shall be broken down, and every Christian shall be gathered unto the Mormonites, and the rest of the human race shall perish." If such events do not happen, Harris gives permission to "have my hand separated from my body" (269). Protestant exposés of Mormonism are no less bitter.

Blumhofer's narrative of this rivalry is interesting and worthwhile. Her conclusion correctly points out that contemporary relations among these three traditions are more amicable, but she ends with a potentially didactic analysis of the lessons learned from these past tensions: The acrimony between Protestants, Catholics, and Mormons has sharpened their sense of doctrine and self-identity, "clarified religious rights, shaped a stronger sense of

the meaning of America, and helped fashion public space where religious discourse could flourish” (271). If Blumhofer is right that Mormons, Protestants, and Catholics have experienced real insight and growth as a result of their previous rivalry, here, indeed, is a silver lining in the fierce contention of the past. But her essay’s conclusion is too brief and glosses over the intensity of the acrimony she has taken such pains to detail, ending with an “all is well” sense of current relations but with no explanation of how we got there.

Braude’s “Women, Christianity, and the Constitution,” on the other hand, offers a compelling analysis of its subject matter. Braude, too, presents historical narratives that are not particularly new to Mormon scholars regarding the LDS involvement with suffrage and the ERA. In the case of the ERA, Braude relies heavily on Martha Bradley’s *Pedestals and Podiums: Utah Women, Religious Authority, and Equal Rights* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2005) and also repeats the standard narrative of how Mormon women were pushed into subordinate roles as the Relief Society lost much of its autonomy through the Priesthood Correlation program of the 1960s and 1970s. However, this essay provides fruitful insight as it links these two politically gendered debates, suffrage and the ERA, and examines them through the lens of Catholicism, Methodism, and Mormonism. Furthermore, Braude uses these two issues as case studies to examine even broader but significant contemporary questions about Christianity and gender. “Rather than suggesting a Christian perspective on gender,” Braude explains, “these cases show gender as a point of contention among Christians” as different traditions use gender to “police” the borders of their particular brand of Christianity (487). Through the LDS Church’s change in political stance from widespread support for suffrage and early ERA legislation to its official resistance against the ratification of the ERA, Braude points out that the theology didn’t change but the social context did. That change in the interpretation of theology based on social context is an important consideration for us as we now negotiate the questions gender poses for religious faith, Christian and otherwise, in the twenty-first century.

On that note, Braude does not mention current debates over gendered aspects of Latter-day Saint theology and culture, such as women and priesthood ordination. She does offer, though, a relevant explanation, by way of political historian Neil Young, for why Mormon women so eagerly engaged in political activism in the past: “LDS women opposed the ERA not only because they believed it conflicted with their theology but also because it gave them an opportunity to demonstrate their commitment to the celestial kingdom, to themselves, and to each other” (486). The activist approach many current LDS women have taken toward female ordination, on various sides of the issue, can be explained largely along these same lines. It remains to be seen how an evolving social context will bear on future LDS interpretation of gendered church structures.

Braude discusses Mormon involvement with the defeat of the ERA against the larger perspective of how other Christian women were using their religious resources for political activism. Her essay is indicative of the overall value of *American Christianities* for Mormon historians in the contextualization it provides for examining Mormonism within the larger Christian landscape. This book could provide sources for work on a variety of topics, as many of the essays that do not specifically incorporate Mormonism could still be relevant to it. For example, Lee's essay on the exclusionary and assimilative forms of coercion experienced by Asian and Latino Christians could serve as a helpful framework to explore white/nonwhite assimilation, coercion, and liberation within Mormonism, both historically and currently. And the presence of a liberal/conservative divide within contemporary Mormonism is pertinent to the claims of a few of the essays depicting that divide within broader Christianity, such as Bennett's statement that in the last part of the twentieth century, "the [liberal/conservative] gap in American Christianity had become so wide that it better characterized the differences within denominations than the divisions between them. That is, a liberal Congregationalist, Methodist, and Lutheran . . . now have more in common with each other than with conservative members of their same denomination" (144). As one Christianity among many, Mormonism contains similar religious modes, community formations, and broad cultural assumptions explored by the essays in this volume.

Overall, the quality of the essays in *American Christianities* is worth noting. They present an array of solid scholarship that includes more general issues and concepts, such as Albanese's framework for understanding Christian diversity in America, as well as narrower treatments of particular religious practices, such as Kilde's essay on the creation of religious meaning through temporal objects like the pulpit, baptismal space, or auditorium church. The scholarship for each essay meets high standards, the content of each essay is organized clearly to emphasize key points, and the writing style of each essay is, for the most part, readable and enjoyable. The volume's breadth is also worth noting in that it emphasizes what is necessary to construct the full, dynamic picture of Christianity in America. While taking an important step in establishing the vitality of American Christianity outside the previously dominant traditions, the book highlights the scope of work necessary to further develop this picture of true diversity of Christianity in America.

ELIZABETH BROCIIOUS {lbrocious@afconnect.com} is an adjunct instructor in the Philosophy Department, Utah Valley University, in Orem, after teaching for six years in the English Department at Brigham Young University.

Dennis B. Horne and Orson F. Whitney, *Latter Leaves in the Life of Lorenzo Snow*. Spanish Fork, Utah: Cedar Fort Publishing, 2012. Photographs, notes, bibliography, index, appendices. Hardcover: \$26.99. ISBN 978-1-4621-1075-9

Reviewed by Russell Wade Stevenson

Dennis B. Horne's and Orson F. Whitney's *Latter Leaves from the Life of Lorenzo Snow* represents one of a few volumes that attempt to understand the life of one of Mormonism's earliest converts and apostles. As one of the more educated apostles, Snow represented the appeal that Mormonism had not merely for artisans such as Brigham Young or Heber C. Kimball but also for the privileged classes of the antebellum North. Preparing a full biography of this president would be as difficult as it would be desirable; according to a family tradition, a Snow family descendant burned Snow's personal papers in California in the early twentieth century before Snow's son, Oliver, could stop it (14).

Perhaps the most noteworthy aspects of *Latter Leaves* is Horne's compositional methodology. Unlike many biographies of Mormon prophets, Horne has composed the book not as a sole author but as a co-author with Orson F. Whitney, in effect reprinting from Whitney's in "most of chapters three through eleven and part of twelve constitute Whitney's work" (14) from *Latter Leaves in the Life of Lorenzo Snow*, published in 1890. He also includes a two-chapter summary of Eliza R. Snow's *Biography and Family Record of Lorenzo Snow*. His stated rationale is reasonable enough: "Most readers will not have read and will not possess *Biography and Family Record*" (59). Horne "did very little editing on [Whitney's] work" since he considers Whitney an "excellent writer and used superb expression," and Horne assures readers that it is "fairly obvious whose writing is in what chapters."¹ The first two chapters are devoted to summarizing Eliza R. Snow's biographical material on Lorenzo. After the Eliza material, he starts quoting Whitney's writing—then "midway through one of [Whitney's] chapters, my writing starts up. It's fairly obvious that there's a change."² Whitney plays such a significant role in Horne's narrative that he devotes more than thirty pages to a biographical sketch of Whitney (21–56).

Before serious scholarly criticism can be made of Horne's volume, Horne's goal in writing the book must be considered. He is transparent about his de-

¹Dennis Horne, Interviewed by Nick Galieti, January 9, 2013, The Good Word Podcast, <http://www.radiogoldproductions.com/thegoodword/episode-103-interview-with-dennis-horne/#.UtM-Do1Q1fY> (accessed January 12, 2014), 16:39–16:47.

²*Ibid.*, 17:19–17:23.

sire to write a devotional history of the late Church president: Snow's and "Elder Whitney's witness herein combine as do that of Nephi and his brother Jacob in the Book of Mormon, to set forth sure and unimpeachable apostolic testimony of the living reality of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, resurrected and occasionally ministering among His moral servants and friends today" (xvi). Horne thus asserts clearly that his purpose is not scholarly analysis but hagiography.

Biography typically lays claim to telling the story of history's great men and women with the benefit of hindsight and newly available archival documentation. That Horne would weld his work so intimately with the deceased Whitney's biography of Snow requires that readers tear down the barrier separating past from present, a wall typically seen as sacrosanct by professional historians. A contemporary parallel is Edmund Morris's *Dutch: A Memoir of Ronald Reagan* (New York: Random House, 1999), an authorized biography of Ronald Reagan written through the eyes of a fictionalized version of Morris himself. Morris knew that his willingness to play fast-and-loose with the narrative would "cause blood vessels to burst in academe."³ Historian John Demos has argued that unconventional historical writing can be useful and illuminative, provided that the author strives to be "as clear as possible to your reader about what you're doing." While Horne is no professional historiographer, his approach implicitly seeks to fill the role of one: "change the professionally sanctioned strategies by which meaning is conferred on history."⁴

Perhaps Horne's approach seeks not to radicalize historical scholarship but to resuscitate the historical methods of the early nineteenth century. Dean C. Jessee notes that "a serious weakness of early American historical writing was an imprecise editorial method that tended to obscure authorship."⁵ William Gordon, an early chronicler of the American Revolution, used significant passages from the British publication, the *Annual Register* to describe various events, all without an editorial note detailing the source for the original descriptions.⁶ Throughout the nineteenth century, official LDS historians such as George A. Smith and Brigham H. Roberts compiled a large corpus of

³Kate Masur', quoting Morris: "Edmund Morris's 'Dutch': Reconstruction Reagan or Deconstructing History," *Perspectives on History* (December 1999), <http://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/december-1999/edmund-morriss-dutch-reconstruction-reagan-or-deconstructing-history> (accessed January 14, 2013).

⁴Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), 276.

⁵Dean C. Jessee, "The Reliability of Joseph Smith's History," *Journal of Mormon History* 3 (1976): 25.

⁶Ibid.

documents from Joseph Smith's contemporaries; the result was the famed six-volume *History of the Church*. But in the resulting publication, documents produced by scribes such as William Clayton or Willard Richards were attributed to Joseph Smith.⁷

Since historical monographs by their nature draw on material prepared in the past, Horne's attribution to Whitney raises as many questions as it supplies answers. At no point in Chapters 3–12 does Horne offer any kind of editorial notation demarcating the line between Whitney and himself. Does he expect readers to intuit where Whitney's words end and his own begin? Perhaps such a boundary would have disrupted the flow of the narrative; but if so, it should raise serious doubts about the viability of Horne's approach. While deciphering authorship is possible with careful reading, it places an unfair responsibility upon a reader. It is reasonable for a reader to know whose words are presented on any given page. At times, the writing is powerful and evocative; unfortunately, the reader must guess whether these passages should be credited to Horne or Whitney.

Approximately 250 pages constitute Horne's own writing. What scholarly contributions does he make? The first chapter in which Horne begins his writing is Chapter 12, largely a discussion of Snow's service as president of the Quorum of the Twelve. Horne's use of lengthy block quotations interrupt the narrative flow, even though they are tremendously useful for scholars seeking to understand the Church's financial struggles in the 1890s and the First Presidency's development as a stronger ecclesiastical unit at the turn of the twentieth century. His discussion of Lorenzo Snow's efforts to reinvigorate the law of tithing is superb (chaps. 18–22). Horne similarly presents an interesting discussion of myriad issues such as Brigham Young Academy's early efforts to find evidence for the Book of Mormon in Central America, the Church's aborted Ogden loan-and-trust corporation, as well as its efforts to acquire Missouri real estate (376–80, 390–91). Horne also provides useful commentary about Snow's struggles banning otherwise worthy men of African descent from priesthood ordination (11).

Yet Horne's hagiographic motives color his writing, making it inaccessible to any but the already-converted. Snow's decision to reorganize the First Presidency immediately after Wilford Woodruff's death treats the topic as a matter of faith, rather than of historical analysis. "The accounts all bear irrefutable witness that the Lord Jesus Christ appeared to President Snow and told him to proceed with the reorganization of the First Presidency. . . . [S]eldom is the question asked—*why* did Jesus Himself visit His prophet on this occasion?" Horne offers a fairly candid assessment of the "disunity and discord [that] had

⁷Ibid., 23.

unfortunately entered the apostolic councils of the Church” and which Snow had “witnessed . . . from a front-row seat.” The wise and inspired Snow “had worked persistently and effectually to unify his brethren.” This, Horne concludes, “is the reason President Snow was given such specific and pointed instructions at that time by the second member of the Godhead” (265–66).

What Horne has done is, simultaneously, tremendously useful and immensely frustrating. It is a documentary history laboring under the impression that it is a biography. At the very least, Horne could have made it clear what the reader should expect. For example, Gene A. Sessions’s *Mormon Thunder: A Documentary History of Jedediah Morgan Grant*, 2d ed. (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2008) resembles Horne’s in format: large blocks of text stitched together by narrative. While Sessions’s volume also raises methodological questions, readers can get a clear sense of the book’s genre from the outset.

Frustrating though Horne’s approach is, he has provided a tremendous resource for understanding the early-twentieth-century Mormon experience. In the sections that he himself has written, the documentation is rich. While his methodology is problematic, Horne has given scholars access to hard-to-find sources about the life of a man whose leadership strengthened the First Presidency and led the Church out of financial straits.

Thanks to Horne’s labors, the Mormon scholarly community has come one step closer to giving Snow the kind of serious scholarly attention that he deserves.

RUSSELL WADE STEVENSON {russellwades@gmail.com} is an independent historian and has written two books on Mormon history: *Black Mormon: The Story of Elijah Ables* and *For the Cause of Righteousness: A Documentary History of Blacks and Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, forthcoming). He has appeared as a guest scholar on NPR and has authored articles published in the *Journal of Mormon History* and Oxford University Press’s *American National Biography Series*.

Charles H. Harrell, *“This Is My Doctrine”: The Development of Mormon Theology*. Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2011. 583 pp. Bibliography, scripture index, index. Hardcover: \$34.95; ISBN: 9781589581036

Reviewed by James E. Faulconer

The book is organized into twenty chapters, the titles of which are, conveniently, also the doctrines discussed: “Theology, a Divine-Human Enterprise,” “The Great Apostasy,” “Joseph Smith and the Restoration,” “The Restoration of the Priesthood and the Church,” “Doctrinal Truths Re-

stored” (a discussion of the degree to which the doctrines taught in today’s LDS Church can be said to be restorations from Old or New Testament times), “The Godhead and Plurality of Gods,” “God the Father,” “Jesus Christ,” “The Holy Ghost,” “Satan,” “The Preexistence,” “The Creation,” “The Fall and Nature of Humanity,” “The Atonement,” “The Gospel Plan,” “Salvation for the Dead,” “The Priesthood,” “The Gathering of Israel and Establishment of Zion,” “The Second Coming and Millennium,” “The Resurrection,” and “The Final Judgment.”

Harrell’s book covers each of these topics adequately and accurately. Readers who do not know what are traditionally thought of as the most identifying doctrines of LDS belief will find here both a reasonable summary and a good account of the chronological development of that belief. Such readers will also find a comparison of the naive understanding of LDS beliefs to the findings and appraisals of current biblical and religious scholarship. Despite the title, that comparison, rather than a history of the development of LDS belief, is the book’s primary interest.

As a result, Harrell’s book will not be particularly useful to historians. They will find little new in his discussions. He has read widely and is well acquainted with what he has read, but his analysis tends toward reporting what previous historians have said about Mormonism, scripture, and religion. He gives readers little of his own historical analysis. He has little discussion of possible influences on or conceptual dialogues between early Mormon thinkers and others. You would expect, for example, some detailed discussion of Sidney Rigdon’s background and the bearing Rigdon’s thought might have had on Joseph Smith’s thought. But such a discussion is basically limited to about a paragraph, which is mostly a summary of what one can find in Gregory A. Prince’s *Power from on High: The Development of Mormon Priesthood* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1995). Rather than being a work of academic scholarship on the development of LDS theology, the book appears to have as its audience less widely read Latter-day Saints and appears to have as its goal giving those Latter-day Saints an overview of the history of LDS belief and awakening them to their lack of background.

The very fact of having brought together so much information about LDS belief and having compared it in the context of biblical history and other contemporary beliefs might make the book more useful to theologians. But because of its apparent audience and goal, Harrell’s book is equally problematic as theology. Harrell offers readers a critique of LDS beliefs without a discussion of what that critique suggests. In each instance he uses some form of the same method, which is a critical comparison of Mormon beliefs to other beliefs. His method takes this form: “Mormons believe X, but . . .,” where *but* is followed by a summary of the standard biblical, historical, or comparative religious scholarship that shows the theological issues that Mormons face in mak-

ing those claims. What he does to that point is fair and accurate. But Harrell does not deal with the resulting issues himself nor offer suggestions for doing so. Readers are left hanging at the very point where theological reflection ought to begin.

Harrell recognizes a form of the problem and, in the “Epilogue,” addresses the question of what an unsophisticated believer can do faced with the complexities that Harrell documents: “A mature faith accepts God’s sovereignty in the universe while at the same time recognizing that no one possesses the holy grail of absolute and unerring truth. It compels one to identify less with theological dogma than with God’s universal love and immanence in the world” (504). But even if this explanation answers the question of how to continue to be faithful, Harrell has not dealt with the theological questions he has raised. Mormons may have no or little official theology. As he points out, that’s also my position (1). But if a writer writes about Mormon theology and raises an issue for it, he or she has a scholarly responsibility to respond to that issue, explain why there is no possible response, or explain why no response is needed.

Harrell’s book will be primarily useful for someone seeking an introduction to LDS beliefs in an historical context rather than to historians or theologians.

JAMES E. FAULCONER {james.faulconer@byu.edu} is a professor in the Department of Philosophy, Academic Director of the BYU London Centre, Richard L. Evans Chair of Religious Understanding, and Associate Director of the Wheatley Institution, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

Merina Smith. *Revelation, Resistance, and Mormon Polygamy: The Introduction and Implementation of the Principle, 1830–1853*. Logan: Utah State University Press, 2013. 267 pp. Photos, bibliography, index. Cloth with dust jacket: \$29.95. ISBN: 978–0–87421–917–3

Reviewed by Bryan Buchanan

Though some would claim that future Congressman Sonny Bono (and a past singer/songwriter) was not speaking of the continuing drive to research and write about polygamy, it is certainly the case that “the beat goes on.” In the last two years alone, five books—eight depending on how one counts—have been written on the topic: Brian C. Hales with the assistance of Don Bradley, *Joseph Smith’s Polygamy: History and Theology*, 3 vols. (Draper, Utah: Greg Kofford Books, 2013); Newell G. Bringhurst and Craig L. Foster, eds., *The Persistence of Polygamy: Joseph Smith and the Origins of Mormon Polygamy* (Independence, Mo.: John Whitmer Books, 2010—this

is the first of a three-volume series); Christine Talbot, *A Foreign Kingdom: Mormons and Polygamy in American Political Culture, 1852–1890* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2013); Janet Bennion, *Polygamy in Primetime: Media, Gender, and Politics in Mormon Fundamentalism* (Waltham, Mass.: Brandeis University Press, 2012); and Carolyn O’Bagy Davis, *The Fourth Wife: Polygamy, Love, & Revolution* (Tucson, Ariz.: Rio Nuevo Publishers, 2011). In addition, a host of other histories and biographies treat polygamy to some degree. To this list, we may add the book being reviewed here—*Revelation, Resistance, and Mormon Polygamy: The Introduction and Implementation of the Principle, 1830–1853*, by Merina Smith.

Polygamy has always been the most thoroughly plowed field of study among many other viable candidates within Mormon history. While the “what” has received the most attention, the “why” has always been the stepchild. And books written from a woman’s perspective would then be (with all apologies to Ronald McDonald, Carrot Top, and Nicole Kidman) the even more neglected redheaded stepchild of the field. To some degree, I agree with the assessment on this book’s dust jacket by Janet Bennion: “Others, including myself, have never adequately explained the emergence of polygamy ideologically.” I see this lack as resulting from two factors: (1) a fundamental lack of helpful contemporary sources and (2) a reluctance to emerge from entrenched perspectives. This being said, there are still rich veins that have yet to be adequately mined (as evidenced by the discussion of Brigham Young in the next paragraph).

Though Merina Smith attempts to avoid the second factor (as does any author, really), realizing such a goal proves to be difficult. The opening words of Smith’s introduction gave me pause: “Brigham Young, famously acknowledged as the most married man of the nineteenth century, stated that he was not enthused about entering into polygamy when the principle was first introduced to him in 1841 by Joseph Smith Jr. Young later remembered. . . .” She then quotes Young’s very familiar statement (made at a conference in Provo in 1855) that he “felt to envy the corpse his situation” at that point. Among so many other laudatory results, John Turner’s recent biography of Brigham Young notes that this stereotypical view of him does not represent the full picture. Turner includes an earlier statement from 1849 indicating that Young, after a brief initial period of distaste, was “ready to go ahead” and thought that those around him would “upbraid [him] for lightness in those days.” Turner was able to flesh out the traditional picture of “Brigham the ultra-reluctant polygamist” because he plowed fresh ground.¹ At the risk of belaboring my point, Smith uses this common image of Young (and others) to emphasize the

¹John G. Turner, *Brigham Young: Pioneer Prophet* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2012), 91. In addition, Turner notes that—two years earlier

“resistance” portion of her title. I think that a more nuanced understanding of these early polygamists will not yield exactly the same picture that earlier researchers have created.

Above all, Smith seeks to answer this question: “In light of the intense opposition against it and the great tumult it caused in people’s lives, how did polygamy become the favored form of marriage among Mormons for most of the nineteenth century?” She responds that “the obvious answer is that the Mormon people believed polygamy was right—that it was ordained of God.” Next, she argues that “Mormon converts were primed to accept unusual doctrines like polygamy, but—and this is the second component—only if it were part of a coherent religious narrative.” A subset of the discussion is “how was polygamy introduced and then integrated into Mormon society?” Smith asserts that, given the societal resistance to the practice, “it was initially brought forth secretly, in a process that interacted with the formation of a supporting theological narrative” (2–4). After a chapter discussing the millenarian context of early Mormonism, the author sets out to frame her tripartite agenda in five chapters that usually cover a year or two in the Nauvoo period; the last chapter deals with a short era (mainly through the mid-1850s though some details pertaining to the subjects of the chapter—John D. Lee and Patty Bartlett Sessions—extend to their deaths in 1877 and 1892) following Nauvoo.

The second chapter, “Mormon Millenarian Expectations: The Restoration of All Things and the Resacralization of Marriage, 1830–1841,” includes what I feel is the highlight of the book in which Smith describes the effect of and experiences within polygamy, particularly in the John S. Fullmer family.² She uses contemporary materials from the family (including wonderful letters) such as a letter written by Olive to her daughter in 1883 following the death of John. She informs her daughter (of the same name) that “we have this day consigned to Mother Earth the mortal remains of your father.” She also reports on the condition of John’s first wife, saying “Poor old Mamie [spelled

in 1847—“Young allowed that, if adultery meant ‘consenting in his heart to do it if he had the chance I won’t say how often I have been guilty of adultery, but I will say I never did the act’” (ibid., 96). These statements were both taken from minutes of meetings which most researchers have not grappled with.

² John Solomon Fullmer (1807–1883), originally from Pennsylvania, moved several times before landing in Nauvoo where he was baptized in 1839 (several family members—including the most well-known, his brother, David—had already joined Mormonism). He was married first to Mary Ann “Mamie” Price in 1837, married his first plural wife, Olive Amanda Smith (who may have been married previously) in 1846 and a final plural wife during the heat of the Reformation in 1856. The relationship between Olive and John does not seem to have been particularly warm and sets the stage for the author to discuss “why the Fullmers and other converts would accept polygamy” (20).

“Mamey” in the original letter] like to went crazy, but I felt not to mourn; but she is so lonely. John lives in with her.”³ (17). Unfortunately, a large portion of their experiences recounted in the chapter fall outside the stated time-frame and thus fail to provide a clear understanding of the specific effect of the introduction of polygamy on the Fullmers.

In addition, she attributes broad generalizations to them without adequate evidence. For example, Smith states that “the narrative aspect of Mormonism was instantly appealing to John and Mary Ann Fullmer when they joined the church in 1839” (23). While that may have been true, the exact impact that this facet of Mormon theology had is not so readily apparent as she posits.

The discussion of theology is an area where an editor’s pen could have been wielded more often. Smith occasionally makes her point with assertions that require some qualification or at least fine-tuning. A few examples:

- Following the Fanny Alger event, Smith states that “a statement quickly appeared in the *Book of Commandments* . . . affirming the church’s adherence to monogamous marriage” (9). “Quickly” is a problematic word since (as Smith notes) the exact timeframe for the Alger relationship is unknown; also, the statement did not appear in the *Book of Commandments* but (as correctly cited in the footnote) in the Doctrine and Covenants in 1835.
- Smith notes that the prophecy of Elijah’s return is “repeated three times in the Doctrine and Covenants itself” and was “an important recurring theme for Mormons” (35). It does appear three times in the current (1981, 2013) Doctrine and Covenants, but two of these occurrences (sections 2 and 110) were not canonized until 1876. Section 110 would likely have been unknown to most Mormons during Joseph Smith’s lifetime.
- When mentioning that the Book of Mormon “had tremendous appeal to Americans, whose understanding of their country combined many religious skeins,” Smith notes that “the Fullmers were not descended from New England Puritans” (41). While that is half true (John Fullmer’s ancestors came from German stock in Pennsylvania), both Olive and Mamie—the two wives whom Smith dis-

³The author makes the point here that Olive “had apparently forgotten momentarily that John was dead—not surprisingly, since he did not live at her house—because she used the present tense” (18). A copy of the letter (the version used by Merina Smith was greatly “purtied up” for publication, ostensibly by a descendant) is available online in a family organization newsletter. Olive’s spelling and grammar are raw enough that I don’t think much can be made of her use of tense—in fact, earlier in the letter she inserts a present tense in a string of past tense verbs while describing the scene to her daughter. See bit.ly/1dDjFPm for the letter.

cusses in this chapter (Sarah makes a cameo in one sole sentence)—were descendants of New England Puritans.

Before this review begins to sound too critical, let me state that Smith's narrative is very readable (something that cannot always be said for a book created from a dissertation) and concise without being basic. Her narrative is fresh and incorporates the latest research. It is regrettable that Brian Hales's three-volume work came out too late for Smith to consider it. Her book will be most profitably read by those wanting a distillation of key books on the topic: Richard S. Van Wagoner's *Mormon Polygamy: A History*, 2d ed. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989), Todd Compton's *In Sacred Loneliness: The Plural Wives of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997) and George D. Smith's *Nauvoo Polygamy: ". . . but we called it celestial marriage"*, 2d ed. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2011). Readers who have kept up on these sources, however, may find that the current book does not add enough to the discussion.

The physical book itself is something to which I can give 99.9 percent unqualified praise—a very reasonably priced hardback book with linen boards, sewn binding, and an attractive dust jacket. This is an endangered animal these days! Unfortunately, it appears that someone forgot to remove an in-house control number at the foot of the first page of each chapter.

BRYAN BUCHANAN {bryanrbuchanan@gmail.com}, a proud University of Utah alumnus, works among his beloved books at Benchmark Books in Salt Lake City.

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