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Journal of Mormon History Vol. 36, No. 1, Winter 2010

Table of Contents

LETTER

--Handcart Study Misleads *Breck England*, vi

ARTICLES

--"As Fire Shut Up in My Bones": Ebenezer Robinson, Don Carlos Smith, and the 1840 Edition of the Book of Mormon *Kyle R. Walker*, 1

--"Build, Therefore, Your Own World": Ralph Waldo Emerson, Joseph Smith, and Antebellum American Thought *Benjamin E. Park*, 41

--Mormon Rosies: Women and War Work in Manti *Amanda Midgley Borneman*, 73

--Lyman E. Johnson: Forgotten Apostle *William Shepard and H. Michael Marquardt*, 93

--An Independent Companion: Ethel Nash Parton and the Australian Relief Society *Sherrie L. M. Gavin*, 145

--"Read This I Pray Thee": Martin Harris and the Three Wise Men of the East *Richard E. Bennett*, 178

REVIEWS

--Michael W. Homer, ed. *On the Way to Somewhere Else: European Sojourners in the Mormon West, 1834–1930* *Dixie Dillon Lane*, 217

--Cardell K. Jacobson, John P. Hoffmann, and Tim B. Heaton, eds. *Revisiting Thomas F. O’Dea’s The Mormons: Contemporary Perspectives* *Howard M. Bahr*, 220

--Jeffrey C. Fox, *Latter-day Political Views* *John J Hammond*, 230

--Susan Easton Black, *Setting the Record Straight: Joseph Smith the Mormon Prophet* *William D. Russell*, 234

--Johnnie Glad, *The Mission of Mormonism in Norway, 1851–1920: A Study and Analysis of the Reception Process* *Kim B. Östman*, 237

--Craig L. Foster, *A Different God? Mitt Romney, the Religious Right, and the Mormon Question*, and Newell G. Bringhurst and Craig L. Foster, *The Mormon Quest for the Presidency* *Michael Harold Paulos*, 241

--Reid L. Neilson, *Global Mormonism in the 21st Century* *Matthew R. Lee*, 256

BOOK NOTICES

--Eileen Hallet Stone, ed. and comp., *A Homeland in the West: Utah Jews Remember*, 259 Kip Sperry, *Kirtland, Ohio: A Guide to Family History and Historical Sources*, 260 Ronald L. Holt, *Beneath These Red Cliffs: An Ethnohistory of the Utah Paiutes*, 261 Bill Harris, *A New Zion: The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 262 Stewart Aitchison, *A Guide to Southern Utah’s Hole-in-the-Rock Trail*, 264 Kirk Huffaker, *Salt Lake City: Then and Now*, 265 Dawn and Morris Thurston, *How to Breathe Life into Your Life Story*, 266 Arthur O. Naujoks Jr. and Michael S. Eldredge, *Shades of Gray: Memoirs of a Prussian Saint on the Eastern Front*, 268 Karen M. and Paul D. Larsen, *Remembering Winter Quarters: Writings of the Mormon Pioneers at the Missouri River*, 270 Lawrence Flake, *Twelve Sons of Britain*, 272 Barbara Walden and Lachlan Mackay,

House of the Lord: The Story of the Kirtland Temple, 273 Irene Spencer, *Shattered Dreams: My Life as a Polygamist's Wife*, 275 John R. Llewellyn, *Polygamy's Rape of Rachel Strong*, 276 Susan Ray Schmidt, *His Favorite Wife: Trapped in Polygamy*, 277 Michelle Parkinson, ed., *The San Francisco Mormon History Walking Tour*, 279 Berta James, *Sarah: The Fourth Wife*, 279

JOURNAL OF
MORMON HISTORY

WINTER 2010

Cover illustration: Ebenezer Robinson, ca. 1880s. Courtesy Community of Christ Archives.

Correction: The birth year of James Henry Martineau (published journals reviewed in 35, no. 4 [Fall 2009]: 274–80 should be 1828.

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JOURNAL OF MORMON HISTORY

VOLUME 36, NO. 1
WINTER 2010

CONTENTS

LETTER

Handcart Study Misleads *Breck England* vi

ARTICLES

“As Fire Shut Up in My Bones”: Ebenezer Robinson,
Don Carlos Smith, and the 1840 Edition of the
Book of Mormon *Kyle R. Walker* 1

“Build, Therefore, Your Own World”:
Ralph Waldo Emerson, Joseph Smith,
and Antebellum American Thought *Benjamin E. Park* 41

Mormon Rosies: Women and War Work in Manti
Amanda Midgley Borneman 73

Lyman E. Johnson: Forgotten Apostle
William Shepard and H. Michael Marquardt 93

An Independent Companion: Ethel Nash Parton
and the Australian Relief Society *Sherrie L. M. Gavin* 145

“Read This I Pray Thee”: Martin Harris and the
Three Wise Men of the East *Richard E. Bennett* 178

REVIEWS

Michael W. Homer, ed. *On the Way to Somewhere Else:
European Sojourners in the Mormon West, 1834–1930*
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Heaton, eds. *Revisiting Thomas F. O’Dea’s
The Mormons: Contemporary Perspectives* *Howard M. Bahr* 220

Jeffrey C. Fox, *Latter-day Political Views* *John J. Hammond* 230

Susan Easton Black, *Setting the Record Straight:
Joseph Smith the Mormon Prophet* *William D. Russell* 234

Johnnie Glad, *The Mission of Mormonism in Norway*,

<i>1851–1920: A Study and Analysis of the Reception Process</i>	Kim B. Östman	237
Craig L. Foster, <i>A Different God? Mitt Romney, the Religious Right, and the Mormon Question</i> , and Newell G. Bringham and Craig L. Foster, <i>The Mormon Quest for the Presidency</i>	Michael Harold Paulos	241
Reid L. Neilson, <i>Global Mormonism in the 21st Century</i>	Matthew R. Lee	256

BOOK NOTICES

Eileen Hallet Stone, ed. and comp., <i>A Homeland in the West: Utah Jews Remember</i>		259
Kip Sperry, <i>Kirtland, Ohio: A Guide to Family History and Historical Sources</i>		260
Ronald L. Holt, <i>Beneath These Red Cliffs: An Ethnohistory of the Utah Paiutes</i>		261
Bill Harris, <i>A New Zion: The Story of the Latter-day Saints</i>		262
Stewart Aitchison, <i>A Guide to Southern Utah's Hole-in-the-Rock Trail</i>		264
Kirk Huffaker, <i>Salt Lake City: Then and Now</i>		265
Dawn and Morris Thurston, <i>How to Breathe Life into Your Life Story</i>		266
Arthur O. Naujoks Jr. and Michael S. Eldredge, <i>Shades of Gray: Memoirs of a Prussian Saint on the Eastern Front</i>		268
Karen M. and Paul D. Larsen, <i>Remembering Winter Quarters: Writings of the Mormon Pioneers at the Missouri River</i>		270
Lawrence Flake, <i>Twelve Sons of Britain</i>		272
Barbara Walden and Lachlan Mackay, <i>House of the Lord: The Story of the Kirtland Temple</i>		273
Irene Spencer, <i>Shattered Dreams: My Life as a Polygamist's Wife</i>		275
John R. Llewellyn, <i>Polygamy's Rape of Rachel Strong</i>		276
Susan Ray Schmidt, <i>His Favorite Wife: Trapped in Polygamy</i>		277
Michelle Parkinson, ed., <i>The San Francisco Mormon History Walking Tour</i>		279
Berta James, <i>Sarah: The Fourth Wife</i>		279

LETTER

Handcart Study Misleads

After studying Will Bagley's "One Long Funeral March': A Revisionist's View of the Mormon Handcart Disasters" (*Journal of Mormon History* 35, no. 1 [Winter 2009]: 50–116,) I was disappointed that the *Journal* would publish such a misleading article; but when Sherman Fleek wrote to praise it (Summer 2009, vii–viii), I had to respond. Fleek calls Bagley's account a "most accurate, detailed, honest, and well-researched telling" of the handcart episode. It is nothing of the sort.

Unquestionably, the 1856 Willie-Martin calamity resulted from imprudent decisions made in Liverpool, Iowa City, and Brigham Young's office in Salt Lake. But Bagley, with his shaky assumptions and downright inaccuracies, wants to turn Young's misjudgments into malicious disregard for the handcart pioneers. Bagley draws a caricature of a Brigham Young more concerned with his freight shipments from the East than with the welfare of the pioneers. He complains that, although Young sent supplies for A. O. Smoot's freight train, he did not send "a single wagonload of supplies to reprovision the Willie and Martin trains" (Bagley, 77). For Bagley, this is evidence of Young's callous indifference.

But Bagley disregards the fact that Young did not know about the Willie and Martin trains. When Franklin D.

Richards and Daniel Spencer, the Church agents from Iowa, arrived in Salt Lake with news of the two companies, Young was astounded that they had been allowed to start their journey so dangerously late in the season. On October 4, Young wrote, "We were not aware of their being upon the plains until the arrival of . . . the returning missionaries" who had passed the companies. For Bagley, "this statement shades the truth," suggesting that Young *did* know about the companies. "Young seems to have held two contradictory ideas simultaneously. The first was that Richards and Spencer would automatically halt the emigrants." The other "contradictory idea" was to "assume a trouble-free passage" for them, as expressed in an August 4 letter to George Q. Cannon (Bagley, 77–78).

Unlike Bagley, I don't pretend to know what contradictions were inside Brigham Young's head, but a quick look at chronology clears up the apparent contradiction. Bagley theorizes that Young knew in August that some companies would get a late start based on a June 19 letter from Daniel Spencer about expected arrivals at Iowa City. But Spencer did not and could not have known on June 19 that two companies would be on the plains past the safe departure date. Spencer didn't

even see the Willie and Martin emigrants until July 10. The companies' fateful decision to proceed west wasn't made until August 15, long after Spencer's letter had arrived in Salt Lake. How could Young anticipate that his standing orders forbidding late departures would be disregarded and that companies would be on the plains after the window of safety had closed? And why would he send supplies east for pioneers who weren't supposed to be there?

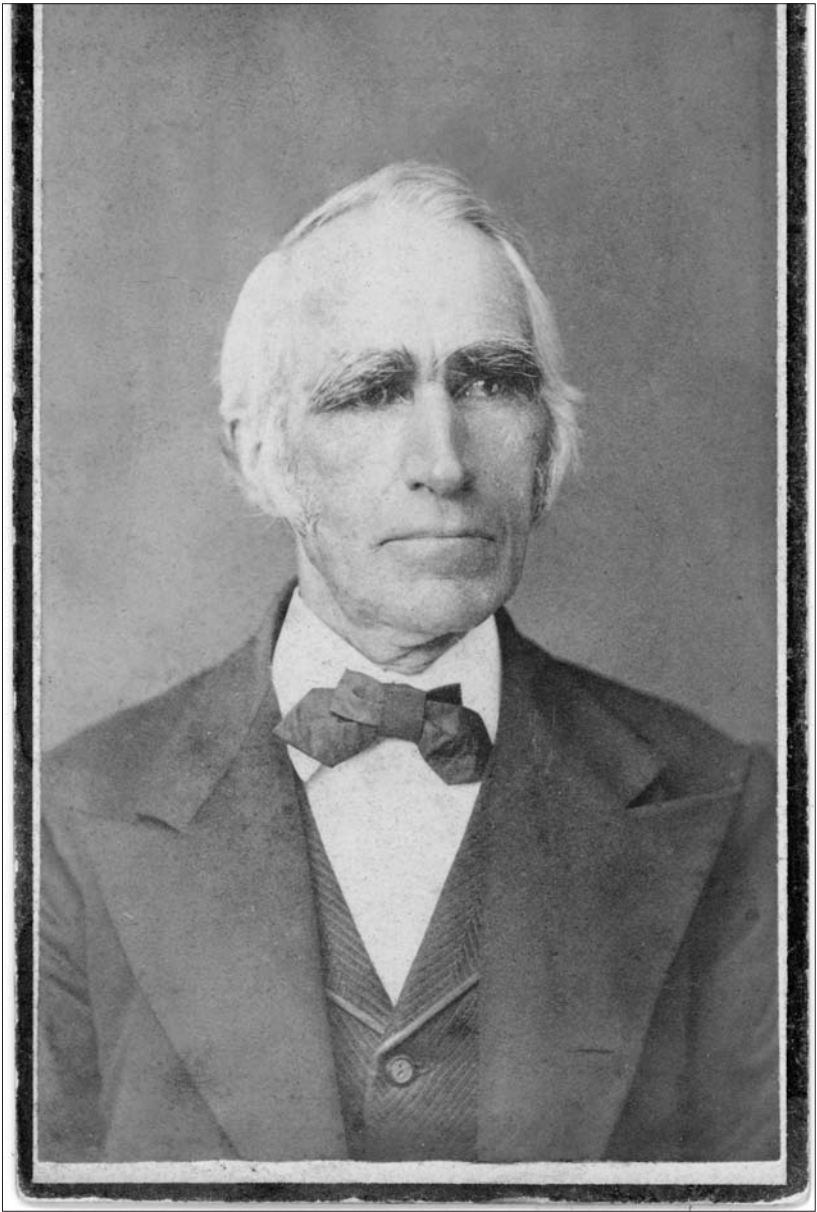
In another attempt to color Brigham Young as indifferent to the pioneers' fate, Bagley simply omits relevant information. On November 4, two of Young's emissaries met the Willie Company at Bear River. "Two days earlier, the Willie Company 'had not teams enough to haul the feeble that were left behind.' Now the company learned that 'President B. Young had sent word that some freight still lying at Fort Bridger was to be brought in this season & that some teams and men of our company were needed to go on to Bridger'" (Bagley, 88). A few men were selected to go.

Thus, Bagley creates the impression that to serve his business interests, Young stripped the Willie Com-

pany of rescuers who were already shorthanded. What Bagley leaves out, however, is that between November 2, when the company was indeed short of help, and November 4, three additional contingents of rescuers arrived with wagons and supplies, including enough teams to "pick up the sick" (*Willie Company Journal*, May 1–Nov. 9, 1856, entries for Nov. 2, 3, 4, 1856, <http://handcart.byu.edu/default.aspx?day=1&month=1> [accessed September 28, 2009]). Bagley's omission serves his thesis but clearly presents an inaccurate picture.

These instances typify Bagley's slipshod and tendentious approach to the story. In his eagerness to discredit Young, he even faults Young's extraordinary relief effort as "shift[ing] responsibility for the rescue onto the weary shoulders of his followers" (Bagley, 83) as if there were anyone else he could turn to. Fleek's characterization of Bagley's article as "high-quality history that presents the authentic story" (Fleek, viii) is ill informed.

*Breck England
Bountiful, Utah*



Ebenezer Robinson, ca. 1880s. Courtesy Community of Christ Archives.

“AS FIRE SHUT UP IN MY BONES”: EBENEZER ROBINSON, DON CARLOS SMITH, AND THE 1840 EDITION OF THE BOOK OF MORMON

Kyle R. Walker

AFTER THE SAINTS ESTABLISHED their new gathering place at Commerce (Nauvoo), Illinois, in the spring of 1839, one of the most pressing items of Church business was getting the printing press back into operation. Hidden from the Missouriians in 1838 and transported across the state with great difficulty, it would provide Church leaders with an essential means of communicating with the scattered Saints. To help launch this endeavor, Joseph Smith visited his brother Don Carlos, who was renting a farm some forty miles east of Nauvoo, near Macomb, Illinois. During the week of June 16–23, Joseph visited family and Saints near Macomb, and asked Don Carlos to come immediately to Nauvoo to lend his skill and assistance to the Church’s printing needs. Within days of their exchange, Don Carlos was at Nauvoo with his printing partner Ebenezer Robinson. The two men found a location where they could begin to publish a Church-sponsored newspaper.¹ It was also here, at Nauvoo, where the printing partnership of “Robinson & Smith” re-

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solved to publish the third edition of the Book of Mormon—the final edition Joseph Smith would personally revise before his death in 1844.²

By the time the Saints were settling Nauvoo, Ebenezer Robinson was a seasoned printer, having assisted in the Church's printing enterprise at Kirtland and Missouri. Born at Floyd, Oneida County, New York, on May 25, 1816, Robinson was sent to Utica at age fifteen to apprentice under Eli Maynard, who published a newspaper named the *Observer*. By July 1833, Robinson had relocated to Ohio, living for several months in Russell Township, Geauga County. By the fall of 1833, Robinson secured work as a compositor in the office of the *Ohio Star* at Ravenna, and then with the *Hudson Observer*, both cities within forty-five miles of Kirtland. It had in fact been the printing trade that first lured Robinson to Church headquarters in Ohio, despite not being a Latter-day Saint.³ When Oliver Cowdery relinquished editorship of the *Messenger and Advocate* in May 1835, it left a vacancy in the printing establishment of "F. G. Williams & Co.,"⁴ which hired Robinson that same month. Though he had no faith in Mormonism, Robinson deemed "Mormon money as good as anybody's money," and was

anthology, *United by Faith: The Joseph Sr. and Lucy Mack Smith Family* (American Fork, Utah: Covenant Communications, 2005).

¹Don Carlos and his wife, Agnes Coolbrith Smith, had two little daughters. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet and His Progenitors for Many Generations* (Liverpool, England: S. W. Richards, 1853), 290, indicated that Don Carlos was at Nauvoo by the end of June. He may have actually accompanied Joseph, who returned to Nauvoo on June 26. Dean C. Jessee, Mark Ashurst-McGee, and Richard L. Jensen, eds., *The Joseph Smith Papers: Journals, Volume 1* (Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Press, 2008), 341–43.

²Peter Crawley, *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Mormon Church, Volume 1, 1830–1847* (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1997) 205, notes that "on at least two occasions, in December 1841 and in January 1842, Joseph Smith read the 1840 Book of Mormon to correct typographical errors, but it would appear that no such corrections were incorporated in the 1842 impression." Hence, the 1840 Book of Mormon was the last edition which contained his personal revisions. *History of the Church* 4:468, 494.

³*Biographical and Historical Record of Ringgold and Decatur Counties, Iowa* (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1887), 651–52.

⁴Oliver Cowdery, "Address to the Patrons of the Latter Day Saints' Messenger & Advocate," *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* 1, no. 8

delighted to secure the position.⁵

By his side in the printing establishment was Don Carlos Smith, youngest brother of the Prophet Joseph Smith, born on March 25, 1816, at Norwich, Vermont.⁶ As he matured into adulthood, the handsome, six-foot four-inch Don Carlos had seen his ecclesiastical responsibilities increase during his years in Kirtland. At the young age of nineteen, he had accepted Joseph's request to serve as president of the high priests at Kirtland. Unanimously sustained by this quorum, Don Carlos continued to serve in the same capacity at Nauvoo.⁷ However, his greatest contribution to the Church came through his skill as a printer. Don Carlos had apprenticed at that trade in November 1833, while living with his prophet-brother Joseph.⁸ For the next two years, he learned the trade with the guidance of Oliver Cowdery, until Cowdery left to attend to other pressing ecclesiastical responsibilities.

It may have been at the printing office in Kirtland where Ebenezer Robinson first met Don Carlos Smith in the spring of 1835. Both were nineteen, born two months apart; and their youth and common professional aspirations and solid apprenticeship skills likely contributed to their immediate affinity. The two teens became fast friends as they labored alongside one another at Kirtland's printing office, which stood adjacent to the temple. The relationship that began in 1835 blossomed over the next six years, culminating in a business partnership that met with great success.⁹

The influence of Don Carlos and other Church leaders had an immediate impact on Robinson. After he arrived in Kirtland, Robinson lived for two months each with Oliver Cowdery, then Frederick G. Williams, and finally with Joseph Smith. This firsthand knowledge of the character of some of the Saints' most prominent leaders im-

(May 1835): 120–22.

⁵Ebenezer Robinson, "Items of Personal History of the Editor," *The Return* [Davis City, Iowa], 1, no. 4 (April 1889): 57–58.

⁶"Copy of Don Carlos Smith's family record written by his own hand," ca. 1840, 8, LDS Church History Library; Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 41.

⁷Jessee, Ashurst-McGee, and Jensen, *Joseph Smith Papers, Journals, Volume 1*, 155.

⁸*Ibid.*, 21.

⁹Robinson, "Items of Personal History," *The Return* 2, no. 7 (July 1890): 302.

pressed Robinson. He found the Latter-day Saints pious in their religious habits, describing them as a people who “more perfectly practiced the gospel . . . than any people [I] had ever before known.” While living at the Prophet’s house, Robinson was touched by Joseph’s religiosity, which included praying over meals and gathering the family together for worship both morning and evening. These religious habits coincided precisely with Robinson’s own traditions, and the warmth among the Saints also met with his expectation of the fellowship a religious community should engender.¹⁰

Although no one proselytized Robinson directly, while Robinson was living at the Smith home, Joseph told him, “When you are baptized I want to baptize you.” A short time later, the two walked together to the printing office in the evening after dinner. Joseph asked Robinson directly, “You will help us build Zion, wont you?” Though Robinson did not respond immediately to either of these statements, he shortly thereafter felt a “peaceful spirit” confirm the truthfulness of the Book of Mormon and the Latter-day Saint gospel. Joseph Smith had his desire fulfilled when he baptized Robinson in the Chagrin River in October 1835.¹¹ Two months later, on December 13, Joseph Smith officiated when Robinson married Angeline Eliza Works, a twenty-one-year-old Saint.¹²

Following his conversion, Robinson’s commitment was immediately tested. Soon after his baptism, Oliver Cowdery called Ebenezer to a meeting in the president’s office and informed him that the Church could no longer afford to pay the salary he had been receiving. Surprised at this turn of events, Robinson’s first thought was to leave Kirtland, as he knew that his skills could command higher wages in Ohio’s more populous areas. Upon further reflection however, Robinson realized that he greatly desired to continue his labors in a place where he could enjoy the society of the Saints and help build Zion: “I told Brother Cowdery I would let him know, and returned to my work setting type as before, but my heart was full, and I looked to my heav-

¹⁰Robinson, “Items of Personal History,” April 1889, 58.

¹¹Ibid.; Robinson, “Items of Personal History,” *The Return* 1, no. 5 (May 1889): 74; Jessee, Ashurst-McGee, and Jensen, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Journals, Volume 1*, 72.

¹²Milton V. Backman Jr., *A Profile of Latter-day Saints of Kirtland, Ohio, and Members of Zion’s Camp, 1830–1839*, 2d ed. rev. (Provo, Utah: Department of Church History and Doctrine, 1983), 119.

enly Father with all the feelings of my soul, and dropping my face upon my hands, as I stood at the case, said: 'Father what shall I do?' In an instant the answer came in words clear and distinct, 'Stay and be happy.' I went directly to Brother Cowdery and told him I would stay."¹³

Robinson accepted the reduced salary of eleven dollars a month to remain with the Saints in Kirtland.¹⁴ With increased devotion, Robinson and Smith redoubled their efforts in publishing the monthly *Messenger and Advocate* newspaper, under its new editor John Whitmer.¹⁵ In addition, the two assisted in publishing the first edition of the Doctrine and Covenants and the Church's first hymnal, both in 1835. In the winter of 1836–37, they lent their skill to the publication of the second edition of the Book of Mormon, for which Robinson helped set the type.¹⁶ Don Carlos's responsibilities also increased in 1837, as evidenced by his more prominent role in the prospectus for a new paper, the *Elders' Journal*. All letters sent to Kirtland for the newspaper were directed to Don Carlos as he oversaw the paper's publication.¹⁷

The *Elders' Journal* was short lived, however. In the middle of the night on January 16, 1838, the Saints were awakened by shouts of "Fire!" An arsonist had apparently ignited the printing office, possibly intending to burn the temple as well. One onlooker, Caroline Barnes Crosby, gazed in disbelief out of her window to see "the ground as light as day, while the sky was as black as a thundercloud." As she opened her door, she saw "the printing office all in flames, and men assembling from every direction, in great haste." But "they were all to[o] late," and the printing office burned to the ground.¹⁸

Members of the Church felt that their enemies had been responsible for destroying the building. The Church's newspaper later re-

¹³Robinson, "Items of Personal History," May 1889, 75–76. Robinson indicated that he referred to himself as "we" and "our"; I have silently restored the correct singular pronouns.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 75.

¹⁵John Whitmer, "To the Patrons of the Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate," *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* 1, no. 9 (June 1835): 135–37.

¹⁶Robinson, "Items of Personal History," *The Return* 2, no. 5 (May 1990): 258.

¹⁷Sidney Rigdon, "Prospectus," *Messenger and Advocate* 3, no. 12 (September 1837): 571–74.

¹⁸Edward Leo Lyman, Susan Ward Payne, and S. George Ellsworth,

ported that “wicked men . . . got possession of the Printing Office, and knowing they could not hold it, it was burned.”¹⁹ As a result, the Church’s printing enterprise at Kirtland came to an abrupt halt. Along with interrupting the publication of the *Elders’ Journal* after only two issues (October and November), the fire also destroyed copies of the recently published 1837 edition of the Book of Mormon. Some of the Saints attempted to salvage some of the books while the building was burning, but many of those were scorched beyond repair. The burning of the printing office coincided with the disbanding of the Church at Kirtland.²⁰

As Church headquarters shifted from Ohio to Missouri in early 1838, a printing office was established at Far West, Missouri, with a new press. Two more issues of the *Elders’ Journal* appeared in July and August 1838. Thomas B. Marsh was designated editor of the paper during this brief two-month period, and Don Carlos Smith appears to have played only a minor role in its publication, if any at all. Smith settled near Adam-Ondi-Ahman, some thirty miles away from the printing office at Far West, and then went on a three-month mission beginning in late September.²¹ Robinson, on the other hand, remained active in the printing office. He continued to act as printer of the *Elders’ Journal*, and published a pamphlet containing Sidney Rigdon’s inflammatory July 4th speech announcing the Mormons’ determination to resist oppression.²² Members of the Church were encouraged to purchase a copy, so as to have an “outline of the suffering and persecutions of the

eds., *No Place to Call Home: The 1807–1857 Writings of Caroline Barnes Crosby* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2005), 48–49.

¹⁹“Prospectus for the Elders’ Journal” *Elder’s Journal* 1, no. 3 (July 1838): 34.

²⁰Lyman, Payne, and Ellsworth, *No Place to Call Home*, 49. It remains unknown just how many copies of the second edition actually survived, but it remains the most difficult to obtain. Crawley, *A Descriptive Bibliography*, 67.

²¹Roy B. Huff and Kyle R. Walker, “Don Carlos Smith,” in *United by Faith: The Joseph Sr. and Lucy Mack Smith Family*, edited by Kyle R. Walker (American Fork, Utah: Covenant Communications, 2005), 371–75.

²²Toward the pamphlet’s conclusion, Rigdon defiantly warned that, if a mob disturbed the Saints, “it shall be between us and them a war of extermination, for we will follow them, till the last drop of their blood is spilled, or else they will have to exterminate us: for we will carry the seat of war to

Church from its rise” and to solidify its position of no longer tolerating mob violence.²³ Rigdon’s ill-advised speech, along with Robinson’s publication and distribution of its contents, contributed to the escalation of conflict between Mormons and the Missourians. Robinson remembered, “This oration, and the stand taken by the church in endorsing it, and its publication, undoubtedly exerted a powerful influence in arousing the people of the whole upper Missouri country.” Robinson afterwards regretted the role he had played, and lamented the fact that “heart-felt regrets will not undo the past.”²⁴

By October the printing operation at Far West was suspended, due to the increasing conflict between the Saints and the Missourians. Later that month, Far West was besieged by the Missouri militia. While Joseph Smith and other Church leaders negotiated with the militia—ending in the arrest of these leaders and the surrender of the refugee-filled city, “the press was taken down and the type hastily boxed and buried, in the night, and a haystack put over it.”²⁵

Robinson was among those arrested. He spent over a month in prison at Richmond, Missouri, but was released “upon a light bail” during early December 1839.²⁶ By late January, he and Angeline had walked the two hundred snowy miles from Far West to Quincy, Illi-

their own houses, and their own families, and one party or the other shall be utterly destroyed.” Sidney Rigdon, *Oration Delivered by Mr. S. Rigdon on the 4th of July, 1838* (Far West, Mo.: Journal Office, 1838); see also Crawley, *A Descriptive Bibliography*, 1:80–81.

²³“In This Paper . . .”, *Elders’ Journal* 1, no. 4 (August 1838): 54.

²⁴Robinson, “Items of Personal History,” *The Return* 1, no. 11 (November 1889): 171. According to Jedediah M. Grant, *A Collection of Facts, Relative to the Course Taken by Elder Sidney Rigdon* (Philadelphia, 1844), 11, Rigdon’s speech “was the main auxiliary that fanned into a flame the burning wrath of the mobocratic portion of the Missourians.” Quoted in Crawley, *A Descriptive Bibliography*, 1:80. Brigham Young called Rigdon “the prime cause of our troubles in Missouri, by his fourth of July oration.” *Times and Seasons* 5, no. 13 (October 1, 1844): 667.

²⁵Robinson, “Items of Personal History,” November 1889, 170. *History of the Church* 4:398, identified the location as a Mr. Dawson’s yard.

²⁶Robinson was arrested in early November and was jailed first in the unfinished Richmond Courthouse, then in the Richmond Jail. He was imprisoned with a different party than Joseph Smith’s group but attended the same hearings as the Prophet during November. Robinson, “Items of Per-

nois. They arrived in Illinois destitute, with only a dollar in hand. Once again, Robinson's skill as a printer proved fortunate. He approached the publishers of a local newspaper, the *Quincy Whig*, asking for employment. The printers compassionately provided temporary housing and wages of a dollar a day for his labors in their office. Robinson gratefully accepted, and these desperately needed wages allowed Robinson to purchase one of the few existing homes at Commerce in May 1839—a log house on the north end of the bend of the Mississippi.²⁷

During this same time period, Don Carlos Smith moved his elderly parents and other members of the Smith family from Missouri to Quincy. Then with some of his brothers, Don Carlos accepted an offer from George Miller (not a Mormon at that point), to farm at Macomb, Illinois, repairing and living in some dilapidated log houses on the property. It was while Don Carlos was living at Macomb that Joseph visited him in June 1839 and asked him to come to Nauvoo to revive the printing office.²⁸

By that time, Hyrum Clark, Elias Smith, and several others had dug up the printing press and type from Dawson's yard in Far West and hauled it to Nauvoo.²⁹ Years later, Robinson recollected: "At a council of the First Presidency and other authorities of the church, early in June [1839], it was decided to let Don Carlos Smith, and the writer [Ebenezer Robinson], (as we were practical printers,) have the printing press and type which had been saved from the mob in Missouri . . . and that we should publish a paper for the church, or a church paper, at our own expense and responsibility, and receive all the profits arising therefrom. The council

sonal History," *The Return* 2, no. 3 (March 1890): 234–36; Leland Homer Gentry, *A History of the Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri from 1836 to 1839* (Provo, Utah: Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History and BYU Studies, 2000), 190–97.

²⁷Ebenezer Robinson, "Testimony on the Book of Mormon," *Saints' Herald* 33 (December 11, 1886): 779; Robinson, "Items of Personal History," March 1890, 234–36; Robinson, "Items of Personal History," *The Return* 2, no. 4 (April 1890): 243.

²⁸Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 254–56, 261; Jessee, Ashurst-McGee, and Jensen, *The Joseph Smith Papers: Journals, Volume 1*, 341–43; see also Huff and Walker, "Don Carlos Smith," 375–76.

²⁹*History of the Church*, 4:398

named said paper *Times and Seasons*.”³⁰

Ebenezer Robinson and Don Carlos Smith were logical choices for printers. Many who had earlier been involved with the Church’s newspapers were now unavailable. Oliver Cowdery, Thomas B. Marsh, W. W. Phelps, John Whitmer, and Wilbur Denton had all left the Church by the summer of 1839.³¹ Robinson and Smith, in contrast, had remained loyal during the disaffection in Kirtland and the Missouri conflict. They were also anxious to get the printing press back into working order and renew their efforts. The arrangement proposed by the council would not only supply means to provide for their families but would also meet the Church’s printing needs.

Some of the type had apparently been ruined because of the damp ground where it had been buried.³² Before the month’s end, however, Robinson and Smith were working at cleaning the “Missouri soil” from the type and press, despite a far from pleasant location—the dank cellar of an old warehouse near the Mississippi River with a dirt floor. To make circumstances more uncomfortable, a spring of water constantly trickled through the room. While working conditions were less than ideal, the publishing partnership managed to salvage some type, purchased another fifty dollars worth of the same type font from Isaac Galland on credit, and borrowed an additional fifty dollars to purchase paper. By July 1839, they mailed a prospectus for the *Times and Seasons* to Church leaders serving throughout the country.³³

By dint of hard labor, they managed to set type for the paper’s

³⁰Robinson, “Items of Personal History,” May 1890, 257.

³¹In addition, Frederick G. Williams was disaffected from the Church while in Kirtland. Though he had been rebaptized by August 5, 1838, it wasn’t until April 6, 1840, at a Church conference, that he was received back into fellowship. *History of the Church*, 3:55; 4:110.

³²Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 290; *History of the Church*, 4:398.

³³Robinson, “Items of Personal History,” May 1890, 257; Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 290; *History of the Church*, 4:398. In addition to their trade as printers, both Robinson and Don Carlos Smith fulfilled exacting ecclesiastical and public responsibilities during this time period. Robinson, who had served as a clerk and recorder in Missouri, served as a justice of the peace and as a regent for the University of Nauvoo. Smith continued to serve as president of the high priests, was third in command in the growing Nauvoo Legion, and helped form the Nauvoo Agriculture and Manu-

first number in July, printed two hundred copies, and wet down paper³⁴ sufficient for an additional two thousand copies. The sheer amount of work required to launch the printing establishment, combined with the difficult working conditions, undermined their health. Like many of the Saints in Nauvoo that first year, Robinson suffered with “chills and fever” (malaria). Both he and Angeline struggled with the illness for many months, which prevented him from continuing his work on the paper.³⁵

Meanwhile, Don Carlos’s wife and daughters were still living in Macomb; and after a short visit to them, he returned to Nauvoo to find that “nothing had been done in the [printing] office” in his absence, due to Robinson’s illness. Nor could Don Carlos devote his efforts to the next issue of the paper, since Joseph commissioned him to begin administering to the numerous sick with his cousin, George A. Smith. On July 25, Don Carlos wrote to Agnes: “I have done but little labour since I returned, except struggling against the destroyer, and attending upon the sick—there are not well ones enough to take care of the sick.” The two began at Joseph Smith’s home with instructions to administer to every sick person between there and Ebenezer Robinson’s home on the north end of the city. George A. Smith remembered that “a great number . . . were instantly healed, and gave glory to God, [and] some of them assisted to administer to others who were

facturing Association. Donald Q. Cannon and Lyndon W. Cook, eds., *Far West Record: Minutes of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830–1844* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1983), 158; Huff and Walker, “Don Carlos Smith,” 382.

³⁴The process of wetting down paper was “necessary in the early days of printing because of the non-uniformity of the height of the type used, and because type was used longer and therefore, wore down more. In addition, the early hand-operated presses were not as powerful as later presses. Slightly dampened paper takes ink more readily than dry paper and does not require as much pressure to make the impression on the softened surface of the paper.” Matt T. Roberts and Don Etherington, *Bookbinding and the Conservation of Books: A Dictionary of Descriptive Terminology* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1982), 282.

³⁵Robinson, “Items of Personal History,” May 1890, 257; Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 290. Robinson indicated that his wife was “taken sick the very next day after I was, which sickness continued ten months.”

sick.” Don Carlos corroborated: “I never had so great power over disease, as I have had this week.” Apparently the Robinsons were not among those who were instantly healed. By the time the Smith cousins reached the north end of the city, they found Angeline Robinson “nigh unto death.”³⁶

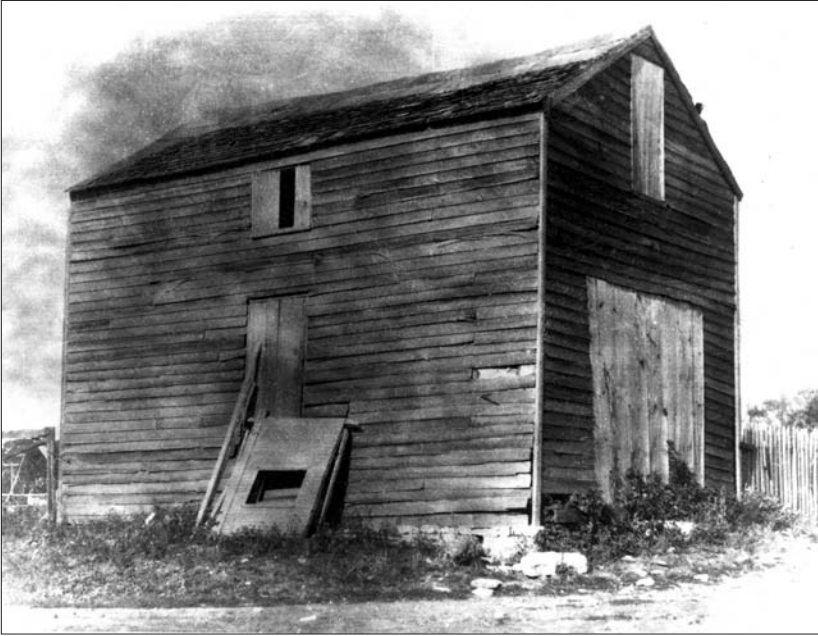
As soon as Don Carlos finished his healing mission, he forged ahead in publishing the *Times and Seasons* without his partner. Then, he, too, fell ill, but not with malaria. According to his mother, “the dampness of the place, together with his labour, caused him to take a severe cold, with which he was sick some time.”³⁷ During his illness, the paper he and Robinson had wet down in preparation for printing mildewed and became unusable.³⁸ Don Carlos, though ailing, managed to mail out two hundred copies of the *Times and Seasons* to subscribers, and new subscriptions rolled in. Within a matter of weeks, the partners were able to finance the construction of a new printing office on the northeast corner of Water and Bain streets. Almost certainly, they could not pay cash for the whole amount; but the paper’s prospects were healthy enough that they obtained credit for the rest. Robinson described the new location as a “cheap frame building . . . one and a half stories high, [with] the lower room to be used for the printing office.” In August, the partners eagerly moved their operations to the new location.³⁹ It was not until November, however, that Don Carlos felt well enough to

³⁶Don C. Smith, Letter to Beloved [Agnes Smith], Commerce, Illinois, July 25, 1839, in Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 290–91; see also George A. Smith Papers, 1834–75, Box 1, fd. 2, “Memoirs of George A. Smith,” in Richard E. Turley, 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, [December 2002]), 1:32.

³⁷Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 290.

³⁸Robinson, “Items of Personal History,” May 1890, 257.

³⁹*Ibid.*, 258. Some “friends moved myself and wife into the upper room, or chamber, in the latter part of August [1839].” He further recalled that “Brother Carlos and myself had each of us a log house built on a lot donated to us by the Church, situated on a block next to the one on which the printing office was located, and moved into the same in early spring [1840].” *Ibid.* Don Carlos’s family likely moved from this log home into the printing office before his death, as it was common knowledge that he resided in the printing office. Joseph F. Smith, Letter to Levira A. Smith, June



The Times and Seasons printing office. Though abandoned at the time this photograph was taken, Ebenezer Robinson and Don Carlos Smith were moving up from the dank basement of an unknown building when they were able to construct this simple frame building in the summer of 1839. Courtesy Community of Christ Archives.

finish printing the projected two thousand copies of the *Times and Seasons*'s first issue.⁴⁰

THE 1840 EDITION OF THE BOOK OF MORMON

From November the paper appeared at regularly monthly intervals.⁴¹ The printing partners then turned their attention toward additional publications. In December 1839, Robinson and Smith published a regretful notice indicating that they had received many requests for Church books, including the scriptures, but had none

28, 1860, LDS Church History Library.

⁴⁰Ebenezer Robinson and Don Carlos Smith, "Address," *Times and Seasons* 1, no. 1 (November 1839): 1.

⁴¹After the first year of publication, in November 1840, the *Times and Seasons* was appearing on the first and fifteenth of each month.

on hand. Perhaps the most crucial was the 1837 edition of the Book of Mormon, but there was “not a copy, or scarce a single work now to be obtained.”⁴² “Calls were made for the Book of Mormon,” Robinson recollected, “but there were none on hand to supply the demand.”⁴³ When they brought the need to Church leaders’ attention, the First Presidency and Nauvoo High Council authorized the project in December 1839: “*Resolved*, . . . that the Book of Mormon be re-printed in this place, under the inspection of the Presidency, as soon as monies can be raised to defray the expenses.”⁴⁴ But defraying the expenses was the snag that delayed the project.

Cognizant of the Saints’ desire to obtain copies of the Book of Mormon, Robinson and Smith struggled for months to find a way to finance its publication. “Consultation was held upon the subject of getting another edition of the Book of Mormon printed, to supply the demand,” Robinson recalled.⁴⁵ However, the Saints were destitute after losing their homes and property in Missouri; supplying basic necessities strained every resource. By the spring of 1840, no solution had presented itself.

Reluctant to let the matter drop, in April, Robinson and Smith advertised for a loan: “WANTED, One thousand dollars, to be appropriated to BOOK printing, on a loan of six to twelve months, for which real estate property will be given for security.” Receiving no response, Robinson and Smith advertised again in May, the next month, this time lowering the amount to five hundred dollars.⁴⁶ Again they received no response. Recalled Robinson, “In view of our extreme poverty, consequent to our so recently having been driven from our homes, the idea was abandoned, for want of the necessary funds to accomplish such a work.”⁴⁷

Still, Robinson felt the responsibility keenly. Before the month’s end, as he was walking to the printing office, he experienced “a mani-

⁴²Ebenezer Robinson and Don Carlos Smith, “We Are Favored . . .,” *Times and Seasons* 1, no. 2 (December 1839): 25.

⁴³Robinson, “Items of Personal History,” May 1890, 258.

⁴⁴Robinson and Smith, “We Are Favored . . .,” 25.

⁴⁵Robinson, “Items of Personal History,” May 1890, 258.

⁴⁶Ebenezer Robinson and Don Carlos Smith, “Wanted,” *Times and Seasons* 1, no. 6 (April 1840): 91; Robinson and Smith, “Wanted,” *Times and Seasons* 1, no. 7 (May 1840): 112.

⁴⁷Robinson, “Items of Personal History,” May 1890, 258.

festation from the Lord, such an one as I never received before or since. It seemed that a ball of fire came down from above and striking the top of my head passed down into my heart, and told me, in plain and distinct language, what course to pursue and I could get the Book of Mormon stereotyped and printed.”⁴⁸

The plan included raising some initial funds to begin the project, after which Robinson was to go east to Ohio to get the book both stereotyped⁴⁹ and printed. The earlier plan had apparently involved only stereotyping, but the inspiration would allow them to print the book at the same time as the plates were being created, greatly expediting the process of publication. Robinson described the details of this revelatory experience:

[I was] to go to Cincinnati, and as the plates were being stereotyped hire a press and get the books struck off form by form, so that when the last set of plates was done, the books should be ready for delivery. . . . I was to send circulars to the different branches, that for every hundred dollars they would send us, we would send them one hundred and ten copies of the Book of Mormon, and in that same ratio throughout. God promised [me] that by the time we got the books out we would have money enough to pay for them; at least we would be able to meet the expense that way. The matter was so plain that I knew all about it. From that minute I knew just what to do.⁵⁰

That same morning as this manifestation, Robinson eagerly told Don Carlos his impressions. As the Prophet Joseph entered the printing office later that same morning, Robinson confidently proposed: “Brother Joseph, if you will furnish \$200, and give us the privilege of printing two thousand copies of the Book of Mormon, [Don] Carlos and I will get \$200 more and we will get it stereotyped and give you the plates.” Joseph reflected for several minutes on the proposal, and

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Stereotyping is the creation of a solid plate or type-metal, cast from a mold taken from the surface of a form of type. The plates thus created could then be used for printing in place of the original, eliminating the arduous task of re-typesetting the pages each time the book was to be printed. Church leaders likely discussed this method of printing as the most economical way to reproduce the Book of Mormon, as it would allow them to continue to print the Book of Mormon as demand warranted.

⁵⁰Ebenezer Robinson, “A Historical Reminiscence,” *Saints’ Herald* 30 (March 1883): 146.

then agreed to try and do his part. They gave themselves two weeks to secure the money.⁵¹

Don Carlos and Ebenezer found a Nauvoo resident who loaned them \$145 for one year at 35 percent interest, and 6 percent interest thereafter if not paid on time. Robinson and Smith agreed to the terms of this loan even as they tried to obtain additional monies. For his part, however, Joseph was unsuccessful. He informed the printers, “Brother Robinson, if you and Carlos get the Book of Mormon stereotyped you will have to furnish the money, as I cannot get the \$200.” Despite these discouraging results, Joseph consented for the two printers to move ahead with the project. Robinson proposed increasing the print run to four thousand copies but likely reduced that amount to two thousand given the financial strictures. “We then made a strenuous effort to raise more money, but signally failed, and did not succeed in raising another dollar for that purpose.”⁵²

Worried about the high rate of interest they would be required to repay, Don Carlos recommended that Ebenezer use the money in Cincinnati to buy some type and paper they could use for the *Times and Seasons*. Robinson’s focus on the Book of Mormon, however, was unwavering. He told Don Carlos, “Yes, I will go [to Cincinnati], but I will not come home until the Book of Mormon is stereotyped.” In fact, after his spiritual manifestation, getting the Book of Mormon published “was as fire shut up in my bones, both day and night.” He was firmly convinced that, if he could get to Cincinnati, he could accomplish the work.⁵³

Don Carlos was skeptical at first, given the shortage of money and the Prophet’s personal inability to persuade anyone to contribute. Others, including Hyrum Smith, also expressed doubt that Robinson could achieve such a large-scale project. However, the Prophet remained supportive, pronouncing “God bless you” in the endeavor.⁵⁴ Joseph’s conviction about the miracles involved in the publication of the 1830 edition of the Book of Mormon may have influenced his support of Ebenezer’s and Don Carlos’s efforts. In addition, Joseph may have been more keenly aware of the need for additional copies of the Book of Mormon, as the success of the Twelve’s

⁵¹Robinson, “Items of Personal History,” May 1890, 258.

⁵²*Ibid.*, 258–59.

⁵³*Ibid.*

⁵⁴*Ibid.*

mission to Great Britain had increased the demand for the Book of Mormon, the Church hymnal, and the Doctrine and Covenants. In May 1840, about the same time Ebenezer and Don Carlos were trying to raise money for the book's publication, Brigham Young wrote asking permission to publish the Book of Mormon in Great Britain. The English Saints were "calling for books from every quarter." Like Robinson, Young felt a sense of urgency about reprinting the book. If he had his way, he would "hand the Book of Mormon to this people as quickly as I could," for they "beg and plead for the Book."⁵⁵

In July 1840, Joseph gave the Twelve permission to publish 3,000 copies of the Book of Mormon in England, but he also recognized the need for another American edition.⁵⁶ Orson Hyde and John E. Page, who had just been called to go to Palestine, also wrote to Joseph in May 1840, lamenting that the shortage of scriptures was so severe that they had had to leave on their mission without them. They also sought permission to publish the Book of Mormon and other Church books, although it never materialized.⁵⁷ Indeed, as Don Carlos Smith editorialized in the July issue of the *Times and Seasons*, Nauvoo was ringing with a "universal cry [of] 'Books,' 'we want books,' &c and none could be had."⁵⁸

With Joseph's approbation of the project accompanying Robinson's spiritual manifestation of how it was to be accomplished,

⁵⁵Brigham Young, Lugwardine, Herefordshire, England, Letter to Joseph Smith, May 7, 1840, Joseph Smith Letterbook 2, 151–53, LDS Church History Library.

⁵⁶Joseph authorized Lorenzo Snow to send a letter granting the Twelve in England "permission to publish the Book of Mormon." Joseph Smith, Letter to Lorenzo Snow, July 19, 1840, Joseph Smith Collection Letterbook 2:153, LDS Church History Library. Joseph wrote the Twelve again in December: "In my former epistle I told you my mind respecting the printing of the Book of Mormon. . . . I am informed that the Book of Mormon is likewise printed [actually, the printing was not complete until February 1841], which I am glad to hear, and should be pleased to hear that it was printed in all the different languages of the earth." Jesse, *Personal Writings*, 515–22.

⁵⁷Orson Hyde and John E. Page, Columbus, Ohio, Letter to Joseph Smith, May 7, 1840, Columbus, Ohio, Joseph Smith Letterbook 2:144–45.

⁵⁸Don Carlos Smith, "BOOKS!!!" *Times and Seasons* 1, no 9 (July 1840): 139.

Robinson set events in motion. In early June 1840, Joseph Smith and Robinson began making corrections to be incorporated into a new edition of the Book of Mormon. Robinson remembered that he and Joseph “took the Palmyra edition and the Kirtland edition . . . and we compared them, reading the book entirely through.”⁵⁹ Royal Skousen’s research indicates that the two men also consulted the original (dictated) manuscript of the Book of Mormon. When Oliver Cowdery had copied the original manuscript to use as the printer’s manuscript for typesetting in 1830, he inadvertently made a number of errors. Since the 1830 edition was the source for the 1837 edition, these errors had continued to be perpetuated in subsequent reprintings.⁶⁰ Comparing the 1830 and 1837 editions of the Book of Mormon to the original, dictated manuscript allowed Joseph Smith and Ebenezer Robinson to correct those errors.⁶¹ Robinson described the original manuscript as being “written mostly in Oliver Cowdery’s handwriting” but that “some parts of it were written in other handwriting.”⁶²

While most of the corrections Joseph and Ebenezer made for

⁵⁹Robinson, “A Historical Reminiscence,” 146.

⁶⁰According to Royal Skousen, “The Book of Mormon Critical Text Project,” in *Joseph Smith: The Prophet, the Man*, edited by Susan Easton Black and Charles D. Tate Jr. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1993), 68, 71–72, Oliver Cowdery averaged two to three mistakes per manuscript page in creating the printer’s manuscript. “The errors frequently occur in groups, which seems to indicate [the] tiring of the scribe.” Skousen also found that the Book of Mormon’s original manuscript was likely used for typesetting the 1830 edition from what is now Helaman 13 through Mormon in the current (1981) edition.

⁶¹Stan Larson, “Early Book of Mormon Texts: Textual Changes to the Book of Mormon in 1837 and 1840,” *Sunstone* 1, no. 4 (Fall 1976): 52; Hugh G. Stocks, “The Book of Mormon, 1830–1879: A Publishing History” (M.A. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1979), 61. When Oliver Cowdery left the Church in 1838, he took the printer’s manuscript with him. Royal Skousen, *The Printer’s Manuscript of the Book of Mormon* (Provo, Utah: FARMS and Brigham Young University, 2001), 4. This was probably the reason Joseph Smith and Ebenezer Robinson decided to consult the original, rather than the printer’s, manuscript.

⁶²Supporting Robinson’s recollections, Royal Skousen, *The Original Manuscript of the Book of Mormon* (Provo, Utah: FARMS and Brigham Young

the 1840 edition were grammatical, there were several noteworthy alterations. For example, the phrase “white and delightsome people” was changed to read “pure and delightsome people” (2 Ne. 30:6 in the current, 1981 LDS edition). Robinson remembered one additional change, termed an “explanatory addition,” where Joseph Smith inserted a clarification in parentheses that does not appear in earlier editions or the original manuscript.⁶³ The title page was also changed so that the first twenty-three lines were moved from the copyright title page (in the 1830 and 1837 editions) to page 3, and the lines were credited to “Moroni.” The statement, “CAREFULLY REVISED BY THE TRANSLATOR,” was also added to the copyright title page. All of these alterations, totaling about forty-seven in number, were penciled in on a copy of the 1837 edition of the Book of Mormon.⁶⁴

By mid-June Robinson and Joseph Smith had completed their editorial work. On June 18, Robinson boarded the steamer *Brazil*, which made regular trips from Galena, Illinois, to Cincinnati, Ohio, stopping at Nauvoo each way. Captained by Orrin Smith, the recently constructed *Brazil* contained spacious rooms, advertised as featuring a comfortable bed and a “wash-stand and other necessary articles of

University, 2001), 6, has identified at least two additional scribes for the original manuscript besides Oliver Cowdery and Joseph Smith. Robinson, “Items of Personal History,” *The Return* 2, no. 8 (August 1890): 315, said he was “intimately acquainted” with Cowdery’s penmanship, because he had “set many pages of type from his [Cowdery’s] handwriting in the church printing office at Kirtland, Ohio.” He also pointed out that he had seen and reviewed both the original and printer’s manuscripts.

⁶³In 1 Nephi 20:1 (LDS 1981 edition), Joseph added to the phrase “out of the waters of Judah,” the clarification “(or out of the waters of baptism).” Stan Larson, “Changes in Early Texts of the Book of Mormon,” *Ensign*, September 1976, 82.

⁶⁴Many of these changes would not be incorporated into subsequent LDS editions of the Book of Mormon until the twentieth century, some not until the 1981 edition of the Book of Mormon. However, RLDS editions incorporated the changes as found in the 1840 edition of the Book of Mormon. Stan Larson, “A Study of Some Textual Variations in the Book of Mormon Comparing the Original and the Printer’s Manuscripts and the 1830, the 1837, and the 1840 Editions” (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1974), 278–87; Crawley, *A Descriptive Bibliography*, 1:132.

This may certify that for value received in stereotype plates of the Book of Mormon, I hereby grant to Robinson & Smith printers of Nauvoo Hancock Co. Ills, the privilege of printing Two thousand five hundred copies of the Book of Mormon, including the edition, which said Robinson & Smith have already printed, said Robinson and Smith to have the use of the said Stereotype plates for printing the remainder of the two thousand ^{five hundred} ~~five hundred~~ copies.

Given under my hand and seal
 the fourteenth day of Decr. A. D. 1840

Robert B. Thompson
 Joseph Smith

2000 of the above Book Printed.
 C. Robinson

The 1840 Book of Mormon publishing contract, signed on December 14, 1840 by Joseph Smith and witnessed by his clerk, Robert B. Thompson. It reads: "This may certify that for value received in stereotype plates of the Book of Mormon, I hereby grant to Robinson & Smith printers of Nauvoo Hancock Co. Ills, the privilege [sic] of printing Two thousand five hundred copies of the Book of Mormon, including the edition, which said Robinson & Smith have already [sic] printed, said Robinson and Smith to have the use of the said Stereotype plates for printing the remainder of the two thousand <five hundred> copies." Robinson wrote and signed a comment on the foot of the document: "2000 of the above Book Printed." Courtesy Community of Christ Archives

toilet."⁶⁵ Robinson carried in his pocket the corrected copy of the 1837 edition of the Book of Mormon and in his heart a firm conviction that the 1840 edition would be published with the Lord's help.

⁶⁵Wm. J. Peterson, *Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi: The Water Way to Iowa* (Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1937), 262. The *Brazil* was built in 1838, presumably by its captain, Orrin Smith. One editor

Aboard the *Brazil*, he traveled down the Mississippi River and up the Ohio, reaching Cincinnati, known as the “Queen City.” As the largest city west of the Appalachian Mountains with the exception of New Orleans, Cincinnati was an antebellum boomtown. The city had nearly doubled its population in the past decade, from 24,148 in 1829, to 46,382 in 1840.⁶⁶ More importantly, Cincinnati had become a major manufacturing center in the United States.

Even though St. Louis, Missouri, was closer to Nauvoo and also expanding rapidly, it still lacked paper mills as late as the early 1850s. Historian Jon Teaford has noted that while St. Louis “was perhaps the greatest port,” Cincinnati was “the preeminent workshop” and industrial center.⁶⁷ Even more to the point, Cincinnati was at the forefront of the western book trade. “Vast numbers of literate Americans [were] peopling the new states and territories,” creating “a market which challenged Cincinnati paper makers, publishers, pressmen, stereotypers, binders, booksellers, and book agents to provide needed volumes in such quantities as to leave no doubt of the city’s right to its title as the ‘Literary Emporium of the West.’”⁶⁸ In 1831 alone, Cincinnati had produced approximately 350,000 books. Ten years later—about the time Robinson arrived—Cincinnati was producing an estimated one to two million volumes a year.⁶⁹ Having lived in Ohio during this period of Cincinnati’s remarkable growth, both Ebenezer Robinson and Don Carlos Smith would have been aware of the city’s preeminence when it came to book publishing.

described the “splendor” of the new boat and “spoke wistfully of the gay crowd aboard.” Excursions included music and dancing. Peterson, *Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi*, 259–60, quoting items from the *Iowa [Dubuque] News*, May 19 and June 16, 1838.

⁶⁶John J. Rowe, “Cincinnati’s Early Cultural and Educational Enterprises,” *Quarterly Bulletin of the Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society* 8 (1930): 211–16.

⁶⁷Jon C. Teaford, *Cities of the Heartland: The Rise and Fall of the Industrial Midwest* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 13–16.

⁶⁸Walter Sutton, “Cincinnati as a Frontier Publishing and Book Trade Center, 1796–1830,” *Ohio History: The Scholarly Journal of the Ohio Historical Society* 56, no. 2 (April 1947): 143.

⁶⁹Teaford, *Cities of the Heartland*, 13–16, notes: “By 1850 the Midwest metropolis [of Cincinnati] ranked fourth in the nation in output of books, behind only New York, Philadelphia, and Boston.”



Cincinnati's Public Landing, 1841. Rows of steamboats and a bustling landing attest to Cincinnati's commercial prominence during the first half of the nineteenth century. Engraving by Doolittle & Munson in Charles Cist, Cincinnati in 1841: Its Early Annals and Future Prospects (Cincinnati: E. Morgan & Co., 1841), Frontispiece.

As soon as he stepped off the boat, Robinson purchased enough paper to print subsequent issues of the *Times and Seasons*, had the paper loaded aboard the *Brazil*, and paid for its delivery to Nauvoo on the steamer's return trip. With only about \$105 left of his initial capital, Robinson mused, "now came the trial of my faith." He was tempted to just get back on board the steamer and return to Nauvoo. He fought down his doubts, though the dilemma of getting the Book of Mormon printed with such a small amount of cash in hand made "big drops of sweat roll from my face." He recounted his determination: "I came for that purpose [of getting the Book of Mormon printed], and did not propose to return until it was done. . . . I did not give up . . . for one instant, or swerve from my purpose, although I was there a stranger in a strange city, not knowing a single person there."⁷⁰

Robinson asked a passerby where the nearest stereotype foundry was located. He was initially directed to a foundry on Pearl Street; but as he entered the building, he felt a sense of foreboding. He inquired about their prices but sensed it was not the right place and felt

⁷⁰Robinson, "Items of Personal History," May 1890, 259.

relieved once he left the building. Robinson was then directed to another foundry, located on “Bank Alley, off Third Street, owned by [C. K.] Gleason [Glezen] and [Edwin] Shepard.”⁷¹ As soon as he heard the name, he felt certain that it would be the right place:

I soon found the other foundry, and as I entered the office, I saw three gentlemen standing by the desk, in conversation. I asked if Messrs. Gleason and Shepard were in. A gentleman stepped forward and said, “My name is Gleason.” I said, “I have come to get the Book of Mormon stereotyped.” Mr. Shepard stepped forward and said, “When that book is stereotyped I am the man to stereotype it.” “All right,” I says, “here is the book, let us see what you will do it for.” I told him I wanted it in new brevier type. He went to the case and set up a line of brevier type, and figured it up, and then he stated, “We will furnish you the plates for five hundred and fifty dollars.” I told him that I had one hundred dollars to pay in hand, and would pay two hundred and fifty dollars more in three months, or while he was doing the work, and the remaining two hundred dollars within three months after the work was done. He said he would do that, and sat down and immediately wrote out the contract accordingly, which we both signed.⁷²

Before walking into the office of Glezen and Shepard, Robinson was apparently unaware that these printers had, only a few months earlier, published a pamphlet by Sidney Rigdon. Church leaders had assigned Orson Hyde and George W. Robinson to publish Rigdon’s pamphlet on the Missouri persecutions, and they had also gone to Cincinnati and selected Glezen and Shepard as publishers.⁷³ It seems likely that the printers would have informed Ebenezer of their recent work in behalf of the Latter-day Saints, solidifying his feeling that he had come to the right place to get the Book of Mormon reprinted. Robinson indicated that, shortly after he signed the contract, Glezen sold out of the partnership. Shepard then took on a new business

⁷¹Ibid., 260.

⁷²Ibid.; Robinson, “A Historical Reminiscence,” 146. I have combined these accounts for this quotation.

⁷³Orson Hyde and George W. Robinson (Sidney Rigdon’s son-in-law) both played a role in the publication of Rigdon’s pamphlet, *An Appeal to the American People: Being an Account of the Persecutions of the Church of Latter Day Saints*. Hyde had Shepard and Stearns reprint the pamphlet in the summer of 1840, at the same time Robinson was having the Book of Mormon reprinted. Crawley, *A Descriptive Bibliography*, 1:103–4, 124.

partner, George S. Stearns, and the business of “Shepard & Stearns” advertised its trade of printing, advertising, and stereotyping for the next six years.⁷⁴

Unsatisfied with simply getting the Book of Mormon stereotyped, Robinson next sought out a bookbinder and bought enough paper to print two thousand copies of the Book of Mormon. Shepard took Robinson by the arm and led him up Main Street to a bookbinder whom he knew. Robinson told the binder that he intended to print two thousand copies of the Book of Mormon and wanted to know what his bindery would charge, showing him the approximate size of the book. The binder gave him an estimate of “two hundred and fifty dollars, twelve cents and a half a book, in good leather binding.” Robinson then contracted for the paper for printing the Book of Mormon, for which he took out a loan for two hundred and fifty dollars. However, for the first time since he began the project, the owner of the paper warehouse insisted that Robinson provide security for the debt. The paper dealer stated, “You are a stranger here of course, and it is customary to demand in such cases City references.” Shepard put his own reputation on the line by volunteering, “I am Mr. Robinson’s backer.” With Shepard’s valuable assistance, Robinson had, with dizzying speed, arranged to stereotype, print, and bind two thousand copies of the Book of Mormon for a total cost of

⁷⁴*The Cincinnati Directory for 1842* (Cincinnati: R. P. Brooks, 1842), 277. C. K. Glezen and Edwin Shepard were stereotypers and printers from approximately 1838–40. Edwin Shepard and George S. Stearns continued the printing trade as partners from 1840 to 1846, when Stearns left the company to found “Stearns & Foster” in Cincinnati to produce cotton wadding, batting, and mattresses. This very successful company was once the largest cotton consumer in the United States and, by the 1880s, had expanded into multiple buildings with over a million square feet and a factory that covered fifteen acres. The company survived until 2003, with Sealy Corporation buying the mattress portion in 1983. Daniel Hurley and Leo Hirtl, *Cincinnati: The Queen City* (Cincinnati: Cincinnati Historical Society, 1982), 212; “Ohio-Sealy to Add Stearns & Foster,” *New York Times*, July 16, 1983, <http://www.nytimes.com/1983/07/16/business/ohio-sealy-to-add-stearns-foster.html>; Steve Kemme, “Stearns & Foster Employed Many in Lockland,” *Cincinnati Enquirer*, May 2, 2004 http://www.enquirer.com/editions/2004/05/02/loc_fire02side.html.

one thousand and fifty dollars.⁷⁵

Shepard purchased a font of new brevier type on the day he and Robinson signed the contract and put three compositors immediately to work on the project. Robinson also donated his time and skill to the project, remaining in Cincinnati through the early fall of 1840.⁷⁶ He read the page proofs to be sure the typesetting followed the copy, with Shepard paying him twenty-five cents an hour for his services. Robinson then rented a room from Shepard's moulder and finisher of stereotype plates, a man surnamed Oliver.⁷⁷

This period, however, was again a test of faith for Robinson. After paying the initial one hundred dollars to Shepard and Stearns to get the work underway, he had only six cents in his pocket and spent "several weeks," anxiously hoping that money would soon come to hand. "I got no word from anybody," Robinson recounted. "My board bill was due and I had only a sixpence to go on, and the nine hundred dollars debts, and it began to look a little blue."⁷⁸ Still, Robinson remained optimistic: "I confess that for a time, viewed from a worldly standpoint, it looked quite gloomy, but I never for a moment lost faith in the final success, or literal fulfillment of the previous promise of the Lord made to me in Nauvoo."⁷⁹

Within a few weeks, prospects regarding the project brightened immeasurably. After making arrangements for the Book of Mormon to be stereotyped and printed, Robinson wrote Don Carlos Smith on July 16 to inform him of the previous month's events. He related how he had successfully negotiated his business transactions, and enthusi-

⁷⁵Robinson, "A Historical Reminiscence," 147; Robinson, "Items of Personal History," May 1890, 260.

⁷⁶Robinson, "Items of Personal History," May 1890, 260; Ebenezer Robinson, Nauvoo, Illinois, Letter to Brigham Young, December 27, 1840, LDS Church History Library, mentioned that he had "been absent during the past summer at Cincinnati Ohio, getting the Book of Mormon stereotyped and printed[,] an edition of 2000 copies."

⁷⁷Robinson, "A Historical Reminiscence," 147. Robinson, "Items of Personal History," June 1890, 284, indicated that he lived with a man named Oliver for several weeks, then moved to a boarding house kept by a Mormon family named Ware on "5th Street Market Place" for the remainder of his stay in Cincinnati.

⁷⁸Robinson, "A Historical Reminiscence," 147.

⁷⁹Robinson, "Items of Personal History," May 1890, 261.

astically reported on the progress of the book's publication.⁸⁰ Don Carlos immediately advertised the availability of the new edition in the July number of the *Times and Seasons*. Besides increasing awareness of the project, he also hoped to raise the necessary funds with which to pay Robinson's debts:

We announce with pleasure, to the saints throughout the world, that our beloved brother, E. Robinson, has gone to Cincinnati for the express purpose of getting the Book of Mormon stereotyped and printed, and that he has entered into a contract to have it done immediately. This is therefore to request all those who feel an interest in the accomplishment of this glorious work, to assist in the arduous [sic] undertaking, by forwarding to him means to help defray the expences [sic], which it requires in publishing a work of such magnitude. We will give a copy of the work, well bound, for every dollar received in time to meet our engagements, which will be the first of September, or one hundred and twenty copies for every hundred dollars.

Orders were to be directed to Robinson and Smith at Cincinnati, Ohio.⁸¹

Smith's efforts proved timely, and Saints throughout the nation responded to the advertisement. After several weeks of anxious anticipation, Robinson received a letter from Don Carlos Smith containing a twenty dollar bill, which allowed him to take care of his immediate needs, including paying his rent. A second letter soon followed transmitting ninety-six dollars, which Robinson applied toward his debts. Also in July, Church leaders appointed George W. Harris and Samuel Bent to visit the Eastern branches with the assignment of raising funds and obtaining subscriptions for the Book of Mormon. These efforts were successful; and even before his \$250 bill to Shepard and Stearns came due, Robinson was able to pay it. In addition, he paid eighty dollars to the binder before he had bound the first book.⁸²

When it came to printing the book, Church leaders had initially

⁸⁰Ebenezer Robinson, Cincinnati, Ohio, Letter to Don Carlos Smith, July 16, 1840, *Times and Seasons* 1, no. 10 (August 1840): 155–56.

⁸¹Don Carlos Smith, "To the Saints Scattered Abroad," *Times and Seasons* 1, no. 9 (July 1840): 144.

⁸²Robinson, "Items of Personal History," May 1890, 261; *History of the Church*, 4:161, 164.

considered doing the printing themselves once Robinson returned to Nauvoo with the stereotyped plates. However, Robinson was careful to ensure that he proceeded in precise harmony with his earlier manifestation at Nauvoo. Accordingly, he had the books printed and bound in Cincinnati. Although he didn't specifically say so, Robinson likely had the book printed on Shepard and Stearns's power press, in the same office where the plates were being made, a step that would have greatly expedited the process of publishing. Robinson described the work of stereotyping and printing as follows:

I had the printing progressing before the stereotyping was finished, so that by the time the last twenty-four pages of stereotype plates were finished, the printer had the book all printed, except the last form, of twenty-four pages, and the printed sheets were in the hands of the bookbinder being folded, so that soon after this last form was printed, the book-binder had several hundred copies bound, ready for me to deliver to those who had advanced their money for the books. This was strictly in accordance with the instruction I received in the first manifestation made to me in Nauvoo.⁸³

When not reading the proof pages for Shepard and Stearns, Robinson took time to engage in missionary work. In a letter to Don Carlos, Robinson delightedly reported "Not only [is] the work of the book . . . progressing but the work of the Lord is onward, with rapid strides; I have formed an acquaintance with several in this place who are very anxious to hear of our doctrine, and to become better acquainted with the principles of our holy religion. I have to spend a considerable [portion] of my time in conversation with different individuals in various parts of the city. Be assured dear brother, the seed is sown, in many an honest heart in this place, and great will be the harvest here."⁸⁴ Robinson was also a quiet but firm missionary at the Shepard & Stearns office. When he and Shepard had just finished reading the proof sheets for the entire Book of Mormon, Robinson asked Shepard what he thought of the book. Shepard responded, "Well, I will tell you. It is either a true book, or it is the greatest imposition that was ever palmed upon mortals." To which Robinson replied,

⁸³Robinson, "Items of Personal History," May 1890, 261.

⁸⁴Ebenezer Robinson, Cincinnati, Ohio, Letter to Don Carlos Smith, July 16, 1840, *Times and Seasons* 1, no. 10 (August 1840): 155–56.

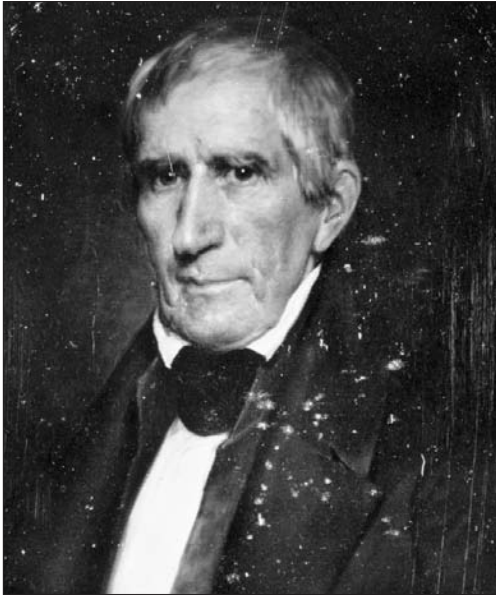
“Mr. Shepard, it is a true book.”⁸⁵ Through Robinson’s efforts, the Latter-day Saint gospel took root in the Cincinnati vicinity.

Traveling elders built upon Robinson’s labors. One morning just after breakfast, Robinson saw a familiar face in the foundry and realized it was Apostle Orson Hyde. Hyde was equally astonished to meet Robinson, and the two had a hearty laugh at such a chance meeting in a place so far from home. Orson Hyde and John E. Page, whose mission to Palestine had encountered obstacles, were stopping at the Shepard & Stearns office to reprint Rigdon’s *An Appeal to the American People*, to raise funds for their mission. Robinson had missed the fellowship of the Saints while absent from home that summer, and was delighted to spend many pleasant hours in conversation with Hyde. It was Hyde who likely harvested the missionary seeds sown by Robinson. He enjoyed much missionary success during his six-week stay in Cincinnati, receiving numerous calls to preach, baptizing at least twelve people, and organizing a branch of the Church in the area.⁸⁶

Working at a prominent stereotype foundry in one of the largest cities in the West brought Robinson into contact with another well-known individual. One day he interrupted his labors to meet William Henry Harrison, then the Whig candidate for U.S. president. Harrison was having Stearns & Shepard stereotype and print a campaign pamphlet, *Harrison Catechism: Being the Truth, the Whole Truth, and Nothing But the Truth, about William Henry Harrison*. Robinson described Harrison as an “affable gentleman, of the old school, sociable, and friendly with all, being entirely devoid of any appearance of aristocracy.” Robinson took this opportunity to tell Harrison about the Missouri persecutions suffered by the Saints. Ever the politician, Harrison sympathized with their plight and recounted his success in resolving a similar matter between a group of

⁸⁵Robinson, “A Historical Reminiscence,” 147.

⁸⁶Hyde arrived in Cincinnati alone, but Page soon followed. They printed two thousand copies of the pamphlet at the office of “Shepard & Stearns” in the summer of 1840. Hyde then left to fulfill his assigned mission to Palestine. Page preached in Cincinnati for a time but failed to fulfill his assigned mission. Robinson to Smith, July 16, 1840, 155–56; Robinson, “Items of Personal History,” June 1890, 284–85; Crawley, *A Descriptive Bibliography*, 1:124–25; Myrtle Stevens Hyde, *Orson Hyde: The Olive Branch of Israel* (Salt Lake City: Agreka Books, 2000), 118.



William Henry Harrison, ninth president of the United States. Harrison died of pneumonia only a month after his election. Daguerreotype taken in 1841 by Moore & Wood, copy made at Southworth & Hawes in 1850.

Quakers and other citizens in Indiana Territory, where he had been governor. Harrison was elected president just months after their meeting.⁸⁷

As the work on the stereotype plates and subsequent printing of the Book of Mormon continued through the summer and early fall of 1840, readers relying on the estimated publication date of September 1 pre-ordered their books. Even though the work took two months longer, Robinson began mailing copies as soon as they became available to those who had pre-ordered.

Don Carlos Smith apparently came to Cincinnati in August to help with the project. He mentioned in an editorial that the August issue of the *Times and Seasons* would likely be delayed because Robinson was “absent on business, and my absence, of necessity, is required for several weeks.”⁸⁸ In November, he commented that he and Robinson had accomplished their work at Cincinnati and returned home, so the

⁸⁷Robinson, “Items of Personal History,” June 1890, 284. Harrison died of pneumonia one month after being sworn in as president.

⁸⁸Don Carlos Smith, “Our Patrons . . .,” *Times and Seasons* 1, no. 9 (July 1840): 141.

Times and Seasons would be issued on its anticipated dates.⁸⁹

The project was a major success. Robinson was actually able to pay for the stereotyping, printing, paper, and binding before the bills came due and, after paying costs, had approximately one thousand copies of the Book of Mormon left over free and clear. He was certain that the demand for Church books would remain strong, so he seized the opportunity to set up his own stereotype foundry, bindery, and fancy printing business at Nauvoo, purchasing the necessary materials from Shepard & Stearns. He also bought a sufficient supply of news and book paper to last through the winter, along with several fonts of type. Robinson paid for a portion of these items up front and borrowed another \$400 from Shepard.⁹⁰

Robinson left Cincinnati in late September and reached Nauvoo on October 2, 1840, after an absence of more than three months.⁹¹ At October general conference, the First Presidency enthusiastically announced: "It is with great pleasure that we . . . inform the Church that another edition of the Book of Mormon has been printed, and . . . is expected on from Cincinnati in a short time." Ebenezer also "gave an account of the printing of another edition of the book of Mormon, and stated, that it was now nearly completed."⁹² The last of the two thousand copies were bound and shipped to Nauvoo by the latter part of October.⁹³

The 1840 edition of the Book of Mormon has been described as being bound "in plain brown sheep[skin], with four gilt double bands and a black or red label on the backstrip."⁹⁴ The November 1 issue of the *Times and Seasons* eagerly advertised this new edition: "BOOKS OF MORMON, For Sale by wholesale and retail at this Office, Price at

⁸⁹Don Carlos Smith, "We Wish to Say. . .," *Times and Seasons* 2, no. 1 (November 1, 1840): 203.

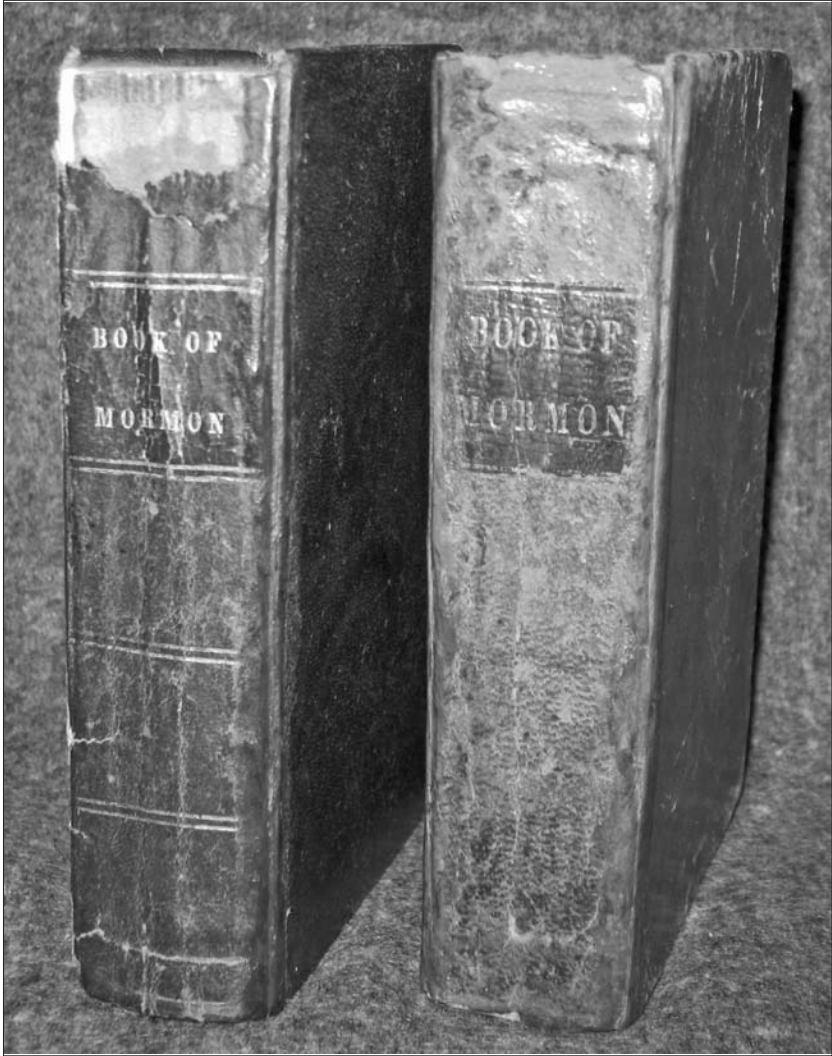
⁹⁰Robinson, "Items of Personal History," May 1890, 261; Robinson, "A Historical Reminiscence," 147.

⁹¹Robinson, "Items of Personal History," June 1890, 286.

⁹²*History of the Church*, 4:204–6, 214. At the same October conference, John E. Page proposed sending an elder to preside over the Cincinnati branch, which Page, Hyde, and Robinson had helped build up during the previous summer.

⁹³Robinson, "Items of Personal History," May 1890, 261, said that "the work was finished in October [1840]."

⁹⁴Crawley, *A Descriptive Bibliography*, 1:132.



The 1840 edition of the Book of Mormon. Both photographs Courtesy L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

wholesale, \$1.00 per copy. Retail, \$1.25. Extra binding Pocket book fashion for the convenience of traveling elders, \$1.50. Orders from a distance will be attended to with promptness and dispatch. All com-

THE
BOOK OF MORMON.

TRANSLATED BY
JOSEPH SMITH, JR.

THIRD EDITION,
CAREFULLY REVISED BY THE TRANSLATOR.

NAUVOO, ILL:
PRINTED BY ROBINSON AND SMITH.

STEREOTYPED BY SHEPARD AND STEARNS,
West 3rd St. Cincinnati, Ohio.

.....

1840.

Title page of the 1840 edition of the Book of Mormon. Although the place of publication is given as Nauwoo, the first two thousand copies were printed in Cincinnati.

munications addressed to ROBINSON and SMITH.”⁹⁵

Robinson brought with him the stereotyped plates and, in exchange, on December 14, 1840, Joseph Smith granted Robinson and Don Carlos the right to print five hundred additional copies of the Book of Mormon.⁹⁶ Two weeks later, Robinson wrote to Brigham Young, informing him that the “the stereotype plates [now] belong to Prest. J. Smith” and that he (Smith) now had them in his possession.⁹⁷

That same fall, the printing partners stayed busy by publishing the journal of Heber C. Kimball in pamphlet form.⁹⁸ But by December 1840, Robinson and Smith’s thriving business had become so demanding that they decided to divide their trade. Although the two men still worked side by side in the printing office, Robinson focused on book printing, stereotyping, and binding, while Smith printed the *Times and Seasons* and handbill jobs.⁹⁹

By early 1841, the Book of Mormon’s initial print run of two thousand copies had apparently all been sold. Robinson printed “several” hundred more copies in the spring of 1841, in order to keep up with the demand for the books. He advertised in mid-March: “We would just say to those who have been calling for books, that they can be served, with pleasure, at the coming April conference.”¹⁰⁰ Robinson included a tipped-in copy of an index that the Twelve had pub-

⁹⁵Ebenezer Robinson and Don Carlos Smith, “BOOKS OF MORMON,” *Times and Seasons* 2, no. 1 (November 1, 1840): 208.

⁹⁶Joseph Smith Jr., Nauvoo, Illinois, copyright grant, to Robinson and Smith (printers in Nauvoo), December 14, 1840, Joseph Smith Papers, P5, f42, Community of Christ Library-Archives, Independence. On February 14, 1842, Robinson transferred this right to “W M” and Willard Richards.

⁹⁷Robinson to Young, December 27, 1840.

⁹⁸R[obert]. B. Thompson, *The Journal of Heber C. Kimball* (Nauvoo, Ill.: Robinson and Smith, 1840). Crawley, *A Descriptive Bibliography*, 1:141–43, believes that Thompson published this journal before December 14, 1840, the date on which Robinson and Smith divided their printing responsibilities.

⁹⁹Robinson, “Items of Personal History,” June 1890, 286.

¹⁰⁰“Books,” *Times and Seasons* 2, no. 10 (March 15, 1841): 355; Stocks, “The Book of Mormon, 1830–1879,” 63.

lished in their 1841 Liverpool edition.¹⁰¹

In the summer of 1841, Don Carlos contracted a respiratory illness (likely pneumonia) from which he did not recover. Lucy Mack Smith blamed it on the damp cellar in which they had initially worked, “which [sickness] was never altogether removed.” In caring for his sick family, his chronic respiratory illness apparently worsened. He died at Nauvoo on August 7, 1841, age twenty-five.¹⁰² Don Carlos’s final aspiration before his death was to expand his portion of the printing establishment by introducing a new weekly paper at Nauvoo that would highlight the “local and general news of the day.” He passed away before he realized this goal.¹⁰³ Robinson remembered his friend and colleague with fondness, calling him “one of the most perfect men I ever knew.”¹⁰⁴

After Don Carlos Smith’s death, Robinson bought out his widow’s interest in the partnership, becoming sole proprietor of the Church’s printing efforts at Nauvoo. During the next five months his business continued to flourish, though overseeing the entire establishment often kept him busy until well after midnight.¹⁰⁵ He also moved the printing establishment into a two-story brick structure on the northwest corner of Water and Bain streets.¹⁰⁶ He likely completed a third print run of the Book of Mormon from the stereo-

¹⁰¹Crawley, *A Descriptive Bibliography*, 1:132.

¹⁰²Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 41, 291. Don Carlos Smith, Letter to Joseph Smith, Nauvoo, June 3, 1841, Joseph Smith Collection, LDS Church History Library, comments, “I . . . was sick upwards 11 months [along] with my family.”

¹⁰³Don Carlos Smith to Joseph Smith, June 3, 1841. William Smith, “Introductory,” *The Wasp* 1, no. 1 (April 16, 1842): 2, picked up on Don Carlos’s idea and turned it into a reality. Wrote William, “At the time of his [Don Carlos’s] death, arrangements were being made for publishing a paper to be entitled the ‘Nauvoo Ensign and Zarahemla Standard,’ and a considerable number of subscribers had already been procured. But his decease baffled all expectations, and all hopes of a weekly newspaper were abandoned until the present time, when the strong solitication of our friends induced us to engage in the publication of *The Wasp*.”

¹⁰⁴Robinson, “Items of Personal History,” July 1890, 302.

¹⁰⁵*Ibid.*; Robinson, “Items of Personal History,” 2, no. 9 (September 1890): 323–24.

¹⁰⁶LaMar C. Berrett, Keith W. Perkins, and Donald Q. Cannon, *Sa-*

typed plates in the winter of 1841–42, as he advertised for a book binder and again offered the Book of Mormon for sale in January 1842.¹⁰⁷ However, this print run was completed without the approval of Church leaders and may have exceeded the 2,500 copies for which Ebenezer and Don Carlos had contracted in December 1840. Additionally, Robinson began to stereotype the Doctrine and Covenants in January, which he anticipated printing in the spring of 1842.¹⁰⁸ The Saints were ordering or pre-ordering not only the Doctrine and Covenants, but a hymn book (published in April 1841), and the New Translation of the Bible, all of which he either printed or expected to print.¹⁰⁹

Joseph Smith had assured “Robinson & Smith” in 1839 that their profits from the *Times and Seasons* could be used for their livelihood, but this permission did not extend to the scriptures. On January 17, 1842, the Council of the Twelve “unanimously opposed E. Robinson publishing the Book of Mormon, and other standard works of the Church without being counseled so to do by the First Presidency.”¹¹⁰ For the next several days, they deliberated about what should be done with the entire printing establishment. What role Robinson played in these deliberations, if any, is not known.

The fact that Robinson supervised the Church’s entire printing efforts at Nauvoo was fairly unusual in the Church’s short history. In both Ohio and Missouri, Joseph Smith and other leaders had carefully overseen all Church publications. Joseph Smith made this issue a

cred Places: Ohio and Illinois (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2002), 145; Ebenezer Robinson, “Our Paper . . .,” *Times and Seasons* 3, no. 3 (December 1, 1841): 615; Crawley, *A Descriptive Bibliography*, 1:94.

¹⁰⁷Ebenezer Robinson, “Wanted,” *Times and Seasons* 3, no. 5 (January 1, 1842): 654; Ebenezer Robinson, “Books and Stationery,” *Times and Seasons* 3, no. 6 (January 15, 1842): 686.

¹⁰⁸Ebenezer Robinson, “Book of Doctrine and Covenants,” *Times and Seasons* 3, no. 5 (January 1, 1842): 639–40.

¹⁰⁹David Evans paid Ebenezer Robinson \$6.25 on January 18, 1841, “to be applied for the following Books when published. 1 Copy Hymn Book. 1 Copy Book of Covenants. 2 copies New Translation.” Handwritten Note by Ebenezer Robinson to David Evans, City of Nauvoo, January 18, 1841, David Evans Papers, 1841–74, MS 323, LDS Church History Library.

¹¹⁰“History of Brigham Young,” *Millennial Star* 26, no. 8 (February 20, 1864): 119.

matter of prayer and, on January 28, 1842, received a revelation that the Twelve should take over the editorial and publishing department of the Church. Obviously, Church leaders felt that they should have more control over the printing and distribution of Church-related materials. However, wanting to be fair to Robinson, Joseph Smith instructed the Twelve to pay Robinson whatever price he asked for his materials, the lot, and the brick printing shop on the northwest corner of Water and Bain streets. John Taylor and Wilford Woodruff were assigned to meet with Robinson, take inventory, and collectively write up an invoice, which they did.

On February 3, the Church bought Robinson's thriving "printing office, stereotype foundry, book bindery, house and lot" for \$6,600. Willard Richards indicated that it was more in the range of \$7,000–8,000, an amount that Robinson felt Richards may have exaggerated possibly because some members of the Twelve felt that the asking price was too high.¹¹¹ Brigham Young was one, maintaining in his 1864 history that the Twelve paid "a very exorbitant price" but did so "because the Prophet directed the Twelve to pay him whatever he asked."¹¹² Wilford Woodruff corroborated Robinson's recollection that the amount was \$6,600 but did not mention whether he felt the price was fair.¹¹³

Though there was apparently some discrepancy regarding the price of the printing establishment, there does not appear to have been any animosity between the two parties following the transaction. John Taylor, the new editor of the *Times and Seasons*, wrote a lengthy article that praised Robinson for his untiring efforts in behalf of the Saints as he labored in the printing office.¹¹⁴ In Robinson's val-edictory editorial, he praised the Prophet and John Taylor, "under whose able and talented guidance, this [newspaper] will become the most interesting and useful religious journal of the day." He also expressed his loyalty to Joseph Smith, stating that while the *Times and Seasons* "is under the supervision of him whom God has chosen to

¹¹¹Robinson, "Items of Personal History," October 1890, 346; *History of the Church*, 4:503, 513–14.

¹¹²"History of Brigham Young," 119.

¹¹³Scott Kenney, ed., *Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833–1898* (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983), 2:153.

¹¹⁴John Taylor, "To Subscribers," *Times and Seasons*, 3, no. 9 (March 1, 1842): 696.

lead his people in the last days, all things will go right.”¹¹⁵

The amicable feelings expressed at the time of the sale appear to have changed in time. While it is possible that Robinson may have felt undermined when the printing establishment was sold, evidence suggests that his interpretation of the event may have shifted as a result of his disagreement with later teachings of Church leaders. When he and his wife were introduced to the doctrine of plural marriage by Hyrum Smith in December of 1843, the couple carefully weighed their decision whether to accept the practice. After three days of deliberation, the Robinsons finally rejected the teaching. By early 1844, Robinson’s religious views were aligned with other noted opponents of plural marriage, including Sidney Rigdon, William Marks, and Austin Cowles.¹¹⁶ From this point forward, the doctrinal divergence created a chasm that only widened between Robinson, the Prophet, and the Twelve. Fifty years later—tellingly, not earlier—he publicly criticized the way Church leaders handled the sale of the printing establishment, when he stated that he felt they were envious of his success. In these later recollections, Robinson also expressed his view that Joseph Smith, had, at times, exerted too much control over the Saints in their temporal affairs.¹¹⁷

Understandably disappointed to give up this prosperous busi-

¹¹⁵Ebenezer Robinson, “Valedictory,” *Times and Seasons* 3, no. 8 (February 15, 1842): 695.

¹¹⁶In his history, Robinson praised Marks and Cowles as individuals who “were among the good and solid men of the age.” He then remarked that Cowles was “far more outspoken, and energetic in his opposition to the doctrine [of polygamy] than almost any other man in Nauvoo.” Robinson, “Items of Personal History,” 3, no. 2 (February 1891): 28; *Biographical and Historical Record of Ringgold and Decatur Counties, Iowa*, 651–52; See also pp. 539–44 for Ebenezer and Angeline Robinson’s affidavits verifying that Hyrum Smith had taught them the doctrine of polygamy.

¹¹⁷Robinson, “Items of Personal History,” 2, no. 9 (September 1890): 324. At least some of Robinson’s later views were likely influenced by his membership in the RLDS Church, with whom he affiliated for more than twenty years after the martyrdom. The RLDS Church rejected plural marriage, temple ordinances (including the endowment and baptism for the dead), and the warlike nature of the Nauvoo Legion—all items Robinson specifically mentions in his history as being at odds with the Twelve and/or Joseph Smith. Robinson, “Items of Personal History,” 2, no. 7 (July 1890),

Nauvoo City Feb. 24th 1842
 Ebenezer Robinson is intitled
 to the use of the Sterotype plates
 and Copy right for the printing
 fifteen Hundred Books of
 Morman Joseph Smith
 Witness Newel K. Whitney

Book of Mormon contract dated February 24, 1842. It authorizes Robinson "to the use of the Sterotype [sic] plates and Copy [sic] right for the printing fifteen Hundred Books of Morman [sic]." Newel K. Whitney witnessed the contract. Holograph at the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield, Illinois.

ness which he and Don Carlos had expended so much effort in establishing, Robinson likely also experienced some worry about how to provide for his family. However, his personal writings fail to recognize that he had overstepped his limits in printing the scriptures without approval, even though he had acknowledged to Brigham Young in 1840 that Joseph Smith owned the stereotyped plates of the 1840 edition of the Book of Mormon. Joseph himself had likely tried to prevent any such misunderstanding by having Robinson sign the Book of Mormon contract in December 1840, which specified that Robinson & Smith were allowed to print 2,500 copies. Even if Robinson had not exceeded this number, his launching ahead in publishing additional scriptures without authorization would have been equally unsettling to Church leaders.

Whatever Robinson's feelings were at the time, the Church still needed a man of Robinson's skill. On February 24, 1842, Joseph Smith hired him to print another 1,500 copies of the 1840 Book of Mormon, and it took several issues before Taylor and Woodruff ac-

quired proficiency at printing the *Times and Seasons*.¹¹⁸ Yet with the printing responsibility assigned to selected apostles, Joseph could trust that they would act according to counsel. There is no indication that Joseph harbored any resentment against Robinson, as the two engaged in several joint business ventures, further evidence that feelings remained peaceable between the two following the sale of the printing office.¹¹⁹

CONCLUSION

In June 1841, just two months before Don Carlos's death, the printing team of Robinson and Smith went south to Keokuk, transferred to a larger steamboat, and traveled to Cincinnati. In Cincinnati, the two men purchased paper and other printing materials for the printing office. Their next stop was at Shepard & Stearns on West Third Street, just across the street from the post office. There, according to Robinson, they paid Edwin Shepard "something over a

¹¹⁸Joseph Smith, Letter to Ebenezer Robinson, February 24, 1842, Nauvoo, Illinois, holograph located at the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield, Illinois. According to Crawley, *A Descriptive Bibliography*, 1:132, Robinson printed 500 copies of the Book of Mormon in the spring of 1841, which would have completed the 2,500 copies contracted for with Joseph Smith in December 1840. If Robinson had completed the entire run of 1,500 copies for which he had contracted in 1842, then the total number of copies of the 1840 edition would be 4,000, the amount Robinson originally contemplated printing in 1840. However, it appears that Robinson completed only 640 copies of the 1842 impression. Robinson, "Items of Personal History," October 1890, 347; Joseph Smith, "To Subscribers," *Times and Seasons* 3, no. 9 (March 1, 1842): 710. "Joseph Smith and Others Trustees &c in Account with John Taylor," Newel K. Whitney Papers, 1825–1906, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Provo, Utah; Crawley, *A Descriptive Bibliography*, 205, 411. The 1842 print run was at least partially completed by August 20, 1842. "Books of Mormon, &c," *The Wasp*, 1 no. 18 (August 20, 1842): 3.

¹¹⁹The first business transaction included the contract signed by Joseph Smith on February 24, 1842, authorizing Robinson to print an additional 1,500 copies of the Book of Mormon. Smith to Robinson, February 24, 1842. The Prophet also rented out most of the Mansion House and stables to Robinson in January 1844 for \$1,000 a year. Scott Faulring, ed., *An American Prophet's Record: The Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1987), 442.

thousand dollars” altogether. Once they had settled up everything “fair and square,” Shepard remarked, “‘Now, do you want me to tell you why I did as I did when you came here last year?’ It was no way for a business man to do. ‘I did it, not because of any thing that I saw in you, but because of what I felt in here,’ (laying his hand upon his heart).” To Robinson and Smith, Shepard’s unsolicited declaration was further evidence of the Lord’s hand in opening the way for the Book of Mormon’s publication.¹²⁰

The publication of that 1840 edition was a climactic event in both men’s lives. For Don Carlos Smith, it represented the culmination of his life’s work as a printer in behalf of the Church before his death. The \$6,600 paid by the Twelve in February 1842, stands as a testament to the financial success of the printing partnership of Robinson and Smith. For Robinson, it represented material evidence of a soul-stirring spiritual experience and a period when he was in complete harmony with the Lord’s Prophet and the goals of the Church.

After the martyrdom, Robinson joined with various factions of Mormonism, aligning himself initially with Sidney Rigdon until his organization disbanded. He then affiliated with the RLDS Church and finally united with David Whitmer during his final years.¹²¹

Ebenezer Robinson was an individual who had been involved in most of the earliest printing endeavors of the Church—perhaps more than any other single individual. He had been instrumental in the publication of the Church’s scriptures, including, at a later date, the New Translation of the Bible for the RLDS Church.¹²² Yet in all of his varied life experiences, none stood out to him more than the publication of the 1840 edition of the Book of Mormon. He ensured that his story was published on at least three different occasions during his lifetime. Moreover, this extraordinary event took up more space in his personal history than any other. He described his experience in publishing the 1840 edition of the Book of Mormon as one

¹²⁰Robinson, “A Historical Reminiscence,” 147; *The Cincinnati Directory for 1842*, 277.

¹²¹*Biographical and Historical Record of Ringgold and Decatur Counties, Iowa*, 651–52; Mary Audentia Smith Anderson, ed., *The Memoirs of President Joseph Smith III (1832–1914)* (Independence: Herald Publishing House, 1979 printing), 216–17.

¹²²Anderson, *Memoirs of Joseph Smith III*, 115.

which greatly strengthened his faith in the book. The book's publication was to him "a practical illustration of the ease with which the Lord can move upon the hearts of the children of men to assist in the accomplishment of his work and purposes."

¹²³Robinson, "Items of Personal History," May 1890, 261.

“BUILD, THEREFORE, YOUR OWN WORLD”: RALPH WALDO EMERSON, JOSEPH SMITH, AND AMERICAN ANTEBELLUM THOUGHT

Benjamin E. Park

RALPH WALDO EMERSON IS A FAVORITE among Latter-day Saints. His oft-quoted statements regarding the fallen nature of Christianity and the need for modern revelation, given during the same period that the newly organized Mormon Church was expanding, are usually interpreted to prove that contemporaries of Joseph Smith shared his desire for new prophets. Unfortunately, the most frequently used quotations are either stretched out of their intended meanings or taken considerably out of context.¹ While Emerson did sense corruption in modern Christianity, his idea of how to fix

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¹Most notable is the LDS Church's recent film on Joseph Smith, which, at this writing, is playing at visitors' centers throughout the world. The opening epigraph is from Emerson's Divinity School Address: "It is my duty to say to you, that the need was never greater of new revelation than now." *Joseph Smith: Prophet of the Restoration*, produced by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 60 min., 2005, film. Jeffrey R. Holland also

it did not align with the visions and revelations of Joseph Smith.

This does not mean, however, that comparisons between the Mormon Prophet and the Sage of Concord are not worth making. But rather than attempting to correlate their views to each other, a comparative analysis proves more fruitful. Joseph Smith and Ralph Waldo Emerson were two significant men during an important intellectual period in antebellum America, each credited with developing new ideologies—religious, intellectual, or other—for many who chose to follow. In the nineteenth century, Josiah Quincy, one-time mayor of Boston, famously stated that Smith may have “exerted the most powerful influence upon the destinies of his countrymen” than any of his contemporaries; and more recently, literary critic Harold Bloom declared the charismatic prophet to be “an authentic religious genius [who] surpassed all Americans, before or since, in the possession and expression of what could be called the religion-making imagination.”² Similarly, Emerson has been defined as the Transcendentalist movement’s “single most defining figure,” and his writings have been described as having “helped shape literary study, philosophy, politics, social reform, and, indeed—directly or indirectly—how we live our lives almost two centuries after his birth.”³ Thus, it would prove beneficial to juxtapose these two important figures’ thought, thereby illuminating where they converged considerably and where they diverged distinctively.

At a 2005 conference convened at the Library of Congress to honor the bicentennial of Joseph Smith’s birth, Mormon historians Richard Lyman Bushman and Grant Underwood explored the benefits and potential of using comparative studies to situate the Mormon

quoted this statement in his general conference address, “Prophets, Seers, and Revelators,” *Ensign*, November 2004, 8. See also Howard W. Hunter, “Spiritual Famine,” *Ensign*, January 1973, 64.

²Josiah Quincy, *Figures from the Past: From the Leaves of Old Journals* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1883), 376–77; Harold Bloom, *The American Religion: The Emergence of a Post-Christian Nation* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1992), 96–97.

³Lawrence Buell, *The Transcendentalists: Essential Writings* (New York: Modern Library, 2006), xiv; Joel Porte and Sandra Morris, “Preface,” in Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Emerson’s Prose and Poetry*, selected and edited by Joel Porte and Sandra Morris (New York, London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2001), xi.

prophet among his contemporaries. Bushman stated that, to a large extent, “the context in which [Smith] is placed profoundly affects how people see [him],” in part because it requires the Prophet to “assume the character of the history selected for him.”⁴ In a similar vein, Underwood noted that, while comparative studies might “rob [a] particular religion of uniqueness,” they are still “useful in drawing attention to larger processes of human behavioral and intellectual development.”⁵ It is in this spirit that I attempt to provide a clearer understanding of the Mormon prophet by comparing his views to those of Ralph Waldo Emerson. First, however, it is important to explore why a comparison of Smith with an American Transcendentalist would be beneficial.

JOSEPH SMITH AND THE ROMANTICS

While situating the early Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the larger context of American history, historians often point to Joseph Smith’s movement as one of several attempts to find the primitive church in early nineteenth-century America.⁶ In examining this primitivist impulse in early Mormonism, some have drawn parallels between the Latter-day Saints and groups like the Barton Stone/Alexander Campbell movement (Disciples of Christ), a fact not surprising considering that many influential early Mormon leaders converted from a branch of the Campbellite group.⁷ Other influences that have been skillfully demonstrated are American mysticism, millenarianism, democratic culture, and the magic “world

⁴Richard L. Bushman, “Joseph Smith’s Many Histories,” in *The Worlds of Joseph Smith: A Bicentennial Conference at the Library of Congress*, edited by John W. Welch (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 2006), 4.

⁵Grant Underwood, “Attempting to Situate Joseph Smith,” in *The Worlds of Joseph Smith*, 47.

⁶For an overview, see Jan Shipps, “The Reality of the Restoration and the Restoration Ideal in the Mormon Tradition,” in *The American Quest for the Primitive Church*, edited by Richard T. Hughes (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 181–95.

⁷See, for example, Timothy Robinson, “God in History: An Investigation of the Impact of Enlightenment Characterizations of Time on Joseph Smith and Alexander Campbell,” in *Archives of Restoration Culture: Summer Fellows’ Papers 1997–1999*, edited by Richard Lyman Bushman (Provo, Utah: Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History, 2000), 133–44.

view” of the period.⁸

However, these comparisons alone are insufficient to account for the variety of influences on and tensions found in early Mormon thought. One such example comes not directly from the religious world of the day, but rather from a larger cultural movement taking place in both Europe and America. While religious influences are often, for good reason, the most common resource in attempting to understand a religious movement, they are not the only framework that should be used in comparative analyses. Cultural movements and intellectual shifts often play an equally important role in the development of religious thought. Understanding the cultural air which early Mormons, particularly Joseph Smith, breathed is crucial to arriving at a clearer understanding of how they thought. Context and comparative analyses are keys in bringing the Mormon worldview into better focus. This article employs the Romantic movement, one of the most important intellectual shifts of the period.

This movement had varied expressions in both the Old World and the New. British poets like William Wordsworth and Samuel Taylor Coleridge exemplified its influence in Great Britain while intellectuals like Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau, and Margaret Fuller led the movement in the United States. These Romantics rebelled against the neo-classical culture prevalent until the second half of the eighteenth century and have had a continuing impact on Western thought. Arthur O. Lovejoy, a mid-twentieth-century scholar often regarded as the premier intellectual historian of the period, aptly wrote that the Romantic shift, “more than any one thing has distinguished . . . the prevailing assumptions of the mind of the nineteenth and of our own [twentieth] century from those of the preceding period in the intellectual west.”⁹ Transcendentalist scholar Lawrence Buell identified this American subset of the larger movement: It was “the first intellectual movement in the history of the still-new nation

⁸Thomas G. Alexander, “Wilford Woodruff and the Changing Nature of Mormon Religious Experience,” *Church History* 45, no. 1 (March 1976): 56–69; Grant Underwood, *The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999); Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1989); D. Michael Quinn, *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1987).

⁹Arthur O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of an*

to achieve a lasting impact on American thought and writing.”¹⁰ Even though it flourished quite briefly—between about the mid-1830s to the mid-1840s—its influence has been deep and significant.

Several characteristics define this intellectual shift in opposition to neo-classicism, which had prevailed as part of the Enlightenment: (1) The Romantics yearned for a more intimate relationship with Deity, often connecting the Divine with nature. (2) They rejected full reliance on human reason, insisting that true knowledge can be gained only through personal intuition and experience. (3) They sought the exotic, mysterious, and unfamiliar to understand things they had not fathomed before. (4) They placed prime importance on the power of imagination, proclaiming that through creation—whether literary, intellectual, or other—a person becomes most like God. They formed a counter-movement to the Enlightenment by resisting pressures to conform to an established formula. They felt that human capabilities and potential surpassed formulae. Speaking of American Transcendentalism, of which he was a part, George Ripley gave perhaps the most succinct definition:

Transcendentalists . . . believe in an order of truths which transcends the sphere of the external senses. Their leading idea is the supremacy of mind over matter. Hence they maintain that the truth of religion does not depend on tradition, or on historical facts, but has an unerring witness in the soul. There is a light, they believe, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world; there is a faculty in all, the most degraded, the most ignorant, the most obscure, to perceive spiritual truth, when distinctly represented; and the ultimate appeal, on all moral questions, is not to a jury of scholars, a hierarchy of divines, or the prescriptions of a creed, but to the common sense of the race.¹¹

Emerson later reflected that “the key to the period [of Transcendentalism] is the idea of the Over-soul.”

Idea (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970), 294.

¹⁰Buell, *The Transcendentalists*, xi.

¹¹[George Ripley,] *A Letter to the Congregational Church in Purchase Street by Its Pastor* (Boston: Printed, Not Published, by Request, for the Purchase Street Church, 1840), 25–26. Compare to a revelation Joseph Smith received in 1832: “and the spirit giveth light to evry [sic] man that cometh into the world and the spirit enlighteneth evry man through the world that harkeneth to the voice of the spirit.” Joseph Smith, Revelation, September 22–23, 1832, in Robin Scott Jensen, Robert J. Wordford, and Steven C.

dentalism] appeared to be that the mind had become aware of itself,” a definition that emphasizes reliance on personal imagination.¹²

This same time period also witnessed many changes in America’s religious landscape, including the formation and rise of many new churches. Joseph Smith’s “Church of Christ” (its original name), organized in 1830, was among them. As a product of this time and place, the Mormon prophet’s views and teachings reflect many Romantic concepts—a fact that has only recently begun receiving some attention from scholars.¹³ For example, Richard Hughes, in his 1993 Tanner Lecture to the Mormon History Association, suggested that the relationship between Mormonism and Romanticism deserved further attention. He argued that “Romanticism,” not primitivism, “quickly emerged as the defining intellectual influence on Latter-day Saints, and this was the difference that made all the difference.”¹⁴ More recently, and in a similar vein, noted historian of Jacksonian America and Joseph Smith biographer Robert Remini concluded:

Harper, eds., *Revelations and Translations, Volume 1: Manuscript Revelation Books*, Vol. 1 of the Revelations and Translations series of the *Joseph Smith Papers*, edited by Dean C. Jessee, Ronald K. Esplin, and Richard Lyman Bushman (Salt Lake City: Church Historian’s Press, 2009), 461; 1981 LDS D&C 84:46.

¹²Ralph Waldo Emerson, “Historic Notes of Life and Letters in New England,” in *The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, edited by Edward Waldo Emerson, 12 vols., Centenary Edition (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1903–4): 10:326.

¹³Terry L. Givens, “Prophecy, Process, and Plentitude,” in *The Worlds of Joseph Smith*, 55–56; Richard T. Hughes, “Two Restoration Traditions: Mormons and the Churches of Christ in the Nineteenth Century,” in *The Mormon History Association’s Tanner Lectures: The First Twenty Years*, edited by Dean L. May and Reid L. Neilson (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 30–45; Jared Hickman, “No Creed to Circumscribe My Mind”: Joseph Smith, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Romantic Theology,” in *Archive of Restoration Culture: Summer Fellows’ Papers 2000–2002*, edited by Richard Lyman Bushman (Provo, Utah: Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History at Brigham Young University, 2005), 65–85. Hickman’s is perhaps the most in-depth attempt to place Smith within the larger Romantic movement.

¹⁴Hughes, “Two Restoration Traditions,” 37.

“Joseph was a romantic to his innermost fiber.”¹⁵ In an attempt to place Smith in the larger Romantic tradition, Jared Hickman suggested that “Joseph Smith displayed strong nonabsolutist tendencies that even exceeded those of the romantic spirit of his age.”¹⁶ These writers, and others who have pursued this subject, have found intriguing similarities between the Mormon religion and the corresponding Transcendental and Romantic culture; however, Charles Capper—a leading scholar on American Transcendentalism—has noted that a failure of scholarship on American Romanticism has been its lack of persuasively exploring these slippery yet significant “overlapping polarities between Transcendentalism and the various liberal, confessional, and sentimental romantic discourses that began to emerge in the late 1840s in both Protestant circles and the wider popular culture.”¹⁷

It should be remembered that, while there are many fascinating parallels between these two “isms”—Mormonism and Transcendentalism—the connections between the groups lack a tangible linkage, and only tempered conclusions about Transcendentalism’s potential influences on Joseph Smith should be drawn.¹⁸ Indeed, as this paper will show, Smith embodied many ideals that do not correspond to “Romantic thought.” I do not attempt to show that one movement had a direct influence on the other; rather, I argue that these two groups encountered the same environment and shared many of the same critiques of their contemporary culture. I focus on distinctive and shared elements of Joseph Smith’s thoughts compared to those

¹⁵Robert V. Remini, “Biographical Reflections on the American Joseph Smith,” in *The Worlds of Joseph Smith*, 24.

¹⁶Hickman, “No Creed to Circumscribe My Mind,” 81.

¹⁷Charles Capper, “‘A Little Beyond’: The Problem of the Transcendentalist Movement in American History,” *Journal of American History* 85, no. 2 (September 1998): 533. While the early Mormon movement begins before the time frame Capper identifies here, a comparative analysis between these two Romantic expressions seems to help to fill this void.

¹⁸Grant Underwood, “Attempting to Situate Joseph Smith,” 47–48, has rightly cautioned that, in comparative studies, parallels “can be overdone” and often result in “parallelomania.” He counseled that “inappropriate parallels are often a function of not knowing both sides of the comparison equally well.” I hope to follow his advice to show the parallels “comparatively, not genetically.”

of his romantic contemporary, Ralph Waldo Emerson, with the goal of deriving a clearer picture of the mind of Mormonism's founding prophet. I choose varied four points of comparison: epistemology, views of "historic Christianity," approaches to scripture, and the role of friendship and community. When viewed together, they make possible a balanced appraisal of the perspectives of two highly influential antebellum Americans.

Backgrounds

Joseph Smith and Ralph Waldo Emerson, at a glance, do not appear to share common backgrounds beyond living in roughly the same time period and location. Born only two years apart from each other, the former in Vermont in 1805 and the latter in Massachusetts in 1803, Smith was raised in a farming family that struggled to achieve financial stability and did not consistently take part in organized religion, while Emerson, son of a Unitarian minister, was raised with the expectation of following in his father's footsteps.¹⁹ Though Smith did not receive an extensive formal education, Emerson attended the Boston Latin School, Harvard College, and eventually graduated from the Harvard Divinity School. The Mormon prophet burst on the national scene in 1830 with the publication of his religious magnum opus, the Book of Mormon; the Concord Sage did not garner attention until the 1835 printing of *Nature*, largely regarded as the watershed of American Transcendentalism.

Both Smith and Emerson challenged the religious environments of the time. Emerson resigned after several years as a Unitarian minister over a theological dispute and remained aloof from organized religion thereafter. Smith, while equally repelled by the contemporary religious scene, organized his own religion and attracted thousands of followers. While both were deemed controversial and garnered animosity from their contemporaries, the intensity of their opposition varied drastically: Emerson was denounced in print and churches, while Smith and his congregants were forced to move from state to state to escape community tension and even violence.

¹⁹Though much has been written on Emerson, the best biographies available are Robert D. Richardson Jr., *Emerson: The Mind on Fire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), and Lawrence Buell, *Emerson* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003).

Emerson became a cultural icon and the leading intellectual voice in the United States.²⁰ He is most known for his insistence on individuality, and the terms “self-reliance” and “individuality” are “generally credited to Emerson.”²¹ He was the spokesman for American Transcendentalists, arguing persuasively for a focus on personal intuition and experience. After leaving his position in the Unitarian Church, he became a full-time lecturer and writer—one of the nation’s first professional intellectuals. Smith, conversely, is known primarily as a religious reformer and visionary, for producing new scriptures, and for proclaiming teachings that were socially and religiously controversial. Religion drove Smith’s life as he constantly tried to follow what he believed was the word of God. Emerson died at age of seventy-nine after a long, full life; Smith died at the hands of an angry mob at age thirty-eight.

EPISTEMOLOGY: YEARNING FOR TRANSCENDENCE AND KNOWLEDGE

The Romantic shift has been characterized as a rebellion and counter-movement against the neo-classical environment of the day. Reacting against an Enlightenment structure based on reason and systematic approach, Joseph Smith and contemporary Romantic thinkers felt their imagination stifled and their creativity limited. They rejected the commonly held notion of acquiring truth through a scientific and methodical way, preferring a more intimate and individualized approach of personal experience and intuition. Taking place in a period where revolutions abounded, the Romantics desired another revolution—this one being “spiritual in nature.”²²

Until the antebellum period, the presentation of religious thought as rational and reasonable had been a major staple in American theology; indeed, noted American religious historian E. Brooks Holifield has argued that “theological rationality” was the most com-

²⁰Buell, *Emerson*, 34.

²¹Wesley T. Mott, “‘The Age of the First Person Singular’: Emerson and Individualism,” in *A Historical Guide to Ralph Waldo Emerson*, edited by Joel Myerson (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 62.

²²Philip F. Gura, *American Transcendentalism: A History* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2007), 14.

mon theme in American religious discourse.²³ To make their message more appealing, ministers and missionaries were often in indirect dialogue with one another, arguing for the unreasonableness of their competitors when compared to their own enlightened systematic theology. Edmund S. Morgan explained that new religious movements were often led, not by innovatively new doctrines but rather “by the expression of ideas that everyone had always professed to accept”—only with added intensity and reasoning.²⁴ But with the Transcendentalists, this reason was subverted and turned against itself: Romantic thinkers like Ralph Waldo Emerson urged that “evidential rationality” should be replaced with the more individual approach of “intuitive rationality,” meaning that inner evidences should take priority over Lockean empiricism.²⁵ On the question of how seekers were to find truth, Emerson pronounced emphatically: “The soul is the perceiver and revealer of truth. We know truth when we see it, let skeptic and scoffer say what they choose. Foolish people ask you, when you have spoken what they do not wish to hear, ‘How do you know it is truth, and not an error of your own?’ We know truth when we see it, from opinion, as we know when we are awake that we are awake.”²⁶

When Emerson gave his stunning critique of Unitarian preachers to the Harvard Divinity School in 1838, the pursuit of knowledge was an important part of what he found misguided in Harvard’s scholarship. He instructed his listeners: “The spirit only can teach. Not any profane man, not any sensual, not any liar, not any slave can teach, but only he can give, who has; he only can create, who has.” Emerson explained that the best way for a man to learn was to “open his door to these angels, and they shall bring him the gift of tongues.” However, “the man who aims to speak as books enable, as synods use,

²³E. Brooks Holifield, *Theology in America: Christian Thought from the Age of the Puritans to the Civil War* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2005), 5–8.

²⁴Edmund S. Morgan, ed., *Puritan Political Ideas* (Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill, 1966), xiii. See also Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1989), 182.

²⁵Holifield, *Theology in America*, 435.

²⁶Ralph Waldo Emerson, *The Collected Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, 5 vols., edited by Robert E. Spiller and Alfred R. Ferguson (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press 1971–94), 2:166.

as the fashion guides, and as interest commands, babbles. Let him hush." It was in this context that he made one of his most famous statements: "It is my duty to say to you that the need was never greater of new revelation than now." His blistering critique was simple yet devastating: "The soul is not preached."²⁷ By "soul," Emerson meant that inner transcendence and intimate enlightenment are found through personal searching; the truth is not found by looking outward, but by looking inward.

Similarly, Smith often expressed the superiority of finding truth through supernatural means: "Could you gaze in heaven 5 minutes you would know more than you possibly can know by reading all that ever was written on the subject."²⁸ The Mormon movement, while employing rational interpretations and scriptural arguments, definitely urged incorporating a spiritual connection with both God and with the truths of ancient history. For Mormons, "knowledge" consisted not only of a systematic formula, but also a supernatural confirmation that their religion was of God. Richard Hughes went so far as to say, "The romantic dimensions of the Mormon restoration led Latter-day Saints to place enormous importance on the experience of God rather than on the Bible itself."²⁹ While this may be an exaggeration—the early Mormon Church often used rationalistic defenses as well—Hughes's comment is best understood in the context of his scholarly specialty—the Primitivist movement, specifically Alexander Campbell's Church of Christ. Compared to his Primitivist contemporaries, Smith's thought indeed appears quite Romantic.

Two anecdotes illustrate this observation. Ezra Booth, an early Ohio convert who quickly became disillusioned with the Mormon prophet, wrote several letters in 1831 explaining the problems he saw in Mormonism. One of his main targets was how the controversial movement sought and defended truth: "'Being carried away by the spirit,' and 'I know it to be so by the spirit,' are well known phrases,

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Joseph Smith, Sermon, October 9, 1843, in Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook, eds., *The Words of Joseph Smith: The Contemporary Accounts of the Nauvoo Discourses of the Prophet Joseph* (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1980), 254.

²⁹Hughes, *Two Restoration Traditions*, 40.

and in common use in the Mormonite church,” he complained.³⁰ Booth was accustomed to a more systematic and rational approach; therefore, he saw this reliance on the Spirit as nonsense and difficult to reason with. As a second example, a decade later, the Mormon *Times and Seasons* printed a supposed dialogue between a “saint” and a “clergyman.” The clergyman comes off second best because he relied too much on the reasoning of other ministers rather than on revelation and the ministering of angels. A vigorously proselytizing faith like Mormonism, which ordained and empowered laymen as preachers who had no opportunity to be scholars, threw on empowering its adherents with this focus on intimate sources of knowledge rather than traditional understandings.³¹

However, a reliance exclusively on personal intuition and experience could have rapidly produced schismatic individualism (and, in fact, did). Powerfully, however, Joseph Smith and his followers blended both approaches of revelatory and rationalistic evidences. This combination was not only very successful but proved to be one of the key divergences between Joseph Smith and Emerson. Steven Harper has noted that “Mormonism simultaneously satisfied both the intellectual and spiritual longings” of those who converted, challenging the idea that they constituted a strict dichotomy.³² While desiring a more Romantic pursuit of truth, the early Saints still felt the need to ground their faith in a reasonable approach. An example of this attempted mix is how “Lectures on Faith” defined theology in 1835. While they quote Charles Buck’s *Theological Dictionary*—“that science which treats of the being and attributes of God”³³—they add one important word which blends Buck’s rational approach with their emphasis on revelatory and romantic experience: “[theology] is that *revealed* science which treats of

³⁰Ezra Booth, quoted in E. D. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled* (Painesville, Ohio: E. D. Howe, 1834), 183–84.

³¹Anonymous, “To the Editor of the Times and Seasons,” *Times and Seasons* 3 (September 1, 1842): 907.

³²Steven C. Harper, “‘Infallible Proofs, Both Human and Divine’: The Persuasiveness of Mormonism for Early Converts,” *Religion and American Culture* 10, no. 1 (Winter 2000): 103.

³³Charles Buck, *A Theological Dictionary: Containing All Religious Terms; A Comprehensive View of Every Article in the System of Divinity; An Impartial Account of All the Principal Denominations Which Have Subsisted in the Religious World from the Birth of Christ to the Present Day: Together with An Accu-*

the being and attributes of God.”³⁴

Indeed, Smith’s thought was a unique blend of intuitive, supernatural claims and reasonable religion. He claimed to have received knowledge, keys, and instructions from angelic beings, yet counseled his followers to “try the spirits,” establishing a rational, systematic format for these supernatural interchanges.³⁵ Furthermore, even Smith’s angels were more rational than contemporary Christianity’s. Rather than being completely other-worldly and non-human, Smith taught that angels were individuals who had once lived on Earth and were just at different phases of their post-mortal progression. Leigh Eric Schmidt, who has written on the effects of the Enlightenment on the American landscape, has noted that increased rational thought made such an outlook necessary. Part of Mormonism’s appeal was that “the voices from the spirit-land that people desired were increasingly materialized and incarnated”—a distant cry from the “wholly other” type of angels to which traditional Christianity was accustomed.³⁶ Such examples exemplify the desire to balance both rationalistic and revelatory approaches.

While Smith may have shared intuitive leanings with Romantics like Emerson, his opposing pull toward rationalism tempered it noticeably. Both thinkers desired a more intimate and personal connection with God, yet Smith never abandoned the need to have it tethered to some form of reasonable discourse. Most importantly, Smith

rate Statement of the Most Remarkable Transactions and Events Recorded in Ecclesiastical History (Philadelphia: Joseph J. Woodward, 1831), 582.

³⁴“Lectures on Faith,” *Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of the Latter-day Saints: From the Revelations of God* (Kirtland, Ohio: F. G. Williams and Co., 1835): 9, emphasis mine. I was made aware of this juxtaposition from Samuel Brown and Matthew Bowman, “Joseph Smith and Charles Buck: Heresy and the Living Witness of History,” paper presented at the Mormon History Association, May 2008, Sacramento, California.

³⁵Joseph Smith, “Try the Spirits,” *Times and Seasons* 3 (April 1, 1842): 743–48.

³⁶Leigh Eric Schmidt, *Hearing Things: Religion, Illusion, and the American Enlightenment* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000), 201. For more on Mormon angels, see Benjamin E. Park, “‘A Uniformity So Complete’: Early Mormon Angelology,” *Intermountain West Journal of Religious Studies* (forthcoming); Samuel Brown, *In Heaven as it Is on Earth: Joseph Smith and the Conquest of Death* (forthcoming manuscript), chap. 9.

believed that an external voice revealed truth, while Emerson's epistemology relied on inner guidance. Thus, Smith captures and holds the tension between the intellectual shift from Enlightenment thought to Romanticism, while it is Emerson, not Joseph, who "was a romantic to his innermost fiber."³⁷

THE ROLE OF HISTORIC CHRISTIANITY

In addition to their shared discontent with the method of gaining religious truth prevalent at their day, both Emerson and Smith felt emptiness in religious institutions. In 1832, Smith recorded that, in his youth, the Lord visited him and told him that "the world lieth in sin at this time and none doeth good no not one . . . they have turned asside from the gospel and keep not my commandments." Specifically, religious leaders "draw near to me with their lips while their hearts are far from me."³⁸ Similarly, Emerson wrote, "Historical Christianity has fallen into the error that corrupts all attempts to communicate religion,"³⁹ and, "the true Christianity—a faith like Christ's in the infinitude of men—is lost."⁴⁰ John-Charles Duffy has noted that both Emerson and early Mormonism are examples of what Jan Shipps has labeled "radical restorationism": "[Their] thought is best conceived of neither as breaking with Christianity, nor as continuous with it. Rather, Emerson's [and Smith's] thought erupts out of Christianity, in a direction very different from that of the mainstream. . . . I am arguing, therefore, that Emerson has the same kind of relationship to Christianity that Mormonism has—indeed, that Emerson's thought represents a Transcendentalist take on the same basic tenets on which Mormonism is founded."⁴¹

However, while both agreed that the world was in a state of apostasy, they differed on both the roots of that apostasy and its solution.

³⁷Remini, "Biographical Reflections on the American Joseph Smith," 24.

³⁸Joseph Smith's History [1832], in Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989–92), 1:6–7.

³⁹Emerson, *Collected Works*, 1:82.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 1:89.

⁴¹John-Charles Duffy, "'A Religion by Revelation': Emerson as Radical Restorationist," *American Transcendental Quarterly* 14, no. 3 (September 2000): 228. Jan Shipps discusses "radical restorationism" in *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press,

For Smith, the apostasy resulted from the world's turning away from the Lord's appointed institution and doctrine. In the Mormon prophet's theology, God in every dispensation appoints a prophet, confers the priesthood, reveals correct doctrine, and sets up a hierarchical structure needed to perform the ordinances necessary for salvation: "The Kingdom of God was set upon the earth in all ages from the days of Adam to the present time."⁴² In this view, apostasy therefore occurs when the correct organizational structure, theology, and priesthood authority are lost. By contrast, Emerson saw the spiritual famine as a result of a lack of something more personal. Rather than missing a specific structure or specific teachings, Christianity was lacking the doctrine of the soul. To him, Christianity focused too much on ritual, imitation, and Jesus, while not paying enough attention to the individual's relationship to God.⁴³ Thus, Emerson came to the conclusion that the solution was breaking completely away from Christianity, while Smith's desire was to simply restore the original.

Because of this difference in opinion about the reason for religious darkness, they had drastically diverging views on how this problem could be resolved. To Joseph Smith, the organization which existed during Christ's mortal ministry must be restored. In a letter declaring his beliefs, Joseph wrote that "we believe in the same organization that existed in the primitive church, viz: apostles prophets, pastors, teachers, evangelists &c."⁴⁴ In his theology, the modern church needed to mirror the ancient one in organization, doctrine, and practices. He preached that the structure he was implementing was indeed the identical structure of the New Testament church, that

1985), 71–72.

⁴²Joseph Smith, Sermon, January 17, 1843, in Ehat and Cook, *The Words of Joseph Smith*, 155. Similarly, a discourse included in Smith's journal repeated the same concept: "Ordinances were instituted in heaven before the foundation of the world in the priesthood for the salvation of men, not [to] be altered, not to be changed. All must be saved upon the same principle." Joseph Smith, Journal, June 11, 1843, in Scott H. Faulring, ed., *An American Prophet's Record: The Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1989), 383–84.

⁴³Emerson, *Collected Works*, 1:80.

⁴⁴Joseph Smith, "Church History," in Jessee, *The Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:437.

he was teaching the same doctrines known and taught by former prophets, and the ordinances he was offering were necessary through all ages of time. Jan Shippo noted that Mormonism was a “movement in which leader and followers were together living through—recapitulating—the stories of Israel and early Christianity.”⁴⁵ Their theology was based on history as well as continuity between the past and the present. In a sense, Joseph considered history sacred because it offered a specific blueprint for future generations.

Perhaps the most important example of this idea is Smith’s role as a “translator.” His first major project, and the event that placed him on the religious map, was the Book of Mormon, which he presented as the translation of an ancient text—not just a new scripture but an American counterpart to the Bible and of comparable antiquity. Even if early Mormons did not often use it as a religious text in their pamphlets or sermons,⁴⁶ its mere physical presence as a relic of the past implied their desire to attach themselves to an ancient tradition. Further, the Book of Mormon was not Joseph Smith’s last work in dealing with ancient texts. He later introduced the Book of Moses and the Book of Abraham, and left open the possibility of even more ancient records that would come to life, each giving more light, more revelation, and more instruction to the Saints in the present.⁴⁷

Emerson’s recipe for religious correction was quite opposite to Joseph Smith’s where the role of historical Christianity was concerned. Emerson believed that “historical Christianity destroys the power of preaching, by withdrawing it from the exploration of the moral nature of man.”⁴⁸ He therefore refrained from focusing on the past, because it removed attention from present events and intuitions. In his introduction to *Nature*, he asks: “Why should we grope among the dry bones of the past, or put the living generation into masquer-

⁴⁵Shippo, *Mormonism*, 38.

⁴⁶On the use of the Book of Mormon in early Mormonism, see Grant Underwood, “Book of Mormon Usage in Early LDS Theology,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 21 (Summer 1984): 35–74; Terry L. Givens, *By the Hand of Mormon: The American Scripture That Launched a New World Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

⁴⁷Smith’s initial reaction to the Kinderhook Plates implies his continued openness, even as late as 1843, to further ancient writings.

⁴⁸Emerson, *Collected Works*, 1:87.

ade out of its faded wardrobe? The sun shines to-day also.”⁴⁹

While Smith felt that the only way to solve the religious crisis was to restore the ancient church, Emerson believed that such an endeavor would fail to address the real problem. After posing the rhetorical question “What shall we do?” about the evils of the church, the Sage of Concord responded:

I confess, all attempts to project and establish a Cultus with new rites and forms, seem to me vain. Faith makes us, and not we it, and faith makes its own forms. All attempts to contrive a system are as cold as the new worship introduced by the French to the goddess of Reason—to-day, pasteboard and filigree, and ending to-morrow in madness and murder. Rather let the breath of new life be breathed by you through the forms already existing. For if once you are alive, you shall find they shall become plastic and new. The remedy to their deformity is, first, soul, and second, soul, and evermore, soul.⁵⁰

While these remarks were directed to the Unitarian Church specifically, they hint at his disdain for and suspicion of attempts at institutional restoration generally. For him, attachment to historic Christianity would only impede the “soul,” by which he meant the individual’s potential for personal transcendence.

Emerson felt the same way in regards to imitating others. He admonished truth-seekers to “go alone” and to “refuse the good models.” While he was grateful for preceding prophets and reformers, he did not seek to emulate them because an “imitation cannot go above its model.”⁵¹ In his essay “Self Reliance,” he claimed that every man must come to the point where he realizes that “envy is ignorance” and “imitation is suicide.”⁵² He took this idea even further in another lecture by questioning whether scripture was even relevant for our day: “Each age, it is found, must write its own books; or rather, each generation for the next succeeding. The books of an older period will not fit this [one].”⁵³ The past was helpful in teaching some lessons, but it paled in significance to personal experience.

Smith also saw the need for current revelation. He was recorded

⁴⁹Ibid., 1:7.

⁵⁰Ibid., 1:92.

⁵¹Ibid., 1:90.

⁵²Ibid., 2:27.

⁵³Ibid., 1:56.

as saying that “those former revelations cannot be suited to our condition, because they were given to other people who were before us.”⁵⁴ However, though he always expressed the need for continuing and current revelation and prophecy, he repeatedly reemphasized the linkage between the present and the past. While personal experience was crucial to his theology, he felt that an awareness of the past was not only useful, but essential. He pictured himself as a modern prophet in a long line of ancient prophets, whose teachings and revelations are recorded in scripture. He deeply desired a direct connection with the primordium, and he received messages and priesthoods not only from God and the scriptures but also from resurrected beings from past ages. As John W. Welch pointed out, “[Smith] relied not only upon biblical *authority to recover the past*, but upon *the past to recover authority*.”⁵⁵ In a letter to the Church in 1842, Smith jubilantly catalogued the many angelic visitors who had tutored him in the restoration of the gospel and the building up of the kingdom of God: “Moroni, an angel from heaven, declaring the fulfilment of the prophets—the book to be reveal’d . . . The voice of Peter, James & John, in the wilderness, between Harmony, Susquehanna County, and Colesvill, Broom County . . . And the voice of Michael the archangel—the voice of Gabriel, and of Raphael, and of divers angels, from Michael or Adam, down to the present time; all declaring each one their dispensation, their rights, their keys, their honors, their majesty & glory.”⁵⁶

His solution to the problem of fallen Christianity included bringing back those involved with the original before it was lost. Not only were people from the past necessary to restore correct Christianity, but the salvation of both the past and the present were intertwined: “We cannot be made perfect without them, nor they without us.”⁵⁷ Smith’s view of being saved meant not only relying on one’s own works or God’s grace but also meant a connection to those who had gone before. This view has only a distant connection to Emer-

⁵⁴Kirtland High Council, Minutes, April 21, 1834, microfilm copy in LDS Church History Library, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.

⁵⁵John W. Welch, “Joseph Smith and the Past,” in *The Worlds of Joseph Smith*, 112; emphasis his.

⁵⁶Joseph Smith, Letter to the Church, September 6, 1842, in Jessee, *The Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2:473–74.

⁵⁷Joseph Smith, Sermon, ca. August 8, 1839, in Ehat and Cook, *The*

son's plea to use past individuals only as examples to break from conformity.

Ironically, on this topic Smith appears more Romantic than Emerson, for one of the central tenets of the Romantic movement was a connection with the *primordium* (though this tenet was never accepted as widely among American Romantics as it was in Europe). They often longed for the simplicity and truth that they saw in past ages—ideas common in Smith's theology. It is noteworthy that this intellectual focus did not transfer to the Transcendentalists in general nor to Emerson specifically. Nonetheless, the emphasis on restoring past ages was crucial to Romantic thought, and many of its implications find their fullest—and indeed, unique—fruition in the ideology of the Mormon prophet.

VIEWS OF SCRIPTURE

Related to their views on the past is how Joseph Smith and Ralph Waldo Emerson understood ancient teachings, particularly those that had been recorded as sacred scripture. As mentioned above, Emerson felt that the words of the past did not “fit” the present and that it was necessary for each succeeding generation to write its “own books.” He saw truth as relevant only to present conditions; scripture was needed to embody this truth. “Eternal truth” did not exist because individual experiences change daily; truth-seeking individuals had to be free from past thoughts and ideas. Those who had a “reverence for our past act or word” would always end up disappointing by failing to achieve their original intentions. Being a nonconformist not only meant rejecting societal norms, but also disallowing previous ideas. “Why should you keep your head over your shoulder? Why drag about this corpse of your memory, lest you contradict some what you have stated in this or that public place?” he asked. “Foolish consistency” is merely “the hobgoblin of little minds.” To him, the only consistency necessary was consistency to your true self, speaking today what you feel is right today, and speaking tomorrow what will be right tomorrow.⁵⁸

Smith, on the other hand, believed that “truth is knowledge of things as they are, {&\and} as they were, and as they are to come,” implying that if a principle was true yesterday, it is true today and will be

Words of Joseph Smith, 10.

⁵⁸Emerson, *Collected Works*, 2:33.

true in the future.⁵⁹ While certain practices can and should be adapted to modern circumstances, the underlying doctrine is eternal. If an everlasting gospel is restored, authority and organization are not the only essential elements. Also true are gospel principles that have endured for centuries. When he taught that “a man is saved no faster than he gets knowledge,” he was referring to the same knowledge that all the ancients needed to be saved.⁶⁰ While he believed that it was important to have a modern prophet rather than just relying on past prophets, the role of modern prophets was to allow “revelation adapted to the circumstances in which the children of the kingdom are placed.”⁶¹ These prophets would, however, operate within the framework of revealed, eternal truth; adaptation, while significant, is not on the same level as innovation. In a perhaps hyperbolic statement in Nauvoo, he claimed: “We teach nothing but what the Bible teaches. We believe nothing, but what is to be found in this book.”⁶² It is intriguing that Joseph Smith, known for his doctrinal innovations, expressed this critical tension—a need to establish a link between his religious innovations and the sacred past. While both Emerson and Smith believed in direct communication with the divine, the Mormon prophet believed that there were spiritual and eternal laws and truths to be reckoned with.

Both the Mormon prophet and the Sage from Concord could agree on the Bible’s insufficiency; but Smith’s accusation of insufficiency was based on a combination of “plain and precious” truths being removed along with the need for current adaptation, while Emerson’s focused on the fact that it was written solely in and for a past age. These different views led to alternate methods of revising scripture. Emerson recommended discarding the old text entirely with its claims of being authoritatively binding in order to create a new canon, while Smith felt that the Bible needed only corrections, updat-

⁵⁹Joseph Smith, Revelation, May 6, 1833, in Jensen, Woodford, and Harper, *Revelations and Translations, Vol. 1*, 335; 1981 LDS D&C 93:34.

⁶⁰Joseph Smith, Sermon, April 10, 1842, in Ehat and Cook, *The Words of Joseph Smith*, 113–14.

⁶¹Joseph Smith [Letter to Nancy Rigdon], 1842, in Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, rev. ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book/Provo, Utah: BYU Press, 2002), 538.

⁶²Joseph Smith, Sermon, February 5, 1840, in Ehat and Cook, *The Words of Joseph Smith*, 33.

ing, and expansions to recover its usefulness.

Emerson's desire to replace the Bible as an authoritative text illuminates the intellectual movement in which he took part. Lawrence Buell commented: "During the Romantic period especially, the distinction between sacred and secular writing was not just blurred but sometimes even inverted by such claims as the argument that Scripture is only a form of poesis, hence dependent for its authority on inspired vision, which artists have in greatest measure. Consequently, a number of Anglo-American writers, starting with Blake in England and Emerson in America, took the position that the poet has the right, indeed the duty, to reconstruct mythology for himself and his era."⁶³

Understandably, Emerson often questioned the merit of the Bible, written many years ago to meet different needs. It did not meet his criterion of focusing on the present, and therefore did not merit special status. To be completely independent of the past, writers of the present needed to replace the ancient Bible with new scripture: It was "high time," he wrote expansively in his journal, "we should have a bible that should be no provincial record, but should open the history of the planet, and bind all tendencies and dwarf all the Epics & philosophies we have."⁶⁴ At the end of his "Divinity School Address," Emerson invoked a "new Teacher" to create sacred writings for today: "I look for the hour when that supreme Beauty, which ravished the souls of those Eastern men, and chiefly of those Hebrews . . . shall speak in the West also. The Hebrew and Greek Scriptures contain immortal sentences, that have been bread of life to millions. But they have no

⁶³Lawrence Buell, *New England Literary Culture: From Revolution through Renaissance* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 167. Catherine L. Albanese, *Corresponding Motion: Transcendental Religion and the New America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1977), 15, also wrote that the Transcendentalist theory of literature "meant that there could be no radical break between sacred and profane. The ordinary embodied the latent power of the cosmos so that everything became a sacrament and every duty a religious task. One could speak, in a sense, of a 'polytheism' in which there were many centers of the sacred which ultimately fused in their macrocosmic source."

⁶⁴Ralph Waldo Emerson, *The Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, edited by William H. Gilman et al., 16 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960–82), 8:438.

epical integrity; are fragmentary; are not shown in their order to the intellect. I look for the new Teacher, that shall follow so far those shining laws, that he shall see them come full circle.”⁶⁵ While Emerson never presented himself as this “new Teacher,” he always anticipated that teacher’s arrival and prepared for the approaching millennium of knowledge.

Even while Emerson was a Unitarian minister, he did not draw the theology for his sermons from the Bible. Rather, he saw the ancient scripture as an example for personal emulation. He did not want his gospel coming from anyone except himself. He believed that “to listen to any second hand gospel is perdition of the first gospel. Jesus was Jesus because he refused to listen to another, and listened at home.”⁶⁶ Regarding the biblical prose specifically, one biographer commented that Emerson “thought that the New Testament, while admirable, lacked epic integrity.”⁶⁷ Thus, he viewed the Bible as not only spiritually unfulfilling, but as aesthetically disappointing.

Although Emerson inspired many after him to attempt to create this “new scripture” for the modern world, no one succeeded. An obvious weakness in Emerson’s recommendation lay in his insistence on living exclusively in the present. Consequently, any new writing was bound to become inadequate as soon as it was finished. His reasoning that “the quality of the imagination is to flow, and not to freeze”⁶⁸ rendered any teaching—no matter how prophetic—archaic after its initial appearance. Hence, any text written down is then frozen in that moment. As Buell noted, “Romantic Scripture is from the start an impossibility because its authority resides in the moment of utterance.”⁶⁹ Regardless of his inability to create new scripture, however, Emerson’s attempt to do so is important in itself because it revealed both his concern for the inadequacy of the Bible and his views on how to produce a new scripture.

Smith, on the other hand, was in a way more traditional, less willing to merely dismiss past scripture if it didn’t seem to apply to the pres-

⁶⁵Emerson, *Collected Works*, 1:92–93.

⁶⁶Emerson, *Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks*, 7:47.

⁶⁷Richardson, *Emerson: The Mind on Fire*, 288.

⁶⁸Emerson, *Collected Works*, 3:20.

⁶⁹Ironically, Buell, *New England Literary Culture*, 183–84, also noted that “the new Bible did not get written, unless one counts *The Book of Mormon*.”

ent. Connected to his view of the eternal nature of truth, he felt that authoritative statements from any prophet in any time period belonged to an ever-expanding canon of scriptural texts. If there was a contradiction between his beliefs and the apparent teachings of the Bible, then that was because the available transcriptions of the Bible were not correct. "I believe the Bible," Smith stated, "as it ought to be, as it came from the pen of the original writers."⁷⁰ Instead of desiring to replace the Bible, as Emerson did, the Mormon prophet felt inspired to revise and expand it.

Smith felt he had authority to perform the tremendous task of updating scripture because he viewed himself, as biographer Richard Bushman put it, as receiving revelation and holding authority "exactly as Christians thought biblical prophets did."⁷¹ Raised in a deeply spiritual family that accepted biblical teachings, he held the Bible in sincere reverence. However, beginning with a visitation from Moroni in 1823, the young Prophet viewed Bible as fallible and therefore capable of alteration. In the early 1830s, he embarked on the daring task of revising the Bible: correcting certain portions, clearing up many doctrinal teachings, and making large expansions to several important passages. Philip Barlow noted: "Joseph Smith clearly experimented with the Bible as he sought to bring its text in line with the insights of his revelations and understanding."⁷² Because Smith embraced the belief that religious truth could not contradict itself, he believed that the Bible needed to be updated to harmonize with God's word revealed to him as prophet. Barlow summarized Smith's view that "it is not the text of the Bible as such, but rather the truths of God that are sacred."⁷³

Not only did Smith find it necessary to revise the Bible, but he also felt comfortable with expanding the scriptural canon. As already mentioned, his first duty as a prophet was to translate the Book of Mormon, which contained passages criticizing those who had removed "plain and precious" truths and other passages affirming the

⁷⁰Joseph Smith, Sermon, October 15, 1843, in Ehat and Cook, *The Words of Joseph Smith*, 256.

⁷¹Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling*, 277. Philip L. Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible: The Place of the Latter-day Saints in American Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 21, noted that Smith succeeded in his revisions because he "placed himself *inside* the Bible story"; emphasis his.

⁷²Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible*, 50.

⁷³*Ibid.*, 57.

need for further scripture to be revealed (1 Ne. 13:26–32; 2 Ne. 29:11). Smith also received and recorded his own revelations which his followers regarded as sacred scripture along with the Bible and the Book of Mormon, now canonized as the Doctrine and Covenants.

But while Smith continued to add more sacred text, he never intended to replace the Bible. On the contrary, his newly revealed scriptural texts often referred to the Bible and substantiated its credibility. Both the Book of Mormon and Joseph's revelations expanded and emphasized the teachings found in the traditional Christian scriptures, and they seemed to base their validity on each other. If the Bible was incorrect, then other scriptures would not have a firm ground to stand on either. In Smith's mind, all of these texts were contained within a much larger canon of truth. He taught that "whatsoever they [servants of the Lord] shall speak when moved upon by the Holy Ghost shall be Scrip=ture shall be the will of the Lord shall be the mind of the Lord ^ shall be the word of the Lord ^ shall be the voice of the Lord & shall be the power of God unto Salvation."⁷⁴ This eclectic view of scripture allowed Smith's theology to be adaptable in the future while not forcing him to deemphasize ancient sacred texts.

Similar to their views on history, both Emerson and Smith exemplified the Romantic notion that new scripture was needed to instruct individuals in the present, yet Smith was unwilling to follow that concept to the point of rejecting the Bible. Both thinkers admired the traditional canon, but still realized that many of its teachings were specific to another time and people. However, their solutions diverged. Emerson boldly advocated scrapping the Bible entirely in favor of new literary texts while Smith felt that revising and expanding the existing canon provided the necessary relevance.

THE IMPORTANCE OF FRIENDSHIP AND COMMUNITY

Another key point of divergence for these contemporary figures was the role of friendship and community. This frequently overlooked theme is important in offering an intriguing insight into the worldview of both men. While at a glance these two thinkers' views may seem sim-

⁷⁴Joseph Smith, Revelation, November 1–3, 1831, in Jensen, Woodford, and Harper, *Revelations and Translations, Vol. 1*, 199; 1981 LDS D&C 68:4.

ilar, a deeper investigation reveals a substantial divergence of opinion. For instance, both had a deep appreciation for friendship. Emerson once wrote in his journal that he “awoke this morning with devout thanksgiving for my friends, the old and the new. Shall I not call God the Beautiful, who daily showeth himself so to me in his gifts?”⁷⁵ In a similar strain, Smith was recorded saying, “How good, and glorious, it has seemed unto me, to find pure and holy friends, who are faithful, just and true, and whose hearts fail not. . . . In the name of the Lord, I feel in my heart to bless them, and to say in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth that these are the ones that shall inherit eternal life.”⁷⁶

But despite their shared appreciation of friendship, Smith and Emerson disagreed on *why* it was important and the functions it served. For Smith, friendship was not merely a way to bring comfort. As Mormon scholar Steven Epperson pointed out, friendship to Smith “was central, rather than peripheral, to his personal life, his public philosophy, and his deepest theological reflections.”⁷⁷ He once claimed that it was his endeavor “to so organize the Church, that the brethren might eventually be independent of every incumbrance beneath the celestial kingdom, by bonds and covenants of mutual friendship, and mutual love.”⁷⁸ He also boldly stated that “friendship is the grand fundamental principle of Mormonism” and predicted that it would revolutionize and civilize the world.⁷⁹ When Smith thought of heaven, he pictured it as a continuation of the friendships and relationships already present: “That same sociality which exists amongst us here will exist among us there only it will be coupled with

⁷⁵Emerson, *Collected Works*, 2:114.

⁷⁶Joseph Smith, Journal, August 16, 1842, in Jessee, *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, 560.

⁷⁷Steven Epperson, “‘The Grand, Fundamental Principle’: Joseph Smith and the Virtue of Friendship,” *Journal of Mormon History* 23, no. 2 (Spring 1997): 80–81.

⁷⁸Manuscript History of the Church, Book A-1, 212–13, LDS Church History Library. Also available in Joseph Smith et al., *The 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 Book, 1971 printing), 1:269.

⁷⁹Joseph Smith, Sermon, July 23, 1843, in Ehat and Cook, *The Words of Joseph Smith*, 234.

eternal glory which we do not enjoy now.”⁸⁰ Friendship was not just meant for comfort—it was an eternal principle.

While Emerson agreed on the importance of friendship, he was hesitant to develop strong relationships with others because of his strong adherence to self-reliance. He feared both relying on others and having others rely on him, capturing the paradox in the following epigram: “The condition which high friendship demands, is, ability to do without it,”⁸¹ meaning that friendship is at its best when both friends can still get along without the other. He believed that “all association must be a compromise, and, what is worst, the very flower and aroma of the flower of each of the beautiful natures disappears as they approach each other.”⁸² When laying out what he saw as Transcendentalists’ common beliefs, Emerson noted that they believed “it is better to be alone than in bad company.”⁸³ His idea of self-reliance was perhaps the main reason he never took part in the communitarian attempts his other transcendentalist friends attempted.

Emerson’s view of friendship had an understandably negative effect on his personal relationships. As Barry Hankins summarized, “Emerson believed that friends were fine as long as one did not depend on them.”⁸⁴ As biographer Lawrence Buell pointed out, “Applied to friendship, Self-Reliance’s depreciation of the merely personal may seem little short of asphyxiation. Emerson’s friends, including [Margaret] Fuller, often chided him for this. ‘You are intellect, I am life,’ she wrote him, both enviously and accusingly.”⁸⁵ Buell also noted that Fuller and Emerson’s second wife, Lidian “never got over Emerson’s refusal to reciprocate [their] own warmth and intimacy.”⁸⁶ One of his contemporaries told him that people often “feel friendless

⁸⁰Joseph Smith, Sermon, April 2, 1843, in *ibid.*, 169.

⁸¹Emerson, *Collected Works*, 2:123.

⁸²*Ibid.*, 2:117.

⁸³*Ibid.*, 1:210.

⁸⁴Barry Hankins, *The Second Great Awakening and the Transcendentalists* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2004), 34.

⁸⁵Buell, *Emerson*, 91; he is citing *The Letters of Margaret Fuller*, edited by Robert Hudspeth (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1983–94): 3:209.

⁸⁶Buell, *Emerson*, 314.

while you are their friend,”⁸⁷ while another concluded: “Emerson is a terrible man to deal with. Those nearest him feel him hard and cold.”⁸⁸

Smith, on the other hand, was openly affectionate and responsive to friends wishing to rely on him. A journal entry from the Nauvoo period provides a counter-example to Emerson:

Took dinner in the North room. I was remarking to Bro[ther] Phelps what a kind, provident wife I had. That when I wanted a little bread and milk she would load the table with so many good things it would destroy my appetite. At this moment Emma came in and Bro[ther] Phelps in continuation of the conversation said, “You must do as [Napoleon] Bonaparte did [and] have a little table, just large enough for yourself and your order thereon.” Mrs Smith replied, “Mr. Smith is a bigger man than Bonaparte. He can never eat without his friends.” I remarked, “That is the wisest thing I ever heard you say.”⁸⁹

Unlike Emerson’s friends who encountered distance and strain, Smith’s friends cherished his devoted love to them and fully reciprocated it themselves. Mere hours before Joseph and his brother, Hyrum, were slain in Carthage Jail, the Prophet’s close friend Willard Richards expressed the love he possessed for the Mormon prophet. When Joseph asked if he would be willing to be imprisoned with him, Richards responded, “Brother Joseph you did not ask me to cross the river with you—you did not ask me to come to Carthage—you did not ask me to come to jail with you—and do you think I would forsake you now? . . . If you are condemned to be hung for treason, I will be hung in your stead, and you shall go free.” When Joseph told him that he could not, Richards sturdily repeated, “I will.”⁹⁰ In fact, Richards was in the same room when the Smith brothers were killed, though he escaped with minor injuries. Also in the murder room and shot four times, though not fatally, John Taylor, another devoted friend, wrote a poem memorializ-

⁸⁷Ralph Waldo Emerson, Letter to Caroline Sturgis, February 1, 1845, in *Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, edited by Ralph L. Rusk and Eleanor M. Tilton, 10 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939–95), 8:5–6.

⁸⁸Franklin B. Sanborn, *Recollections of Seventy Years*, 2 vols. (Boston: R. G. Badger, 1909), 2:349.

⁸⁹Joseph Smith, Journal, January 4, 1844, in Faulring, *An American Prophet’s Record*, 437–38.

⁹⁰*History of the Church*, 6:616.

ing the slain prophet and emphasized their loving friendship:

The saints;—the saints, his only pride,
 For them he liv'd, for them he died!
 Their joys were his;—their sorrows too;—
 He lov'd the saints;—he lov'd Nauvoo.⁹¹

In Smith's theology, relationships and community were essential for the highest degree of salvation. In one of his revelations, Jesus commanded: "If ye are not one ye are not mine."⁹² The Mormons accepted this instruction as stressing the need for community reliance. The Book of Mormon taught that those who joined the Church of Christ were required to "bear one another's burdens . . . mourn with those that mourn . . . and comfort those that stand in need of comfort" (Mosiah 18:8–9). In the Zion society Smith envisioned, all members labored together, sorrowed together, and worshipped together. Book of Mormon scholar Terry L. Givens claimed, "That is the true greatness of [Joseph Smith's] legacy: he forged a genuine community."⁹³

Although Smith's views on community developed throughout his ministry, the theme of unity and mutual reliance on co-believers remained ever-present. An early economic attempt in the 1830s was the "law of consecration," which set up a short-lived but sincere attempt at communal living, the very type of system that Emerson purposely avoided because he feared it would lessen his individuality and self-reliance. In Nauvoo, one of Smith's theological developments was the need for families to be sealed together and thereby to achieve the highest order of salvation: "In the celestial glory there are three heavens or degrees; and in order to obtain the highest, a man must enter into this order of the priesthood, [meaning the new and everlasting covenant of marriage;] and if he does not, he cannot obtain it."⁹⁴ For the Mormon prophet, family, friends, and community not only helped individuals in this life, but proved necessary for exaltation in the next.

⁹¹John Taylor, "The Seer," *Times and Seasons* 5 (January 1, 1845): 767.

⁹²Joseph Smith, Revelation, January 2, 1831, in Jensen, Woodford, and Harper, *Revelations and Translations, Vol. 1*, 73; 1981 LDS D&C 38:27.

⁹³Terry L. Givens, "Lightning Out of Heaven': Joseph Smith and the Forging of Community," *BYU Studies* 45, no. 1 (2006): 16.

⁹⁴Joseph Smith, Revelation, May 16, 1843, in Manuscript History of

Emerson, however, saw no reason for friendship beyond a temporary elevation of the individual. As Lawrence Buell explained, Emerson defined proper friendship as “inspiring each party to become his or her best self—a higher goal than friendship itself, finally to be pursued on one’s own.”⁹⁵ He hoped that friendships would help him grow as an individual, but he did not feel a parallel need for the friendship itself to grow. He desired distance and backed away from the idea of a tight, personal bond. A passage from his essay “Friendship,” explains: “Why insist on rash personal relations with your friend? Why go to his house, or know his mother and brother and sisters? Why be visited by him at your own? Are these material to our covenant? Leave this touching and clawing. Let him be to me a spirit. A message, a thought, a sincerity, a glance from him, I want, but not news, not pottage. I can get politics, and chat, and neighborly conveniences, from cheaper companions. . . . To my friend I write a letter, and from him I receive a letter. That seems to you a little. It suffices me.”⁹⁶ He later added, “I do then with my friends as I do with my books. I would have them where I can find them, but I seldom use them.”⁹⁷

Emerson felt that spending too much time with others would detract from his personal growth and development. He compared relationships and conversations to mixing water with other liquids; mingling two thoughts would, he felt, contaminate the intellectual purity of each.⁹⁸ Smith, however, felt differently: “It is my meditation all the day & more than my meat & drink to know how I shall make the saints of God to comprehend the visions that roll like an overflowing surge, before my mind.”⁹⁹ To him, the social and religious unity of the Mormons was something to strive for and find a way to link his mind and spirit with those of believers or prospective converts. To Emerson, such intense participation in group life would cost him his own ideas:

the Church, Book D-1, 1551; 1981 LDS D&C 131:2.

⁹⁵Buell, *Emerson*, 90. Buell later (168) noted that Emerson “convinced himself that the purpose of relationships was elevation of the respective parties to a plane of existence where live contact became less necessary, became indeed a hindrance to pursuit of the idea.”

⁹⁶Emerson, *Collected Works*, 2:123–24.

⁹⁷*Ibid.*, 2:126.

⁹⁸*Ibid.*, 2:121–22.

⁹⁹Joseph Smith, Sermon, April 16, 1843, in Ehat and Cook, *Words of Joseph Smith*, 196.

"I cannot afford to talk with them and study their visions, lest I lose my own."¹⁰⁰

The idea of community roles generated much debate among the American Romantics. While many espoused Emerson's ideals (most notably Thoreau), many others like George Ripley and Orestes Brownson took positions closer to Smith's goals for communitarian living. Attempts like Brook Farm and Ripley's socialist experiments, like Smith's law of consecration, pursued community goals while still maintaining individualistic tenets. Indeed the divergence in thought between Smith and Emerson is emblematic of the intellectual debate on this very issue in Antebellum America.¹⁰¹

CONCLUSION

While both Joseph Smith and Ralph Waldo Emerson were influenced in varying degrees by the larger Romantic movement of the period, they still differed markedly on key principles. Both yearned for a more intimate path to knowledge, yet the Mormon prophet retained a desire for rationalistic discourse while Emerson shunned such an approach. Both viewed the past as instructive, yet Smith longed for a stronger connection with it while Emerson denounced it as interfering with the present. Both viewed ancient scripture as insufficient for the current age, yet Smith believed that the correct approach was revision and expansion, while Emerson wanted it retired to make room for a replacement. And finally, though both appreciated the role of community and friendship, Smith desired eternal connections among family and friends while Emerson wanted relationships for personal development and nothing more. Indeed, these drastic divergences hint at the problem of intellectual classification as a tool of historical inquiry in and of itself.¹⁰²

Perhaps the overall theme that prevents a harmonious belief between Smith and Emerson is Emerson's monumental need for self-re-

¹⁰⁰Emerson, *Collected Works*, 2:126.

¹⁰¹On this divergence among the Transcendentalists, see Gura, *Transcendentalism*, 15–17.

¹⁰²One literary critic has recently emphasized this problem as it specifically relates to American Romantic thinkers, arguing that intellectual divergences are so abundant among Transcendentalists that it is stretched logic to group them into a defining, coherent movement. Albert Von Frank, "On Transcendentalism: Its History and Uses," *Modern Intellectual History* 6

liance and Smith's belief in an intervening higher power. In an editorial for the Transcendentalist journal *The Dial*, Emerson outlined the broad beliefs that he felt comprised the main principles of a Transcendentalist: "The height, the deity of man is to be self-sustained, to need no gift, no foreign force. . . . All that you call the world is the shadow of that substance which you are, the perpetual creation of the powers of thought, of those that are dependent and of those that are independent of your will. . . . You think me the child of my circumstances: I make my circumstance."¹⁰³ Emerson dreaded being reliant on anything besides himself, including God, the natural universe, or personal friends. This undergirding obsession motivated his attempts to connect with the Transcendental Oversoul that would enable him to reach his fullest individual potential. To make this happen, he alone could make his own circumstances. He closed his watershed text, *Nature*, with a petition that he himself would attempt to emblemize: "Build, therefore, your own world. As fast as you conform your life to the pure idea in your mind, that will unfold its great proportions."¹⁰⁴

Smith, on the other hand, believed that there were eternal laws to which both God and humankind were subject. His revelations spoke of infinite conditions that all had to follow: "all Kingdoms have a law given . . . & unto every law there are certain bounds also, & conditions. all beings who abide not in th[e\o]se conditions not Justified."¹⁰⁵ In other scriptural texts, he taught that even God could not ignore these outside eternal laws, lest He should fall (Alma 42). These laws included the stipulation that all those hoping to obtain the highest of God's kingdoms of salvation and exaltation needed to do so in a family and communal unit.

As this article has shown, Joseph Smith and Ralph Waldo Emerson, while sharing many common ideas, differed on certain crucial principles, showing a variety of manifestations among these two sig-

(Winter 2009): 189–205. While this warning is both fair and useful, one can easily overstate these differences when compared to the worldview shared by many Transcendentalists.

¹⁰³Emerson, *Collected Works*, 1:203–4.

¹⁰⁴*Ibid.*, 1:45.

¹⁰⁵Joseph Smith, Revelation, December 27–28, 1832, in Jensen, Woodford, and Harper, *Revelations and Translations, Vol. 1*, 297; 1981 LDS D&C 88:38.

nificant antebellum figures. While this study has focused primarily on their rebellion against their present culture, the role of historical Christianity, views on scripture, and the importance of community, many other convergences and divergences can and should be drawn from their beliefs. Comparing Smith to his cultural contemporaries, including those not necessarily known as religious reformers, shines a brighter light on and provides a better context for Smith's thinking. This approach allows Smith's readers to place him in a larger intellectual framework, noting succinct similarities while also discovering distinct divergences. Only when placed inside a larger picture and contrasted with his intellectual contemporaries can Joseph Smith's unique ideas come into clearer view.

MORMON ROSIES: WOMEN AND WAR WORK IN MANTI

Amanda Midgley Borneman

WORLD WAR II AFFECTED INDIVIDUALS across the nation, both on the home front and on the front lines. The need for men in the military prompted industry and government to turn to women to fuel the war machine. Many women took war jobs, including older women and married women who joined the work force in larger percentages than in previous decades.¹ Yet society did not overlook the growing involvement of women in the labor force. In regard to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, some women work-

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¹Antonette Chambers Noble, “Utah’s Rosies: Women in the Utah War Industries during World War II,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 59 (Spring 1991): 126; Miriam B. Murphy, “Gainfully Employed Women: 1896–1950,” in *Women in Utah History: Paradigm or Paradox?* edited by Patricia Lyn Scott and Linda Thatcher (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2005), 211, 213; Antonette Chambers, “Utah’s Rosies: Women in the Utah War Industries during World War II” (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1987), 105–6.

ers came up against admonitions of their Church leaders about taking war jobs. Studies have found that female labor force participation in Utah was high and did not differ in large measure from national trends yet do not discuss why and how women worked in spite of Church pressure.² Drawing chiefly on oral interviews and questionnaires, this article goes beyond other studies to try to determine how individual women accommodated work in their personal and religious lives and found support in their families and communities.

Sanpete County, nestled in a mountain valley 120 miles south of Salt Lake City, and its clustered communities in central Utah were still decidedly rural, agricultural, religious, and close-knit in the early decades of the twentieth century. During the war, the county sent 11 percent of its population off to fight and experienced the rationing and shortages common to many areas.³ Yet the county seat, Manti, received a new industry in connection with the war, a parachute plant slated for a work force in an economically troubled agricultural area.

²Eunice Louise Wheeler, "Female Labor Force Participation: Economic and Religious Trends in Utah, 1940–1970" (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1974), 130–32, in examining the LDS periodical the *Improvement Era*, found that religious views regarding working women remained negative from 1940 to 1970, even as the actual labor force participation of Utah's married women and women of childbearing age increased. Noble, "Utah's Rosies," 123–45, also argued, on the basis of articles in the *Relief Society Magazine*, that many Utah women were pressured by the LDS Church not to work. In this light, Noble asserted, "What is most noteworthy about the Utah experience is how similar it was to the national experience." See also Chambers, "Utah's Rosies"; Murphy, "Gainfully Employed Women"; and Jill Mulvay Derr, Janath Russell Cannon, and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, *Women of Covenant: The Story of Relief Society* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book/Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1992), 290–91.

³Allan Kent Powell, *Utah Remembers World War II* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1991), xii; Albert C. T. Antrei and Allen D. Roberts, *A History of Sanpete County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Sanpete County Commission, 1999), 268; *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Characteristics of the Population*, Volume II, Part VII (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), 39, 61. For a discussion of 1940s Manti and its characteristics, see Amanda Sue Midgley Borneman, "Proud to Send Those Parachutes Off": Central Utah's Rosies during World War II" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 2006), 20–29.

C. E. Fauntleroy's Parachute Company of Utah was a private enterprise with government contracts that manufactured parachutes for the armed forces from April 1942 to July 1944, after which parachute production continued under the Reliance Manufacturing Company through the duration of the war.⁴ The plant repaired and produced individual parachutes, cargo parachutes, and bomb parachutes over the course of its operation. Hundreds of workers from Sanpete and neighboring counties, of whom the vast majority were women, did everything from sewing and inspection to supervision of production at the plant.⁵

Oral interviews and questionnaires have been conducted for twenty-nine workers at the Manti Parachute Plant, twenty-seven of them women. During their war work, twelve of the women were married (one married after working for a year but later returned to her employment), eleven were single, two were widowed, and two were divorced (one divorced during her work at the plant). Eleven of the women had children, who ranged in age from infants to teenagers.⁶

Statements cautioning women, particularly mothers, about en-

⁴"Parachute Plant Given to Manti," *Mt. Pleasant Pyramid*, April 10, 1942; "Ground Broken for New Parachute Building," *Manti Messenger*, June 26, 1942; "New Building for Chute Plant Started; Age Limit Raised," *Ephraim Enterprise*, June 26, 1942; Luzon Sondrup Longaker, "Memories of the Parachute Company of Utah and Reliance Manufacturing Company, World War II," typescript, January 1985, 1, photocopy in my possession; Antrei and Roberts, *A History of Sanpete County*, 271; Betty Keller Anderson, Interviewed by Don Norton, Manti, Utah, July 7, 1994, 2, copy of transcript of audio recording in my possession.

⁵C. E. Fauntleroy, Letter to Herbert B. Maw, September 12, 1942, in file labeled "Parachute Company of Utah," Governor Maw Correspondence 1942, Utah State Archives, Salt Lake City (hereafter Maw Correspondence). Reports of the plant's total employment varied anywhere from 150 people at the factory's outset to peak employment numbers around 450, although Fauntleroy had initially hoped for three shifts employing 1,000 to 1,200 women.

⁶Don Norton and I conducted oral interviews of former workers able to be contacted and willing to be interviewed. Antonette Chambers Noble administered questionnaires for her research for her master's thesis, "Utah's Rosies." I thank Don Norton and Ann Noble for the use of their research. For further discussion on the oral interviews and questionnaires, in-

tering the workplace and about the social and religious obligations of women reached LDS members, including those at the parachute factory, in several ways. Many women in the LDS community belonged to the Relief Society or were influenced by this organization in some way. The *Relief Society Magazine*, published by the general board of the Church's women's organization, was, according to sociologist Lowry Nelson, the most popular magazine after the *Reader's Digest* in the Sanpete community of Ephraim in 1950.⁷ This *Relief Society Magazine* generally discouraged women's employment outside the home in the 1940s. In a May 1942 editorial, Donna D. Sorensen, second counselor in the Relief Society general presidency, stated: "This Mother's Day should find the mothers of the Church with young children, at home, devoting their energies to the proper upbringing of those children as their most patriotic gesture in the war" rather than working in a war industry.⁸ Mark K. Allen, identified as "Psychologist, Utah State Training School," warned in another article: "Children may be overlooked in the great task of winning the war" and "the regimenting of women into arms plants and civilian defense" could "threaten the status quo of the family." New war jobs would attract mothers who did not need the work financially. High pay would cause "a new independence of women" because "women will be paid more than their husbands have been paid, and as a consequence there may be a shifting to or sharing by fathers of motherly functions." Societal ills from such working mothers would "create many problems of domestic adjustment and child management. Divorce may increase, and also juvenile delinquency."⁹ Relief Society General President Amy Brown Lyman's remarks represented a similar, though more general, strain in a talk given over Utah radio sta-

cluding limitations and a full listing of sources, see Borneman, "Proud to Send Those Parachutes Off," 16–19, 116–19.

⁷Lowry Nelson, *The Mormon Village: A Pattern and Technique of Land Settlement* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1952), 172. The *Relief Society Magazine's* circulation Churchwide rose during the war from 55,404 in 1941 to 74,032 in 1945. Patricia Ann Mann, "A History of the *Relief Society Magazine*, 1914–1970" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1971), 141.

⁸Donna D. Sorensen, "Editorial," *Relief Society Magazine*, May 1942, 336–37; Derr, Cannon and Beecher, *Women of Covenant*, 278, 280, 436.

⁹Mark K. Allen, "Preserving Our Homes in Wartime," *Relief Society Magazine*, July 1942, 453–56.

tion KSL on March 14, 1943. She counseled: "Relief Society women are first of all homemakers and mothers"; and "from among the multiplicity of tasks which come to women today, we should choose wisely."¹⁰

Leading men in the Church reasserted the value of womanhood and motherhood as well. The First Presidency's message of the October 1942 general conference counseled parents: "This divine service of motherhood can be rendered only by mothers. It may not be passed to others. . . . The mother who entrusts her child to the care of others, that she may do non-motherly work, whether for gold, for fame, or for civic service, should remember that 'a child left to himself bringeth his mother to shame.'"¹¹ In 1943, Milton Bennion, general superintendent of the Deseret Sunday School Union, tackled questions about women's equality and rights in the *Relief Society Magazine*, again emphasizing woman's role in motherhood and asking women to uphold "standards of moral and spiritual welfare."¹² In April 1944 general conference, Richard L. Evans of the Seventy stated, "War does not change our obligations and responsibilities concerning our children";¹³ and in subsequent years, President David O. McKay and Apostle Joseph F. Merrill expressed concern that women's employment might contribute to choices not to raise families, to juvenile delinquency, and to divorce.¹⁴

In summary, the LDS Church, through the *Relief Society Magazine* and through the addresses of prominent Church leaders, took the position that women's social and religious obligations centered on home and family. Women should stay home with their children and raise them, resisting pleas to work in the war-time factories and temp-

¹⁰Amy Brown Lyman, "Women and the Home Today," *Relief Society Magazine*, April 1943, 236-39, 297.

¹¹Message of the First Presidency, Heber J. Grant, J. Reuben Clark, and David O. McKay, October 1942, *130th Semi-annual General Conference Report of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (hereafter *Conference Report*) (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1942), 12-13.

¹²Milton Bennion, "L.D.S. Girls and Women in Wartime," *Relief Society Magazine*, October 1943, 606, 650.

¹³Richard L. Evans, April 1944, *Conference Report*, 47.

¹⁴David O. McKay, April 1945, *Conference Report*, 141; Joseph F. Merrill, April 1946, *Conference Report*, 28.

tations of monetary income. With women and children in their proper place—the home—calamities in the moral and social spheres of society would be avoided.

In an environment of such discourse about working women, it is revealing to examine how the women working at the Manti parachute plant tried to determine how (or if) the discourse affected them, their choices, and their feelings about work. Some women were working because of economic necessity, particularly those who were widowed or divorced, even though they had children. Some women were single and did not have children. Others were inactive members of the Church, and others had grown children. Still others quit working when they married, while a number worked despite all these factors. In light of the Church's statements, those whom one might expect to be most reluctant to enter paid employment would be active LDS mothers of young children.

Many of the women interviewed who worked at the plant remained active in the Church at least to some degree. Thus, in regard to general Church activity for these women, a few of their recollections are enlightening. Most of the women at the plant were “born and raised Mormon” like LuElla Thornton, a woman in her early twenties with one small child whose husband was in the armed forces. In fact, Thornton grew up in the small central Utah town of Glenwood “never knowing there were other churches” besides the LDS Church.¹⁵

Apparently the plant was not open on Sundays, or at least the Parachute Company of Utah operated by Fauntleroy appears not to have been. As a result, the women were able to continue attending Sunday services if they chose to do so. Maurine Draper, a young woman with two children who divorced during the war years, attended the LDS services in Manti weekly, after which she enjoyed dinner at her mother's house on Sunday afternoons. She was unable to attend Relief Society, which then met exclusively during the week, because of her work schedule but remembered that her mother was a Relief Society president. Alice Clark, a young married woman with no children during the war, also attended her LDS meetings, including

¹⁵LuElla Peterson Thornton, Interviewed by Amanda Borneman, American Fork, Utah, October 17, 2005, 4–5; unless otherwise noted transcripts of my digital recordings and Don Norton's audio recordings of all interviews are in my possession.

Relief Society when the timing of her shift permitted.¹⁶ Marjorie Anderson, a teenager who worked at the plant, attended Church regularly as well and even became the secretary of the Mutual and an attendant to the queen of the Gold and Green Ball, a feat which required perfect attendance at Mutual.¹⁷ Louise Hulme was the organizer for the Manti North Ward Relief Society and had to balance her time carefully to fit in both that responsibility and her employment responsibilities. Her supervisor remembered that Louise “came to work early and when it was time for Relief Society she ran over to the chapel, played for the opening exercises, ran back and sewed on a few cones, and returned to the chapel for the closing song, then back to work.” Another woman worker was a niece of then-Church President Heber J. Grant. When the work became difficult for the women, she would encourage them by having repeat her Uncle Heber’s favorite Emerson quotation aloud with her: “That which you persist in doing becomes easier to do, not because the nature of the task has changed but your ability to do it has increased.” Her supervisor said this recital was inspiring and gave the women “the desire to reach greater heights.”¹⁸

Though possibilities for conflict undoubtedly existed for women workers at the plant in regard to religion and motherhood, it is clear that they all had to juggle multiple responsibilities; working at the plant did not mean less work for them at home. During the war, Dr. Adam S. Bennion, a well-known educator who had been superin-

¹⁶Maurine Braithwaite Draper, Interviewed by Borneman, Manti, Utah, September 17, 2005, 8; Alice Fredricksen Clark, Interviewed by Borneman, Centerfield, Utah, September 17, 2005, 5.

¹⁷Marjorie Jenson Anderson, Interviewed by Borneman, Richfield, Utah, September 17, 2005, 5. “Mutual” refers to the Young Women’s and Young Men’s Mutual Improvement Associations, LDS organizations dedicated to the spiritual, social, and recreational development of youth. Gold and Green Balls, featuring the Mutual’s colors, were annual dances held at ward and stake levels. They were popular events in the mid-twentieth century. Phyllis C. Jacobson, “Dance,” and Elaine Anderson Cannon, “Young Women,” *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 1:354–55; 4:1616–19. Mutual met on a week night, so Marjorie could attend when the timing of her shift did not interfere.

¹⁸Lila Bartholomew Keller, “The Independent Parachute Company,” typescript, n.d., 4–5, photocopy in my possession.

tendent of LDS Church Education, was commissioned to give a series of talks over KSL radio. Bennion visited the plant and in a November 1943 radio address lauded the efforts of women who “work a full shift at the plant and then hurry home to take care of their own household duties and some of them are good enough to look after the children of other mothers who then replace them on a second shift.” He said that, from his perspective, “no mere man can understand fully what a mother goes through who takes care of a family and who works at a factory as well. I think I could detect that some of these women were a bit tired and under somewhat of a strain. I marvel that they did not show it more.”¹⁹ Even if they did not show it, however, the women who did all of the housekeeping in addition to full-time jobs were probably exhausted. One woman said, “We started work at eight o’clock in the morning, and I was glad to get home after work,” even though she “had to stay up till midnight to get things done at home.”²⁰ Another worker remembered, “We were always busy working at the plant. Then we’d come home and fix dinner, scrub on the board, [and] iron.”²¹

On the whole Manti’s citizens appear to have accepted, respected, and supported the women who worked at the parachute factory. Rather than being ostracized for their work efforts, these women seemed to be comfortable in their surroundings. Support for working women came from parents, spouses, and community members. Reasons for such support stemmed from the patriotic fervor of the era, the economic strains from the recent depression, and the family and community networks who provided child care options.

¹⁹Adam S. Bennion, “When Two Generations Meet,” address, KSL radio station, Salt Lake City, November 11, 1943, transcript printed in the *Manti Messenger*, November 19, 1943. Bennion’s address was also printed on the same date in the *Ephraim Enterprise*, *Parowan Times*, and *Piute County News*. Bennion had been superintendent of LDS Church Education and a member of the Deseret Sunday School Union Board. He was employed by Utah Power and Light and became an apostle in April 1953. John Andrew Braithwaite, “Adam Samuel Bennion: Educator, Businessman, and Apostle” (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1965).

²⁰Lillian Keller, Interviewed by Don Norton, Manti, Utah, April 1, 1997, 1.

²¹Dortha Bagley Braithwaite, Interviewed by Don Norton, Manti, Utah, March 25, 1997, 3.

Apparently the wartime fervor of the time, coupled with the parachute plant as a war industry, helped assuage potential pangs of conscience about being employed outside the home, as did the related belief that the war and its industries were temporary rather than permanent.²² One Mount Pleasant man, who was serving in the armed forces during the war, was interviewed in 2005 and asked his opinion about the potential conflict resulting from Church opinions regarding women working in the 1940s. Tellingly, he responded that the war era “was a different time.” Previous to the war’s outbreak, “women generally stayed in the home.” But when “the war was on,” it was a decisive difference.²³ Wartime conditions affected the homes and communities of Americans everywhere. War news and war preparations bombarded even the smallest communities. The local pa-

²²When the plant ceased its parachute production at the conclusion of the war, several women continued to work in peacetime sewing industries in the Manti area. Reliance made jackets and other apparel until it was sold in 1947. Carlisle Manufacturing Company came in the 1950s and operated sewing plants in Ephraim and Gunnison for twenty years. In 1961, the Manti Improvement Business Association and members of local women’s clubs collected donations to help remodel and buy the building that housed the parachute plant in order to lease it to a clothing manufacturer. Their efforts attracted Apparel, Inc., of Seattle, makers of Pacific Trail Sportswear, which opened in 1961 with a roster of 100 women and five men employees and expanded to more than 150 employees within the year. A second Apparel plant opened in 1962 in nearby Richfield. The company stayed in the area until 1981. The Manti plant subsequently passed into other hands, including Pyke Manufacturing Company and River’s West. Utah Sportswear opened a plant in Mt. Pleasant in 1980 as well. “Manti Gets First Utah Post-War Plant,” *Manti Messenger* and *Ephraim Enterprise*, both June 30, 1944; Susie Fields Tatton, Interviewed by Don Norton, March 25, 1997, Manti, Utah, 4–8; Nita Price Madsen, Interviewed by Don Norton, Manti, Utah, March 25, 1997, 4; Antrei and Roberts, *A History of Sanpete County*, 266–71; “Open House Scheduled by Factory at Manti,” *Deseret News*, October 6, 1961; Bruce Jennings, “Manti Enjoys New Unity, Hopefulness with ‘Operation Bootstrap’ Success,” *Deseret News*, February 28, 1962; “Firm to Open New Plant at Richfield,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 19, 1962; “New Business for Richfield,” *Deseret News*, June 27, 1962; “Clothing Factory to Double Staff at Richfield,” *Deseret News*, June 14, 1962; *Utah Economic and Business Review* 21 (April 1961): 4–5.

²³Bert Ruesch, Interviewed by Borneman, Mt. Pleasant, Utah, No-

pers of central Utah printed the names of draftees, new civilian rations, bond requirements, war drives, war work, and the need for increased food production, week after week.²⁴

The parachute plant played on those emotions to the fullest. Plant advertisements claimed that “women working at the parachute plant in Manti are performing one of the most important tasks in the winning of the war.” They issued a clarion call for involvement: “We have a job to do and we must do it now. . . . There is not a home in the central Utah section that has not been affec[t]ed in some way by this war. Many homes have been saddened by the news that a son or relative has been killed. The longer this conflict goes on the more home[s] are going to be stricken.”²⁵ Other articles and advertisements claimed, “Women of southern Utah can now help win the war in their own home territory,”²⁶ and “the quicker you join your neighbors and friends in this vital war work the sooner we can win this war and get our boys back home!”²⁷

Economic opportunity was also vital in the support of women working. One local parachute plant advertisement is telling: “Work

vember 26, 2005, 4.

²⁴Examples include: “How the War Will Affect Civilians,” *Ephraim Enterprise*, December 19, 1941; and the following *Manti Messenger* articles: “Manti Has Done Well, But More Can and Should Be Done,” July 3, 1942; “Draft Board Calls More Men,” July 17, 1942; “Modern Mormon Battalion Started,” July 17, 1942; “One Hundred Nine Manti Men in Military Forces,” and “Utah Boys Making Good,” both in July 19, 1942; “Sanpete Lags In Buying Bonds,” September 25, 1942; and “War Column Was a Great Job,” February 1, 1946.

²⁵“More Women Are Needed at Manti Parachute Factory,” *Piute County News Junction*, October 29, 1943.

²⁶“Southern Utah Women Offered Opportunity for War Work,” *Garfield County News*, December 31, 1942.

²⁷Parachute Company of Utah Advertisement, *Parowan Times*, November 12, 1943. Similar examples include advertisements in *Mt. Pleasant Pyramid*, December 25, 1942; *Manti Messenger*, December 25, 1942; *Ephraim Enterprise*, December 25, 1942; *Manti Messenger*, October 8, 1943; *Ephraim Enterprise*, October 8, 1943; *Manti Messenger*, November 12, 1943; *Ephraim Enterprise*, November 12, 1943. Another slogan, “Back the Attack” was featured in the parachute company’s advertisements in *Manti Messenger*, September 3, 1943; *Manti Messenger*, January 21, 1944; and *Ephraim Enterprise*, June 9, 1944.

for national defense and *keep your earnings in your own home*.²⁸ Similarly, one man's 1942 opinion about the parachute plant coming to Manti revealed economic relief through his statement, "Now we can live here until we die."²⁹ Another said the parachute plant "looks like a golden opportunity. Our women have been holding on[;] now they [are going] to be OK with a good job."³⁰ Retrospective comments also focus on economic opportunity. Vertis Nielson, a married man in his late twenties who worked at the plant and whose wife was also employed there, remembered that "community reaction to the factory was good," seemingly because of the opportunity for jobs.³¹ When asked in 2005 about the potential conflict raised by Church emphasis on the home and opportunities for women's employment, Zola Ruesch, who was a single woman in her twenties during the war, said "Women were just happy to have a job." Her answers point toward economic necessity and supporting family income. "I think it was a help," she said. "That was the way I looked at it. Every woman helped." Her mother, a farmwife, contributed significantly by doing such chores as milking twenty-two cows. The reality was that every woman worked, contributing to the family's financial security. Even in a wage-economy situation, that rural conflation of labor still held true. On the farm, however, a mother could work with and near her children to a much greater degree than in a factory.³²

Accordingly, child care is another measure for gauging support for these working women. If child care was easily accessible, whether provided by a government-sponsored facility or by willing family or community members, women with children would be

²⁸Parachute Company of Utah advertisement, *Mt Pleasant Pyramid*, December 25, 1942; emphasis mine.

²⁹Ralph Hougaard, quoted in "Parachute Plant to Employ Hundreds," *Manti Messenger*, April 10, 1942.

³⁰Adolph Hope, quoted in "Parachute Plant to Employ Hundreds," *Manti Messenger*, April 10, 1942.

³¹Vertis Roy Nielson, Interviewed by Don Norton, Ephraim, Utah, February 21, 1997, 1.

³²Zola Anderson Ruesch, Interviewed by Borneman, Mt. Pleasant, Utah, November 26, 2005, 2, 4. For local responses on difficulties in making a living in the area, see "Faith in Ephraim and Sanpete," *Ephraim Enterprise*, June 18, 1942.

more likely to take wage work. One WPA-sponsored “nursery school” was held in the basement of the Manti library and another was located in Ephraim. According to one woman’s recollections, three local women and some teenage girls worked at Manti’s. Approximately twenty children were cared for each day, were served lunch, and enjoyed inside toys and a play area outside. The cost was forty to fifty cents per day, in contrast to seventy-five cents in other areas of the state. Only preschool children and children of wage-earning mothers could enroll; however, this category included women who worked in other occupations outside the parachute plant.³³ Nursery schools were federally financed through the WPA until April 1943, when the Manti school board which supervised the nursery school, applied for more government funding through the Lanham Act.³⁴ The funds were awarded with the proviso that the Manti city council, school district, and individual mothers continued to underwrite the facility’s heat, electricity, water, and playground rental.³⁵

These nursery schools were the subject of a front-page article in the *Manti Messenger* which lauded the “great effort” made to continue them and the positive qualities of such a service, inviting all the working women in the area to take advantage of child-care opportunities:

³³“Great Effort Made to Hold Nursery Schools,” *Manti Messenger*, May 7, 1943; Blanch Garbe [probable author], reminiscences about Manti’s nursery school, typescript, n. d., 1, photocopy in my possession; Betty Anderson, Interview, 4.

³⁴The WPA (Works Progress Administration), was established during the Great Depression and put many unemployed to work on government projects. One WPA project was establishing nursery schools. The Lanham Act (1942) “provided government funds for the establishment of child care centers in communities most affected by increased war production. It provided for day care and after-school-care funding for children two to fourteen.” Qualifying to receive such funds was difficult because of bureaucratic requirements; local governments that did receive funding were required to pay part of the bill. Local school boards commonly took charge of the centers’ daily operation. Emily Yellin, *Our Mother’s War: American Women at Home and at the Front during World War II* (New York: Simon and Schuster Free Press, 2004), 60.

³⁵“Great Effort Made to Hold Nursery Schools,” *Manti Messenger*, May 7, 1943; Garbe, Reminiscences, 1; Betty Anderson, Interview, 4.

The Nursery Schools have been given a very high rating in efficiency. Their program offers young children essential physical care and affection during the hours when mothers are employed. The benefits to children include: an environment conducive to the individual growth of his own rate of development [sic] by health inspection, balanced diet, a noon meal and two supplemental feedings, Rest and Sleep [sic] periods, Outdoor [sic] and indoor play, experience with music, art and conductive materials, stories, pictures, and pets, opportunities for sharing responsibilities, taking turns, recognizing rights of self and others, giving and receiving warm affection.³⁶

The article reported “some question as to the need of a child-care center in Manti” and countered: “There is an apparent need” but “there is also evidence that people do not take advantage of the service offered.” The article concluded by inviting female wage-earners who worked in the pea factory, the parachute plant, in stores, or as teachers or beauticians to apply to enroll their children. As gauged by the enthusiastic endorsement of the *Messenger* and financial support from Manti’s city government and school district, child care was viewed as positive and as meriting community support. These three institutions were significant regional voices.³⁷

These nursery schools were a viable option for several parachute plant workers. Of the twenty-seven women for whom data have been collected, eleven had children and four (about 36 percent) used the nursery school. Apparently all four had at least one preschool child. Asked why she took a war job, Ruth Scow said her eleven- and six-year-olds were in school during the day, and the nursery school was available for her three-year-old son. Vera Sorensen, a married woman in her thirties, had six children, ranging in age from a teenager to an infant. The nursery school provided help with her child care needs. Luzon Longaker, a young divorcee, had a toddler who was cared for by the nursery school and her parents. Betty Anderson, a young married woman in her early twenties, sometimes registered her son, Evan, in the nursery school.³⁸ In all four cases, these mothers of young children had an easier time in working outside the home for wages thanks to the nursery school.

³⁶“Great Effort Made to Hold Nursery Schools,” *Manti Messenger*, May 7, 1943.

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸Ruth Scow, Questionnaire, July 28, 1984, 1, 3; Vera Sorensen, Ques-

The other seven employed mothers relied heavily upon those nearest them in their small, rural communities: family and friends. These arrangements satisfied their motherly obligations and alleviated or resolved possible conflict about working outside the home, especially as they saw close family and friends as excellent substitutes for themselves. Wretha Nielsen, married with two children ages eight and thirteen, had her mother and a neighbor take care of the children when they were not in school. Doris Hansen was a widow whose mother often cared for her two children, ages four and eight. LuElla Thornton lived with her sisters and worked the morning shift while her sisters cared for her baby daughter; they went to work when she came home. Maurine Draper's mother cared for Maurine's baby son while an aunt cared for her young daughter. Edith Bown had a situation similar to Thornton's; her mother, who worked the opposite shift, watched Edith's child while Edith worked. Asked if she felt she was still being a good mother, Bown claimed that her mother was an ideal replacement for herself. She did not feel that her daughter was disadvantaged in any way by being in grandmother's care. Lila Keller's husband was a farmer, which allowed for some family flexibility. He cared for their two children, ages twelve and ten in 1942, while she was at work and they were not in school. Bernitta Barney was a widowed mother of a four- and a seven-year-old, who stayed with neighbors when not at school. She said that finding child care was difficult for her, perhaps because she did not have a local, supportive family network like other women. Some of the women said their older children, many in their teens, were at school part of the day and could stay home alone until their mothers came home from work.³⁹

In contrast, family concerns could also prompt women to quit work at the plant, illustrating that women had their limits. The

tionnaire, August 4, 1984, 1; Luzon Sondrup Longaker, Questionnaire, January 1985, 1, photocopies of all three in my possession; Betty Anderson, Interview, 4; Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Church Census, 1940, Brigham Young University Family History Library, Microfilm of handwritten cards.

³⁹Wretha Mae Peterson Nielsen, Questionnaire, 1984, 1, photocopy in my possession; Doris S. Morley Hansen, Questionnaire, January 1985, 1, photocopy in my possession; Thornton, Interview, 1; Draper, Interview, 6; Edith Buchanan Bown and Lila Bartholomew Keller, telephone interview

pressure to stay home with their children and the weight of multiple burdens could be heavy. As early as the fall of 1942, Fauntleroy management complained to Governor Maw that “a number of women were forced to leave work to care for their children. The older children who had been caring for the young ones during the summer months returned to school at this time.”⁴⁰ At least three of the twenty-seven women left their employment for child-related reasons. The widowed Doris Hansen eventually quit her job to “take care of children.”⁴¹ Wretha Nielsen quit because she was pregnant. Similarly, LuRae Munk Greenwood left her work when she was seven months pregnant with her first child and sewing all day became physically too arduous. Other women quit once they married or moved away. Probably no one matched the amazing record of an unidentified Manti mother of fifteen, who worked a full day, went into labor, birthed her baby, and was back at work three days later.⁴²

A related question is how much family support employed women felt. Younger women as a group had almost universal support from their parents. In fact, it seems that many parents expected their single daughters to find work if they could. Georgia Jolley, who moved away from her home in Koosharem, Utah, as a teenager to work at the plant, remarked that her parents trusted her as the oldest of eight children.⁴³ Nita Madsen, another teenager who moved to Manti to work, said her war work “was fine with my parents. Two of my brothers had to go into the service, and my father said that seeing as how the boys had to go, why he thought us two

by Sarah Fowers Lewis, quoted in “Temporary Tents of the Sky,” typescript, 20, photocopy in my possession; Bernitta Barney, Questionnaire, mid-1980s, 1, photocopy in my possession; Lila Bartholomew Keller, Interviewed by Don Norton, Manti, Utah, April 1, 1997, 4; Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Church Census, 1940.

⁴⁰C. E. Fauntleroy, Letter to Herbert B. Maw, November 9, 1942, Governor Maw Correspondence, 1942.

⁴¹Hansen, Questionnaire, 3.

⁴²Nielsen, Questionnaire, 3; Zola Ruesch, Interview, 3; Betty Anderson, Interview, 6–7; Margaret LuRae Munk Greenwood, Interviewed by Don Norton, Orem, Utah, March 7, 1997, 4–5.

⁴³Georgia Torgerson Jolley, Interviewed by Don Norton, Lindon, Utah, March 27, 1997, 4.

girls should do the same thing.”⁴⁴ It appears that in this instance, the father looked upon his boys and girls equally in the sense that both could and should contribute to the war effort. Alice Anderson, a young single woman, also felt her parents’ support and approval for her work at the plant because her two brothers were in the armed forces. Maurine Draper’s parents were pleased with her job because it was hard to find work locally previous to the plant’s opening.⁴⁵ LuElla Thornton remembered that her parents felt that she and her sisters “needed something to do.” After high school graduation, the girls were expected to work to support themselves. Thornton also remembered that her husband, who had been drafted and served in Italy and Africa, was happy about her opportunities.⁴⁶ Carol Beesley’s parents likewise wanted her “to learn to be on my own.”⁴⁷

As LuElla Thornton’s example shows, husbands, especially of the younger women, also communicated support for their employment at the parachute plant. Lila Keller was in her thirties and the mother of two, headed the Independent Parachute Workers (sub-contractors from the parachute plant). She worked sixteen hours a day for the first six months of the plant’s operation. Her farmer-husband lightened her load by not only watching their children when they were home from school but also helped in other ways. “Bless my husband’s heart,” she said warmly. “He’d bring me my lunch, he’d bank the fires, he’d clean the walks.”⁴⁸ Vera Sorensen, who worked in the plant, remembered that her husband was glad she had a job. He also watched the children when they were not in school. When relatives were also employed at the plant—mothers, sisters, husbands—the employment outside the home seemed more normal. A few women whose fathers were World War I veterans felt strong support from them because of the plant’s connection to the war effort

⁴⁴Madsen, Interview, 1.

⁴⁵Alice Johnson Anderson, Phone interview by Borneman, March 18, 2006, 1, notes from phone conversation in my possession; Draper, Interview, 6.

⁴⁶Thornton, Interview, 5, 4.

⁴⁷Carol Ney Beesley, Interviewed by Borneman, Mt. Pleasant, Utah, November 26, 2005, 5.

⁴⁸Lila Keller, Interview, 7.

and patriotic duty.⁴⁹

The women at the parachute plant also thought that their male co-workers were supportive. Zola Ann Jensen, a young single woman, felt that the women worked harmoniously because they shared similar backgrounds. She remembered the men at the plant as both “friendly and helpful.” Wryly, she commented that men accepted women’s work during the war “a lot better than women are accepted now [1984] in the work field.”⁵⁰ Bernitta Barney explained that each man had his own job, an arrangement that probably prevented competition for the same position between men and women. Another factor was almost certainly a result of the gendered nature of work at the parachute plant. Since making the parachutes consisted primarily of sewing, Manti women were not taking men’s jobs, such as in other manufacturing jobs during the war around the country.⁵¹

Only one of the women surveyed, Wretha Nielsen, reported direct opposition from her family for working at the parachute plant. Unlike some of the other women, Nielsen’s mother had never worked outside the home, so when she got a job, “They did not like it. I had never worked during my marriage.” (She had worked before her marriage at Fairview’s post office.) Her husband also “did not want me to work, but we were paying for a new home and large dry farm and in the midst of the serious depression.” Later during the war, Nielsen also worked at the Ogden Air Service Command at Hill Field. She said her income helped “pay for our home and keep our dry farm, which we were losing [sic].” In answer to the questionnaire’s query about whether working during World War II had an impact on her, she responded, “only that I heled [sic] out with our finances.” It appears that in Nielsen’s case, economic necessity was the only factor that made her work experi-

⁴⁹Sorensen, Questionnaire, 2; Marjorie Anderson, Interview, 1-2; Thornton, Interview, 1-2; Draper, Interview, 1-3; Edith Buchanan Bown and Lucien Bown, Interviewed by Don Norton, Manti, Utah, July 2, 1994, 1-3.

⁵⁰Zola Ann Jensen, Questionnaire, September 1984, 2, photocopy in my possession.

⁵¹Barney, Questionnaire, 2. Other women who specifically mentioned that the men accepted their work efforts include: Longaker, Questionnaire, 2; Sorensen, Questionnaire, 2; Hansen, Questionnaire, 2.

ence acceptable, even to herself.⁵²

Articles in local newspapers about the parachute plant and its women workers directly praised the women's work. Photographs of the women workers, identified by name and hometown, appeared in front-page news stories in several central Utah newspapers in 1944. Almost universally, the women workers were hailed as heroes on the home front, receiving comparably more attention in the local papers than women who organized in volunteer associations for the war effort.⁵³ The women themselves also frequently cited patriotic reasons for taking work at the plant and frequently referred to friends and relatives in the armed forces.⁵⁴ The parallels between the two situations were apparent.

In summary, then, the community reacted with approval to women's employment at the parachute plant in Manti and explicitly approved of the women's work. Families and the community encouraged women to seek employment, encouragement that was bolstered by the environment of patriotic fervor and the allure of well-paying jobs after a lengthy economic depression. The dual facts that at least some child care was available from a variety of sources and that the actual job description was the female work of sewing were also positive factors. Even Church discouragement of mothers doing wage-work did not often advance significantly beyond repeating the traditional importance of mothers' role in the home. It did not take active steps to discourage employment, and few women reported either active guilt or serious conflict about working. Seeing their extended families as excellent child-care providers in some cases prevented women from feeling conflict. The women likely agreed in principle with Church pronouncements yet felt that they were satisfying their motherly obligations. They did, however, have

⁵²Nielsen, Questionnaire, 2-4.

⁵³"Ephraim's Parachute Plant Workers: Scores Aid Production in Vital War Industry," *Ephraim Enterprise*, February 25, 1944; "Manti Women in War Work at Parachute Plant: Manti Women Do Share at Parachute Plant, Over Hundred Aid Production of Parachutes," *Manti Messenger*, February 25, 1944; "Contribute to War Production" (which includes photographs and names the Independent Parachute Association workers, workers from Sterling, and men workers at the plant), *Manti Messenger*, March 3, 1944; and "Three Parowan Girls Work at Manti Plant," *Parowan Times*, March 3, 1944.

⁵⁴Borneman, "Proud to Send Those Parachutes Off," 48-55.

to shoulder heavier burdens by working on the job and doing a “second shift” of cooking, cleaning, and child care. In a broader context, Manti encountered outside influences and experienced the pulls of national and worldwide conflict, including the need for women to enter the labor force in vast numbers, yet its community was largely supportive.⁵⁵

⁵⁵Even today, residents of Sanpete County reflect approvingly on the plant’s coming to the area, including its long history of manufacturing clothing in peacetime through several different companies. Karen Buchanan, “Manti Remembers Its Parachute Workers of World War II,” *Messenger-Enterprise*, September 18, 2003, 4, gave a brief history of the plant, its workers, and its successor businesses. The twenty surviving former parachute company employees were honored at a senior dinner party along with a decorated veteran who had received three purple hearts and knighthood from the Queen of Holland. The article honors the women and their work as “a vital part of the military effort.” In 2006, interviewees in Ephraim, Mt. Pleasant, Spring City, and Moroni—though recalling the war as difficult for many and filled with bad news—also remembered the plant positively, commenting especially on the number of women who worked there. Many knew women who took employment at the plant, and one woman recalled that her mother worked there while she was a teenager. Clifford Peterson, Jack H. Larsen, Lloyd Olson, LuJean Nielson, Donna Larson, and Bonnie Fulmer, Interviewed by Borneman, Ephraim, Utah, February 9, 2006.



Lyman E. Johnson, Apostle: February 14, 1835–April 12, 1838. In Caleb Davis Scrapbook, 1:391, preserved in the Keokuk Savings Bank and Trust Company, Keokuk, Iowa.

LYMAN E. JOHNSON: FORGOTTEN APOSTLE

William Shepard and H. Michael Marquardt

ON DECEMBER 20, 1859, LYMAN E. JOHNSON, landlord of the Prairie Hotel at Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, and an unidentified passenger drove their horse sleigh onto the frozen Mississippi River and started for Dubuque, Iowa. The Prairie du Chien *Courier* ran a bleak notice two days later: “Drowned.—L. E. Johnson, the landlord of the Prairie Hotel, was accidentally drowned night before last. He was in a sleigh with others, when it went through an air-hole in the ice, of the Mississippi.”¹ A lawyer named Woods added: “He and another gentleman were going in a sleigh to Dubuque. They were crossing the Mississippi River on the ice; being heavily wrapped

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¹“Drowned,” Prairie du Chien *Courier* 8 (December 22, 1859): 3. The *Courier* 8 (March 8, 1860): 3 announced: “Found—The body of E. L. [L. E.] Johnson the late proprietor of the Prairie Hotel, who was drowned by breaking through the ice last winter, has been recovered.” “Air holes” were

with robes and mufflers. They drove into an air-hole, were unable to extricate themselves, and were drowned.”² Woods described the forty-eight-year-old ex-Mormon in glowing terms: “He was generous in his nature, convivial and bounteous in his hospitality; had many parties and social gatherings. In person he was tall and large, of fine physique; remarkably fine looking, and of polite and elegant address.”³

This winter accident ended the life of one of early Mormonism’s brightest stars, who is little known today. During his Mormon career, he was a brilliant missionary, bringing scores of converts into the young Church and claiming that an angel showed him the Book of Mormon plates. He attended the School of the Prophets, was among the first to learn new revelatory doctrines, recruited soldiers for the 1834 Zion’s Camp, in which he participated, and energetically defended Joseph Smith against criticism during the camp’s trek to Missouri. The capstone of his Mormon experience was his calling and ordination to the Quorum of Twelve Apostles on February 14, 1835, and a blessing that promised he would live until Christ’s second coming.

His estrangement from the Church may have begun in mid-1836 when he and fellow apostle John F. Boynton borrowed a large sum to become merchants in Kirtland, Ohio. Following the failure of the Kirtland Bank and the financial crisis of 1837, their business and other investments failed. Like many other prominent Mormons, they joined the opposition party at Kirtland, and Lyman was not sustained as an apostle at a Church conference held on September 3, 1837. Restored to his apostleship a week later, he moved his family to Far West, Missouri.

His membership in the Church ended when he was excommunicated in April 1838 for opposing the institutional Church and was driven from Far West with other dissenters. He demonstrated his apparent contempt for the Mormons when he accompanied the victorious Gentile forces into Far West following the surrender on Novem-

areas in the river where a spring or other abnormality were located and consequently weakened the ice.

²Edward H. Stiles, *Recollections and Sketches of Notable Lawyers and Public Men of Early Iowa* (Des Moines, Iowa: Homestead Publishing, 1916), 337–38.

³*Ibid.*, 338.

ber 1, 1838. After attempting to recover personal possessions lost during his earlier rapid departure from Far West, he and his family briefly settled at Richmond, Ray County, Missouri, and then relocated near Davenport, Iowa. By 1840 the family settled permanently at Keokuk in Iowa Territory, where Lyman was a successful attorney, businessman, and community leader. In spite of his adversarial relation with the Mormons in Missouri, he visited Joseph Smith, former missionary companions, and family members at Nauvoo and became a Mason in the Nauvoo Lodge. Three months after the murder of Colonel George Davenport at Rock Island, Illinois, on July 4, 1845, Lyman was deputized to help apprehend a Mormon identified as an accessory in Davenport's murder and was severely beaten by Mormons during the attempted arrest at Nauvoo. Less than a year later, he was reportedly among the anti-Mormon forces who attacked the remaining Mormons and the new citizens of Nauvoo. There is no indication that he had additional contact with the Mormons or joined any church following the Battle of Nauvoo. He spent the rest of his life pursuing business opportunities and engaging in Masonic activities with the same fervor he exhibited when he was a Latter Day Saint missionary.

BECOMING A MORMON

John and Elsa (or Alice) Johnson moved from Vermont to Hiram, Portage County, Ohio, in 1818 with several children and labored to establish a successful farm.⁴ By 1831, when the family became acquainted with Mormonism, they owned over 300 acres and lived in a large, comfortable house. It is widely assumed the family became Mormons after Elsa's arthritic arm was miraculously healed by Joseph Smith.⁵ Daughter Marinda Nancy Johnson, who was then fifteen, tells this story of her parents' conversion and that of neighbors Ezra and Dorcus Booth: "In the winter of [1830-]1831, Ezra Booth, a

⁴Milton V. Backman, Jr., *The Heavens Resound: A History of the Latter-day Saints in Ohio, 1830-1838* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1983), 403 note 1, explained: "Although the wife of John Johnson is referred to in some contemporary records as Elsa or Elsey, she was also called Alice in a family Bible." Mark L. Staker, "Remembering Hiram Ohio," *Ensign*, October 2002, 32, wrote: "The Johnsons had 15 children; 9 lived to adulthood: Alice, Fanny, John Jr., Luke, Olmstead, Lyman, Emily, Marinda, and Justin."

⁵Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Papers of Joseph Smith: Autobiographical and*

Methodist minister, procured a copy of the Book of Mormon and brought it to my father's house. They sat up all night reading it, and were very much exercised over it. As soon as they heard that Joseph Smith had arrived in Kirtland, Mr. Booth and wife and my father and mother went immediately to see him. They were convinced and baptized before they returned."⁶

Lyman Johnson was baptized at Kirtland, some thirty miles from Hiram, about February 1831, and was soon ordained to the office of priest.⁷ His sister Marinda was baptized in April. Luke S. Johnson and the rest of the children, except Olmstead, may have been baptized by the end of the following month.

Lyman entered the Prophet's inner circle when Joseph and Emma moved into his parents' home on September 12, 1831. This close association resulted in Lyman's ordination as an elder at a general conference on October 25, 1831, by Oliver Cowdery.⁸ Eight days later, he was ordained a high priest by Sidney Rigdon at a conference

Historical Writings, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989), 1:363.

⁶Edward W. Tullidge, *The Women of Mormonism* (New York: Tullidge & Crandell, 1877), 403–4.

⁷Lyman was born in Pomfret, Windsor County, Vermont. His gravestone in Evergreen Cemetery in Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, gives a birthdate of October 15, 1813, and says he was "46 years old" when he died on December 20, 1859. The gravestone was broken in half as early as 1992 when Johnson family genealogists Virginia Tims and Elaine M. E. Speakman arranged for it to be repaired. Currently, portions of the tombstone are impossible to decipher. Elaine Speakman confirmed Lyman's birth date on the gravestone from a 1964 photo. According to the family Bible, found in the attic of Fanny Johnson Ryder in Hiram, Ohio, Lyman was born on October 24, 1811. We consider the gravestone date to be incorrect and that October 24, 1811, is the correct date of Lyman's birth. According to Donald Q. Cannon and Lyndon W. Cook, eds., *Far West Record: Minutes of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830–1844* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1983), 19, Lyman is listed as a priest at the conference held in Orange Township on October 25, 1831.

⁸Cannon and Cook, *Far West Record*, 25. See also Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia: A Compendium of Biographical Sketches of Prominent Men and Women in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History Company, 1901–30), 1:91–92.

at Hiram, Ohio,⁹ and joined with those assembled in testifying that Joseph Smith's revelations were true. Lyman, his brother Luke, William McLellin, and Orson Hyde—all future apostles—sought to know God's will for them in early November; the revelatory response was to “preach the gospel to every creature.”¹⁰

FIRST MISSION, 1832

Lyman immediately began preaching with Orson Pratt in Lorain County, Ohio, returning to Amherst, Ohio, for a conference on January 25, 1832. Here another revelation directed him and Pratt to “take their journey into the eastern countries” (LDS D&C 75:14; RLDS D&C 75:3).

The two companions left on February 3, following the New Testament example of traveling without purse or scrip; their possessions consisted of “our change of clothing.”¹¹ They traveled to Mercer County, Pennsylvania, on February 8 and stopped at the home of Benjamin Stokely in Cool Spring Township. At “early candle light” they preached to those assembled, identifying the name given them by “the world” as “Mormonites.” They explained how Joseph Smith obtained the plates from which he translated the Book of Mormon and retold its dramatic story: that Lehi “came across the water into South America” and “the last battle that was fought among these parties was on the *very ground* where the plates were found, but it had been a running battle, for they commenced at the Isthmus of Darien [Panama] and ended at Manchester,” New York. Lyman testified that an angel had shown him the Book of Mormon plates. According to Benjamin Stokely, one of the attendees,

[Johnson] has left Father, Mother, Brothers and Sisters, the farm and neighborhood of [fr]iends, to declare the will of God, and the rev[el]ation of John who saw the angel flying through Heaven—An angel brought the Morm[o]nite Bi[b]le and laid it before him (the

⁹Cannon and Cook, *Far West Record*, 28.

¹⁰*The Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1981), 68:8 (hereafter LDS D&C) and *Doctrine and Covenants, The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints* (now Community of Christ) (Independence: Herald Publishing House, 1990), 68:11 (hereafter RLDS D&C).

¹¹Elden J. Watson, ed., *The Orson Pratt Journals* (Salt Lake City: Elden J. Watson, 1975), 12.

speaker;) he therefore *knows* these things to be true. Being sent to call on all to repent—he has come to fulfil[1] the commands of Heaven: he has cleared his skirts of our blood. . . .

One of the young men called himself Lyman Johnston [sic], from Portage County, Ohio. The other was called Arson [sic] Pratt; no fixed place of abode. They were going North East, intending to preach the gospel to every kindred, tongue and nation:—They appeared to have little learning, to be sincere in all they said. They had good manners—had been well raised—were decent and unassuming in every thing I saw, or heard them say.¹²

At this point, Pratt and Johnson were both twenty years old. The two missionaries also preached at the courthouse in Franklin, Venango County, northeast of Mercer County, on Saturday, February 11, repeating their message about Joseph Smith, the gold plates, Lehi, and the last battle. The pair explained that their founder, Joseph Smith, “having repented of his sins, but not attached himself to any party of Christians, owing to the numerous divisions among them, and being in doubt what his duty was, he had recourse [to] prayer. After retiring to bed one night, he was visited by an Angel and directed to proceed to a hill in the neighborhood where he would find a stone box containing a quantity of Gold plates.” The doctrinal thrust of their Book of Mormon message was

on repentance, and quotations from our prophets to prove their doctrine, and the return of the Jews to Palestine, which was to be done by the gentile nations, accompanied with power from above, far superior to that which brought their fathers out of Egypt. They insisted that our Savior would shortly appear, and that there were some present who would see him on the earth—that they knew it—that they were not deceiving their hearers; that it was all true. They had one of their bibles with them, which was seen by some of our citizens who visited them.¹³

Lyman and Orson traveled through Pennsylvania, New Jersey,

¹²This report was submitted to the *Western Press* of nearby Mercer, Pennsylvania by Benjamin Stokely, who wrote, “As the press is a medium through which to communicate information for public use, I have sent the following for that purpose.” “The Orators of Mormon,” *Catholic Telegraph* (Cincinnati) 1 (April 14, 1832): 204–5; emphasis retained; reprinted from *Western Press*, Mercer.

¹³“Mormonism,” *Fredonia [New York] Censor* 11 (March 7, 1832): 4; re-

and New York City, then concentrated their missionary activities in Vermont and New Hampshire. Their successful missionary techniques included introducing the gospel in a given community and remaining long enough to baptize all who would accept their message. They would return later to ordain officers and set the branches in order.

By May the missionaries were in Charleston, Vermont. Among those they baptized were Amasa M. Lyman, Winslow Farr, and William Snow. Snow recorded in his journal that he, “was baptized <on the 19th of may> under the han<d>s of Lyman E. Johnson at which time Brother Winslow Farr & his wife Olive (who had been healed of a Disease tha[t] had been upon her for ma[ny] years)” were also baptized.¹⁴ One of Winslow and Olive’s sons was eleven-year-old Lorin, who later told Edward W. Tullidge about his family’s first encounter with Mormonism: “Orson Pratt commenced to preach to a crowded house, and told them the nature of his mission. . . . Afterward Lyman arose and delivered one of the most powerful testimonies pertaining to the mission of Joseph Smith, and the great work of the last days, that Lorin ever heard. He also said he knew the Book of Mormon was true, for he had seen an angel and he had made this known unto him.”¹⁵

Lyman returned to Kirtland before Orson, since he ordained William Smith, the Prophet’s younger brother, an elder at a December 19, 1832, conference.¹⁶ Lyman also participated with Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, ten other elders, and an undisclosed number of male and female members at a conference on January 22–23, 1833, in which spiritual gifts were manifested and the School of the Prophets was organized. After Joseph spoke in tongues on the first day of the conference, “the gift was poured out in a miraculous manner, until all the Elders obtained the gift.” The following day was

printed from the *Venango Democrat*, Franklin, Pennsylvania.

¹⁴William Snow, Journal, May 1832, L. Tom Perry Special Collections and Manuscripts, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. Words in angled brackets appear above the line.

¹⁵Edward W. Tullidge, *Tullidge’s Histories. Volume 2: Containing the History of All the Northern, Eastern and Western Counties of Utah; also the Counties of Southern Idaho* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor, 1889), 174–75.

¹⁶Fred C. Collier and William S. Harwell, eds., *Kirtland Council Minute Book* (Salt Lake City: Collier’s Publishing Company, 1996), 3. William Smith’s license is in Community of Christ Library-Archives.

even more spiritually gratifying. While fasting, and after much speaking, singing, and prayer, Joseph washed the feet of the elders and then “through the power of the Holy Ghost [proclaimed] that the Elders were all clean from the blood of this generation.” The elders were then sealed up unto eternal life. Lyman and the others understood that this blessing was provisional; if they willfully sinned after being cleansed, they “should be given over unto the buffetings of Satan until the day of redemption.” The elders then washed each other’s feet.¹⁷

The 1833 phase of the School of the Prophets lasted from January 23 to about April 1. They met in a 10x14-foot room “in the upper story of the Newel K. Whitney store.”¹⁸ As Joseph and Emma Smith lived in the rooms over the Whitney store, Emma apparently had to clean pipe dottle, tobacco ash, and spittle from chewing tobacco after the elders finished each session. After she complained to Joseph, he received the revelation on the Word of Wisdom on February 27 banning the use of tobacco, alcohol and “hot drinks.”¹⁹

SECOND MISSION, MARCH-SEPTEMBER 1833

The brief interlude at Kirtland ended on March 26 when Lyman and Orson left on their second mission to the Vermont area. Their assignment was to go eastward and preach by the way, going to the churches they had previously raised up. If Lyman kept a journal, it has not survived; therefore, the best guide of his ministerial labors comes from the journals of his sometime companions Orson Pratt and John Murdock, who were both high priests. Both diaries note Lyman’s per-

¹⁷Ibid., 6–7.

¹⁸Lyndon W. Cook, *The Revelations of the Prophet Joseph Smith: A Historical and Biographical Commentary of the Doctrine and Covenants* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1985), 186.

¹⁹Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery, *Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith*, 2d ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 47; LDS D&C 89; RLDS D&C 86. On October 3, 1883, at a meeting of the Salt Lake School of the Prophets, Zebedee Coltrin recalled that he was the only survivor of the meeting in which Joseph received the revelation on the Word of Wisdom. He said Lyman was one of the twenty-one elders present, twenty of whom used tobacco. “They all immediately threw their tobacco and pipes into the fire.” *Salt Lake School of the Prophets: Minute Book 1883* (Palm Desert, Calif.: ULC Press, 1981), 53.

sonal activities when they were together only peripherally; even less is known about the periods when they worked separately. They preached in schoolhouses and homes, baptized, administered to the sick, held conferences, and defended their flocks from Protestant ministers.

After leaving Kirtland, Lyman and Orson visited the churches in Springfield, Pennsylvania, and in Jamestown and Silver Creek, New York. Significantly, in Geneseo, Livingston County, New York, they encountered a hotbed of dissent engendered by the vision on the “Three Glories” received by Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon on February 16, 1832, at the home of Lyman’s father. Murdock recorded in early May: “Bro. L. Johnson Came to me Said he & O Pratt had visited Ezra Landen [Landen] in Geneseo who denied the vision & other Revelations & other members Joined him & they wanted to get help.”²⁰ Ezra Landen, a high priest and president of the Geneseo Branch,²¹ had expressed skepticism in this and other revelations. Murdock and his companion, Leonard Rich, joined Pratt and John-

²⁰John Murdock, “An Abridged Record of the Life of John Murdock, Taken from His Journals by Himself,” typescript, 27, May 1, 1833, LDS Church History Library, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City. The vision of the Three Glories is now LDS and RLDS D&C 76. The vision would have been circulated as “A Vision,” *Evening and the Morning Star* 1 (July 1832): 2 and by written and verbal communications. John Murdock in 1832 went to Warrensville and Orange, Ohio, and mentioned that the brethren “had Just received the Revilation called the vision & were stumbling at it I called them together confirmed them in the truth.” John Murdock, Journal, 18. Cook, *Revelations of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, 311, explained: “Members of the Church during this period did not confuse ‘The Vision’ (section 76) with the ‘First Vision’ because the 1820 event was not generally known until after 1842.”

²¹Landen’s brief career as a Mormon was significant. When John Young (Brigham Young’s father), and sons Phineas and Joseph (Brigham’s brothers) visited the branch at Columbia, Pennsylvania, in April 1832, they encountered Elders Ezra Landen and Daniel Bowen. John was baptized by either Ezra or Daniel, Phineas was baptized by Ezra, and Joseph was baptized by Daniel. Ezra also baptized eighteen or twenty persons in and near Avon and Genessee, New York, in the fall of 1832. Lyman D. Platt, “Early Branches of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints 1830–1850,” *Nauvoo Journal* 3 (1991): 12 and 4 respectively; Journal History of the

son as “4 High Priests forming the council.” On May 1, they met with Landen at 6:00 P.M. with Murdock presiding. Pratt offered the opening prayer, then “laid the case before the conference by stating that Br Landing said the vision was of the Devil & he believed it no more than he believed the devil was crucified & many like things.” Landen in fact denounced it as “of the Devil” and said “would not have the vision taught in the church” for a thousand dollars.²² He defended himself, not by arguing doctrine, but by citing the sacrifices and hardships he had endured as markers of his sincerity. Murdock responded that he and others had also made great sacrifices; “but if we do not hold out to the end we do not obtain the crown.” The next morning “the church met according to appointment Br Orson led in explanation [sic] of the vision & other revelation[s] followed by my Self & Br Lyman.” Landen asked forgiveness, which was granted, and the conference allowed him to continue in his office.²³

Lyman and Orson arrived at Bath, New Hampshire, in early June and worked together until June 14. Although they held a number of joint meetings, for the most part, they worked separately, preaching in different towns. When the congregation in Charleston, New Hampshire, united in prayer, Pratt wrote in his journal: “Heard their prayers & moved upon his servant Lyman by the power of the Holy Ghost to seal them up unto eternal life & after this the Brethren arose one by one & said that they knew that their names were sealed in the Lamb’s Book of life & they all did bear this glorious testimony save two or three.”²⁴

Unhappily, Lyman Johnson was still on this mission when his fifteen-year-old sister, Mary, died on May 30, 1833, at the home of Joseph Smith in Kirtland. Joseph Holbrook recorded that her death “caused much gloominess at the prophet’s house.” She was buried in the cemetery near the Kirtland Temple.²⁵ John Sr. and Elsa Johnson moved from Hiram to Kirtland about this time. John was ordained a high priest on June 4 and became a member of the United Firm, a partnership organized in March 1832 to help support certain Church leaders who held the office of high priest. A year later, the firm was disbanded.²⁶

MISSION WITH ORSON PRATT, 1833–34

Lyman and Orson returned to Kirtland on September 28. After briefly working on the Kirtland Temple and participating in various

Church councils and activities, a council of high priests commissioned them to return and visit their brethren at Geneseo, New York.²⁷ Accordingly, they left Kirtland on November 27. This was not a spiritually satisfying mission, as they spent considerable time attempting to counter the negative impact made by Methodist ministers, to mediate disputes between members, and to deal with schismatic elements in the branches.

One of the most disheartening episodes was Ezra Landen's backsliding in Geneseo. He had once again decided that the "Vision of the Three Glories" was heretical because it seemed to contradict the traditional Christian view of heaven and hell as taught in the Bible and Book of Mormon.²⁸ On December 31, 1833, Lyman was chosen as "moderator" by high priests Orson Pratt, John Murdock, and Amasa Lyman, four elders, one priest, and one teacher. Orson Pratt recorded: "After his [Landen's] case was duly examined by the conference & some points of the Revelations read & explained touching his situation the conference were requested to give their decision & they unanimously [unanimously] gave their voices against him & he was cut off from the church."²⁹

Lyman returned to Kirtland in mid-February 1834 and, only a week later on February 20, attended a high council meeting at which he and Milton Holmes were directed to go to Upper Canada on a mission. The high council addressed an area of disagreement that Lyman and Orson Pratt had encountered recently in Erie County, Pennsylvania, about the Word of Wisdom. Some members were reluctant—or refused—to take the sacrament from an elder who did not keep the Word of Wisdom. Lyman sided with those who felt that a backsliding elder disqualified himself, while Orson maintained that an elder who was still in fellowship could administer the sacrament, unless official action were taken on complaints. Three high councilors argued for exclusion, while three supported Orson's position. The decision was: "No official member in this Church is worthy to hold an office after having the Words [sic] of Wisdom properly

²⁷An Epistle from a Council of High Priests, November 23, 1833, LDS Church History Library.

²⁸For a non-Mormon view, see "Changes of Mormonism," *Evangelical Magazine and Gospel Advocate* (Utica, N.Y.), March 17, 1832.

²⁹Orson Pratt, Journal, December 31, 1833, LDS Church History Library; see also Watson, *The Orson Pratt Journals*, 29.

taught to him.”³⁰

Apparently, Lyman’s mission to Canada was superseded by the emergency in Missouri and the need to recruit soldiers and raise funds to restore to their lands the Mormons who had been driven out of Jackson County. Joseph Smith noted on May 9 that Lyman, Willard Snow, and others from “the north part of Vermont” joined Zion’s Camp at Mansfield, Ohio.³¹ Lyman, his brother Luke, and some two hundred other Mormon men set out, conforming to the camp’s military regimen, walking seemingly endless miles from Kirtland to Clay County, Missouri,³² and even preaching to curious crowds. Like their comrades, the Johnson brothers witnessed the suffering and deaths caused by cholera and were similarly disappointed when they were prevented from entering Jackson County by armed Missourians. However, when Zion’s Camp ground to a halt on the banks of the Missouri River across from Jackson County, the Johnson brothers disobeyed orders. Luke later explained that he had made a personal vow to enter Jackson County. He, Lyman, and other unidentified men obtained a boat, rowed across the river, disembarked, “discharged three rounds of our small arms, and immediately got into the boat and with all our energies rowed back.” Missourians from the opposite shore shot at them on the return trip, so Luke “returned fire.”³³

When Zion’s Camp was disbanded on June 30, Luke returned to Kirtland in Heber C. Kimball’s company, arriving on July 26. Luke and Lyman participated in the August trial for Zion’s Camp participant Sylvester Smith who charged Joseph Smith with conducting himself improperly during the trek to Missouri. The brothers joined Brigham Young and other Zion’s Camp veterans in upholding the Prophet’s character and rejecting Sylvester Smith’s

³⁰Collier and Harwell, *Kirtland Council Minute Book*, 33.

³¹*History of the Church*, 2:65, May 8, 1834.

³²James L. Bradley, author of *The Eternal Perspective of Zion’s Camp* (Bountiful, Utah: Alpha Graphics, 2004) told William Shepard in a telephone interview on June 2, 2009, that the distance traveled by Zion’s Camp from Kirtland to the borders of Clay and Jackson Counties in Missouri was approximately 900 miles.

³³“History of Luke Johnson. (by himself.)” *Deseret News*, May 26, 1858, 57.

charges.³⁴

Lyman married Sarah Salter Lang at Kirtland on September 4, the same day that Lyman's sister Marinda married Orson Hyde. Sidney Rigdon performed both ceremonies.³⁵ The five months between Lyman's marriage and his ordination to the apostleship in February 1835 is not well documented. Probably he served short missions in Ohio³⁶ and attended the school for the elders which taught a variety of topics including English grammar and writing. William McLellin recorded in his journal on November 24: "This morning I commenced boarding with bro. Lyman Johnson and here I calculate to continue this winter."³⁷

CHOSEN AN APOSTLE

Months before the Church was organized, Book of Mormon witnesses Oliver Cowdery and David Whitmer were directed by revelation to search out twelve men to be latter-day apostles. Those selected were to take Christ's name "with full purpose of heart" and preach the gospel in "all the world" (LDS D&C 18:27–38; RLDS D&C 16:5–6). This directive was finally complied with when Joseph Smith told

³⁴Collier and Harwell, *Kirtland Council Minute Book*, 44–58. Although Lyman is not mentioned in Kimball's incomplete list of his company of ten, it is assumed he was in this group. For Sylvester Smith's statement that his accusations against Joseph Smith were without foundation, see "Dear Brother," October 28, 1834, *Messenger and Advocate* 1 (October 1834): 10–11.

³⁵Sarah was born May 6, 1815, at Lyman, Grafton County, New Hampshire. Howard Parker Moore, comp., *A Genealogy of the First Five Generations in America of the Lang Family, Descendants of Robert Lang, Fisherman, of the Isles of Shoals* (Rutland, Vt.: Tuttle Company, 1935), 80; Marriage Record C:55, 64, Probate Court, Geauga County, Ohio, microfilm 873,461, LDS Family History Library, Salt Lake City.

³⁶On November 11, 1834, Sidney Rigdon told McLellin and John Boynton, "It was decided that it was not wisdom for us to go so far [to preach]—But that we must Labour in the regions round about." On November 16, Lyman left Kirtland and joined McLellin at Fair Port for a preaching appointment. Jan Shipps and John W. Welch, eds., *The Journals of William E. McLellin, 1831–1836* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press/Provo, Utah: BYU Press, 1994), 148.

³⁷*Ibid.*, 149.

brothers Brigham and Joseph Young on February 8, 1835, to “notify all the brethren living in branches, within a reasonable distance from this place, to meet at a General Conference on Saturday next. I shall then and there appoint twelve special witnesses, to open the door of the gospel to foreign nations, and you,’ said he (speaking to Brother Brigham), ‘will be one of them.’”³⁸

Accordingly, on February 14 a large number of Saints convened.³⁹ It was apparent that the Zion’s Camp veterans would receive special attention as they sat “in one part of the house by themselves.” Joseph Smith announced that inspiration from the Holy Spirit and a vision from God made it clear that he should choose and ordain to the ministry men who “went to Zion.” Smith explained that those ordained would “go forth to prune the vineyard for the last time, for the coming of the Lord, which was nigh, even fifty six years, should wind up the scene.”⁴⁰

After a one-hour intermission, the meeting resumed with individual prayers by the Three Witnesses: Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer, and Martin Harris. They then chose twelve veteran missionaries to be apostles. Lyman, the youngest, was the first ordained. A synopsis of his ordination blessing commands:

that he should bear the tidings of salvation to nations, tongues and people, until the utmost corners of the earth shall hear the tidings, and that he shall be a witness of the things of God to nations & tongues, and that Holy Angels shall administer to him occasionally, and that no power of the enemy shall prevent him from going forth and doing the work of the Lord. And that he shall live until the gathering was accomplished according to the Holy Prophets. And that he should be like unto Enoch. And your faith shall be like unto his, and he shall be called great among all the living and Satan shall tremble be-

³⁸Joseph Young Sr., *History of the Organization of the Seventies* (1878; rpt., Salt Lake City: Eborn Books, 1992), 3.

³⁹Roger D. Launius, *Zion’s Camp: Expedition to Missouri, 1834* (Independence: Herald Publishing House, 1984), 163, indicated that the meeting was held in “the unfinished temple,” while according to Backman, *The Heavens Resound*, 198, “members of the priesthood crowded into the new schoolhouse next to the rising temple.” Collier and Harwell, *Kirtland Council Minute Book*, 70, minutes stated that “brethren & sisters” attended this meeting.

⁴⁰Collier and Harwell, *Kirtland Council Minute Book*, 70.

fore thee, and that he shall see the Saviour come and stand on the Earth with power and great glory.⁴¹

MISSION WITH THE TWELVE, 1835

The first mission of the apostles—Lyman’s fourth, not counting short-term local missions—began on May 4. With his former missionary companion Orson Pratt, who had also been called as an apostle, Lyman walked from conference to conference, preaching wherever they had an audience: in homes, schoolhouses, and public buildings. All members of the Twelve did not attend every conference. There were four conferences in New York, one each in Upper Canada, Vermont, Massachusetts, and two in Maine in a four-month period.⁴²

Lyman and Orson preached about the vision that Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon had received on February 16, 1832, describing multiple glories in the afterlife. For example, Orson Pratt noted on May 17, 1835, “Elder Johnson preached in the forenoon & I in the afternoon upon the vision of Joseph & Sidney.”⁴³ Also following a conference in Pillar (or Pillow) Point, New York, Lyman again preached on the 1832 vision.⁴⁴ When joining their fellow apostles at conferences, they mediated disputes, enforced discipline, preached, testified about the truth of Mormonism, and performed Church ordinances. By July Lyman had traveled to Dalton, Coos County, New Hampshire, and preached Mormonism. Ethan Barrows wrote years later:

I had the privilege of hearing a lecture from Elder Lyman E. Johnson, a Mormon elder, who preached in my father’s house. From that time I was convinced that Mormonism was true. He reasoned from the Scriptures in a most powerful manner and showed the constituent parts of the church of Christ, and the errors of the world and its condition at the present time, together with the beauty of Christ’s kingdom and of the gospel. In conclusion he testified to the truth of the Book of Mormon. He said that an holy angel had ministered with

⁴¹Ibid., 72.

⁴²“A Record of the Transactions of the Twelve Apostles,” in Patriarchal Blessing Book 2:8–20, May 9–August 28, 1835, LDS Church History Library.

⁴³Orson Pratt, Journal, May 17, 1835; Watson, *The Orson Pratt Journals*, 62.

⁴⁴Shipps and Welch, *The Journals of William E. McLellin*, 185, June 20, 1835.

him and had shown him the plates from which the Book of Mormon was translated, and commanded him to testify to all the world that it was true.⁴⁵

Shortly afterwards, William McLellin baptized eighteen-year-old Ethan and his mother, Amelia (or Emily) Barrows.⁴⁶

At a conference at St. Johnsbury, Vermont, on July 17–18, the Council of the Twelve conducted a trial for Gladden Bishop, a schismatic and disruptive elder. Although the charges against him were not proven, the council took his license because of his argumentative attitude and his refusal to acknowledge any personal faults.⁴⁷ Orson Pratt added: “The 12 set in council & transacted such business as came before us. Publick meetings were held in the same <place> on the 2 days following. 9 came forward & were baptized.”⁴⁸

McLellin, who was also present at this conference, recorded on July 18–19: “Elder O. Hyde & Ly[man] Johnson preached to quite a large congregation. Sunday I preached in the forenoon to about 1500 persons on the rise and government of the church of christ & P[arley P]. Pratt preached in the afternoon on the Kingdom of christ, 9 were baptized during the meeting.”⁴⁹ Brigham Young described the same conference: “Sunday the barn and yard was crow[d]ed it was thought their ware betwene 2 and 3 thousand People. Their was 144 cariges

⁴⁵“Journal of Ethan Barrows,” *Journal of History* 15 (January 1922): 36; written ca. 1892.

⁴⁶Shippo and Welch, *Journals of William E. McLellin*, 191, July 27, 1835.

⁴⁷“The Twelve Write,” *Messenger and Advocate* 1 (August 1835): 167. The best accounts of this mission are “Dear Brother.” *ibid.*, 2 (October 1835): 204–7; Watson, *Orson Pratt Journals*, 60–72; Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball*, 79–84; Shippo and Welch, *Journals of William E. McLellin*, 171–210; Richard L. Saunders, “The Fruit of the Branch: Francis Gladden Bishop and His Culture of Dissent,” in *Differing Visions: Dissenters in Mormon History*, edited by Roger D. Launius and Linda Thatcher (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 102–19.

⁴⁸Pratt, Journal, July 17, 1835; also in Watson, *The Orson Pratt Journals*, 67; initial capitals and terminal punctuation added.

⁴⁹Shippo and Welch, *Journals of William E. McLellin*, 190, July 18–19, 1835.

that was counted by the Brotherin.”⁵⁰

One attendee, in a letter to a newspaper immediately after the conference, emphasized the rustic locale: “An Old barn, standing by the road-side, has been fitted up as a temporary place for assemblage, and on entering it, we found quite a numerous audience collected, the majority of which were females. On the scaffold of the barn were seated the twelve Mormon Apostles, so called by believers, from Ohio. They looked fresh from the back-woods. A brother of Joe Smith, the chief prophet, [William Smith] composed one of the number.” The observer took notes on addresses by Parley P. Pratt and by McLellin, whom he accused of “Murdering the King’s English, in an address of the abuse of gifts.”⁵¹

Although this mission was comparatively short (four months), it required great effort and dedication. While the apostles were gone, the Council of the Presidency of the Church [Kirtland and Missouri] convened at Kirtland on August 4 to investigate charges that Jared Carter, also serving a mission, had made to Oliver’s brother, Warren A. Cowdery, at Freedom, New York. Upon examination, the Council opined: “We further inform the Twelve, that as far as we can learn from the churches through which we have traveled, you have set yourselves up as an independent council, subject to no authority of the Church, a kind of outlaws!”⁵² The council also examined an excerpt from a letter William McLellin had written to his wife, stating that he was glad she would not be attending Rigdon’s school at Kirtland this summer, as Orson Hyde mentioned the man-

⁵⁰Brigham Young, Journal, typescript, July 19, 1835; terminal punctuation added; holograph in LDS Church History Library. McLellin thought there were about 1,500 persons in attendance while the minutes mentioned over 1,000. Orson Hyde estimated attendance at 1,000–1,500. “From the Letters of Elders Abroad,” *Messenger and Advocate* 1 (August 1835): 167.

⁵¹“Mormonism in New England,” *Maine Farmer and Journal of the Useful Arts* (Winthrop) 3 (October 9, 1835): 288. Local residents remembered the “Snow barn” being used as a meeting house. Edward T. Fairbanks, *The Town of St. Johnsbury, VT* (St. Johnsbury, Vt.: Cowles Press, 1914), 218–19.

⁵²*History of the Church*, 2:240. For Warren Cowdery’s responsibilities in the Freedom, New York, area, see LDS D&C 106, RLDS D&C 103.

ner in which the school was conducted.⁵³ The council, affronted by McLellin's letter, voted to withdraw fellowship from McLellin and Hyde for criticizing Rigdon's school. The other ten apostles remained in fellowship and were directed to finish their conferences.⁵⁴

It is unclear if the apostles received this directive from the council while on their mission. However, after they returned to Kirtland on September 26, the apostles met with the Council of the Presidency of the Church to investigate "certain letters and reports coming to the ears of the council" relative to their recent mission. After an ensuing investigation, "it was proven before the council that said complaints originated in the minds of persons whose minds were darkened in consequence of covetousness or some other cause other than the Spirit of Truth."⁵⁵ The council also examined a letter from McLellin to his wife which "expressed dissatisfaction with President Rigdon's school." As Hyde was blamed with McLellin in the matter, they were "found to be at fault." They "frankly confessed" and were forgiven.⁵⁶

FIFTH MISSION: 1836

Lyman returned to Kirtland in September 1835. Daughter Sarah M. was born at Kirtland in March 1836. He returned to the mission field on April 6, with companions Milton Holmes and John Herrit. This mission, which lasted until September 1836, passed through Whitestown, Oneida County, New York; Boston, Massachusetts; and New Brunswick, Upper Canada. In June, he sent a letter to the LDS newspaper *Messenger and Advocate* summarizing his work in Maine and Sackville, New Brunswick. The editor paraphrased that Johnson "gives us to understand that he has met with little opposition, except from those whose craft was in danger; but that God had in every instance thus far given him wisdom that his adversaries had not been able to gainsay nor resist. He farther [sic] adds, although this mission has not been as successful as some others in bringing souls into the kingdom, yet through the assistance of God he had been instrumental in establishing a small branch of a church of eigh-

⁵³Ibid., 2:239–40.

⁵⁴Ibid., 2:240.

⁵⁵Collier and Harwell, *Kirtland Council Minute Book*, 140.

⁵⁶Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2:43, September 26, 1835.

teen members in the town of Sackville.”⁵⁷

A conference was held at Newry, Oxford County, Maine on August 12–14 with Apostles Brigham Young and Lyman in attendance.⁵⁸ Young recorded: “Sunday I Preached in forenoon Elder L. E. Johnson in afternoon.”⁵⁹ Afterward they traveled to Boston. Before Lyman returned to Kirtland in September, he baptized five additional converts “making 27 in all since he left home in April last.”⁶⁰

AS DISSENTER

Given this record of unblemished commitment and zeal, Lyman’s disaffection is perhaps the greatest mystery of his life. No documents shed light on when or why Lyman decided to withdraw from his covenant to dedicate his life to preaching the gospel. Possibly he developed misgivings in Joseph Smith’s divine calling when Zion’s Camp fizzled, when revelations in the Lord’s voice were edited, or when a strident minority insisted on the Prophet’s infallibility. Other reasons may have included hurt over the mistrust and bad treatment inflicted on the apostles by jealous Church members during the 1835 mission.⁶¹ Although it is impossible to know for certain, it seems reasonable to us that one of the factors was that he followed the lead of other Mormons and borrowed excessive amounts of money at a time of rampant financial speculation.⁶²

Most Latter-day Saints, including Joseph Smith, believed that a bank would stimulate and maintain the Kirtland economy. Several

⁵⁷“From the Elders Abroad,” summary of Lyman E. Johnson letter, June 26, 1836, *Messenger and Advocate* 2 (July 1836): 352; terminal punctuation added. See Richard E. Bennett, “Plucking Not Planting,” in *The Mormon Presence in Canada*, edited by Brigham Y. Card, Herbert C. Northcott, John E. Foster, John E. Foster, Howard Palmer, and George K. Jarvis (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1990), 23.

⁵⁸Brigham Young, Letter to “Brother O. Cowdery,” September 15, 1836, *Messenger and Advocate* 3 (November 1836): 408.

⁵⁹Brigham Young, Journal, typescript, August 14, 1836.

⁶⁰“From the Elders Abroad,” summary of Lyman Johnson’s mission, *Messenger and Advocate* 2 (September 1836): 381.

⁶¹For factors causing dissent at Kirtland generally, see Marvin S. Hill, “Cultural Crisis in the Mormon Kingdom: A Reconsideration of the Causes of Kirtland Dissent,” *Church History* 49 (September 1980): 286–97.

⁶²Returning from a mission in October 1836, Heber C. Kimball re-

neighboring communities with banks appeared to have a brighter economic future.⁶³ For a variety of reasons, Mormon leaders drafted an “Articles of Agreement” on November 2, 1836, to establish the Kirtland Safety Society Bank. After the Ohio legislature denied its application in December, these same leaders formed the Kirtland Safety Society Anti-Banking Company. Lyman attended the organizational meeting on January 2, 1837;⁶⁴ but for unknown reasons, neither he nor John F. Boynton, a fellow apostle and future business partner, invested. Lyman’s father invested \$600.20 and Luke invested \$46.66.⁶⁵

By the spring of 1837, many Latter-day Saints were financially stressed; but the failure of the society, which closed its doors in the summer, resulted in financial ruin for many.⁶⁶ On April 9 in the Kirtland Temple, Joseph Smith had “proclaimed that Severe Judgment awaited those Characters that professed to be his friends & friends to humanity & the Kirtland Safety Society But had turned tr[a]itors & opposed the Currency & its friends which has given

called his evaluation of the effects that spiraling inflation was having on the Kirtland Saints and added: “Lyman E. Johnson and John F. Boynton went to New York and purchased to the amount of twenty thousand dollars worth of goods and entered into the Mercantile business [at Kirtland], borrowing considerable money from Polly Voce and other Saints in Boston and the regions round about, and which they have never repaid.” “History of Heber Chase Kimball by his own dictation,” 47–48, handwriting of Thomas Bullcock, Heber C. Kimball Papers, LDS Church History Library.

⁶³Roger D. Launius, *The Kirtland Temple: A Historical Narrative* (Independence: Herald Publishing House, 1986), 78–79, explained: “The optimism expressed by the Kirtland Saints for the development of the local economy prompted Joseph Smith and other church leaders to sponsor a bank, an effort designed to capitalize on an already favorable business climate.”

⁶⁴“Minutes of a Meeting of the Members of the ‘Kirtland Safety Society,’” *Messenger and Advocate* 3 (March 1837): 475–77.

⁶⁵Marvin S. Hill, C. Keith Rooker, and Larry T. Wimmer, “The Kirtland Economy Revisited,” *BYU Studies* 17 (Summer 1977): 466–68.

⁶⁶Backman, *The Heavens Resound*, 320, indicated that two hundred Mormons invested in the society and lost “nearly everything.” He summarized: “It has been estimated that the financial loss approached \$40,000, almost the total cost of building the Kirtland Temple. The loss was sustained by persons whose income averaged about \$400 annually.” For Joseph Smith’s activities with the society, see Hill, Rooker, and Wimmer, “Kirtland Economy Revisited.”

power in to the hands of the enemy & oppressed the poor Saints.”⁶⁷ Although the local consequences were heavy, the banking problems in Kirtland were part of the national banking panic of 1837 that swept the nation. Ira Ames described how Lyman Johnson and John Boynton had purchased a valuable farm inside the Kirtland city limits from a Gentile named Ariel Hanson with a down payment and the balance on credit. Taking advantage of the rising land prices, they subdivided and sold portions at inflated prices. Ames, a fellow Mormon, bought eighteen acres at \$100 per acre from them and, after paying the apostles \$1,500, signed a mortgage for the balance. In the ensuing crisis, Lyman and John were unable or unwilling to make their payments on the farm, and it reverted back to Hanson. Ames lost his eighteen acres, his \$1,500, and improvements. He bitterly lamented, “Boyington [sic] and Johnson [even] tried to get my horses from me on the \$300.”⁶⁸

Shortly after Joseph Smith returned to Kirtland from visiting branches in Canada in late August, a conference was called on September 3 in the Kirtland Temple to sustain Church authorities and to deal with some of the dissenters. Brigham Young even packed the gallery with loyalists because of “the disaffection existing in the hearts of many.” He said he “went to the brethren whose votes could be relied on, early in the morning, and had them occupy the stand and prominent seats.”⁶⁹ When the apostles were presented to determine if “they should hold their office of Apostleship,” Luke and Lyman Johnson and John F. Boynton were “rejected from serving in that office.” Luke and Lyman were not in attendance at that time but Boynton would not make a full confession and justified his conduct by “reason of the failure of the bank.” Senior apostles Brigham Young and Thomas Marsh insisted that he needed to manifest “a hearty repentance” before he could be fellowshipped. Sidney Rigdon addressed the meeting linking the fall of John F. Boynton and Lyman Johnson with “leaving their calling to pursue any occupation derogatory to that calling.” Undaunted, Boynton “still attributed his difficulties & conduct to the failure of the bank, stating that the bank he under-

⁶⁷Scott G. Kenney, ed., *Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833–1898*, typescript, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983–85), 1:138.

⁶⁸Ira Ames, Journal, first entry in 1837, LDS Church History Library.

⁶⁹Quoted in Leonard J. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), 61.

stood was instituted by the will & revelations of God, & he had been told that it never would fail, let men do what they pleased.” Joseph countered that he “always said that unless the institution [Kirtland Safety Society] was conducted upon righteous principles it could not stand.” Boynton’s confession was adjudged insincere, and he was again not sustained in his calling.⁷⁰

Between the Sunday meetings on September 3 and 10, a meeting was held in Joseph Smith’s house with Lyman, Boynton, and possibly others. Thomas Marsh, the moderator, said a “reconciliation was effected between all parties.”⁷¹ On September 12, Vilate Kimball wrote to her husband, Heber, reporting that Marsh met with Lyman and John, and they agreed to “make their confession” to the Church. “Luke has not got home, he went to see Elder Mclelin [sic], [but] Br Marsh said he thought there would be no difficulty with him when he comes to find the rest all united.”⁷² On September 10 in an “assembly of the Saints,” “Luke Johnson, Lyman Johnson, and John F. Boynton . . . made confession to the Church.” After an affirmative vote by the congregation, they were restored to “their office of Apostleship.” They then administered the sacrament to their recent accusers.⁷³

Lyman took his family to Far West, Missouri, shortly after the September 10 meeting. Many factors make it impossible to determine his financial status at that time. However, on April 15, 1838, dissenter Mormon Stephen Burnett wrote Lyman a heated letter suggesting that Lyman may have left Kirtland with a considerable amount of

⁷⁰Collier and Harwell, *Kirtland Council Minute Book*, 184–86. Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff’s Journal*, 1:120, January 5, 1837, reports Joseph Smith’s statement on the Kirtland Safety Society.

⁷¹“History of Thos. Baldwin Marsh,” *Deseret News*, March 24, 1858, 18. LDS D&C 112:12–13 commands Thomas Marsh to admonish the Twelve, but if “they harden not their hearts, and stiffen not their necks against me, they shall be converted.”

⁷²Vilate Kimball, Letter to Heber C. Kimball, September 12, 1837, LDS Church History Library. For an unsympathetic view of Thomas Marsh, see Ronald K. Esplin, “Thomas B. Marsh as President of the First Quorum of the Twelve, 1835–1838,” in (no editor identified), *Hearken O Ye People: Discourses on the Doctrine and Covenants* (Sandy, Utah: Randall Book, 1984), 167–90.

⁷³Collier and Harwell, *Kirtland Council Minute Book*, 188–89.

money:

You state in your letter that you have lost six thousand dollars Kirtland paper—now I will tell you what Joseph Smith Jr told me when he was here on his [trip] West last Sept, I asked him about you, he said you has bagg [sic] of money & could pay all of your debts if you would, I asked him if you did not loose [sic] by the bank & he said no—not a cent, He said you never took it [Safety Society script] for goods any longer tha[n] it would pay your debts. And after that you refused to take it, besides you loaned two thousand out of the bank which you never paid but exchanged a large amount with a broker in St Louis at 5 per cent for specie when you and Luke went west last fall and you bought land, hired a house built &c, this however I believe to be a lie amongst the rest.⁷⁴

Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon also went to Far West after the September 10 meeting to regulate the affairs of the Church there and settle differences with the Far West presidency. Thomas Marsh presumably left Kirtland about October. At Joseph Smith's summons, a diverse group met on November 6–7 at Far West. Present were Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Hyrum Smith, and Thomas Marsh with dissenters Lyman Johnson, Oliver Cowdery, David and John Whitmer, William Phelps, and William McLellin. Lyman was sustained as an apostle at this meeting.⁷⁵

Joseph and Sidney were able to patch together an uneasy peace but returned to Kirtland in December to face a chaotic, unsalvageable situation. Brigham Young was driven from Kirtland on December 22 “in consequence of the fury of the mob”; and Sidney Rigdon and Jo-

⁷⁴Stephen Burnett, Letter to Lyman E. Johnson, April 15, 1838. On May 24, 1838, a copy of the original letter was made. This copy was then recopied in 1839 into Joseph Smith Letterbook 2:64–66, Joseph Smith Collection, LDS Church History Library. Vilate Kimball, in her September 12, 1837, letter to Heber confirmed Lyman's purchase of land at Far West: “I saw Br. Limon Johson [Lyman Johnson] to day. He said I must tell you he had bought for himself and Br[.] Boynton one hundred acres of land apiece lying within three miles of Far West City. He has also bought each of them a lot in the city. He has a corner lot lying between Br. Pattens and the one resurved for you. He wished you to tell Br Hyde if he could not find a lot to send him that he would divide with him. He has got a house now building upon it 18 X 28.”

⁷⁵Cannon and Cook, *Far West Record*, 121–23.

seph Smith fled from Kirtland on January 12, 1838, for similar reasons.⁷⁶

As Joseph and Sidney were laboriously making their way to Far West during this emergency flight, Thomas Marsh and David Patten were making plans to discipline the Missouri presidency (David Whitmer, John Whitmer, and W. W. Phelps, also Oliver Cowdery). Angered by the dissenters' presence and by the real and perceived threats they posed to the institutional Church, Marsh and Patten discussed their proceedings at Far West and appointed a committee on January 20 to inquire "into their feelings and determinations."⁷⁷

Ten days later, Lyman, Oliver Cowdery, and other Far West dissenters, presumably reacting angrily to the tone of the committee's demands, countered with a committee of their own:

Tuesday Jan. 30th, 1838, Far West At a meeting the following members of the Church of Latter Day Saints, viz: F. G. Williams, D. Whitmer, W. W. Phelps, John Whitmer, Jacob Whitmer, Lyman E. Johnson and O. Cowdery convened at the house of Oliver Cowdery in Far West, Caldwell Co., Mo. . . . After consultation, Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer, [and] Frederick G. Williams were appointed a committee to draft a declaration and resolutions, to present to the next meeting; and W. W. Phelps, John Whitmer and Lyman E. Johnson, were appointed a committee to look for a place for the above named individuals in which to settle, where they may live in peace, and also report to the said meeting.⁷⁸

After the high council committee reported meeting with the dissenters, Marsh, with the backing of Apostle David Patten, called a high council meeting and then held meetings on four separate days, February 5, 7–9, at different locations where the Saints rejected the presidency. David and John Whitmer, and William Phelps were strip-

⁷⁶Arrington, *Brigham Young*, 61; *History of the Church*, 3:2, January 12, 1838.

⁷⁷Cannon and Cook, *Far West Record*, 135.

⁷⁸Oliver Cowdery, Letterbook, 85, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California. The dissenters did look for an alternate place to settle. Thomas Marsh, "History of Thos. Baldwin Marsh," 18, May 18, 1838: "In company with Joseph, Sidney and others, I went north in Daviess county. We met with Oliver Cowdery, Lyman E. Johnson and others encamped, who were also exploring northward on Grand River."

ped of their offices but retained their membership.⁷⁹ John Whitmer and William Phelps were excommunicated on March 10.⁸⁰

Joseph Smith designated Marsh as president *pro tempore* of Far West Stake on first day of the conference held April 6–8, 1838, at Far West, with Patten and Brigham Young as assistant presidents. On the second day of conference, Patten said Lyman Johnson was among the “men whom he could not recommend to the conference.”⁸¹ Seymour Brunson, ordained a high priest in December 1831, composed nine charges against Oliver Cowdery and filed them with Bishop Edward Partridge on April 11; Oliver was excommunicated the following day.⁸² On April 13, the Far West High Council, headed by Marsh, Patten, and Young met to consider seven charges against Lyman Johnson filed by Alanson Ripley, a high priest:

1st. For persecuting brethren by stirring up people to prosecute them, and urging on vexatious lawsuits against them and thereby bringing distress upon the innocent.

2nd. For virtually denying the faith of the Church of Christ of Latter Day saints, by vindicating the cause of the enemies of this Church, who are dissenters from us, now in Kirtland, and speaking reproachfully of the Church and High Council, by saying their proceedings were illegal and that he never would acknowledge them to be legal, these assertions were without foundation and truth, also, treating the Church with contempt by absenting himself from meetings on the Sabbath, by not observing his prayers in the season thereof, and by not observing the word of wisdom.

3rd. For seeking to injure the character of Joseph Smith jr by reporting that he had a demand [note] against him of one thousand dollars, when it was without foundation in truth.

4th For laying violent hands on our Brother Phineas Young, and by kicking and beating him, thereby throwing contempt on the church of Christ of Latter-Day Saints in Missouri.⁸³

5th. And by saying that he would appeal the suit between him & Brother Phineas Young and take it out of the County, saying that he

⁷⁹Cannon and Cook, *Far West Record*, 137–41.

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, 145–50.

⁸¹*Ibid.*, 158–60.

⁸²*Ibid.*, 166–69.

⁸³D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1994), 556, said Johnson was “fined for assault and battery on BY’s brother in 1838.” Mormon George Walter testified before Judge Austin A. King in No-

could not get justice done him, thereby speaking reproachfully of the authority of Caldwell County.

6th For telling a fals[e]hood.

7th For taking whiskey and making Weldon drunk & then cheating him out of his property.⁸⁴

Lyman did not attend his trial. He sent a letter of protest and resignation on April 12 which characterized Ripley's charges as a "novel document" designed "to compel me under pain of religious sensure [sic] and excommunication not to appeal a lawsuit [for beating Phineas Young] or change the venue of the same in which I am deeply interested." Lyman added that he would "not condescend to put my constitutional rights at issue upon so disrespectful a point, as to answer any other of those charges until that is withdrawn & until then shall withdraw my self from your society and fellowship."⁸⁵

During the ensuing trial, fifteen individuals testified against Lyman. Thomas Marsh charged that Lyman bragged about contriving a system of traveling on steam boats "without paying his fare," while Joseph Smith said Lyman "vindicated the cause of the dissenters" and lied when he said he had a \$1,000 note against him. Brigham Young testified that his brother Phineas "came to Br. [John P.] Green's a few mornings since with his head cut the blood running out of his ears, also his stomach was injured, & Phineas said Lyman E. Johnson had fought him; which was proved in court afterwards." Dimick B. Huntington added that Lyman "told him he had given Phines [sic] Young a pounding, because he had given him the lie, and if any other man should give him the lie, he would not promise that he not get the same sauce."

George M. Hinkle testified that Lyman told him "when he purchased his farm of Weldon" he was aware Weldon "was fond of liquor." According to Hinkle, Lyman got him "tolerably well shaved"

vember 1838: "I was [in] Far West and went bail for Lyman E. Johnson. . . . I was taken to task & warned that I would suffer for it. and on leaving town that evening, in company with Johnson, there was a number of guns fired at us. . . . I returned to town and saw Rigdon who took me to task for going Johnson's bail." Mormon Inquest Testimony before Judge Austin A. King, 35, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, Columbia, University of Missouri.

⁸⁴Cannon and Cook, *Far West Record*, 172-73.

⁸⁵*Ibid.*, 173.

(drunk) before he purchased Weldon's "large farm with great improvements together with five hundred head of hogs, a good stock of horses and cattle, also, a flock of sheep, the plows belonging to the farm for twenty-two hundred and fifty dollars." Unsurprisingly, the high council determined that Lyman was guilty. He was excommunicated and "given over to the buffetings of Satan until he learns to blaspheme no more against the authorities of God."⁸⁶ Also on April 13, the high council determined that David Whitmer was "no longer considered a member of the Church of Christ of Latter day Saints" after examining charges against him.⁸⁷

These excommunications did not end dissent at Far West. John Corrill,⁸⁸ a witness to the interactions between the hierarchy and the dissidents, recorded that, even after the dissenters had left the Church, "the old strife kept up" and the loyalists "complained much of the ill treatment they had received from the dissenters." According to Corrill, the Church members "were determined to bear it no longer, for they had rather die than suffer such things."⁸⁹ During this period of escalating tensions, William McLellin was apparently excommunicated in May.⁹⁰ Lyman may have been planning to go into law practice with Oliver Cowdery, since Cowdery mentioned in a letter that he and Lyman were expecting the delivery of fifty-five law books.⁹¹

By mid-June, plans were being made to drive Lyman Johnson

⁸⁶Ibid., 174–76.

⁸⁷Ibid., 176–78.

⁸⁸John Corrill was baptized in January 1831, was ordained a high priest in June 1831, was a diligent missionary, and was ordained as the third bishop in Zion. In 1837, he was released as a counselor to Bishop Partridge and was elected state representative from Caldwell County in 1838. Following the clashes between the Mormons and Gentiles in October 1838, he left the Mormons and published a history about them in 1839. See Kenneth H. Winn, "'Such Republicanism as This': John Corrill's Rejection of Prophetic Rule," in Launius and Thatcher, *Differing Visions*, 45–75.

⁸⁹John Corrill, *A Brief History of the Church of Christ of Latter Day Saints, (Commonly Called Mormons) Including an Account of Their Doctrine and Discipline, with the Reasons of the Author for Leaving the Church* (1839; rpt., Salt Lake City: Utah Lighthouse Ministry, n.d.), 29.

⁹⁰Shipps and Welch, *Journals of William E. McLellin*, 323–24. See also Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith* 2:240–41.

⁹¹Internal evidence indicates a date of composition of May 10, 1838,

and his cohorts from Far West based on the belief, according to John Corrill, that the Church “would never become pure” as long as dissenters were in their midst. He claimed that “secret meetings were held, and plans [were] contrived” to determine how to rid the community of the dissenters.⁹² Reed Peck, a former Mormon who wrote about events in northern Missouri in 1839, said the “enmity of the two parties from Kirtland” smoldered until plans were laid to “free the community of the Cowderies, Whitmers, Lyman Johnson and some others.”⁹³

It is against this background of anger and indecision that Sidney Rigdon gave his “Salt Sermon” on Sunday, June 17, to a large gathering of Mormons in which he reportedly stated: “When men embrace the gospel and afterwards lose their faith it is the duty of the Saints to trample them under their feet.” Rigdon also claimed that “a set of men among them” was “doing all in their power to destroy the presidency” and urged his audience to “trample them into the earth.” Peck dismissed this heated language as “undoubtedly a farce acted to frighten these men from the country that they could not be spies upon their conduct or that they might deprive them of their property.”⁹⁴

Farce or not, Corrill warned John Whitmer that his life might be in danger. This warning, coupled with the growing belief that religious convictions justified breaking the civil law, resulted in

Oliver Cowdery, Letterbook, 92.

⁹²Corrill, *A Brief History*, 30, explained that the plans were in abeyance until “President Rigdon delivered from the pulpit what I call the salt sermon.”

⁹³Reed Peck, Letter to “Dear Friends,” September 18, 1839, quoted in *Reed Peck Manuscript*, typescript (Salt Lake City: Utah Lighthouse Ministry, n.d.), 6.

⁹⁴*Ibid.*, 6–7. The July 4 entry of Joseph Smith’s Scriptorium Book, kept by George W. Robinson, justified the salt sermon: “I would mention or notice something about O[liver]. Cowdery David Whitmer Lyman E. Johnson and John Whitmer who being guilty of base iniquities and that to manifest in the eyes of all men, and being often entreated would continue in their course seeking the lives of the First Presidency and to overthrow the Kingdom of God which they once testified off [of]. Prest Rigdon preached one Sabbath upon the salt that had lost its savour, that it is henceforth good for nothing but to be cast out, and trod[d]en under foot of men.” Jesse, *Papers of Joseph Smith* 2:249.

Whitmer's meeting with Joseph Smith. As Whitmer later testified, Smith said the "excitement is very high," but indicated it would be allayed if Whitmer put his "property into the hands of the bishop and high council, to be disposed of according to the laws of the church."⁹⁵

When the dissenters did not leave Far West immediately, a long threatening letter, dated June 1838, presumably written by Sidney Rigdon, was signed by eighty-three individuals and was presented to the dissenters the day following Rigdon's inflammatory "Salt Sermon."⁹⁶ This letter accused Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer, John Whitmer, William W. Phelps, and Lyman Johnson of joining "a band of counterfeiters, thieves, liars, and blacklegs of the deepest dye, to deceive, cheat, and defraud the saints out of their property by every art and stratagem which wickedness could invent." It criticized Oliver and Lyman for misusing the law to defend themselves and to persecute the Church: "You set up a nasty, dirty, pettifogger's office, pretending to be judges of the law, when it was a notorious fact that you are profoundly ignorant of it." The warning closed with the threat, "We will put you from the county of Caldwell, so help us God."⁹⁷

According to John Whitmer, the threat was not only of expulsion. Joseph and Hyrum Smith, Sidney Rigdon, and George W. Robinson unlawfully attached the property of the extended Whitmer family, Oliver Cowdery, and Lyman Johnson, warning that "they had threatened us to kill us" if the suits to attach their property were contested. Not bowing to threats, Whitmer explained that he, his brother David, Oliver Cowdery, and Lyman Johnson went to Clay County "to obtain legal counsel to prepare to over throw these attachments which they had caused to [be] sued against us which we were abun-

⁹⁵*Senate Document 189: The Testimony Given before the Hon. Austin A. King, Judge of the Fifth Judicial Circuit in the State of Missouri, at the Court-House in Richmond, in a Criminal Court of Inquiry Begun November 12, 1838* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1841), reprinted as *Senate Document 189* (Salt Lake City: Utah Lighthouse Ministry, n.d.), 33.

⁹⁶Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power*, 94.

⁹⁷Letter to Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer, John Whitmer, William W. Phelps, and Lyman E. Johnson, June 1838, *Senate Document 189*, 6–9.

dantly able to do by good and substantial witness.”⁹⁸ En route back to Far West, they were astonished to encounter Oliver and Lyman’s families, who had been driven from Far West with only their clothing and bedding. John Whitmer charged that, during their absence, Joseph, Sidney and “the band of gadeantons [Gadaintons] kept up a guard, and watched our houses and abused our families, and threatened them, [that] if they were not gone by morning, they would be drove out & threatened our lives if they ever saw us in Far West.”⁹⁹ William Phelps, spared a similar fate, was restored to the Church prior to July 8 by rebaptism.¹⁰⁰

Writing in Joseph Smith’s Scriptorium Book under the date of July 4, George W. Robinson described his personal perception of the dissenters’ flight: “These men took warning, and soon they were seen bounding over the prairie like the scape Goat to carry off[f] their own sins [Lev. 16:21–22] we have not seen them since, their influence is gone, and they are in a miserable condition, so also it [is] with all who turn from the truth to lying cheating defrauding & Swindeling.”¹⁰¹ The dissenters briefly found shelter at William McLellin’s home, “twenty-five miles from Far West in Clay County,”¹⁰² then found lodging in Richmond, Missouri.

During this period, the Orson Hyde and Heber Kimball families, accompanied by Erastus Snow and perhaps thirty other Saints,

⁹⁸Bruce N. Westergren, ed., *From Historian to Dissident: The Book of John Whitmer* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1995), 184.

⁹⁹*Ibid.* William McLellin gave a less factual account about the expulsion of the dissenters and their subsequent loss of property in “Saturday Evening, Feb. 6th, 1847. In Conference assembled. W. E. McLellin, for the committee read the following, as the result of their investigation and labors,” *Ensign of Liberty* (Kirtland, Ohio) 1 (March 1847): 9. Corrill, *A Brief History*, 30, wrote: “This sermon [Rigdon’s Salt Sermon] had the desired effect. Excitement was produced, in the church, and, suffice it to say that, in three or four days, several of the dissenters became much alarmed, and fled from the place in great flight, and their families soon followed, but their property was attached for debt.”

¹⁰⁰Alexander L. Baugh, “A Community Abandoned: W. W. Phelps’ 1839 Letter to Sally Waterman Phelps from Far West, Missouri,” *Nauvoo Journal* 10 (Fall 1998): 23; Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith* 2:257.

¹⁰¹Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2:249.

¹⁰²Shipp and Welch, *Journals of William E. McLellin*, 324.

arrived at Richmond, where they encountered Lyman Johnson. Heber Kimball recorded: "He ordered a dinner at the hotel for all of his old friends, and treated us with every kindness." However, when the Mormons were forced to surrender on November 1 at Far West and give up their arms, Kimball bitterly condemned Lyman Johnson and other ex-Mormons for piloting the militia into Far West.¹⁰³

LIFE AS A GENTILE

One of the first things Lyman did as a nonmember was to file charges in the Ray County Circuit Court on August 30, 1838, against Daniel Kern for trespass to recover damages to his property. According to the suit, Daniel was charged with unlawfully possessing one overcoat, two vests, three silk handkerchiefs, six shirt bosoms, twelve collars, three pair of pantaloons, one rifle, and many other items.¹⁰⁴ The case was dismissed. According to an anonymously authored county history, the Lyman Johnson and John Boynton families lived in Scott County, Iowa, for an undetermined period in 1839. Lyman and John built the first distillery in that county.¹⁰⁵

By February 1839, Lyman, Sarah, and their three-year-old daughter, Sarah, had settled opposite Nauvoo at Keokuk in Iowa Territory, where Lyman practiced law and dealt in real estate. They may have chosen Keokuk because some members of the Johnson family settled at Nauvoo. Lyman is listed as among Keokuk's early settlers—a "real pioneer." Their first Keokuk home was a substantial house of hewn logs built in 1839 or 1840 with a fine location on a bluff overlooking the Mississippi River. A local historian describes it as "a most comfortable little place, with a lean-to at the back and a small yard at the side." It had a "clear cold spring" which gave it a special charac-

¹⁰³Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball*, 217–18.

¹⁰⁴"Legal Instruments re: Mormons in Utah," Vault MSS 707, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. Daniel Kern, whose last name is spelled in various ways, was a Mormon.

¹⁰⁵*History of Scott County, Iowa* (Chicago: Inter-State Publishing, 1882), 1189. Our thanks to Elaine M. E. Speakman for calling our attention to this reference.

ter.¹⁰⁶ This site is now under the new Mississippi River Bridge.

It is impossible to determine what Lyman actually thought about Mormonism after 1839, but he and John Boynton may have entertained plans to return to the Church in late 1840. Vilate Kimball wrote to Heber in England in December 1840, commenting that Joseph Smith had taken a boat trip on the Mississippi River and “who should accompany him but John F[.] Boynton and his wife, and Lymon [sic] Johnson. They made it there [their] home to Joseph Smiths all the time they were here. I never saw Joseph appear more happy; said he, I am a going to have all my old friends around me again.”¹⁰⁷

Lyman’s forty-one-year-old sister, Alice, died at Nauvoo in July 1841, and Lyman appears in four records of the time. On July 19, 1841, an interlinear assertion in the Manuscript History Book C-1 reads: “Council of the Twelve, viz B. Young H. C. Kimball, J Taylor, O Pratt & G A Smith met at El[der] Young’s house, conversing with Lyman E. Johnson, who formerly belonged to the Quorum; Prest. Rigdon and myself [Joseph Smith] were with them part of the time.”¹⁰⁸ Perhaps Lyman addressed the members of his former quorum, for in 1877, Brigham Young recalled:

Lyman E. Johnson said, at one of our Quorum meetings, after he had apostatized and tried to put Joseph out of the way. Lyman told the truth, He said, “Brethren—I will call you brethren—I will tell you the truth. If I could believe ‘Mormonism’—it is no matter whether it is true or not—but if I could believe ‘Mormonism’ as I did when I traveled with you and preached, if I possessed the world I would give it. I would give anything, I would suffer my right hand to be cut off, if I

¹⁰⁶Virginia Wilcox Ivins, *Yesterdays: Reminiscences [sic] of Long Ago* (N.p., Author, 1914), 43.

¹⁰⁷Vilate Kimball, Letter to Heber C. Kimball, December 8, 1840, LDS Church History Library. Later that month, Vilate wrote Heber: “Brother Lyman Johnson, called the day that the [English] sisters were here, and had quite a chat with them. They all sang so beautifully that it was quite a paradise.” Quoted in Jeni Broberg Holzapfel and Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, eds., *A Woman’s View: Helen Mar Whitney’s Reminiscences of Early Church History* (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1997), 183.

¹⁰⁸Manuscript History Book, C-1, pp. 1, 219, LDS Church History Library. See also George A. Smith, Journal, July 19, 1841, LDS Church History Library; “History of Brigham Young,” *Deseret News* March 10, 1858, 2; *History of the Church* 4:389.

could believe it again. Then I was full of joy and gladness. My dreams were pleasant. When I awoke in the morning my spirit was cheerful. I was happy by day and by night, full of peace and joy and thanksgiving. But now it is darkness, pain, sorrow, misery in the extreme. I have never since seen a happy moment.”¹⁰⁹

In June 1842, Lyman Johnson visited the *Times and Seasons* office, and Wilford Woodruff, in a letter to Parley P. Pratt, commented that Lyman was “well in health.”¹¹⁰ The next month Brigham Young, also writing to Parley, mentioned that Lyman was “unwell” and staying in Nauvoo at the home of his sister, Marinda Johnson Hyde. “John Boyington [sic],” he added, “is in this cou[n]try as a dentest [dentist].”¹¹¹

LYMAN E. JOHNSON AND THE NAUVOO CRIMINALS

Still, other threads—perhaps intentional, perhaps coincidental—connected Lyman Johnson with developments in Nauvoo. One of the most colorful was Johnson’s connection to the far from saintly Hodges family. The Curtis Hodges Sr. family was converted in Erie County, Pennsylvania; baptism followed at Kirtland, Ohio, in late 1832.¹¹² They moved to Missouri with the Saints, were forced out of Clay County in 1836, and were driven from Caldwell

¹⁰⁹Brigham Young, June 17, 1877, *Journal of Discourses* (London and Liverpool: LDS Booksellers Depot, 1854–86), 19:41.

¹¹⁰Wilford Woodruff, Letter to Parley P. Pratt, June 12, 1842, LDS Church History Library.

¹¹¹Brigham Young, Letter to Parley P. Pratt, July 17, 1842, LDS Church History Library.

¹¹²Curtis Hodges Sr., born August 9, 1787, at Cambridge, Washington County, New York, married Lucy Clark, born September 19, 1790, at Sanford, Bennington County, Vermont. Marriage information unavailable. Their children in birth order are: Sarah L., Lucy Ann, Curtis Jr., Amos, Ervine, William, Stephen, Eliza Jane, Emeline, Marietta, James, and Hyrum. See Bill Shepard, “The Notorious Hodges Brothers: Solving the Mystery of Their Destruction at Nauvoo,” *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 26 (2006): 282–84. For the best information about the Hodges, see Marietta Hodges Walker, *With the Saints in an Early Day* (1912; rpt., Independence: Price Publishing, 2000). Marietta referred to her family as “the Clarks,” her mother’s maiden name, to prevent the readers from realizing

County during the 1838 Mormon War.¹¹³ Curtis Sr., Curtis Jr., and an unidentified brother were participants in the Battle of Crooked River, and Curtis Sr. survived being shot in the side.¹¹⁴ They moved with the body of the Church to Illinois in 1839–40. William and Stephen Hodges, and their brothers-in-law Darius Campbell and Truman Wait were accused of stealing a horse in Des Moines County, Iowa, in 1842.¹¹⁵ Curtis Jr. was cut off from the Church in 1843 for bigamy and Curtis Sr. was accused of stealing from the Saints in Tennessee in 1843.¹¹⁶

In May 1845, William and Stephen, then ages twenty-five and twenty-three respectively, were living with Amos Hodges, another brother, and his wife, Lydia, in a poor section of Nauvoo near the Mississippi River. Although Amos was president of the Thirteenth Quorum of Seventy he could not enter Iowa “because he had been indicted for robbery.”¹¹⁷ Ervine and his wife, Luzette, lived at Mechanicksville, some thirty miles from Nauvoo in Hancock County. Apostle John Taylor noted in his diary that Ervine had “a poor character for unrighteousness.”¹¹⁸

A Mennonite family, the John Miller (Johannes Mueller) family, living near the small town of West Point in Des Moines County, Iowa Territory, was targeted for robbery after rumors reached the criminal

she was a member of the Hodges family.

¹¹³Losses experienced by the Hodges family are listed in Clark V. Johnson, ed., *Mormon Redress Petitions: Documents of the 1833–1838 Missouri Conflict* (Provo: Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1992), 464.

¹¹⁴Walker, *With the Saints in an Early Day*, 229–31.

¹¹⁵Incomplete trial documents, Des Moines County Court House, District Court, Box A, 176, Burlington, Iowa. Stephen was found guilty, but his sentence is unknown.

¹¹⁶*History of the Church*, 5:350; “To the Editor of the Times and Seasons,” *Times and Seasons* 5 (March 1, 1844): 461.

¹¹⁷Seventies Record, 13th Quorum, B:43, LDS Church History Library. This record also lists William Hodges as an elder. See statement of Judge Charles Mason in *Life and Letters of Charles Mason: Chief Justice of Iowa 1804–1882*, edited by Charles Mason Remy (Washington, D.C.: Charles Mason Remy, 1939). The page is strangely numbered 91–3.

¹¹⁸Dean C. Jessee, ed., “The John Taylor Nauvoo Journal January 1845–September 1845,” *BYU Studies* 23 (Summer 1983): 58. George Q. Cannon was Taylor’s clerk.

element of a thousand dollars in cash. William Hodges, Stephen Hodges, and their accomplices thirty-six-year-old Artemus Johnson¹¹⁹ and twenty-one-year-old Thomas Brown¹²⁰ believed that the Mennonites would be easy marks and attacked the house about midnight on May 10, 1845. The stoutly built Miller and his son-in-law, Henry Leisi, fiercely resisted; however, they were outnumbered. Miller was killed, and Leisi was mortally wounded. Artemus Johnson and Thomas Brown went into hiding, but the Hodges brothers returned to Nauvoo. They initially encountered Patriarch and Apostle William Smith, the only surviving brother of Joseph Smith, who advised them to leave Nauvoo “and never return.”¹²¹ Ignoring Smith’s advice they next sought out Brigham Young who said the brothers “came to me asking what they should do” and he “told them to fulfil [sic] the law” [and surrender to the police]. The brothers then “threatened” to take his life.¹²² William and Stephen were at Amos’s house where a mixed party of Nauvoo police and Iowa officials apprehended them on the morning of May 13. After being briefly held by the Nauvoo police, they were turned over to Iowa officials and held in custody, first at Fort Madison and then at Burlington.¹²³

Hawkins Taylor, a former representative to the Iowa Territorial

¹¹⁹Artemus Johnson, a Mormon elder, had previously been disciplined by the Mormons for stealing. Bill Shepard, “Stealing at Mormon Nauvoo,” *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 23 (2003): 92, 99.

¹²⁰*Ibid.*, 92–93, 98–99. Brown’s father had been excommunicated for stealing, and Thomas had been jailed in Brown County for stealing.

¹²¹For account of William Smith’s meeting with Brigham Young, other members of hierarchy, and the Nauvoo police, see Jessee, “The John Taylor Nauvoo Journal,” 60, entry of June 25, 1845.

¹²²For Young’s statement, see *ibid.*, 62.

¹²³Edward Bonney, *The Banditti of the Prairies or, the Murderer’s [sic] Doom!! A Tale of the Mississippi Valley* (1850; rpt., Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 27–35; Juanita Brooks, ed., *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1962), 1:38–39; and Jessee, “John Taylor Nauvoo Journal,” 48–49. Bonney’s account of criminal activities of the Hodges brothers and other 1845 events mentioned in this article are the most expansive information on the subject. Bonney was born to Jethro M. Bonney and Laurana Webster Bonney August 26, 1807, in Essex County, New York, and married Maria L. Van Frank in Homer, New York, on January 17, 1832. He arrived

Legislature and a resident of the small settlement of West Point, who participated in arresting the Hodges brothers, wrote: "The court [Des Moines County, Iowa] appointed me to go to Nauvoo to take the testimony of their witnesses to be used in court, subject to the same rules of evidence that would govern if given in court. I spent three days in Nauvoo taking testimony. L. E. Johnson, one of the Hodges' lawyers, was with me."¹²⁴

On June 12, lawyers for the brothers filed a motion with the District Court of Des Moines County to delay the trial pending the appearance of additional witnesses who could testify that the brothers were in Nauvoo on the night of the attack. The court denied the motion. Among those who wanted to testify that William and Stephen Hodges were at Nauvoo on the critical night were Gentile criminal associates Aaron Long, John Long, and Judge Fox.¹²⁵ Ironically, the Long brothers and Fox would be among a group of Gentile criminals with ties to the Hodges brothers who murdered George Davenport, a well-respected pioneer, fur trader,

at Nauvoo in 1840 with his wife and several children. His biographer, Philip D. Jordan, noted that he witnessed the revolt of William and Wilson Law, the political ambitions of Joseph Smith, the destruction of the *Expositor* press, and the deaths of Joseph and Hyrum Smith at Carthage, Illinois, on June 27, 1844. He moved from Nauvoo to an unsettled area near Fort Madison in Lee County, Iowa, in April 1845. Jordan acknowledged that Bonney was suspected of passing counterfeit money but said that his description of his role in bringing William and Stephen Hodges to justice was factual and said he had helped apprehend three of Davenport's slayers. Jordan characterized Bonney as a "bounty-hunter type, seeking reward either in money or in notoriety or both." Philip D. Jordan, "Introduction," to *Banditti of the Prairies*, vii–xxi. Quinn, *Origins of Power*, 127, noted that Bonney was a Mason at Nauvoo, was one of three Gentiles Joseph Smith named to the Council of Fifty, and that he was Joseph's aide-de-camp in June 1844. Quinn, "The Council of Fifty and Its Members, 1844 to 1945," *BYU Studies* 20 (Winter 1980): 193, dates Bonney's membership in the Fifty between March 14 and April 11, 1844. Brigham Young dropped him from it on February 4, 1845.

¹²⁴Hawkins Taylor, "Autobiography of Hawkins Taylor," 56, typescript, Archives and Special Collections, Western Illinois University Library, Macomb.

¹²⁵Period histories and newspaper accounts unanimously described the attempt to have the Longs and Fox alibi the brothers as proof that they

and founder of Davenport, Iowa, the following month on July 4 at Rock Island, Illinois.¹²⁶

On June 17, 1845, a document witnessed by Lyman Johnson and Hawkins Taylor¹²⁷ was recorded at Carthage, Illinois, in which criminal associates of William and Stephen transferred lots at Nauvoo valued at \$1,000 to pay lawyers Frederick D. Miles and Jonathan C. Hall of Burlington, Iowa to conduct the legal defense of the brothers. Amos and Ervine Hodges joined with fellow Mormons William A. Hickman, Return Jackson Redden, and W. Jenkins Salisbury,¹²⁸ to transfer city lots in Nauvoo to pay the brothers' new lawyers. Significantly, two criminal associates of the Hodges brothers, William F.

were in the same criminal gang. See, for example, "The Murder of Miller and Leiza by the Hodges," [*Keokuk*] *Gate City*, May 24, 1876, 2.

¹²⁶Hawkins Taylor, "Autobiography," 56, disgustedly observed after Davenport's murder that some of "the very witnesses who testified for the Hodges [in pre-trial depositions] concocted and made all the arrangements" for Davenport's murder.

¹²⁷Bonds and Mortgages, 1844-48, 2:66-67, Hancock County Court House, Carthage, Illinois; microfilm 954,776, LDS Family History Library. Bonney, *Banditti of the Prairies*, 47, stated: "Messers. Hall & Miles of Burlington, Iowa were employed to defend them, and their fee of one thousand dollars secured to them." He added (55), "This robbery was planned by Amos Hodges and R. H. Bleeker, who as security for the Hodges signed the note to Hall & Mills and Judge Fox, one of their witnesses."

¹²⁸Hickman was apparently a member of the same criminal gang as the Hodges which operated in Hancock County, Illinois, and neighboring counties in Iowa. Hope A. Hilton, "Wild Bill" *Hickman and the Mormon Frontier* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988), 10-11, minimally covers the Iowa thefts. Bonney, *Banditti of the Prairies*, 230, referred to Hickman as "one of the most notorious rascals" for crimes committed in Iowa Territory in 1845. Redden was born September 26, 1817, at Hiram, Ohio, to George Grant Redden and Adelia Higley Redden, was baptized in 1841, and moved to the Nauvoo area. Bonney, *Banditti of the Prairies*, 214-15, identified him as one of the planners of the Davenport robbery. Salisbury's participation in this transfer of property is puzzling as he is not otherwise identified as a member of the criminal gang. He was a brother-in-law of Joseph Smith. Lavina Fielding Anderson examined his stormy passage through Mormonism in *Lucy's Book: A Critical Edition of Lucy Mack Smith's Family Memoir* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2001), 861-62.

Louther and R. Blecher,¹²⁹ were listed on the same document as transferring lots to Miles and Hall. After this arrangement, Lyman Johnson is not referred to as a lawyer for the brothers.

William and Stephen's trial began on June 19 and concluded with their conviction three days later. They were sentenced to be hanged on July 15.¹³⁰ Immediately after the sentencing, Ervine Hodges unwisely proclaimed at Burlington he would tell the Gentiles all he knew about Mormon stealing unless Brigham Young helped secure the release of his brothers. Ervine presumably reasoned that Young would help his brothers as a trade-off for Ervine's silence. He was wrong. On June 23 he confronted the Mormon leader with his demands, but Young summarily dismissed him. Like William and Stephen, Ervine angrily threatened to kill Young. Zina Diantha Huntington Jacobs, one of Brigham's plural wives, recorded: "The said Hodge was direct from Burlington. He has a Brother there, sentenced to be hung on the [blank] of Sept next for Murder. *Said Hodge has threatened Brigham Youngs life* which He was a man of unbounded temper."¹³¹

If Young believed the Mormons had nothing to fear from the charges of a fringe Mormon with a criminal reputation, Ervine's criminal associates had a great deal to lose if he revealed gang secrets. Ervine was cutting through a corn field near Young's house about 10 P.M. that evening when an assailant, later identified as Return Jackson

¹²⁹According to Bonney, *Banditti of the Prairies*, 85, 214, William W. Louther went on a stealing expedition with Return Jackson Redden and joined with Amos Hodges, Return Jackson, Aaron and John Long, Judge Fox, Orrin Porter Rockwell, and others to plan the robbery of Colonel George Davenport. Robert H. Birch (who used "Beecher" and "Bleeker" as aliases) was a former member of the William W. Brown gang of Bellevue, Iowa, which was shattered by vigilantes in 1840. He was arrested for the murder of Colonel Davenport. Susan K. Lucke, *The Bellevue War: Mandate of Justice or Murder by Mob?* (Ames, Iowa: McMillan Publishing, 2002). Birch was also involved with Amos Hodges in a Nauvoo robbery in June 1845. Bonney, *Banditti of the Prairies*, 12, 72.

¹³⁰"Trial for Murder," *Burlington Hawk-Eye* 7 (June 26, 1845): 2-3.

¹³¹Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, ed., "'All Things Move in Order in the City': The Nauvoo Diary of Zina Diantha Huntington Jacobs," *BYU Studies* 19 (Spring 1979): 314, June 23, 1845. The editor omitted the italicized portion which Jacobs had crossed out.

Redden, stabbed him fatally with a bowie knife to keep him from revealing information. When asked who stabbed him, the dying Ervine managed to say, "They were men whom he took to be friends, from the river."¹³² The following day the Burlington newspaper said: "The supposition of many is that he was murdered by a gang of scoundrels to which he and his brothers are supposed to have belonged, to prevent disclosures which it was feared the execution of Stephen and William might provoke."¹³³

Ironically, at the time when William and Stephen were being charged with murder and Ervine was threatening to divulge gang secrets, Amos Hodges joined Robert H. Birch and Judge Fox to plan the robbery of a Nauvoo merchant named Rufus Beach. According to Edward Bonney, Amos advised Brigham Young of the robbery who passed the warning on to Beach. Beach took the precaution of stationing armed guards who interrupted the robbery, shooting at Birch and Fox.¹³⁴ Both escaped, but Amos was arrested. John Taylor recorded on June 21, "A man of the name of Amos Hodges was taken up on a charge of theft. I am afraid he is connected with a gang of villains that are lurking about, stealing on our credit."¹³⁵ Amos was bailed out of jail on June 28 by Apostle William Smith,¹³⁶ promptly disappeared, and is presumed to have

¹³²Jessee, "The John Taylor Nauvoo Journal," 58.

¹³³"A Brother of the Murderers Murdered," [*Burlington*] *Territorial Gazette and Advertiser* 8 (June 28, 1845): 2.

¹³⁴Bonney, *Banditti of the Prairies*, 55–56.

¹³⁵Jessee, "The John Taylor Nauvoo Journal," 53. Following his arrest for Davenport's murder, Birch, in an effort to get his sentence reduced, testified against other gang members. His "confessions" included the statement: "Fox and myself attempted to rob Beach in Nauvoo, and would have succeeded, had not Brigham Young told Beach about the plan. We came near being caught, but escaped, and crossed the [Mississippi] river to Old [Grant] Redden's." Bonney, *Banditti of the Prairies*, 215.

¹³⁶George D. Smith, ed., *An Intimate Chronicle: The Journals of William Clayton* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1995), 169. William Smith's puzzling relationship with the Hodges family is examined in Shepard, "The Notorious Hodges Brothers."

been murdered.¹³⁷ William Smith charged five months later that Amos had been smuggled out of Nauvoo by members of the Nauvoo Police who murdered him in Iowa.¹³⁸ It is more likely he was murdered by Robert A. Birch or Judge Fox for betraying them when they attempted to rob Beach.

At an unknown date before July 4, Robert A. Birch, John and Aaron Long, and a criminal named John Baxter met at the isolated Iowa cabin of Grant Redden¹³⁹ and his son William some ten miles from Nauvoo in Des Moines County to plan the Davenport robbery. The Longs, Birch, and Baxter left the Reddens and went to Rock Island where they were joined by another thief named Granville Young and, presumably, by Fox. During the botched robbery, a gun accidentally discharged, shooting Davenport in the leg. After his assailants fled, he bled to death.¹⁴⁰ Bonney reported that the gang took “between six and seven hundred dollars in money, a gold watch and chain, a double-barreled shotgun and pistol” before fleeing “precipitately.” The Davenport family promptly offered a reward of fifteen hundred dollars.¹⁴¹

Eight days after William and Stephen were hanged at Burlington on July 15, D. F. Miller, an attorney in Fort Madison and an associate of one of the Hodges’ lawyers, Jonathan C. Hall, wrote Judge Charles Mason who had presided over the Hodges’ trial and assured him that Thomas Brown and Artemus Johnson had participated in the Miller murder with the Mormon brothers. He added that Ervine “was killed unquestionably by one of the Band which numbers I have every reason to believe numbered 50 to 100 within 20 miles of this place. He

¹³⁷“Irvine Hodges,” *Warsaw Signal* 21 (July 23, 1845): 2, commented that Amos had not been seen since Ervine’s murder.

¹³⁸“Letter from Wm. Smith, Brother of the Late Prophet,” *Sangamo [Illinois] Journal* 16 (November 5, 1845): 2.

¹³⁹George Grant Redden, son of Christopher Redden and Margaret Grant Redden, was born November 8, 1790, at Bernardstown, New Jersey and married Adelia Higley in 1816 in Portage County, Ohio. They had eight children, including Return Jackson Redden and William Harrison Redden.

¹⁴⁰The organizational meeting at Redden’s, the boat trip to Rock Island, and Davenport’s murder are reported in “The Davenport Murderer,” *Burlington Hawk-Eye* 7 (November 13, 1845): 2.

¹⁴¹Bonney, *Banditti of the Prairies*, 61–63.

was murdered because he threatened exposure.”¹⁴²

As the excitement over the hanging of the Hodges brothers was diminishing, Edward Bonney and other bounty hunters and lawmen were pursuing Davenport’s murderers. Bonney began by checking the list of witnesses who had volunteered to testify in favor of William and Stephen, singling out John and Aaron Long and Judge Fox. He soon learned that Robert H. Birch had joined them at Grant Redden’s cabin and trailed them from that site. Posing as an outlaw on the run, he infiltrated the criminal society and arrested Fox, Birch, and John Long. Baxter, Granville Young, and Aaron Long were arrested by others and taken to Rock Island where the Rock Island Circuit Court indicted them for murder during its October term. Meanwhile, because of incriminating evidence found near Grant Redden’s home, he and William were also arrested and taken to Rock Island where they were likewise indicted in the October term “as accessory to the murder of Davenport before the fact.”¹⁴³ During Birch’s trial he testified against the others and implicated Return Jackson Redden in the original planning of the Davenport robbery at Nauvoo.¹⁴⁴

Justice was quickly dispensed. Baxter was sentenced to life in prison, John and Aaron Long and Granville Young were hanged on October 19, 1845, William Redden received a one-year sentence, and Grant Redden escaped prison when one juror refused to find him guilty. Birch and Fox avoided punishment as they escaped from or bribed their guards.

The next phase was arresting Return Jackson Redden, then in Nauvoo, “as accessory to the murder of Col. Davenport. L. E. Johnson was deputized to make the arrest, under authority of a warrant issued by Miles W. Conway, Esq., justice of the peace.”¹⁴⁵ It was an explosive period. Mormon homes were being burned in the countryside, and Mormons serving under Jacob Backenstos, sheriff of Hancock County, were using deadly force against Gentile house burners. Given

¹⁴²D. F. Miller, Letter to Charles Mason, July 23, 1845, typescript, Charles Mason Papers, Iowa State Historical Society, Des Moines.

¹⁴³For information on the pursuit and arrest of the accused murderers, see Bonney, *Banditti of the Prairies*, 77–204. For the arrest of the Reddens, see pp. 204–13.

¹⁴⁴*Ibid.*, 214.

¹⁴⁵*Ibid.*, 217.

the touchy trigger fingers, the Burlington justice of the peace concluded that Redden had to be taken by subterfuge and turned to Lyman E. Johnson as a logical candidate. He had done legal work for Redden and others, they had both grown up in Hiram, Ohio, and they were related.¹⁴⁶

According to a newspaper report, Johnson arranged to meet Redden at Nauvoo's upper wharf to "consider arrangements for bailing his father and brother out of jail."¹⁴⁷ On October 25, 1845, the steamboat *Sarah Ann* docked at that wharf with Sheriff James L. Bradley of Rock Island on board. Johnson held Jackson in conversation until Bradley, armed with a warrant "for one Jackson Reddin," charged him "with the murder of Col. Davenport in July last."¹⁴⁸ When Redden resisted arrest, the crew and passengers rushed from the *Sarah Ann* to Bradley's assistance. In turn, Mormons came running to help Jackson; and in the resulting melee, both Johnson and Bradley were injured.

To make the situation more bizarre, Dr. Robert D. Foster, an ex-Mormon who was a prominent dissenter at the time of the destruction of the *Nauvoo Expositor*, happened to be on board the *Sarah Ann*. He wildly fired his pistol, injuring no one but causing more confusion. The Mormons prevailed, and the *Sarah Ann* departed without Jackson.¹⁴⁹ The account in the *Warsaw Signal* gives this version:

When the boat, on which they were, landed, Mr. Johnson, went up into the City, and decoyed Reding [sic] to the landing and endeavored to get him on board the boat; but he would not go. The Sheriff

¹⁴⁶Redden was the nephew of Lyman's maternal aunt, Nancy Jacob Redden.

¹⁴⁷"Affray at Nauvoo—Rescue of a Prisoner," *Bloomington Herald*, November 1, 1845. See also Bonney, *Banditti of the Prairies*, 217. "Outrages in Nauvoo," *Warsaw Signal* 2 (October 29, 1845): 2, added: "We learn from the most unquestionable authority, that an outrage of a most aggravated character has been committed in Nauvoo, on the persons of the Sheriff of Rock Island County and his aids, who went into the City [of Nauvoo] on Saturday last to arrest one of the men implicated in the Davenport Murder."

¹⁴⁸"The Nauvoo Fracas," *Territorial Gazette and Advertiser* 8 (November 1, 1845): 2.

¹⁴⁹*History of the Church*, 7:486–87, October 25, 1845.

then arrested him on shore; he however resisted him and he would not go on the boat. He was then seized by the Officer and his aids, and while they were in the act of forcing him on the boat, they were attacked, by a mob, who assailed them with brick bats and other missiles, which soon disabled them so that they were compelled to let their prisoner go. Mr. Bradley was severely wounded on the head and also on the knee. Mr. Johnson was struck with great violence with a brick-bat on the side of the face.¹⁵⁰

Three days after this failed attempt, Major William B. Warren, the Illinois militia leader assigned to keep the peace between the Mormons and Gentiles, and Captains James D. Morgan and M. Turner met with Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Amasa M. Lyman, George A. Smith, and John Taylor at Nauvoo. Minutes of this meeting on Tuesday, October 28, 1845, report:

Captn. Morgan: Our man who was wounded is gone home, getting better slowly.

B Y [Brigham Young]: I'd rather a great sight they would come and buy our property.

[Major] Warren: I'd rather so too, but I think when a writ for murder.

B. Y.: There was nothing said about a Writ—a man came up, grabbed him by the arms & said I have got the man—hundreds will swear it.

Warren: The Sheriff in Town, Mr. Kimble & others all say “in the name of the State I arrest you &c.”

B. Y.: Foster fired his pistol twice & it is said he was so scared he fired rather in the air—What is the writ for?

W[arren]: Murder? Lyman Johnson is not dangerously hurt.¹⁵¹

There is no record of Lyman Johnson interacting socially, professionally, or as an agent of the Rock Island Court in Nauvoo after being beaten by the Mormons. Similarly, the Rock Island officials apparently gave up on arresting Redden in the Mormon stronghold as he

¹⁵⁰“Outrages in Nauvoo,” *Warsaw Signal* 2 (October 29, 1845): 2.

¹⁵¹Minutes of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, October 28, 1845, typescript, Leonard J. Arrington Papers, Series 9: Mormon History Topics, Special Collections and Archives, Merrill-Cazier Library, Logan; punctuation added. “Last Visit of Major Warren to Nauvoo,” *Warsaw Signal* 2 (November 5, 1845): 2, reports this meeting, stating that Young told Warren: “Redding [sic] has gone to Michigan.”

was only a minor player in the July 4 murder at Rock Island, they did not have the means to force the Mormons to release Redden to them, and it was clear the Mormons were preparing to vacate Nauvoo. Redden, for his part, presumably remained at Nauvoo as William Smith, exiled from Nauvoo by October to Perkins Grove, Illinois, wrote in the Springfield *Sangamo Journal* in early November: "Jack Redding [sic] the supposed murderer of Arvine [sic] Hodge . . . Has been running at large in Nauvoo."¹⁵²

Almost certainly in those days that sharply divided families and individual hearts into "us versus them," Lyman Johnson's willingness to defend alleged (and convicted) criminals, even those, like Return Jackson Redden, around whom the Mormons rallied, alienated him further from the Saints. Final evidence that he no longer considered himself Mormon was a second-hand report suggesting that he had joined the Gentile militia who overwhelmed the Mormons and "new citizens" in the Battle of Nauvoo, in September 1846. On September 25, 1846, William Clayton, who was then at Winter Quarters, noted in his diary: "Lyman Johnson, one of the old Twelve, headed a party of the mob from Keokuk, Iowa territory."¹⁵³ Clayton probably heard about the fighting at Nauvoo from Daniel H. Wells and William Cutler who had arrived from Nauvoo the previous day. Hawkins Taylor, never a Mormon but Johnson's associate in Keokuk, later lamented in his autobiography: "I most foolishly and wickedly, with a few others, had gone over from Keokuk and joined the anti-Mormon army."¹⁵⁴ Although there is no way to know for sure, Johnson may have been one of the "few."

LYMAN JOHNSON AND THE MASONS

As we have found no references that Lyman attended Church functions at Nauvoo, we hypothesize that, when he joined the Masons at Nauvoo, he encountered a system which became a substitute for his former religion. When "An Entered Apprentice Lodge" was opened at Nauvoo in February 1842, forty-one men, most of them Mormons,

¹⁵²"Letter from Wm. Smith, Brother of the Late Prophet," *Sangamo Journal* 15 (November 5, 1845): 2.

¹⁵³George Smith, *An Intimate Chronicle*, 291.

¹⁵⁴Hawkins Taylor, "Autobiography," 57.

presented petitions for initiation. Lyman was among them, along with former missionary associates Brigham Young, William Smith, and Amasa Lyman as applicants.¹⁵⁵

Two months later on April 7, Lyman attended a meeting at the Nauvoo Masonic Lodge with Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Hyrum Smith, John Taylor, Robert D. Foster, Wilford Woodruff, William Law, John E. Page, John C. Bennett, and other Mormon luminaries. Lyman's former missionary companion John Murdock is mentioned in the minutes along with Alanson Ripley, who had filed charges against Lyman at Far West in April 1838.¹⁵⁶ On April 20, 1842, Lyman and William Marks were duly initiated as "E. A. [Entered Apprentice] Masons."¹⁵⁷ According to an anonymously authored county history, Lyman became a charter member of Eagle Lodge, No. 12, in Keokuk in 1845 or 1846; serving as Senior Warden (second position in the lodge) in 1847 and 1848 and as Worshipful Master (head of the lodge) in 1849.¹⁵⁸ A Masonic symbol prominently adorns his tombstone.

RESIDENT OF KEOKUK

When Lyman built the first brick house in Keokuk in 1842 on the corner of Main and Second streets, he had probably put aside any thoughts about rejoining the Mormons. The construction of this home was an arduous undertaking, with bricks being

¹⁵⁵Mervin B. Hogan, *The Founding Minutes of the Nauvoo Lodge* (Des Moines, Iowa: Research Lodge No. 2, A.F. & A.M., 1971), 10–22. In an email on June 6, 2005, Nick Literski, a lawyer and Mason who then lived in Nauvoo, responded to Bill Shepard's request for information about Lyman being a Mason: "My transcript of the Nauvoo Lodge record shows that Lyman's petition was presented on March 17, 1842, with the ballot found clear. He was initiated as an entered apprentice on April 20, 1842, and passed to the degree of fellowcraft on April 21, 1842. Oddly, the June 16 1842, minutes identify him as an entered apprentice, and records him as being passed to the degree of fellowcraft on that day."

¹⁵⁶Hogan, *Founding Minutes of the Nauvoo Lodge*, 25–26.

¹⁵⁷*Ibid.*, 34.

¹⁵⁸*History of Lee County, Iowa* (Chicago: Western Historical Co., 1879), 656; Elaine M. E. Speakman, comp., "Lyman E. Johnson," 7, photocopy in our possession, used with permission. Speakman is a genealogist and historian living in Mount Pleasant, Utah.

transported across the Mississippi River from Nauvoo to Keokuk on a flatboat.¹⁵⁹ This house was a landmark in Keokuk for many years, had several owners, and was even remodeled and later used as a bank. The fact that Lyman built a log home described as “impressive” and later such an imposing brick house suggests that he was financially secure. If he did not have a monetary reserve when he settled at Keokuk, he must have dramatically supplemented his income as a lawyer by buying and selling land and property. Family genealogist Elaine M. E. Speakman documented that “he executed more than sixty deeds and mortgages” after arriving at Keokuk.¹⁶⁰

John Elbridge, Lyman and Sarah’s second child, was born at Keokuk on April 19, 1844.¹⁶¹ Ellaine Goodall, Lang family genealogist, documents the death of their “name unknown” infant three and a half years later in late December 1847.¹⁶² Sarah Melissa Granger Kimball, writing from Nauvoo on January 2, 1848, to Marinda Hyde at Kanesville, sadly noted that Lyman and Sarah had buried their youngest child.¹⁶³

In an extensive history about the lawyers in early Iowa, Edward H. Stiles describes “a little ride of 250 miles through an almost unbroken wilderness” made by four lawyers from the Burlington-Keokuk area to the Mormon settlement at Kanesville in 1847. Lyman E. Johnson was one of the four, accompanied by John F. Kinney, J. C. Hall, and William Thompson. Their purpose was to document the Mormon vote in the recent election between Daniel F. Miller and William Thompson for the Southern District of Iowa.¹⁶⁴ Stiles said nothing about the Mormons and provided little information of historical value; instead, he concentrated on describing the four lawyers’ preoc-

¹⁵⁹“Keokuk History, 1820 to 1906,” *Constitution-Democrat*, September 29, 1906, 62; microfilm 960,049, item 1, LDS Family History Library. The home was torn down before 1987.

¹⁶⁰Speakman, “Lyman E. Johnson,” 7.

¹⁶¹Ellaine Goodall, Wolfeboro, New Hampshire, Family Group Record for Lyman Johnson and Sarah Lang; photocopy in our possession.

¹⁶²Ellaine Goodall, Family Group Record for Lyman Johnson and Sarah Lang. We have been unable to document this birth.

¹⁶³Sarah Melissa Granger Kimball, Letter to Marinda Hyde, January 2, 1848, LDS Church History Library.

¹⁶⁴“The Miller-Thompson Contested Election,” *The History of Des*

cupation with finding enough liquor throughout their trip. At the start of the journey, Lyman was driving the two-horse wagon when Kinney “pulled out a bottle of brandy which I [Kinney] had taken the precaution to provide myself with, and as I held it up in my hand, I cried out ‘I have got the advantage of you fellows.’ ‘Not by a great sight,’ says Hall, and as he spoke he raised from the bottom of the wagon a one-gallon jug. Thus equipped we started.”¹⁶⁵ Stiles added an additional story of en route high-jinks:

While they were at the river, they fell in, at the tavern, with a French trader by the name of Percha, who induced Hall and Johnson into a game of cards, at the end of which through his trickery, they found their exchequer in a very famished condition. They came to where Judge Kinney and Miller were and related their misfortune, stating that the Frenchman had through his cheating and manipulation of the cards reduced them to the condition they were in. Up spake Kinney, “See here, boys, I can beat that fellow and if you’ll say nothing about it, I will.” Of course, they promised. Kinney and the Frenchman played, and strange to say, he won back all the money Johnson and Hall had lost and some forty dollars besides.¹⁶⁶

Also in 1847, Lyman sold his brick home (the future bank) to John A. Graham and built a mansion even more elaborate at 204 North Second Street. Like its predecessor, this house was a landmark home in Keokuk for many years.¹⁶⁷

The 1850 Census listed Lyman E. Johnson (age thirty-eight), Sarah L. Johnson (age thirty-four), Sarah Johnson (age fourteen), and John E. (age six) living in Keokuk Township, Lee County, Iowa.

Moines County, Iowa (Chicago: Western Historical Co., 1879), 432–37. According to Edward H. Stiles, *Recollections and Sketches of Notable Lawyers*, 256, the Mormons at Kaneshville had voted almost unanimously for Miller because, “during the time that Miller was practicing law in Fort Madison, he performed many kind acts for the Mormons at Nauvoo . . . and they reciprocated his kindness by giving their votes for his election to Congress.” However, the poll books from Kaneshville disappeared and Thompson was elected. Miller contested the results so a canvass of secondary evidence was taken.

¹⁶⁵*Ibid.*, 256–58.

¹⁶⁶*Ibid.*, 333.

¹⁶⁷Ivins, *Yesterdays*, 44. The 1850 census lists the value of Lyman’s real estate at \$8,000.

Lyman's wife died on February 3, 1851, of unknown causes.¹⁶⁸ Daughter Sarah M., age fifteen and a half, married Joel Matthews, a twenty-nine-year-old lawyer, at Keokuk eight months later on October 14. Joel was confirmed into the Episcopal Church in 1851 and Sarah in 1854. Son John E. was nine when Lyman married a woman named Mary A. (surname not identified) in 1853. She frequently signed business documents and, after Lyman's death, ran the Prairie Hotel at Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin.¹⁶⁹ In November 1852, possibly in anticipation of his remarriage, Lyman sold his stately home and about thirty-seven acres, to his daughter Sarah and son-in-law for \$4,000.¹⁷⁰

LYMAN JOHNSON AS A BUSINESS MAN

Despite Lyman's success as a lawyer in Keokuk, his real passion seems to have been speculating in land and property. He and his second wife, Mary, did not stay in Keokuk, but moved to St. Louis, Chicago, Vermont, and probably other locations during the 1850s, pursuing varied business opportunities. For example, in St. Louis, they owned a half interest in the steamboat *Patrick Henry*, sold it in February 1853 for \$4,000 to his son-in-law Joel Matthews,¹⁷¹ then bought a tract of land in St. Louis called "Prairie Place." Two months later, they sold land at Keokuk, although it is not clear whether Lyman or Mary

¹⁶⁸Sarah Johnson, Obituary, *Valley Whig and Keokuk Register*, February 6, 1851, 2. The Caleb F. Davis Papers, Keokuk, Iowa Public Library, 1:59, indicates that she "died of consumption."

¹⁶⁹Speakman, "Lyman E. Johnson," 7.

¹⁷⁰Lyman E. Johnson, to [son-in-law] Joel Matthews, November 30, 1852, Deeds, Lee County, Iowa; microfilm 959,244, 13:242, LDS Family History Library. Joel Matthews and his wife sold the property to J. E. Burke, June 7, 1853, *ibid.*, 13:672. A photograph of this house's front elevation taken in 1985 is located in the Office of Historic Preservation, Photo Roll 5256, Iowa State Historical Department, Des Moines, Iowa. It is captioned: "This house is a standard version of the Gable-front & Wing National style, with decorative pedimented window heads." The house was demolished after 1985.

¹⁷¹Lyman Johnson, to Joel Matthews, February 10, 1853, St. Louis (Independent City), Missouri, Deeds, 6:261; microfilm 531,610, LDS Family History Library. We are indebted to Elaine M. E. Speakman for her research in land transactions involving Lyman E. Johnson.

was the original owner. The first of their two children, Kate, was born in Missouri in 1854. By October 25, 1855, the Johnsons had apparently moved to Chicago but again sold land at Keokuk for \$7,000.¹⁷² It is still not clear whether this property predated the marriage, but more likely they had acquired it on speculation, then turned it over to make a profit.

In 1857, the Johnsons were living in Cook County, Illinois, and somehow went into debt almost \$4,000; they sold real estate and other property to settle it. On August 6, 1857, Lyman bought a small hotel named Union Hall in Clarendon, Rutland County, Vermont, for \$1,800. He agreed to make three equal payments of \$600 each on March 1 in three successive years.¹⁷³ On July 22, 1858, the Johnsons suffered another financial loss when they sold Union Hall for \$1,634.28.¹⁷⁴ Daughter Nettie was born at Clarendon on July 27, 1858. In an election in that city, in September 1858, Lyman was a candidate for justice of peace. It is not clear whether he sought the nomination, but this outsider was not a popular candidate, garnering only three of the 1,432 total votes.¹⁷⁵

LYMAN'S DEATH AT PRAIRIE DU CHIEN, WISCONSIN

In late 1858, the Johnsons moved to Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, on the east side of the Mississippi River. They may have been operating with limited funds, for there is no record of their purchasing the Prairie Hotel, which had been built in 1835. Presumably, they rented and renovated the one-and-a-half-story building. It was probably a second-tier hotel as it was not advertised in the town *Courier*, while the city's three newer hotels routinely advertised. A notice of the Prairie Hotel's opening under the Johnsons' manage-

¹⁷²Lyman and Mary A. Johnson to Hugh T. Reid, Deeds, January 13, 1854, 14:611, Keokuk, Lee County, Iowa; microfilm 959,245, LDS Family History Library.

¹⁷³Reuben R. Throll and Enoch Smith to Lyman E. Johnson, August 6, 1857, Deeds, 15:331, Clarendon, Rutland, Vermont; microfilm 982,549, LDS Family History Library.

¹⁷⁴Lyman E. Johnson and Mary A. Johnson to Andrew J. Lang, July 22, 1858, Deeds, 15:338, Clarendon, Rutland County, Vermont; microfilm 982,549, LDS Family History Library.

¹⁷⁵Speakman, "Lyman E. Johnson," 7.

ment appeared in the November 10, 1858, *Courier*:

This well known Hotel has recently been taken, fitted up, and refurbished by Mr. L. E. Johnson who has successfully prosecuted this line of business for many years [and] has succeeded in the proprietorship of the hotel and being a liberal gentlemanly Landlord, he will soon make acquaintance of a host of people, who will make the house their stopping place. Previous to the recent change of proprietors, this fine hotel was favorably known to the traveling public as a public house of good accommodating capacity and with a gentleman of kind and obliging manners we have no doubt but it will command an exclusive patronage. The house is to be formally "opened" this evening by an Oyster Supper Party, to which our citizens have been cordially invited by the Proprietor.¹⁷⁶

The next month, five days before Christmas, Lyman drowned in the Mississippi River.¹⁷⁷

SUMMARY

From 1832 to early or mid-1836, Lyman Johnson was one of the great men of Mormon history. He testified to scores of the curious, the skeptical, and future converts that Joseph Smith was a prophet and that the Book of Mormon was a true record of God's other Israelites in the Americas. Armed with immense faith, which was fueled by his personal testimony of being visited by an angel, he covenanted with God and man to dedicate his life to spreading and defending the restored gospel. He rendered unquestioning allegiance to Joseph Smith, whom he believed was God's personal representative. After being called and ordained to the Melchizedek Priesthood, Lyman was one of the most productive missionaries of early Mormonism. Moreover, during his relatively short tenure as an active Mormon he witnessed and participated in many of the landmark events at Kirtland and in the eastern

¹⁷⁶"The Prairie Hotel," *Courier* 7 (November 10, 1859): 3.

¹⁷⁷Apostle Matthias F. Cowley, prior to his forced resignation from his apostleship, spoke at October 1901 general conference, recalling that he remembered "hearing President Lorenzo Snow say on more than one occasion how determined Lyman E. Johnson was to see an angel from the Lord. He plead [sic] with and teased the Lord to send an angel to him, until he saw an angel; but President Snow said that the trouble with him was that he saw an angel one day and saw the devil the next day, and finally the devil got away with him." *Conference Report*, October 1901, 18.

branches.

Yet despite his testimony and accomplishments, Lyman chose to diminish his missionary activities in favor of becoming a merchant. This compromise apparently opened the way for doubt and bitterness to replace faith and compliance, and his slide out of Mormonism seems to date from that decision. Kirtland's collapsing economy in 1837, the failure of the Kirtland Safety Society, Joseph Smith's involvement in selling land, and other factors increased his disillusionment; and he transitioned from questioning aspects of Mormonism to opposing the institutional Church as a dissenter.

It is apparent that Lyman was too independent to live indefinitely under the constraints placed upon him by his religion. Once his shield of faith and obedience was pierced, it seems inevitable that he would seek a society which would allow him to use his energy to pursue wealth, enter the social elite, and enjoy the benefits of both. It is unlikely that he would have followed the example of his brother Luke and, after a season away from the Church, joined the Mormons in Utah. There is no evidence that Lyman's testimony had become dormant but strong evidence suggests that it had died.

It is interesting, however, that even his traumatic separation from the Mormons in Missouri in 1838 did not break the bonds with his brethren that were forged in the mission fields. They were united by shared hardships, rejection, successes, preaching, testifying, and sharing in the events that shaped early Mormonism. Perhaps this love for his missionary colleagues survived the loss of his faith in the institutional Church.

In Lyman we find the best and worst of the early Mormons. On one hand he possessed attributes Latter-day Saints venerate: faith, works, sacrifice, love for the Prophet, and selfless devotion to God's cause. On the other, he also embodied traits that orthodox Latter-day Saints could never consider, much less condone: rebellion, violence, rejection of the gospel, and finally, apostasy.

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AN INDEPENDENT COMPANION: ETHEL NASH PARTON AND THE AUSTRALIAN RELIEF SOCIETY

Sherrie L. M. Gavin

THE EXPANSION OF THE CHURCH of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints into a global organization is largely celebrated by distinguishing the missionaries who opened new areas for proselytizing outside the United States. Mission records and reports cataloguing the establishment, organization, and development of missions, branches, stakes, and associated auxiliary organizations within the Church often neglect to recognise the contributions by local members. It is a frequent struggle to embrace with good will and obedience the challenges of nurturing and facilitating auxiliary organizations in the mission field with limited membership numbers; faithful members are often overworked and seldom recorded in mission records. The first stake Relief Society president in Australia, Ethel Nash Parton is one such example of nearly unrecognised participation. A fourth-generation Church member, she was the first member of the Nash family born in Australia.

Her obedience and adjustment to Church direction were constant, no matter how unreasonable some of the assignments appeared in the geographically distant, culturally disparate, and opposite-seasoned climate of the Australian arm of the Church. Motherless

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since age eleven and widowed after just six years of marriage, Ethel was an independent individual who became a confidante and companion to many in her numerous callings in the Church as she focused on doing her part to support and participate in the Relief Society as a “companion organization to the Priesthood.”¹

FAMILY ROOTS IN MORMONISM

To better understand Ethel’s circumstances and her distinctive contribution, the story starts with her family’s conversion four generations earlier in England. Ethel’s paternal great-grandmother, Sarah Cook Mycock, was baptised in 1841 at age twenty by John McKildrick and confirmed by Parley P. Pratt.² No other information is recorded in the Nash family records about McKildrick, but Pratt is well-known as one of original Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. Sarah was married in 1843 to Joseph Mycock, who was baptised in 1844.³ However, Sarah’s baptismal certificate is recorded in her married name, implying that she was married prior to her baptism, which would have been well before the recorded marriage date.⁴ Family folklore shared by Ethel in her later years suggests that some of Sarah’s siblings chose to migrate to the United States to be with the Saints and therefore may have performed proxy sealings for living relations which would explain the inconsistency in the marriage record, if it was something other than a slip of the pen.

In fact, two of Sarah’s brothers, John and Richard, did migrate

¹Jill Mulvay Derr, Janath Russell Cannon, and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, *Women of Covenant: A Story of the Relief Society* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 304. The quotation is President J. Reuben Clark Jr.’s counsel to Belle Smith Spafford when she was called as general president in April 1945.

²Sarah Cook Mycock, Duplicate baptismal certificate issued May 29, 1912, Parton family records; photocopy in my possession. See also “Died: Mycock,” *Millennial Star* 62, no. 7 (February 18, 1904): 96.

³Joseph Mycock, Duplicate baptismal certificate, February 22, 1844, Parton Family Records, photocopy in my possession.

⁴Sarah Cook Mycock, Duplicate baptismal certificate. Parton family records date the marriage to December 31, 1843. See also Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Family Search, AncestralFile Number:H8K9-PN (hereafter cited as AncestralFile by number).

to the United States.⁵ However, after settling in Utah, the brothers were influenced by Joseph Morris, who claimed inspiration to reform some Brigham Young's teachings. Richard Cook particularly asserted that he had gained a testimony of Morris's claims and was soon excommunicated. When the Morrisite religious faction was organized in 1861, Morris proclaimed himself a prophet, and Richard Cook was ordained his first counsellor.⁶

Distressed by this development, the Cooks in England ceased to discuss or record anything relating to their excommunicated siblings. There is no record of correspondence between the Cook siblings before the Morrisite affair, suggesting that any letters were destroyed following the excommunication of the brothers. Four generations later, deep moral concern and a degree of shame still lingered; Ethel felt it strongly, even though over a century had passed since the matter.⁷ Perhaps as a means of further branding the brothers as immoral, Ethel recalled that her grandmother, Julia Mycock Nash (Sarah's daughter), once told Ethel that John Cook (Sarah's father) and his sons, John and Richard, cut off all communication with the Cooks in England and that the elder John Cook had gone so far astray that he even married "a black woman."⁸

The faithful daughter, Sarah Cook Mycock, remained in Eng-

⁵John Cook and Charlotte Waddington Cook had six children, but the family records provide details only on Sarah, few details on John and Richard, and only birth/christening dates of the other siblings. Creager Family Records, photocopy in my possession. Ethel Nash Parton, Oral History, interviewed by Sherrie Gavin, July 25, 2006, 1-2. Other interviews with Parton cited by date and page number. Audiotapes and transcript of all oral histories in my possession. See also AncestralFile: John, T298-L4; Sarah, H8K9-PN; and Richard, T298-NG; and Mormon Immigration Index-Voyages. Ship: *Germanicus*, BMR, Book#1040, 82-95 (FHL #025,690); Customs #246 (FHL #200,178).

⁶G. M. Howard, "Men, Motives, and Misunderstandings: A New Look at the Morrisite War of 1862," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, <http://www.gordonbanks.com/gordon/family/Morrisite.html> (accessed June 2, 2009); see also Val Holley, "Slouching towards Slaterville: Joseph Morris's Wide Swath in Weber County," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 76, no. 3 (Summer 2008): 247-64.

⁷Parton, Oral History, July 25, 2006, 1-2.

⁸*Ibid.*

land and had five children—Moroni, Alma, Joseph Brigham, Julia, and Elizabeth—whom she raised in the Church.⁹ According to her obituary, “during her sixty-three years of connection with the Saints, she lived true to the gospel which she embraced, and she died in full faith and hope in the resurrection of the just.”¹⁰

In June 1880, Sarah’s eldest daughter, Julia, married William Nash, whom she had met at church. The couple had eight sons (including a pair of twins) and four daughters. Two of the sons died in infancy—James, at three months and Fredrick at ten months. Their fourth child, a son named Walter, married eighteen-year-old Ellen Dolan in November 1908 in Manchester. Again, the couple had met at a Church activity in a neighbouring branch.¹¹ A namesake son, Walter, was born by 1910, followed by Janet in 1912.¹² When baby Janet was two months old, Walter and Ellen emigrated—not to the typical Mormon destination of Utah, but to Australia.¹³

Doubtless one reason for choosing Australia is that the United States in 1912 was less available as a direct choice for Mormon emigrants. The Perpetual Emigration Fund had stopped operating in the 1880s, and the First Presidency of the Church had rescinded the policy of the “gathering” that had prevailed for most of the nineteenth century. If English Church members had the funds and patience, they could potentially migrate to Canada and hope to obtain a visa to move south; but with a young and growing family, this option must not have seemed viable for Walter and Ellen.

In 1914, Walter and Ellen welcomed their second daughter,

⁹Parton Family Records, photocopy in my possession; AncestralFile: Moroni Mycock, T287-PD; Alma George Mycock, T295-CH; Joseph Brigham Mycock, T295-CH; Julia Mycock, H8K2-WQ; and Elizabeth Mycock, T288-3F.

¹⁰“Died: Mycock,” 96.

¹¹Parton Family Records, photocopy in my possession; AncestralFile: John, H8K7-ZR; Julia, H8K8-OW; Elizabeth, H8K8-13; Walter, H8K7-85; Joseph, H8K8-28; William, H8K8-3F; James, H8K8-4L; Ethel, H8K8-89; Fredrick, H8K9-6X; George, H8K8-74; David, H8K8-89; Janet, H8K8-9G.

¹²New South Wales (Australia) Registry of Births, Deaths, and Marriages, Marriage registration number NSW18396/1926; Death registration number 69053/1973.

¹³Ellen Nash Creager, Oral History, interviewed by Sherrie Gavin, June 1, 2009, 1.

Ethel, a fourth-generation member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and the first of the Cook lineage to be born in Australia.¹⁴ Ethel never boasted of her family background—in fact, was extremely reticent about it—but the connection to the Church’s earliest days was profoundly important to her. Many Australian Latter-day Saints can tell similar stories; the connection is important in the identity they have as deep-rooted, pioneering Church members, connected to some of the earliest British converts. This sentiment is not mere loyalty to the gospel or empathy for the migration to the Salt Lake Valley. Rather, these ties to early Church membership intensify the celebrated Australian sense of “mateship,” a term that goes beyond friendship to encompass “a sense of shared experience, mutual respect and unconditional assistance.”¹⁵ Mateship is a morally and emotionally binding kinship, derived from the common experience shared by British immigrants in the geographically isolated and habitually dry Australian continent.¹⁶ As a result of the Mormon variety of mateship, multi-generational Australian Saints share an underlying, unspoken affinity that allows them to feel they are as rightfully entrenched in Church history as the pioneers who crossed the plains by wagon and handcart.

IMMIGRATION TO AUSTRALIA

The Nash family, like many other working-class migrants, were eligible for assisted immigration within the British Empire, and Walter apparently considered Australia a more enticing and affordable

¹⁴New South Wales Registrar-General’s Office (predecessor of NSW Births, Deaths, and Marriages), Certificate of Particulars of Birth, Ethel Nash, Application no. 65136/61, Parton Family Records, photocopy in my possession.

¹⁵The Australian Government, Cultural Portal, <http://www.cultureandrecreation.gov.au/articles/mateship/>, (accessed June 2, 2009).

¹⁶Yanyan Wang, “An Analysis of ‘whinging’, ‘dobbing’ and ‘mateship’ in Australian Contemporary Culture,” *International Journal of Language, Society and Culture*, Section 3: Issue 15 (2005), <http://www.educ.utas.edu.au/users/tle/JOURNAL/ARTICLES/2005/15-4.htm> (accessed August 27, 2008). The third section of the analysis, subtitled “The Australian Culture-Specific value of ‘mateship,’” includes several dictionary and literary definitions of the term but finally defines it as significantly more powerful than referring to someone in “friendship” or “companionship.”

choice than Canada. Walter's sister Elizabeth ("Lilly") Nash Johnson and her husband had previously migrated to Australia; within a few years of Walter's move, his parents, two sisters, and two brothers all moved to Australia. Walter's parents, Julia and William, were active Mormons for their whole lives, but only Walter among the children retained Mormon ties after immigrating to Australia.¹⁷

Australia was a good fit professionally for Walter. He was a box-car builder, and his skills were in high demand for the new federation. Furthermore, these skills qualified him and his family for significantly reduced assisted migrant fares: a mere £6 for the skilled worker, £3 for his accompanying wife, and £1 per child under twelve.¹⁸ (In 2009 U.S. dollars, these sums would be the equivalent of \$330 for the skilled worker, \$110 for his wife, and about \$36 for children.) And finally, the assisted English migrant to Australia was guaranteed employment within twenty-four hours of disembarkation.

The Nashes settled in Sydney, New South Wales, in 1912. Walter was twenty-five, Ellen was twenty-two, son Walter was three, and Janet was a baby. Ethel was born June 22, 1914, followed by William and John, each three years apart. This Mormon family joined the handful of active Church members in Sydney. At the time, a single mission encompassed the whole of Australia—more than 7.6 million square kilometres (about 3.5 million square miles) and a growing population of a million residents in 1914.¹⁹

The Sydney Branch in the New South Wales District did not have a meetinghouse; the local members, including the Nash chil-

¹⁷Parton Family Records; Creager, Oral History, 1.

¹⁸"Immigration: New Regulations Deemed, Adelaide, South Australia," *The Advertiser*, March 28, 1912, 12. Although the Nash family settled in New South Wales and the *Sydney Morning Herald* would have been an expected choice for this reference rather than the out-of-state *Advertiser*, the *Herald* articles on immigration between March and June 1912 did not announce the cost of passage. Immigration articles appeared in all of the major Australian newspapers for the period, each newspaper releasing slightly different information relative to its audience.

¹⁹*CIA World Fact Book*, Geography-Australia, updated 2005, includes Lord Howe Island and Macquarie Island, <https://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/print/as.html> (accessed April 13, 2007); Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Year Book Australia-1914*, Commonwealth population, Section 4, Part 1, 86.

dren, attended Sunday School at the home of the mission president, Don C. Rushton, at community halls, or at members' houses.²⁰ Ethel remembered as a child sitting with the few other children in her Sunday School class on the steps of the house where they were meeting. Their teacher, Nita Bailey, would stand at the bottom of the steps giving the lesson. "She would write the lessons out by hand for us each week on sheets of school paper," Ethel recalled. "She wanted us to each have a copy of the lesson so we could learn it properly." Distance as well as limited financing for the remote Church branches meant that only a few members could afford copies of the Book of Mormon and lesson materials, so they often shared and hand-copied Church materials. Ethel later credited Sister Bailey with encouraging her to read the Book of Mormon and setting a service-oriented example.²¹

June is the beginning of winter in the southern hemisphere, and the Nash family did not want to risk the illness or infection associated with being wet in winter. It was most common at the time to be baptised outside in a river or at "public baths" (concrete enclosed sections of the ocean directly off the adjoined beach which are commonly used by younger or less confident swimmers as the enclosure ensured that the bathers could not be swept out into deeper waters). The family waited until December, six months after Ethel's birthday (summer in Australia), for her to be baptised on December 2, 1922, in the Leichardt Public Baths. Ten-year-old Janet was baptised and confirmed at the same time with missionaries performing both ordinances. A twenty-five-year-old elder, Marion G. Romney, recorded Ethel's baptism and confirmation.²²

Ethel explained the central role of the elders simply: "That was the missionaries' job. Everything was done through the mission."²³ The American missionaries were endowed before departing for the mission field and were ordained to the Melchizedek Priesthood. In contrast, mission policy in Australia downplayed ordination for men

²⁰Marjorie Newton, *Southern Cross Saints: The Mormons in Australia* (Laie, Hawaii: Institute for Polynesian Studies, 1991), 219.

²¹Parton, Oral History, July 18, 2006, 4.

²²Ethel Nash, Certificate of Baptism and Confirmation, recorded December 28, 1922, Parton Family Records, photocopy in my possession.

²³Parton, Oral History, July 18, 2006, 4.

who would likely never set foot inside a temple.²⁴ Accordingly, although Ethel's father was a lifelong member of the Church, he was not ordained to the Aaronic Priesthood until 1928 and to the Melchizedek Priesthood in 1930, when he was forty-three.²⁵ It is unknown why he was not ordained before he left England, but Ethel assumed that the same policy prevailed in England, at least prior to her parents' 1912 departure.

A little more than two years after her baptism, eleven-year-old Ethel recalled having gone to play with some other children in a park area near to her home, then "racing down the street to see the new baby." Ellen gave birth to her sixth child, a daughter who was not immediately named, on August 13, 1925. Much taken with the baby, Ethel was unaware that the incompetent midwife had bungled the delivery so badly that she lost her license and the Nash family lost their mother. The extended family concealed Ellen's death from Ethel and her siblings and arranged for the children and their paternal cousins to spend the day of Ellen's funeral away from home. Ethel's Aunt Lilly packed a picnic lunch and sent her out with one of her younger cousins into the "sort of bush" (outdoors area) for the day. In later years, Ethel could not recall which cousin she had been partnered with for the day. But "while we were out, my cousin said to me, 'I'll tell you something if you promise not to cry.' And she told me what had happened—that my mother had died. The picnic was to keep me busy for the funeral. And that was it. She was the only one who ever said anything about it. When I came home, I was told I mustn't cry. And I guess I was told not to talk about it and I don't remember anyone discussing it."²⁶ Ethel added that it was an English custom for only the men to attend funerals, a custom retained in Australia. As a result, none of Walter's sisters or children attended Ellen's funeral. Ethel recalled that the baby was born on a Thursday (August 13, 1925) and the funeral followed on Monday (August 17), which meant that Ellen would have died very soon after the delivery.

Tradition would have induced Walter and Ellen to name daugh-

²⁴Newton, *Southern Cross Saints*, 180–81.

²⁵Walter Nash, Certificate of Ordination to the Holy Priesthood (Aaronic), May 15, 1915, and Certificate of Ordination to the Holy Priesthood (Melchizedek), both New South Wales District, Australia Mission, February 2, 1930, Parton Family Records, photocopy in my possession.

²⁶Parton, Oral History, July 18, 2006, 1–2.

ters as well as sons after family members. Indeed, both Ethel and Janet were named for Walter's sisters. But in her lifetime, Ellen did not allow her daughters to be named for her. Following her death, Walter named the new baby girl Nellie, short for Ellen, the name and nickname of his beloved wife.²⁷ The infant was sent to live with Walter's parents, William and Julia Nash, until 1929, when as a four year old, she finally came to live in her father's house.²⁸

SISTERS IN A MOTHERLESS HOUSE

The oldest daughter, thirteen-year-old Janet, obtained permission to withdraw from school and became the family's housekeeper and caregiver. The small number of active members and the prohibitive distances between members' homes meant that Janet had little more than distant moral support; but she endeavoured to improve her domestic education by attending Relief Society classes with an emphasis on homemaking. The Relief Society had been organized in Australia in 1898 and focused on providing service, provisions, and compassion to families, whether the need were spiritual or temporal. Janet, lonely and burdened with responsibilities, needed the companionship. Furthermore, their tiny Sydney Branch did not have enough members to support a Primary for children under twelve or teenagers in the Mutual Improvement Association (MIA),²⁹ so the Relief Society was her only choice of auxiliary affiliation.

The following year when Ethel turned twelve, she began attending Relief Society with Janet. The two girls sat in the back of the room so as to not disturb the adult women. Membership then required the payment of annual dues; and as the family had little income, the girls could not formally join.³⁰ In retrospect, Ethel mused that she might have enjoyed MIA classes with girls her own age; however she never lamented the absence of the MIA in her youth and was sincerely grateful for her early exposure to the Relief Society curriculum. At that time, it included mothers' classes and "nesting" (homemaking) lessons from the *Relief Society Magazine*. Both girls absorbed the instruc-

²⁷Parton, Oral History, July 18, 2006, 3.

²⁸Creager, Oral History, 1.

²⁹Parton, Oral History, July 11, 200, 2.

³⁰Derr, Cannon, and Beecher, *Women of Covenant*, 345.

tions that were essential in organizing and maintaining their home.³¹ Both Janet and Ethel officially joined the Relief Society when they left home in 1932.³²

To encourage Janet to get out of the house, Ethel would take the train home from her work as a seamstress at a mattress factory and race from the station to the house to give Janet her weekly train ticket, so Janet could catch the next train and travel to one of the rare MIA meetings hosted by distant branches. The sisters' closeness was obvious throughout their lives. In her last years, Ethel said that she yearned most to see Janet in the next life, since "she was more than a sister to me. She was a mother, sister, and friend."³³

Around this time, Walter Nash announced his plans to remarry. This was an announcement that caught his daughters unaware. According to Ethel, neither she nor Janet knew that he had been courting anyone. "Janet had just enough time to make dresses for the three girls to wear to the wedding."³⁴ In April 1932, Walter married Edith Mary Gorton Mottran whom he had met at church. Edith was a widow and, like Walter, had emigrated from an area in England not far from where Walter was raised as a boy. The couple grew close in their marriage and stayed active in the Church for the remainder of their lives.³⁵

When Edith moved into the household, Janet found herself displaced; within a few months, she moved out. "Jan had been the [housekeeper]!" Ethel recalled. "And it was hard—it was no good for her, and it was no good for me when she'd gone. I didn't want any new mother." By the time they left home, Ethel was almost eighteen years old and Janet had just turned twenty. Over the next few years, the girls had a variety of factory or domestic jobs. They occasionally roomed together but often lived separately as they commonly boarded with Mormon families who had little room to spare for boarders.³⁶

The strong religious convictions of the Nash sisters made them conspicuous deviants in Australian society. During the nine-

³¹Caroline H. Benzley, "134 Years Young!" *New Era*, November 2003, 24; Derr, Cannon and Beecher, *Women of Covenant*, 188–89, 341; Parton, Oral History, July 11, 2006, 2.

³²Parton, Oral History, July 11, 2006, 2.

³³Parton, Oral History, December 24, 2006, 1.

³⁴Parton, Oral History, July 11, 2006, 1.

³⁵Creager, Oral History, 3.

³⁶Parton, Oral History, July 18, 2006, 2.



Ethel Nash Parton, age twenty-four in 1938, the year after her marriage. Photo courtesy of Sherrie Gavin.

teenth-century colonization period when Australia served as a penal colony for transported British felons, clergymen were frequently appointed as magistrates. Endowed with sweeping police powers, the clergy not only compelled the convicts to attend religious services but dispensed brutal floggings and other punishments as a matter of course. As a result, strong anti-clerical feelings developed as a characteristic of Australian society, resulting in a highly secularized society to this day.³⁷ Not only did missionaries find proselytizing difficult, but converts who accepted Mormonism reported that relatives and former friends would “cross the street” to avoid public contact. Thus, the religious devotion of the Nash sisters not only sustained them but also isolated them from the larger community.³⁸

YOUNG WIFE AND WIDOW

Shortly after moving out, Ethel began spending time with the Parton family, whom she had met at one of the tiny Church branches. James and Elsie Parton had two sons, James Edward and Frank Lawrence. “I knew Frank when he was a little fellow,” Ethel recalled. “He was eighteen months younger than me, so I wasn’t interested in him then.”³⁹

Ethel and Frank did not date per se, but socialized at Church activities and spent much of their time together in carrying out their Church callings. In 1937, at age twenty-three, Ethel married Frank; and the young couple settled down in southern Sydney where Ethel continued work as a domestic labourer and Frank pursued work as a photographer. Ethel later recalled not only her love for Frank but also her love and admiration for Frank’s parents, especially his mother, Elsie, who was “very young and liked young people.”⁴⁰

Elsie was first counsellor in the inaugural Hurstville Branch Relief Society presidency and, through the course of her life, was active in the Church, especially in the Relief Society. Some of her recipes were printed in the *Relief Society Magazine* as examples of Australian

³⁷Russel Ward, *The Australian Legend* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1978), 120–22.

³⁸Valerie Clark, Oral History, interviewed by Sherrie Gavin, April 9, 2007, 1; Parton, Oral History, July 18, 2006, 5.

³⁹Parton, Oral History, July 25, 2006, 2.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 6.

cooking,⁴¹ and she wrote a number of poems, three of which were published in the *Relief Society Magazine*: “My Ideal,” published in 1929, “From Out of the Ruins,” published in 1934, which shared first prize in the Eliza R. Snow Memorial Prize Poems contest, and “Restoration,” which won third prize in the same contest in 1941.⁴² Ethel’s great-grandmother, Sarah Cook Mycock, was also a poet, though only one example of her work, titled “The West” was available.⁴³ Elsie’s passion for poetry and literature was inspirational to Ethel, as was the example Elsie set of devoted participation in the Relief Society. Ethel’s continued admiration for her mother-in-law was evident every time she spoke of Elsie.⁴⁴

A year after their marriage, Ethel and Frank welcomed a son, Paul, followed by Lachlan in 1939 and Ross in 1941. Frank continued work as a studio photographer when he could find employment, which was not often enough to sustain his young family, especially when World War II broke out, reducing the demand for photographers. Frank retrained as a “motor driver” (truck driver) and mechanic and began working in that field while Ethel took in sewing but remained at home with her young sons.

Seeing an opportunity to better provide for his family, Frank enlisted in the Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) in July 1940, two weeks after Ethel’s twenty-sixth birthday.⁴⁵ It was a welcome career change as he was able to indulge in his passion as an official photogra-

⁴¹Elsie Parton, “Recipes from Australia: Trifle,” *Relief Society Magazine* 43 (January 1956): 102.

⁴²These poems were compiled and reprinted in an anthology published in celebration of the centennial of the Relief Society’s organization: Annie Wells Cannon, comp., *Our Legacy: Relief Society Centennial Anthology of Verse by Latter-day Saint Women, 1835–1942* (Salt Lake City: General Board of the Relief Society, 1941). Elsie’s poems are “From Out of the Ruins,” 27; “Restoration,” 56; and “My Ideal,” 184. The Parton family retains a collection of Elsie’s additional poems that is unavailable for research.

⁴³Sarah Cook Mycock, “The West,” *Millennial Star*, no. 7 (April 1, 1848): 96.

⁴⁴Parton, Oral History, July 11, 2006, 5.

⁴⁵National Archives of Australia, Frank Lawrence Parton, Attestation (Enlistment) Form, Series no. B-883, Control symbol (Service no. NX56648), Series accession number 2002/04608381, Canberra, ACT Australia, <http://naa12.naa.gov.au/scripts/Imagine.asp?B=4641986&I=1&SE>

pher of pilots and planes for the RAAF.

Almost immediately he developed an interest in flying, qualified for pilot training, and quickly achieved the rank of pilot officer. On a training manoeuvre in June 1943, Frank's plane experienced what was reported as a "mid-flight mechanical malfunction." It crashed, killing the whole crew. The official cause of death was recorded as accidental. Frank was buried in the Atherton War Cemetery which is close to the crash site but nearly 2,500 kilometres (1,553 miles) from where Ethel resided at the time. Through the course of her life, she never chose to visit the gravesite.⁴⁶ The shock must have been enormous; and even more than five decades after the fatal accident, Ethel was reluctant to speak about Frank's death in our interviews, except to say that she missed him and "I hope in the next life I look like when I met him," adding with a sparkle in her eye, "I don't think he'd very much like the way I look now, do you?"⁴⁷

Newly widowed and without regular employment, Ethel and her three sons, ranging in age from two to five, moved in with her in-laws, James and Elsie, adding her widow's pension to the family purse to meet their financial needs. She was grateful for the emotional support of being in a warmly accepting family who shared her grief. Just a year later, four-year-old Lachlan began complaining of headaches. In an effort to set a strong example of endurance, Ethel encouraged him to disregard the pain by focusing on play and positive thoughts. "I thought he was making a fuss so I would give him attention," Ethel recalled, as tears filled her eyes. Lachlan was, in fact, suffering from a brain tumour, but it was diagnosed too late for any remedy; he died in July 1944, two months before his fifth birthday. A small consolation was that, even if the diagnosis had been made sooner, medical procedures had not yet developed to a point where his life could have been saved.

Ethel reproached herself for not having been more nurturing to Lachlan when he first complained of the headaches but dismissed her

=1 (accessed June 4, 2009).

⁴⁶Australian War Memorial Archives, AWM148 Roll of Honour cards, 1939–1945 War, Air Force, Service Number 32589, Frank Lawrence Parton, Date of death, June 12, 1943, Canberra, ACT Australia. http://www.awm.gov.au/research/people/roll_of_honour/person.asp?p=560947 (accessed June 4, 2009).

⁴⁷Parton, Oral History, July 11, 2006, 3.

sadness by focusing on her belief in the next life. She said, "I liked the name Paul, so I named my first son Paul. Frank liked the name Lachlan, so I named him Lachlan. I didn't see much of Frank after we were married, unless he was on leave. Lachy [Lachlan] didn't like Frank to hold him when he was home on those occasions. Lachy would attach himself to me and not give his father a chance. So I thought them being together sooner was a good way for them to get to know each other."⁴⁸

Thus, at age thirty, Ethel had lost her mother, her husband, and a son. Rather than being discouraged, Ethel set the goal of saving enough money to buy a house and dedicated herself to her children and Church service. Although she continued to receive a small pension as a war widow⁴⁹ for the rest of her life, Australia's economy was depressed in the aftermath of a severe drought that lasted from the late 1930s through to the late 1940s.⁵⁰ Ethel took employment as a night cleaner at the Hurstville City Council (the local government body) so that she would be home during the day for her two sons. She had not learned the skill of cooking as a young woman, nor had she developed extravagant personal tastes; as a result, for a time during the war, she fed her sons watered-down oatmeal made into a crude gruel and fish she caught in the nearby George's River. By the time she had moved in with her in-laws, she had taught her boys how to fish, and as an extended family they began to eat better, including

⁴⁸Ibid., 1. For the third son, Ross, Ethel noted that she and Frank both liked the name Kurt, but as the name sounded somewhat German, they chose to not use the name to avoid any anti-German backlash, after which they both settled on the beloved name Ross.

⁴⁹The War Widows pension was a notoriously meagre amount. By 1944, an added Child Endowment for children who had lost fathers in the war was created, increasing the pension amount significantly; but at best, their annual income from the combined pensions would have been less than £500 (\$23,442 in 2009 U.S. dollars) per annum or less than half the average annual income for 1944. See Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Year Book Australia, 1944-1945*, 381, 676, <http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/DetailsPage/1301.01944-45?OpenDocument> (accessed June 4, 2009).

⁵⁰Australian Government Bureau of Meteorology, "Climate Education: Wet Years in a Dry Decade," <http://www.bom.gov.au/lam/climate/levelthree/c20thc/flip5.htm>, (accessed August 29, 2008).

bread and potatoes in their daily diet. She also learned to stretch their paltry clothing budget by altering items to fit her growing sons and extending their usefulness through careful mending. Her thriftiness was rewarded in that she was able to clothe her children, pay tithing, and save for a house.⁵¹

Without wavering, Ethel clung to her faith. She met weekly with Hurstville's Relief Society for a spiritual message and socializing, usually while knitting, sewing, and mending. This gathering was not simply a Church social activity for Ethel. In later years, she described her branch as part of an extended family who had helped raise her and whom she needed as help in order to raise her sons: "There were a lot of good people there. And we worked together. I was lucky to have such good people [in my life]."⁵² An example of this kindness is when the sisters of the branch were asked to donate fabric scraps for a quilt-making project for Ethel's family in 1947.⁵³ The sisters contributed generously, machine-stitched the scraps to a backing, then hand-quilted it into a coverlet large enough for a double bed. Ethel and her sons used the quilt for the next four decades, before Ethel passed it on to her younger half-sister, Ruth Nash Allen, who retains the quilt to this day. In 1999, the quilt was listed in the Australian National Quilt register as an example of classic Australian handiwork.⁵⁴

Outside of the Relief Society, Ethel had few if any social acquaintances. Australia had lost over 35,000 men during the war,⁵⁵ greatly reducing her chances of remarrying, even if she had been willing to look outside the Church or could have found a man who respected her religious beliefs rather than finding them strange. She theorized about remarrying but almost immediately decided against it as her eldest son Paul had assumed a responsible attitude as "the man of the family." Ethel explained, "He's the oldest boy, so that is what he did."

⁵¹Parton, Oral History, July 11, 2006, 6.

⁵²Parton, Oral History, December 24, 2006, 2.

⁵³Ruth Allen Nash gave me a photocopy of a photograph of the quilt and the Hurstville Branch Relief Society sisters, dated 1947.

⁵⁴Pioneer Women's Hut, National Quilt Register, quilt #383RA, <http://www.collectionsaustralia.net/nqr/result.php?ID=383&restype=t> (accessed August 30, 2008).

⁵⁵National Archives of Australia, Defence, Conflicts, World War II: 1939-45, statistics, <http://www.naa.gov.au/collection/explore/defence/conflicts.aspx> (accessed June 4, 2009).

Moreover, Ethel was empathetic and considerate of the displacement her beloved sister Janet had faced when their father remarried and was concerned lest Paul experience the same kind of displacement. In years to follow, although both of her sons lived near her as adults, she asked Paul first for help if she needed a hand around the house, because “he’s the oldest, so I just think of him as more responsible.”⁵⁶ It was apparently an arrangement that both sons accepted as natural, along with their wives when they married. Both of the Parton sons remain active in the Church to this day.

ETHEL’S RELIEF SOCIETY WORK

In 1954, the entire country of Australia was still a single mission and Leah B. Liljenquist, the mission president’s wife, acted as the Relief Society district president. In October that year, Ethel was called to serve as the district Relief Society supervisor for New South Wales. (Organizationally, districts are the equivalent of stakes in missions as branches are the equivalent of wards.) Ethel had this calling for the following six years while three mission presidents and their wives came and went. She was released (on paper) when the Sydney Stake was organized in 1960 which dissolved district-administered callings and titles, and was promptly called as stake Relief Society president. Unfortunately, the mission report during the 1950s is primarily focused on mission activities, such as proselytizing and baptism numbers. Precious few details about the women’s organization made their way into the mission record. The Relief Society, Primary, and MIA are mentioned only when new leaders were called except for a tiny peppering of reports on fund-raising and, for the Relief Society, visiting teaching.

One of Ethel’s responsibilities as district Relief Society supervisor was to attend the baptisms of new members, furnish fresh baptism clothes, and invite the new sisters to join the Relief Society. Mavis Draper, who was baptized on May 17, 1958, in the Bankstown chapel remembered “seeing Ethel standing there with a white towel when I came up out of the water. Her countenance was [such] that she looked like an angel. I felt myself drawn to her after that moment.”⁵⁷ Five years later, Mavis was called as Ethel’s second counsellor in the Syd-

⁵⁶Parton, Oral History, July 11, 2006, 6.

⁵⁷Mavis Draper, Oral History, interviewed by Sherrie Gavin, April

ney Stake Relief Society presidency.⁵⁸

Like most regional Church districts and branches, many of the active members had more than one calling, Ethel included. Women who were called to the Relief Society also officially served as Primary and MIA teachers. These auxiliaries held meetings on differing weekdays so that the sisters could attend the number of meetings they needed for their respective callings. Nearly four decades after her release from the district Relief Society, Ethel still retained her copies of the *Relief Society Magazine*. With her permission, I perused Ethel's personal collection from 1954 through 1964; the magazines still had markers for certain pages. In the margins Ethel had jotted such notes as "young women," "nothing accomplished without faith," and "sacrifice a part of the priesthood." Ethel had also highlighted some activities in red pencil, adding reminders to share some ideas with the Young Women (for example, inviting them to join the Singing Mothers choir), and particularly underlining an article titled "Relief Society: A Blessing to Young Women."⁵⁹

Prior to 1958, the Mormons in Sydney rented whatever public facilities they could for Sunday sacrament and testimony meetings—such as Returned Serviceman's Leagues Clubs and Scout Halls—while auxiliary meetings were held in members' homes mid-week.⁶⁰ The closest temple was still in Utah, and airfare for one person was the equivalent of three years' salary for the average Australian. Most Australian Church members simply could never hope to save enough money to make such a trip. In 1955, President David O. McKay became the first Church president to visit Australia and New Zealand.⁶¹ Upon his return to Salt Lake, he announced plans to construct a temple in New Zealand as well as permanent meeting houses

19, 2007, 1.

⁵⁸Sydney Australia Stake, Microfilm LR8882 (1958), LDS Family History Library.

⁵⁹"Relief Society: A Blessing to Young Women," *Relief Society Magazine* 50, no. 8 (August 1963): 564.

⁶⁰Hurstville Ward (Branch), Microfilm LR8887 2, (1933) LDS Family History Library; Parton, Oral History, July 25, 2006, 2.

⁶¹Christopher K. Bigelow, "Australia: Coming Out of Obscurity Down Under," *Ensign*, December 1998, <http://www.lds.org/ldsorg/v/index.jsp?vgnextoid=2354fccf2b7db010VgnVCM1000004d82620aRCRD&locale>

for the members in Australia and New Zealand.⁶²

Though Sydney is more than 2,100 kilometres (1,300 miles) across the Tasman Sea from New Zealand, travel to New Zealand was more affordable—the equivalent of three-to-four weeks' wages. This sum could reasonably be saved through frugal living, meaning that temple endowment was now an obtainable goal for Australian Church members.⁶³ Ethel promptly set the target of taking her sons to the temple with her when it opened in 1958 when the boys would have been seventeen and twenty. The possibility of receiving their temple ordinances encouraged Church members in Australia who energetically threw themselves into fund-raising efforts to support the construction of the New Zealand Temple and permanent chapels and also to save their airfare to New Zealand.

At the time, Ethel was a member of the Sutherland Branch, located in the southern part of Sydney where a rented public hall that was far from suitable was used on Sunday as the chapel. "We would get there early to sweep out the beer bottles and cigarette butts from the night before, so we could start the meeting," remembers Mavis Draper, who later served with Ethel in the Sydney Stake Relief Society. "But the spirit was so strong; we were still drawn there every week."⁶⁴

The Sutherland Branch members raised enough money to purchase a building lot for which they held a groundbreaking ceremony in January 1958. The male members and labor missionaries⁶⁵ began constructing the building. The labor missionaries worked under an American building supervisor, who organized tasks after work and on week-

=0&sourceId=09c884d4a0a0c010VgnVCM1000004d82620a____&hideNav=1 (accessed June 4, 2009).

⁶²R. Lanier Britsch, "The Church in the South Pacific," *Ensign*, February 1976, 19.

⁶³Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Year Book of Australia*, 1955 Labour Wages and Prices, chap. 12, 24, <http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/DetailsPage/1301.01955?OpenDocument> (accessed June 4, 2009).

⁶⁴Draper, Oral History, April 23, 2007, 2.

⁶⁵Labor missionaries were usually young single men called to construct chapels and temples in a controversial but highly successful program throughout Great Britain, Europe, and the Pacific. Because the building program was administered through an American construction supervisor,

ends for the chapel construction. Supporting this work through labor, social activities, and fund-raising became an energetic focus, with events often reported in the *Austral Star*, the Australian Church paper published between 1929 and 1958. For example, “a barbecue and barn dance, held on Saturday night, was enjoyed by all. Proceeds went into our building fund. The chapel is growing in height very rapidly. All those who have nothing to do on Monday, Wednesday and Thursday plus all day Saturday, are welcome to join our happy throng on the block of land.”⁶⁶ Ethel and other sisters went to the site after construction had ceased for that day. There they would stack bricks, clean floors, and tidy the work area so the men could start fresh the following morning. In addition to this “housecleaning” on site, the women also provided accommodations, cooked meals, washed the clothes of the labour missionaries, and raised funds to finance the construction.⁶⁷

Ethel’s passion for the gospel and her love for her deceased husband strengthened her focus on going to the temple. Having always survived on a tight budget and being blessed with natural frugality, Ethel thriftily and creatively saved her money, donated generously toward the temple and chapel construction, and added to her transportation fund. She juggled her stake and branch callings, assisted at the building site, continued her employment through the Hurstville Council as a child care worker and laundress, mended her own clothes, prepared the simplest of meals from plain ingredients and found time to take in private tailoring jobs to earn a little extra money. She later described this period: “I didn’t have it hard. There were others who had it harder than me, but I didn’t have it hard. I don’t know why Heavenly Father did bless me so much.”⁶⁸ It was finally with great joy that she succeeded in taking her sons to the dedication of the New Zealand Temple in April 1958 at which time she was sealed to Frank

I have chosen to use the American spelling (Labor) rather than the Australian spelling (Labour). Rulon G. Craven, “The Message, like Sand and Surf,” *New Era*, October 1994, http://www.lds.org/ldsorg/v/index.jsp?vgnextoid=024644f8f206c010VgnVCM1000004d82620aRCRD&locale=0&sourceId=47304c98f92fb010VgnVCM1000004d82620a___&hideNav=1 (accessed June 4, 2009).

⁶⁶Taisa Kurciw, “Sutherland Branch,” *Austral Star*, June 1958, 160.

⁶⁷Draper, Oral History, April 23, 2007, 2; Parton, Oral History, November 4, 2005, 1.

⁶⁸Draper, Oral History, April 23, 2007, 2; Parton, Oral History, No-

by proxy and to her sons Paul and Ross, with another proxy for Lachlan.

The next highlight came when the Saints of Sutherland opened their chapel on August 23, 1958, with a celebratory Thanksgiving service and an "inspirational" feast.⁶⁹ Church policy required that the building be completely paid for before dedication, so that final consecration was still to come. The same year, five modern chapels were completed, opened, and occupied by their respective branches in the Sydney Australia District. Continuing her work in the Relief Society, Ethel attended Sunday meetings and conferences in the different buildings as assigned. She also continued the assignment of attending baptisms every Saturday. The new Sutherland Chapel did not have a baptismal font; however, the new Greenwich Chapel, that was forty-five kilometres (twenty-eight miles) away, and the Bankstown Chapel, that was twenty-four kilometres (fifteen miles) from Ethel's home, each did. A member of the district presidency interviewed each candidate before baptism; to streamline the procedure, baptisms were scheduled at a single building each Saturday so that the district presidency and supporting Church members needed to travel to only one location on the day.⁷⁰

Even today, travelling by public transportation from Ethel's home in the suburb of Heathcote to Bankstown takes more than seventy minutes one way; and from Heathcote to Wollstoncraft Station, Ethel would need to walk 1.3 kilometres (0.8 miles) to the chapel.⁷¹ Still, Ethel and her counsellors consistently travelled weekly to "hand out the clothing and assist the ladies as they came out of the font," re-

vember 4, 2005, 1.

⁶⁹Kurciw, "Sutherland Branch, 157.

⁷⁰Lorna Ross, Letter to Valerie Clark, n.d., 1-2, photocopy in my possession.

⁷¹Ethel would need to catch the train from Heathcote to Central Station where she would change trains to Bankstown or Greenwich. These time estimates do not include walking to and from the train stations, probably fifteen minutes in good weather each way. The city rail website, <http://www.cityrail.info/timetable/ttable.jsp> (accessed March 13, 2008), provides these estimates: from Heathcote to Central Station, thirty minutes; from Central to Bankstown Station, forty minutes; from Central to Wollstoncraft Station, twenty minutes.

called Laura Ross. "Then [we] had to take the clothing, towels, etc. home and launder them."⁷² Thus, this part of Ethel's calling required her to travel about three hours each week, carrying bags of clean, folded, white clothing to the chapel with the font, then return home carrying heavy bags of wet clothing which she then laundered by hand, as she did not have a washing machine. She continued this weekly chore well into her stake calling after 1960.

THE SYDNEY AUSTRALIA STAKE

On March 27, 1960, the Sydney Stake became the first stake to be organized in Australia, and Ethel was called as stake Relief Society president.⁷³ Apostle Marion G. Romney telephoned Ethel to issue the calling, which she accepted simply and practically as a work assignment that was her part of organizing the stake; she was neither encumbered by nor delighted with the idea of being the first woman in Australia called as a stake Relief Society president. The conversation she had with Elder Romney was brief and focused on her new duties. However, she mentioned wistfully in an interview with me that she wished she had prolonged the conversation with Elder Romney long enough to ask if he remembered witnessing her baptism thirty-eight years earlier.⁷⁴

The new stake was not without challenges. Although membership had increased, the area of the stake was still geographically large as it encompassed the entire Sydney region, plus two satellite cities, making a driving distance of 240 kilometres (150 miles) one way. Many people in the area still refer to this time as the "period of great travel."⁷⁵ In addition to the challenge of a new calling in a new stake that covered a great distance, most members still had more than one calling and forty-six-year-old Ethel was no different. In addition to her demanding stake calling, she also served in the Primary and MIA as needed and was an active visiting teacher.⁷⁶ At the time, she was still obtaining government financial assistance through the War Widows Pension and still had her "graveyard shift" cleaning job at the Hurstville Council. Despite the challenges of 1960, Ethel remembered that

⁷²Ross to Clark, 1-2.

⁷³Newton, *Southern Cross Saints*, 40.

⁷⁴Parton, Oral History, July 11, 2006, 1.

⁷⁵Clark, Oral History, 1.

⁷⁶Draper, Oral History, April 23, 2007, 3.

particular year as one of “grand blessings.”⁷⁷ Chief among them, she was finally able to make a down payment on a small home in which she would spend the rest of her life.

The financial burdens of Church members did not lessen after the stake was organized. Although the five new buildings were fully constructed and in use, none of these meeting houses could be dedicated until the local share for construction costs had been paid in full. Paying this debt was an onerous burden under which Church members struggled for over a decade. The Relief Society made a concentrated effort to support the branch building fund by making and selling a variety of wares and services.⁷⁸

Ethel was not known to particularly enjoy cooking nor make more than a few staple dishes, but she uncomplainingly teamed up with the other sisters in fund-raising efforts. Ethel and others would collect orders to make and deliver lamingtons, a classic Australian dessert. Lamingtons are traditionally made from day-old white cake. The cake is cut into individual square or rectangular pieces, then sliced horizontally through the centre where a layer of jam or cream is added, making the cake slice look like a cubic sandwich. The cake is then dipped in warm chocolate sauce and sprinkled with shredded, dried coconut. When the coconut has set and the cake is cool, it is served or wrapped for delivery. The more culinary-inclined sisters would work in teams to make the lamingtons, selling scores of the cakes along with biscuits (cookies), and other breads. Another ongoing project was mending, ironing, and tailoring clothing for private clients obtained by word of mouth and sometimes advertising fliers. They also knitted and crocheted hats, scarves, blankets, doilies, and jumpers (sweaters), consistently donating the funds received for these services to the Church.⁷⁹ The Church finally forgave the building program debts over a decade later (the last Sydney-area chapel debt was forgiven by 1971), when Joseph Fielding Smith was president of the Church. This act relieved the sisters from the relentless fund-raising projects and allowed the chapels to fi-

⁷⁷Clark, Oral History, 2.

⁷⁸Newton, *Southern Cross Saints*, 193–94.

⁷⁹Hurstville Ward, Microfilm LR 398414 2, 1960, LDS Family History Library; Valerie Clark, Oral History, 2.

nally be dedicated.⁸⁰

Even though these devoted Relief Society sisters in Sydney each held a stake calling and one or more ward callings, there were still not enough active women to fully operate the Relief Society, Primary, and MIA ward and stake offices in the standard Church format. Australian society's general disdain for organized religion was coupled with widespread anti-authoritarianism which meant that Australians simply did not defer automatically to authority figures, even to those with prestigious titles at work or church.⁸¹ Ethel perceived herself, not as a leader, authority figure, or someone to issue commands, but as someone whose calling meant that she was to serve. Coupled with the Australian self-deprecatory attitude, her view of her identity as a servant would, ironically, bring her frustration when age hampered her ability to serve to the same extent that she had in her younger years.

Combined with the great distances between the members' homes and between wards, it was unrealistic to expect members to attend Church and accept callings at the rate and manner prescribed by the auxiliary general boards at Church headquarters. For the Sydney Stake, twelve-member Relief Society boards (standard in U.S. stakes at the time) were impossible to staff. There were simply not enough active women to fill all of the callings for the Relief Society, Primary, and MIA.⁸² However, the Australian sisters compensated and operated to the best of their ability. They adjusted their meeting times and places to coordinate work that needed to be done in that area. Sisters in distant areas or of limited means did not often have telephones in their homes. Each week they would meet at a different sister's home, sometimes on different days of the week. Before or after the Relief Society meeting, they would do their visiting teaching and Church fund-raising, which included the collection of lamington and haberdashery orders, as well as delivering the baked

⁸⁰Newton, *Southern Cross Saints*, 193–94.

⁸¹Ward, *The Australian Legend*, 16–17, describes the “myth of the ‘typical Australian’”—a male who “feels no impulse to work hard without good cause, . . . endures stoically, . . . [and] “believes that Jack is not only as good as his master but, at least in principle, a good deal better.”

⁸²Newton, *Southern Cross Saints*, 203.



Lorna Ross, left, presents Valerie Clark with a gift of appreciation, flanked by Ethel Parton (left) and Mary Frater (right), at a luncheon at the Greenwich Chapel, Sydney, June 29, 1966. All four served as officers in the Sydney Stake Relief Society. Photo courtesy of Valerie Clark.

goods and mended items.⁸³

Ethel did not own a car until the mid-1970s,⁸⁴ so her only means of transportation was by foot or public transportation. Valerie Clark, who served with Ethel as first counsellor in the 1960 stake Relief Society, sometimes had access to the family car for weekend meetings and recalled that she enjoyed teasing Ethel, “I used to say to Et, ‘I know why you called me. You called me because I have a car.’ And she would say, ‘No, that’s not the reason.’” Valerie repeated this story to me on a number of occasions, always with a wide smile followed with a jovial laugh. However, even with a car, visiting some of the more distant wards in the stake for Sunday meetings required leaving home as early as 5:00 A.M., returning well after midnight. Newcastle, the farthest

⁸³Clark, Oral History, 2.

⁸⁴Ethel could not recall the year in which she was able to purchase her first automobile and Valerie Clark noted that Ethel had a reputation of being an untalented driver.

branch was at least a four-hour drive each way.

Branch auxiliaries at this time, including the local Relief Societies met during the week; however, the stake Relief Society presidency was encouraged to show support by attending and speaking at the different branch sacrament meetings held on Sundays, where they would also meet with the branch Relief Society presidencies to make more efficient use of the time spent in travelling to the area.

During the hours spent in trains and cars, the sisters in the stake Relief Society presidency became the dearest of friends. In her later years, Ethel spoke of the women with whom she served as strong and faithful sisters whom she admired and loved. "I can always remember talking about service," recalled Valerie about those long drives and train rides. "Et said when you go to Church in the name of Christ and when you have committed yourself and taken the covenants, you never have any questions in your mind. Having her as a mentor is what gave me my strength."⁸⁵ These sisters would study the messages in the *Relief Society Magazine* and industriously discuss the topics while journeying through the stake area.⁸⁶

In February 1963, Belle Smith Spafford, general Relief Society president, visited Australia, outlining the type of service and work needed to make the stake a success. Years of hard work were beginning to affect Ethel's health, so Ethel's counsellor Mavis Draper, escorted Sister Spafford for much of the visit. This spell of ill health was very unusual for Ethel, who for decades had toiled at physically arduous tasks for long work-days, managing on very little sleep and a simple diet. Mavis reported that Ethel was more disappointed in her own health and inability to serve than in missing the opportunity to meet Sister Spafford but, true to form, told Mavis that she was pleased Mavis could spend the time with Sister Spafford.⁸⁷

During the visit, Sister Spafford encouraged the women to adapt the Relief Society to better suit the needs of the local sisters. These instructions were a welcome relief to the Australian sisters who struggled valiantly but unavailingly to meet sometimes unreasonable climate-based assignments. As Valerie remembered, "Before then,

⁸⁵Clark, Oral History, 3.

⁸⁶Ibid., 2.

⁸⁷Draper, Oral History, April 23, 2007 2. Whenever I asked Ethel about this period, she reiterated that she trusted and loved the women she served with in the stake and moved on to the next topic.

sometimes we just couldn't do what the Church wanted us to. We were assigned to have snow activities in the middle of our summer, which is the middle of the Utah winter. Little things like that. Sledding for Christmas on sand. They finally figured out that we have different seasons and that it doesn't snow here."⁸⁸

Ethel took the instruction to adapt to local needs to heart; over the next three years she directed the branch Relief Society presidents to restructure meeting times and places to better meet the scheduling and transportation needs of the local sisters. These changes reduced travel demands and made it easier for sisters to attend Relief Society meeting regularly without missing work. Ethel also advised that, when possible, a Relief Society president should only have "the one calling."⁸⁹ Leadership meetings were also modified from monthly to five per year. She also urged care in selecting officers so that those best suited should be appointed to callings, rather than assigning callings based on the Church member who lived closest or who had similar work schedules. Such simple restructurings freed the sisters to focus on Sister Spafford's direction to persevere with the Singing Mothers (the Relief Society choir organized in each branch, ward, and/or stake), better fellowship new converts, and invite young converts to bring their mothers to church and Relief Society meetings.⁹⁰

DECLINING YEARS

In June 1966 after twelve years as district/stake Relief Society president, at age fifty-two, Ethel was released, and Betty J. Stokes was called as her successor. In recognition and thanks to Ethel for serving as Australia's first stake Relief Society president, the stake Relief Society hosted a luncheon and presented Ethel with a canteen of cutlery (silver flatware set) for twelve years' service 'as both mission and Stake Relief Society President.'⁹¹ It was an extravagant gift for the time, but Valerie Clark described it as "a small token" of the sisters' love and

⁸⁸Clark, Oral History, 3.

⁸⁹Draper, Oral History, April 23, 2007, 3.

⁹⁰Clark, Oral History, 4.

⁹¹Sydney Stake Relief Society, Records, Microfilm #LR 3984 14, June 1966.

appreciation “for Et and all that she did.”⁹²

Almost certainly if the choice had been Ethel’s, she would not have retired voluntarily. Nor did she consider her release a retirement. For the next thirty years, until age consumed the best of her, she was active and involved in the Sutherland Ward and the Sydney South Stake (formed in 1967).⁹³ In a word, the Church was her life. Those who knew her had no question about the depth and firmness of her testimony of the gospel. She lived her testimony in all she did. She spent her leisure time reading Church books, the scriptures, and Church publications. She became well known for her diligence in service, not only in her formal callings, but also to individuals. For example, Valerie Clark recalled how one young Relief Society sister sighed aloud about her desire for the then-fashionable rope-petticoat.⁹⁴ Although Valerie could not recall the name of the young Relief Society sister, she did recall how Ethel, who overheard the comment, presented a hand-sewn rope-petticoat to this sister the very next day without a word. “She must have stayed up all night sewing that petticoat. But that was Ethel.” Valerie continued, “She was a very talented seamstress and she was a shy person. She never wanted thanks; she just wanted you to be happy. Ethel always made you feel that you were at home and were welcome. Invited to be yourself.”⁹⁵

In the years following her release as stake Relief Society president, Ethel served in numerous other Church positions including as a Primary and Relief Society teacher. Both Paul and Ross married in the temple. She adored her grandchildren and great-grandchildren. Her door was always open for a member who needed a place to stay at a moment’s notice. She often spoke fondly of the women who had in-

⁹²Clark, Oral History, 4.

⁹³Sydney South Stake Relief Society, Records, Microfilm #LR 8887 2, 1967.

⁹⁴Rope petticoats were worn under skirts and dresses to protect the wearer’s stockings from being ripped by stiff fabrics and to help the skirt fall fully from the waist to the knee. Thin rope, usually about pencil width, was sewn around the bottom of the petticoat, completely encircling the garment. Then a second ring of this thin rope would be sewn about four inches above the first. A third rope would ensure that formal skirts would thrust the skirt to its most extended capacity, negating the need for starch. The skirt would be rounded and flow softly.

⁹⁵Clark, Oral History, 3–4.



Ethel Parton, ca. 1970, four years after her release as president of the Sydney Stake Relief Society. Photo courtesy of Sherrie Gavin.

fluenced her in her life, her sister Janet, her Sunday School teacher, Sister Bailey, and the women she admired and served with in the Relief Society: “I was blessed to have such strong women to work with; I couldn’t have done it without them.”⁹⁶ Janet never married, but the two sisters remained close until Janet’s death in 1982. From that point, Ethel was especially lonely and often spoke of her desire to “see Janet again.”⁹⁷

Always independent, thrifty, and generous, in her last years she chose to take a taxi to sacrament meeting as not to be dependent on her sons, their families, or ward members. During the last few months of her life when she was in her nineties, she occasionally yielded enough to allow others to drive her home. Because Ethel was so determined to not “put anyone out” by asking for or accepting the offer of a ride, ward members considered it a rare honour to be allowed to chauffeur her home after services.

Thrift remained a deeply ingrained value. During her last de-

⁹⁶Parton, Oral History, July 25, 2006, 5.

⁹⁷Parton, Oral History, June 7, 2006, 1.

cade as her hearing faltered, she required hearing aids. Although technological and medical advancements repeatedly upgraded the quality of these aids and although the War Widows Pension would have largely funded the cost of new hearing equipment, Ethel stubbornly refused to get newer aids as “these still work” and she wanted “to leave something [to my sons] after I am gone.” Whether it was pride, her desire to never inconvenience others, or her genuine wish to serve others, even in her twilight years she often refused offers of service, explaining, “I have family here” (meaning her sons), and “Other people need more help than me.”⁹⁸

In 2005, as a thirty-four-year-old member of the Sutherland Ward and a doctoral candidate in history at the University of Western Sydney, I asked Ethel for the honour of writing her history for my doctoral thesis. She refused, stating that others had asked to do it before me, but she was uncomfortable with the attention and it “wasn’t that important.” She gave me a list of numerous other Mormon women whom she thought were more interesting and influential, none of whom I found to be remotely as interesting and delightful as Ethel.

I chose another topic outside of Mormon history; but since I did not live far from her, I began to visit her regularly. She was always keen and interested to hear the tedious detailed descriptions of my research, lectures I was giving at the community college, and my Relief Society activities. We often discussed our shared love of Church poetry. At that point, she was ninety-one and no longer had the strength to attend three hours of Church meetings. She was occasionally hospitalized with heart problems, but would attend church when possible, often only for sacrament meeting.

A friendship ensued and I no longer cared to write her history. I only cared to visit and serve my friend. True to her reputation, it was a challenge to be of service to her; she often flatly refused offers of assistance and would always suggest others who needed my help more. I had to resort to creative deviousness to do anything for her. For example, I convinced her to tend my dog for a couple of hours so I could do my grocery shopping and, incidentally, pick up a few items for Ethel as well. Ethel jumped at the opportunity, recognising that tending the dog allowed her to be of service, as she proclaimed, “I’m useful again! I’m useful!”

⁹⁸Ibid., 2.



Ethel Nash Parton, at age ninety-two, with Geronimo, Sherrie Gavin's English Labrador, during a neighbourly visit in Ethel's modest home, September/October 2006. Photo courtesy of Sherrie Gavin.

Ethel loved to sing. She had had a beautiful voice as a younger woman and greatly enjoyed performing with the Singing Mothers. It distressed her in later years when her elderly voice began to crack. She kept a hymn book at home and would sing in her heart while listening to recordings of the Tabernacle Choir. During her final years, she tired so easily in the heat of the December Australian summer that she was unable to attend the stake Christmas carol sing-along. I was allowed to invite a precious few members of the Sutherland Ward, including my husband, to gather in her humble home on the last two Christmas Eves of her life to sing carols with her so she could enjoy the spirit of singing.⁹⁹ She was so beloved that the recipients of these invitations cherished them and gladly responded.

Several times in 2006, Ethel was admitted to local hospitals for age-related cardiac and respiratory problems, sometimes for weeks. I visited her, hoping to brighten her day with a foot massage and a fresh coat of nail polish. Each time, Ethel sent me off around the room to "see if the other ladies here would like that." Only after I had massaged the hands and feet, then polished the nails of the other women

⁹⁹Sherrie L. M. Gavin, Diary, December 24, 2005, and December 24, 2006.

in the room who welcomed the attention, did Ethel finally allow for herself to be the beneficiary of any pampering. At one point, she even insisted that I do my own nails before tending to her.

When she was home from the hospital, Ethel enjoyed letters and phone calls from her youngest sister, Nellie. Nellie had moved to Utah in 1950 to marry Sidney Creager, whom she had met when he served in Australia as a missionary. After some conversations with Nellie in May and June 2006, Ethel asked me to record her history. I was shocked by the request and very hesitant lest it affect our friendship in a negative way as she had been so adamantly opposed to having her history recorded. Ethel reassured me that she wanted me to record her history, sharing the reason that her story might be a source of connection for her family who lived in the United States. "It's for young Sid," she assured me, referring to Nellie's youngest son, Sidney Nash Creager, "to share Australia with his family in America." There was one condition: I had to promise that I would not share the information with anyone until she had passed away.¹⁰⁰ I agreed, and as her health allowed, she shared precious family records, memories, and stories in my interviews with her.

The last time she stood to bear her testimony in Sutherland Ward was in September or October 2006. At that time, Ethel expressed "love and appreciation I have for the Relief Society sisters," noting how grateful she was to have the Relief Society sisters in her life. She was ninety-two. Finally on February 26, 2007, she died peacefully in a hospital, a day after having a final conversation on the telephone with Nellie. Her funeral was held on March 5, 2007, in Sutherland, New South Wales, at the chapel she helped to build.¹⁰¹

As the Church pioneered into a worldwide organization in the twentieth century, Ethel was an industrious worker, an excellent example of the drive and determination of women who supported and sustained the Church with little recognition or validation. As a virtual orphan, she credited the Relief Society with teaching her how to be a wife and mother. As a widow, she praised the Relief Society for teaching her frugality and perseverance. The Church, and especially the Relief Society, had sustained her for most of her life, and she responded by dedicating her life to serve the organization that had shaped her. In so doing, she set an example of compassion and dili-

¹⁰⁰Ibid., June 7, 2006.

¹⁰¹Funeral program for Ethel Parton, in my possession.

gence that facilitated the emergent Australian branch of the Relief Society.

Ethel's life of service merits a more glowing tribute than this simple summary; but she was adamant that her example or reputation were a natural response to the women who had influenced her. "It wasn't me," she insisted. "I was blessed to have good women around me."¹⁰² Just like Australia in its isolated location, she was an independent Saint, yet a companion to the Saints whom she served and who served with her in Australia.

¹⁰²Parton, Oral History, July 18, 2006, 5.

“READ THIS I PRAY THEE”: MARTIN HARRIS AND THE THREE WISE MEN OF THE EAST

Richard E. Bennett

IN 1970 STANLEY B. KIMBALL published an article in which he examined the significance of the “Anthon Transcript,” the identity of the leading scholars that Martin Harris consulted in February 1828, and why Harris returned so committed to financing the printing of the Book of Mormon.¹ While scholars of Mormon history have continued to revisit and reinterpret this interesting epi-

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sode, relatively little new research has been done on the subject.² This article sheds new light on the identity of the scholars Harris visited: Luther Bradish, Charles Anthon, and Samuel L. Mitchill. I particularly focus on what in their background, training, and personalities may have prepared them for Harris's visit, and why Harris may have left them so resolved to pay for the Book of Mormon's printing.

The outlines of this story are well known. In late 1827, working

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¹Stanley B. Kimball, "The Anthon Transcript: People, Primary Sources, and Problems." *BYU Studies* 10, no. 3 (Spring 1970): 325-52. Kimball had published two earlier studies on the topic establishing his long-term interest: "I Cannot Read a Sealed Book," *Improvement Era*, February 1957, 80-82, 104, 106; and "Charles Anthon and the Egyptian Language," *Improvement Era*, October 1960, 708-10, 765.

²See, for example, Dr. Sidney B. Sperry, "Some Problems Arising from Martin Harris' Visit to Professor Charles Anthon," in *Problems of the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: S. B. Sperry, 1964); Edward H. Ashment, "The Book of Mormon and the Anthon Transcript: An Interim Report," *Sunstone*, 5, no. 3 (May-June 1890): 29-31; Daniel W. Bachman "Sealed in a Book: Preliminary Observations on the Newly Found 'Anthon Transcript,'" *BYU Studies* 20, no. 4 (Summer 1980): 321-45 (unfortunately, this "newly found" document was a forgery by Mark Hofmann); Buddy Youngreen, "And Yet Another Copy of the Anthon Manuscript," *BYU Studies* 20, no. 4 (Summer 1980): 346-47; David E. Sloan, "The Anthon Transcripts and the Translation of the Book of Mormon: Studying It Out in the Mind of Joseph Smith" (Provo, Utah: Neal A. Maxwell Institute for Religious Scholarship, 1996): 57-81; Dan Vogel, ed., *Early Mormon Documents*, 5 vols. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996-2003), 2:266-67, 298-99, with amplification in his *Joseph Smith: The Making of a Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2004), 113-16); Richard B. Stout, "A Singular Discovery: The Curious Manuscript, Mitchill and Mormonism," a six-part series published in the *Evangel* in 2001-2 (The *Evangel* was a monthly tabloid published by UMI Ministries in Marlow, Oklahoma); Jerome J. Knuijt, "The 'Anthon Affair,'" a synopsis from his *The Hoax of Mormonism* (Hortonville, Wisc.: Mira Publishers, 1999).

with the gold plates and the Urim and Thummim, Joseph Smith began translating the “Reformed Egyptian” characters found in the book of Lehi on the Large Plates of Nephi. As part of this early work, he transcribed some of the characters as a sort of alphabet or reference guide. His primary scribe was then Martin Harris, a well-known and respected Palmyra farmer, an early and keen supporter of Smith’s work, and later one of its Three Witnesses. For a variety of reasons, not the least of which was the resentment of Martin’s wife, Lucy, at his growing involvement, Harris persuaded Smith to let him take a transcription to New York City, as historian B. H. Roberts writes, “to submit them to men of learning for their inspection.”³ Roberts says Harris submitted “two papers containing different transcripts, to Professors Anthon and Mitchell [sic], of New York, one that was translated and one not translated.”⁴

According to Anthon’s own accounts, Harris first visited Mitchill, who wrote him a letter referring him to Anthon.⁵ According to Harris, Anthon “stated that the translation was correct, more so than any he had before seen translated from the Egyptian” and that

³B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 6 vols. (1930; rpt., Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1965 printing) 1:99.

⁴*Ibid.*, 1:100. Roberts does not identify the source of his information. Possible sources include Eber D. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled* (Painesville, Ohio: E. D. Howe, 1834), 270–74), an anti-Mormon publication, and more reliably in Joseph Smith, “History” (1832) in Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989), 1:9, which states that Harris “came to Susquehanna and said the Lord had shown him that he [Harris] must go to New York City with some of the characters so we proceeded to copy some of them and he took his journey to the Eastern cities and to the Learned [saying] read this I pray thee.” See also “History of Joseph Smith,” *Times and Seasons* 3, no. 13 (May 2, 1842): 772–73. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet, and His Progenitors for Many Generations* (Liverpool, England: Orson Pratt by S. W. Richards, 1853), 113–14, states: “When Joseph had had a sufficient time to accomplish the journey [from Palmyra to Harmony, Pa.], and transcribe some of the Egyptian characters, it was agreed that Martin Harris should follow him—and that he (Martin) should take the characters to the East, and on his way, he was to call on all the professed linguists, in order to give them an opportunity to display their talents in giving a translation of the characters.”

⁵Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, quoted in Roberts, *A Comprehensive His-*

the characters “were Egyptian, Chaldaic, Assyriac, and Arabic, and he said that they were true characters and that the translation of such of them that had been translated was correct.” He even wrote a note “certifying to the people of Palmyra that they were true characters.” However, when Harris said that an angel had given Joseph the book, Anthon tore up his certificate, denied the possibility of heavenly manifestations, and told Harris to bring him the plates, which he would translate. When Harris replied he could not and that parts of the plates were sealed, Anthon brusquely responded, “I cannot read a sealed book.” Harris promptly left and went back to Mitchill who “sanctioned what Professor Anthon had said respecting both the characters and the translation.”⁶

Harris’s account does not describe how Mitchill could have corroborated Anthon’s response. Some time later, this entire episode came to be interpreted as fulfilling Isaiah 29:11, which deals with “the words of a book that is sealed, which men deliver to one that is learned, saying Read this, I pray thee: and he saith, I cannot; for it is sealed.”⁷ Whether one shares this interpretation of a prophecy fulfilled, the fact remains, as Stanley Kimball put it, that “in spite

tory, 1:104–5. See also Samuel M. Smucker, *The Religious, Social, and Political History of the Mormons, or Latter-Day Saints: from Their Origin to the Present Time; Containing Full Statements of Their Doctrines, Government and Condition, and Memoirs of Their Founder, Joseph Smith* (New York: Miller, Orton and Co., 1857), 37–39; microform available, Harold B. Lee Library.

⁶Joseph Smith Jr. et al., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, edited by B. H. Roberts, 7 vols., 2d ed. rev., (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1971 printing), 1:20; “History of Joseph Smith,” 773.

⁷Joseph Knight, “sometime” between 1833 and 1847, remembered the story this way: “[Joseph Smith] Began to be anxious to git them translated. He therefore with his wife drew of[f] the Caricters exactley like the ancient and sent Martin Harris to see if he Could git them Translated. He went to Albeny and to Philadelpha and to new york and he found men that Could Translate some of the Carictors in all those places. Mitchel [Samuel L. Mitchill] and Anthony [Charles Anthon] of New York ware the most Larded, [learned] But there were some Caricters they could not well understand. Therefore Anthony told him that he thot if he had the original he culd translate it. And he rote a very good piece to Joseph and said if he would send the original he would translate it. But at Last Martin Harris told him that he Could not have the original for it was Commanded not to be

of the limited ability of Anthon and Mitchell to pronounce judgment on the [Book of Mormon] transcription, and despite the ridicule from Anthon regarding the story of angels and the destruction of Anthon's certificate, Harris was sufficiently convinced to go into debt and devote his full time to the support of the young prophet."⁸ Whatever Harris gleaned from these leading scholars, as Kimball argued, they confirmed his beliefs and encouraged him to devote his time, energy, and resources—even placing his marriage at risk—to the translation and eventual publication of the Book of Mormon. If he left Palmyra wondering and inquiring, he returned supporting and defending.

A great deal has been written about the Anthon Transcript that Harris took to New York: its language, what types of characters it represented, its possible content, and its present location. Some have tried strenuously to debunk it as a hoax.⁹ Others have painstakingly analyzed the characters written on the affidavit. More than sixty years ago, Ariel L. Crowley wrote a three-part series for the *Improvement Era* in which he argued that the "characters" showed strong parallels to the hieratic or demotic forms of a later Egyptian cursive language.¹⁰ Several Book of Mormon apologists since, in what critics have dismissed as "parallelomania," have tried to show similarities of the writings to

shone. And he was mad and said what Does this mean, and he tore the paper that he wrote all to pieces and stampid it under his feet and says Bring me the original or I will not translate it. Mr Harris, seeing he was in a passion, he said, 'well, I will go home and see, and if they can be had I will wright to you immediately.' So he Came home and told how it was and they went to him no more. Then was fulfilled the 29th Chapter of Isiah." Dean Jessee, "Joseph Knight's Recollection of Early Mormon History," *BYU Studies* 17, no. 1 (Autumn 1976): 34–35.

⁸Kimball, "The Anthon Transcript," 337. See also Vogel, *Joseph Smith: The Making of a Prophet*, 116.

⁹Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 270–73. See also John A. Clark, *Gleanings by the Way* (Philadelphia: W. J. and J. K. Simon/New York: Robert Carter, 1842), 232–38.

¹⁰Ariel L. Crowley, "The Anthon Transcript: An Evidence for the Truth of the Prophet's Account of the Origin of the Book of Mormon," *Improvement Era*, January 1942, 14–15, 58–60; February 1942, 74–80; March 1942, 150–52, 182–83.

“Merotic” and other forms of so-called “Reformed Egyptian.”¹¹ Others have even tried to compare them to Native American writings or those that allegedly recount the Jaredite exodus to the New World.¹²

The fact is that the actual transcript Harris showed to his examiners may or may not have survived.¹³ The famous Anthon Transcript, now owned and housed in the Archives of the Community of Christ in Independence, Missouri, is a slip of paper 8x3.25" wide that passed into the hands of David Whitmer.¹⁴ After his death in 1888, the Whitmer family in April 1903 sold it to the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (now Community of Christ).

B. H. Roberts has argued that the Community of Christ manuscript, containing only seven horizontal lines, was at best “a fragment” of what Harris submitted to Anthon and Mitchill and that it was certainly not a translation manuscript in the true sense of the word.¹⁵ Other accounts speak of parallel columns with a second transcription containing the English translation. According to Charles Anthon, the document which he saw showed letters in “perpendicular columns” in the “Chinese mode of writing,” which likewise suggests vertical, not horizontal, columns. Anthon also remembered that “the whole ended in a rude representation of the Mexican zodiac.”¹⁶ This description does not match the Community of Christ document. If

¹¹“A Comparison of the Anthon Transcript with Reformed Egyptian,” broadside, Provo, Utah: BYU Dept. of Audio-Visual Communications, 1980, copy in LDS Church History Library.

¹²Stan and Polly Johnson, *Translating the Anthon Transcript* (Parowan, Utah: Ivory Books, 1999).

¹³For a sympathetic but careful review of this topic, see Sloan, “The Anthon Transcripts,” 57–81. For a critical study, see William L. Moore, “The 1823 Detroit Manuscript: A Book of Mormon Prequel.” Published electronically in Dale R. Broadhurst, *Spalding Saga*, The Spalding Research Project, solomonspalding.com/SRP/saga/saga02b.htm (accessed September 19, 2009).

¹⁴“I have in my possession the original paper containing some of the characters transcribed from one of the golden plates, which paper Martin Harris took to Professor Anthon of New York, for him to read ‘the words of a book that is sealed.’” David Whitmer, *An Address to All Believers* (Richmond, Mo.: David Whitmer, 1887), 11.

¹⁵Roberts, *Comprehensive History*, 1:101.

¹⁶Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 271–72; Clark, *Gleanings by the Way*,

Anthon's memory is correct, it seems unlikely that the Anthon Transcript is the same document he saw in 1828. At the very least, it was not the only document Harris showed him.

LUTHER BRADISH AND EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES

Precisely what route Martin Harris followed from Harmony, Pennsylvania, to New York City in February 1828 is not known; however, three of his contemporaries make clear that he first stopped off at Albany, to meet with Luther Bradish before traveling down the Hudson River valley to New York City. William W. Phelps, who met Harris later, said that Harris went to New York City by way of Utica and Albany.¹⁷ Pomeroy Tucker, another Palmyra resident, mentioned that "he sought . . . the interpretation and bibliographical scrutiny of such scholars as Hon. Luther Bradish, Dr. Mitchell, Prof. Anthon and others."¹⁸ John H. Gilbert Jr., who typeset the Book of Mormon in E. B. Grandin's Palmyra print shop concurs,¹⁹ as did Fayette Lapham, another Palmyra resident.²⁰

Bradish (1783–1863) was a highly respected teacher-turned-pol-

232–38.

¹⁷William W. Phelps, Letter to E. D. Howe, January 15, 1831. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, p. 273. I am indebted to Susan Easton Black and Larry C. Porter for bringing this source to my attention. See their forthcoming biography tentatively entitled "Martin Harris: A Witness of the Book of Mormon."

¹⁸Pomeroy Tucker, *Origin, Rise and Progress of Mormonism: Biography of Its Founders and History of Its Church; Personal Remembrances and Historical Collections Hitherto Unwritten* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1867), 41–42. These "others" are not known.

¹⁹John H. Gilbert wrote an autobiographical memorandum September 8, 1892, in which he mentions that Martin Harris "stopped at Albany and called on Lt. Gov. Bradish—with what success I do not know. He proceeded to New York, and called on Prof. C[harles] Anthon." In Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 2:546–47.

²⁰Fayette Lapham reportedly had an interview with Joseph Smith Sr. in 1829 but did not record it until 1870. According to his account, Joseph Smith met with Luther Bradish in Franklin County, New York. Bradish could not read "the strange characters" and advised Joseph "to return home and go into other business." Fayette Lapham, "Interview with the Father of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet, Forty Years Ago. His Account of the

itician. In 1828, he was a newly elected member of the New York State Assembly, later the state's lieutenant governor, (1839–43) and twice Whig candidate for governor. Born and raised in Cummington, Massachusetts, Bradish had lived for a considerable period of time in Palmyra, where his parents, John Bradish, Jr. and Hannah Warner Bradish, moved in 1798 and where John Jr. died in January 1826.²¹ Bradish remained in Massachusetts to attend Williams College, graduating with a B.A. in 1804. After graduation, he rejoined his parents in Palmyra before accepting a teaching post in 1806 at Union Hall Academy in Jamaica, Long Island. Charles King, later president of Columbia College, remembered Bradish fondly, describing him as “one of the best and most thorough teachers” he had ever known. By 1810 Bradish had opted for a law career, passing the requisite state law examinations and setting up his own practice at 47 Wall Street in New York City.²² He became a very successful, relatively wealthy lawyer whose clients included such well-known literary figures as Washington Irving and James Fenimore Cooper. On several occasions, certainly in 1815 and again in 1819, he made extensive visits to Palmyra.²³

It seems highly plausible, therefore, that Martin Harris was calling on a man with whom he was already well acquainted. The Harris and Bradish families had both come to Palmyra in the 1790s when it

Finding of the Sacred Plates,” in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:456–57. Reasons for not accepting this account uncritically are its many factual inaccuracies, the late date of writing, and its spiteful tone. Harris, not Joseph, visited Bradish, and they met in Albany, not Franklin County.

²¹Luther Bradish was the youngest of John and Hannah's six children. His older siblings were Calvin, Chloe, Rowena, Charles, and Sarah. www.familysearch.org, Group Record of Col. John Bradish (accessed October 2, 2009).

²²Louis B. Gimelli, “Luther Bradish, 1783–1863” (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1964), 15–19.

²³Luther Bradish, Letter to Seth Tucker, July 18, 1838, Luther Bradish Papers, New York Historical Society, New York City (hereafter Bradish Papers). Bradish, a confirmed Episcopalian, was well known and highly respected in Palmyra. Joseph Cott, Palmyra, New York, to Luther Bradish, November 12, 1827, Luther Bradish Papers, wrote warmly to him: “You have many friends in this part of the country who are dear to you and who form a respectable part of our community in numbers, talents and influence.”

was a mere village. Even while the Erie Canal was being constructed, it had no more than 600 citizens.²⁴ In 1796, Martin Harris's father, Nathan, and a Joseph Bradish were elected "pathmasters." Eight years later in 1804, Nathan Harris and John Bradish, Luther's father, were together elected overseers of the road. By 1811 Martin Harris and Calvin Bradish, Luther's older brother, had replaced their fathers as overseers and worked together for a year.²⁵ Thus, the two families knew each other well.

In April 1816, Bradish's wife, Helen Elizabeth Gibbs Bradish, died in giving birth to their son, who also died. Bradish apparently sought consolation or at least distraction by traveling abroad. A Whig like John Quincy Adams, then Secretary of State and later U.S. President, Bradish applied for a special passport in 1820 offering to serve his country if it cared to take advantage of his whereabouts.²⁶

Adams was particularly interested in promoting American commercial interests with the Ottoman Empire at a time when acute tensions were developing between Turkey and the Muslim countries on the one side, and Greece, Russia, and Great Britain on the other. England was especially wary about American interference in this volatile Mediterranean region. Thus, Bradish went to Turkey as a private citi-

²⁴Thomas L. Cook, *Palmyra and Vicinity* (Palmyra: Palmyra Courier-Journal, 1930), 52. Palmyra really began to grow with the construction of the Erie Canal, doubling its population by 1829 to almost two thousand.

²⁵Annual Town Meeting, Minutes, April 1796 and April 1800–1829, as found in "Copies of Old Village Records 1793–1867," Record of the District of Tollond, Town of Palmyra, New York, Family History Library, Harold B. Lee Library, Microfilm 900 no. 60, Brigham Young University. Martin Harris was elected one of the "overseers of roads" in 1808, 1813, 1814, 1815, 1827, and 1829

²⁶His passport, signed by John Quincy Adams on April 15, 1820, announced that Bradish was "about to visit different foreign countries with the view of gratifying a commendable curiosity, and of obtaining useful information." It requested "all foreign states, Powers or Potentates and their officers" to let him travel "freely without molestation . . . and to give him all friendly aids and protection as these United States would do in like cases." Appointment Records, Permanent and Temporary Consular Commissions, February 10, 1790–August 18, 1829, entry 777, p. 362, RG59, Department of State, National Archives and Records Services, Washington, D.C. For slightly different wording, see additional entry for April 18, 1820, 362.

zen but in a secret, quasi-official capacity. His assigned objectives were to discover whether American interests would be furthered by a treaty of amity and commerce with the “Sublime Porte” (i.e., the sultan’s government in Istanbul, led by the grand vizier); to discover if such a treaty was practicable; to determine the best way of accomplishing this objective; and finally, to obtain free passage for American ships to Russian ports on the Black Sea.²⁷ Secretly transported by American naval ships, young Bradish traveled to Constantinople, capital of the Ottoman Empire which then held loose control over Egypt, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli.

With a special passport from the Sublime Porte, Bradish secretly embarked for Egypt in February 1821. He stayed there for five months and held several meetings with the Egyptian ruler, Mohamed Ali Pasha. Like many other western visitors to Egypt seeking special favors, Bradish praised Ali’s strenuous attempts to modernize Egypt and the “new Egypt” that was “rising from the ruins in which she has lain for ages.”²⁸

His visit to Egypt coincided with the “war of the consuls” between England and France over the archaeological spoils of Egypt, then being plundered by European excavators. Since Napoleon’s invasion of Egypt in 1798, an intense European interest in Egyptian antiquities had developed, highlighted by the discovery of the Rosetta Stone in 1799 and its eventual decipherment in 1822 by the brilliant French linguist, Jean-Francois Champollion. Interest in all things Egyptian was at a fever pitch when Bradish, the only known American in Egypt at the time, sailed up the Nile to the Second Cataract. As his biographer stated, “His curiosity led him into areas few other Americans of his day even knew existed.”²⁹ He was at Dendera at precisely the same time the French excavator Jean Baptiste Lelorraine, was removing the famed Circular or Dendera Zodiac from the roof of the Hathor Temple for transport to Paris.³⁰ Bradish was consequently

²⁷Gimelli, “Luther Bradish,” 37. See also Luther Bradish, Letter to John Q. Adams, June 16, 1828, Bradish Papers.

²⁸Luther Bradish, Letter to Thomas Appleton, July 1, 1824, Bradish Papers.

²⁹Gimelli, “Luther Bradish,” 54.

³⁰Warren E. Dawson and Eric P. Uphill, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*

well versed in the excavations and intrigues of the time.³¹ Hearing that the plague had broken out at Alexandria, Bradish engaged a Bedouin sheik to guide him eastward across the desert. After twenty days on camel back through the Arabian Desert, Bradish reached Palestine and Syria, finally returning to Constantinople.³²

Upon returning to Constantinople, Bradish finished his business. Although unsuccessful in negotiations with Turkey, largely because of the outbreak of hostilities between Greece and Turkey and British support of the popular Greek quest for freedom from Ottoman rule, Bradish laid essential groundwork for later, trusting negotiations between the United States and Turkey.

Leaving Constantinople for good, he visited a great many other countries including Russia, Poland, Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, Italy, Hungary, Austria, Switzerland, and France before finally returning home in December 1825. An intrepid traveler and quiet emissary, Bradish had been overseas for almost five years.

Instead of renewing his law career in New York City, Bradish opted to move to Moira in Franklin County, New York, near the St.

(London: Egypt Exploration Society), 37. See also Lesley and Roy Adkins, *The Keys of Egypt: The Obsession to Decipher Egyptian Hieroglyphs* (New York: Harper Collins, 2000), 165–66.

³¹Evincing his first-hand knowledge of Egyptian excavations, Bradish commented, “The fine pieces of antiquities taken by Monsieur Lorraine out of the Temple of Dendera when we were there have arrived in Paris in very good condition.” Luther Bradish, Letter to J. Chasseaud, March 28, 1822, Bradish Papers. Today the Dendera Zodiac is housed at the Louvre in Paris and the Rosetta Stone at the British Museum in London.

³²Luther Bradish, Letter to M. Williams, September 15, 1821. Also Luther Bradish, Letter to “My Dear Sir” [M. T. Monroe?], November 10, 1824, Bradish Papers. According to some sources, there may have been more to the story. Bradish may have tried to block Lelorraine’s secret efforts to ship the Zodiac to Paris without detection by William Bankes and other British officials. He apparently had carried, or dispatched, the news of Lelorraine’s discovery and excavations “to Cairo and thereby caused many difficulties and obstacles.” If so, for his own safety rather than staying in Egypt, he crossed the desert. Dawson and Uphill, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 37–38. One wonders, also, if in his efforts to obtain some antiquities of his own to send back to America, he may have offended other excavators. Bradish was later instrumental in transporting several ancient small Egyptian artifacts to America.

Lawrence River, confident that this region would continue to benefit from westward expansion by settlers moving from New England. Unfortunately, his confidence was misplaced, as time would prove, since most would-be settlers followed the course of the newly constructed Erie Canal. He was elected representative to the New York State Assembly for Franklin County in 1826 and moved that year to Albany. Five foot eleven, robust of frame, with a high forehead and dark bushy hair, Bradish was also known as an avid abolitionist and a deeply religious man who later presided over the American Bible Society. He sympathized with the poor and downtrodden, quietly helping those in financial straits. He cultivated a wide range of friends in both high and low estates and maintained a lifelong correspondence with many of them. He remarried in 1839 at age fifty-six. He and his wife had one daughter.

Thus, Bradish was more conversant with contemporary American interests in the Middle East and with Egyptian archaeological excavations and the emerging field of biblical archaeology than any other American. Though not a linguist by training or profession, he knew firsthand of the rising interest in Egyptian hieroglyphics and antiquities and had an astute sense for what was then transpiring in the field of Egyptian archaeology. This fact, coupled with the strong likelihood that Martin Harris and Luther Bradish were acquainted and that Bradish knew men in New York City renowned for their learning may explain why Harris visited Bradish in Albany before continuing on down the Hudson to New York City.

Another possible reason Harris met with Bradish is that this fellow Palmyran was a man of means,³³ who had helped others in times of financial need; furthermore, one of his correspondents was Philip Grandin, E. B. Grandin's brother, so he doubtless knew the Grandin family well.³⁴ Harris, anticipating publication, may have viewed Bradish as a possible business partner, a fellow financier, whom he could interest in helping to fund the work of translation which Joseph Smith had commenced.

³³C[aius] C[assius] Robinson, Letter to Luther Bradish, April 10, 1827, Bradish Papers. Robinson, who was married to Luther's older sister Chloe, sought a loan from Bradish to buy a lot in Palmyra.

³⁴P[hilip] Grandin, Letter to Luther Bradish, April 18, 1829, Bradish Papers.

“A MAN TO BE OBEYED”: DR. CHARLES ANTHON

Once in New York City, Harris met with Dr. Samuel L. Mitchill who referred him to a young and coming scholar of linguistics, thirty- one-year-old Professor Charles Anthon (1797–1867), A.B., LL.D., who was then in the formative period of his career. Born in New York City in 1797 to Dr. G. C. Anthon, a surgeon, and Genevieve Jadot Anthon of French descent, Anthon began his study of Greek and Latin at Columbia at age fourteen under a Professor Wilson at Columbia College. Though Anthon graduated in law and was admitted to the New York state bar in 1819, he abandoned that career to become a professor of languages at Columbia in 1820. He achieved fame for his edition of *Lempriere’s Classical Dictionary*, which contained an alphabetical summary of Greek and Roman biography, mythology, and geography (1825). He fulfilled this early promise by becoming a renowned classicist and went on to publish “at least fifty volumes of dictionaries, geographies, and textbooks of Greek and Latin authors.”³⁵ However, in 1828 he was but an “adjunct professor” of Greek and Latin, more an accomplished grammarian than a prestigious scholar. It was not until 1830, two years after Harris’s visit, that he became “Head Master” or rector of Columbia College Grammar School (its students would have been high school age today) and was promoted to professor in the Greek and Latin Languages Department. Eventually he was appointed Jay Professor of Greek and Latin, a position he held until his retirement in 1864.³⁶

In his report to the college of February 2, 1828, just days before Harris’s visit, Anthon said that his classes of young scholars were studying Herodotus, the five orations of Cicero, the ancient geography of Greek and Roman antiquities, Latin prose and composition,

³⁵(No name given), Curator of Columbiana, Letter to Harry A. McGimsey, November 24, 1944, in “Correspondence of Early Columbia University Papers” cataloged as “College Papers,” Rare Books and Manuscripts Department, sixth floor, Butler Library, Columbia University, New York City.

³⁶Henry Drisler, “Charles Anthon: A Commemorative Discourse Prepared and Delivered at the Request of the Trustees and Alumni of the College,” pamphlet (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1868), 12–15. See also Late Doctor Anthon,” *Harper’s Weekly*, August 17, 1867, 525–26.

and Greek grammar.³⁷ His first love was the classics, especially the works of Homer and Herodotus. While he had superb mastery of Greek, Latin, German, and French, there is little indication that he knew much about Egyptian, Hebrew, or any other Middle Eastern language. Because of his love of languages, he was probably aware of emerging research interests in Egyptian hieroglyphics and that Champollion had recently deciphered the ancient Egyptian writings on the Rosetta Stone.³⁸ Almost certainly, his colleagues would have regarded him as a competent and even gifted linguist. Richard Bushman notes that Anthon, in the preface to his *Classical Dictionary*, referred to Champollion's "elaborate treatise on Hieroglyphics of Egypt" and concluded that he "was probably as well equipped as anyone in America to answer Harris's questions."³⁹ While it is reasonable to conclude that he may have been interested in ancient Near Eastern languages, he was by no means a scholar of these languages.

By force of his own brusque personality, he laid claim to much greater knowledge in this area than he actually possessed. A bachelor, crotchety recluse, and strict disciplinarian with an "iron constitution," Anthon rose early and retired late. A close acquaintance stated: "He felt the necessity of system in order to secure the best results of study, by a

³⁷Report of C. Anthon, Adjunct Professor of Languages, February 2, 1828, to Rev. W. Harris, D.D., president of Columbia College, Correspondence of Early Columbia University Papers. In 1828 Columbia had 105 students: 18 freshmen, 33 sophomores, 25 juniors, and 29 seniors. See also "Report from the Trustees of Columbia College to the Regents of the University," January 31, 1828, Correspondence of Early Columbia University Papers.

³⁸Among the better-known published works on Egyptian hieroglyphics available in 1828 were Jean-Pierre Rigord, *Memoire de Trevoux* (first published in 1704), Georg Zoega, *Du Origine et Usu Obeliscorum* (1797), *Les Description d'Egypte* (1809?), Thomas Young, *Museum Criticum vi* (1815), and Jean-Francois Champollion's famous *Lettre à M. Dacier* (1822) and his follow-up work, *Précis du Systeme Hieroglyphique* (1824). Champollion's two works provided not only facsimiles of hieroglyphs but code-breaking translations. How many of these works on hieroglyphics Anthon or Mitchill had in their possession, or of which they were aware, is impossible to determine. See Maurice Pope, *The Story of Decipherment: From Egyptian Hieroglyphs to Maya Script*, rev. ed. (London: Thomas and Hudson, 1999), chaps. 2-3.

³⁹Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling*, 64.

careful distribution and frugal use of his time. He adopted . . . the habit which he long maintained of rising at four o'clock and devoting the early morning hours to his literary labors; the rest of the day, [he made] a liberal allowance . . . for modern languages and literature. Saturday he usually devoted to the preparations of the college lectures for the following week."⁴⁰ A personal interview might elicit an unpleasant experience as Anthon hated interruptions, whether from college administrators or lowly students. He shunned faculty parties and all forms of social life. His life was his books and the halls of academia.

As a teacher he was an intimidating presence. One of his students remarked, "With the entire control of his class for three hours a day in his own studies, a teacher rigid and exact in his own attention to duty, and inflexible in requiring the same attention from his pupils [he] might be expected to produce large results."⁴¹ He eventually earned the epithet of "bull Anthon" from his students because of his "massive form," his harsh in-class reprimands, and his willingness to inflict physical punishment on those who came late or unprepared. "Every day he visited the different rooms of the school, and every Friday he held a general review of the week's work. . . . Woe to the luckless boy who was at the foot of his class at the end of such review."⁴² Samuel Blatchford wrote in a college publication forty years later: "He seemed more desirous of ruling by inspiring fear than love." A man of decisive mannerisms, authoritarian bearing, ready wit and "sometimes biting sarcasm," Anthon was clearly a "man to be obeyed."⁴³ His rigid inflexibility and habit of demeaning visitors were well

⁴⁰Drisler, "Charles Anthon," 12.

⁴¹Ibid., 11.

⁴²Ibid., 32-33. Curator of Columbiana to McGimsey, November 24, 1944, explained: "[Anthon] had no children of his own; hence in his dealings with the youngest boys he did not make the necessary allowance for the timidity, the backwardness, the slow apprehension of the beginner, with whom gentleness and patience will always accomplish more than harshness and stern execution or severity of punishment. The marked element in Dr. Anthon's character, the strict and punctual performance of duty, impressed itself upon his relations with his pupils; he expected and required from every student the preparation of every lesson assigned him by his teachers, or, in default thereof, inflicted some punishment."

⁴³Samuel A. Blatchford, "Charles Anthon at College," *The Cap and Gown* (Columbia College), 1, no. 8 (May 20, 1869): 1-2, 73-74.

known. In short, the “Doctor,” as he preferred to be called, suffered fools disdainfully.

Anthon’s side of the story deserves telling, however. Six years after Harris’s visit, E. D. Howe of Painesville, Ohio, achieved the dubious distinction of producing the first anti-Mormon work and actively solicited information from those who might be critical of Joseph Smith and Mormonism. Responding to Howe’s query, Anthon wrote back, describing a visit from “a plain, apparently simple-hearted farmer” who called on him with a note from Dr. Mitchill “requesting me to decipher” the paper or transcript which the farmer then handed to him. Harris went on to tell him about “a gold book” that had been unearthed and “an enormous pair of spectacles” that would aid in translation. Both the plates and spectacles were kept in a trunk. Harris said he “had been requested to contribute a sum of money toward the publication of the golden book” and that “he intended selling his farm and giving the amount to those who wished to publish the plates.” Anthon recalled only a transcription of characters which were “anything else but Egyptian hieroglyphics” but did not mention a second manuscript that included a translation. Convinced that it was all “a trick” and “a hoax,” Anthon concluded that the unlikely tale was a “scheme to cheat the farmer of his money” and therefore refused Harris’s request for a written opinion. Harris took the transcript away with him.⁴⁴

Seven years later in 1841, Anthon made another acknowledgment of his interview with Harris, this time writing to the Rev. Dr. T. W. Coit, Rector of Trinity Church, Rochelle, West Chester County, New York. Again, he repeated that Harris first called on Dr. Mitchill, “our Magnus Apollo in those days,” who referred Harris to Anthon. In this second account, Anthon repeated much of what he said in 1834. Curiously, however, he states that Harris left his office determined not to sell his farm “or embark in the speculation of printing the golden book”—a significant departure from his first account.⁴⁵

Admittedly, the story of the coming forth of the Book of Mormon makes unusual demands on listeners hearing it for the first time.

⁴⁴Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 270–72. See also Roberts, *Comprehensive History of the Church*, 1:103–4.

⁴⁵In both accounts, Anthon tells of a “second visit” from Harris between 1828 and 1834, during which Harris shows Anthon a printed copy of the Book of Mormon. However, in this later version Anthon concludes in-

Nevertheless, Anthon's dual accounts have a marked flavor of self-justification, of putting himself in the best light. The discrepancies in his two accounts may be best explained, however, by a faulty memory. In his first letter, he states that he refused to give Harris a written opinion. In the second letter, he admits that he did. Or if Anthon's memory of changing Harris's mind is accurate, another possible scenario is that Harris returned to Mitchill who may well have confirmed Harris's original intentions of supporting the publication, for reasons I shall now address. Whatever the full truth may be, Anthon erred in thinking Harris left him determined not to mortgage his farm. Precisely the opposite occurred.

SAMUEL L. MITCHILL: "A CHAOS OF KNOWLEDGE"

The third man in this story was the leading natural scientist in America—Professor Samuel Latham Mitchill, formerly of Columbia College and, at the time of Harris's visit, vice president of Rutgers Medical College in New York City. Stanley Kimball persuasively made

correctly that it was Joseph Smith, not Harris, who had made the original visit. Convinced that Harris had been bilked of his farm and fortune, Anthon admits to "a strange curiosity" to know how the Mormons have used his name and how he is alluded to in scripture. Roberts, *Comprehensive History of the Church*, 1:104.

Writing in 1868, an unnamed former colleague of Anthon's at Columbia described him as "annoyed by questions and letters on this subject, from which he was led to believe that improper use was made of his supposed sanction of this assumed character." According to this colleague, Anthon "had from the first regarded the Egyptian hieroglyphics as a hoax" and informed the farmer that "they were part of a scheme to defraud the farmer of his money. . . . But the friendly advice which the professor had given seems not to have had any effect, as the same person returned some time after with the 'golden book' in print and offered copies for sale." Anthon urged the farmer to "have the gold plates examined before a magistrate." Harris demurred, stating that "the 'curse of God' would come upon him if he did; but that he would open the trunk containing the plates if the questioner would take the curse upon himself. This the professor offered to do with the greatest willingness, hoping thereby to dispel the illusion under which the man was suffering and to save him from threatening ruin. The visitor then left and returned no more." Letter, n.d., quoted in Drisler, "Charles Anthon," 22.

his initial identification: "Although all . . . references to the good doctor spell the name Mitchell rather than Mitchill, this writer is satisfied that the shadowy 'Dr. Mitchill' is in reality Samuel L. Mitchill."⁴⁶ However, whereas Kimball concentrates on Anthon and the fulfillment of biblical prophecy, arguing that Mitchill: "would have given Harris only a very superficial opinion regarding the transcript," the fact is that Mitchill played a role of hitherto unrecognized significance. If he did not fulfill prophecy, he certainly helped fulfill the purpose of Harris's visit.

A Quaker from birth who was "rather short and inclining to corpulency," full faced with a large double chin and "a pleasant open countenance," Mitchill in 1828 was sixty-four and nearing the end of an illustrious career. He was regarded by presidents and paupers, farmers and fishermen as one of America's greatest minds and scholars. A man of the many and a friend of every class, he possessed a voracious curiosity and "a taste for . . . new discoveries."⁴⁷ Equally importantly, he possessed a "Herculean memory and keen originality . . . , an oracle among his fellow men who often affectionately remarked, 'Tap the Doctor at any time and he will flow.'⁴⁸ Eager to learn from everyone, no matter what his or her station in life, he was as gracious as Anthon was abrupt, loved and revered by those he taught.⁴⁹

Born in Hempstead Long Island, New York, in 1764, Mitchill

⁴⁶Kimball, "The Anthon Transcript," 334. Through a process of elimination, Kimball showed conclusively that there is no question as to Mitchill's identity. Anthon himself states that this expert was "Dr. Samuel L. Mitchell" of New York City and that he had passed away before 1834. Kimball, "The Anthon Transcript," 333.

⁴⁷Samuel Griscom, Diary, May 24, 1824, photostat copy, New York Historical Society.

⁴⁸Edgar Faks Smith, *Samuel Latham Mitchill: A Father in American Chemistry* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1922), 11.

⁴⁹A. L. Walker, William E. Beach, Henry C. Kunze, and Samuel Halstead, Committee in Behalf of Students in Columbia College, Communique to Samuel L. Mitchill, January 1, 1802, [found attached to] Samuel L. Mitchill, Letter to Kate Mitchill, February 4, 1802, Mitchill Papers, Museum of the City of New York (hereafter Mitchill Papers, states: "In addition to your more public exertions to disseminate knowledge, we are anxious to declare our numerous and peculiar obligations to you, in the

graduated in medicine from the University of Edinburgh in 1786. Upon returning to America, in 1792 he joined the faculty of Columbia College (formerly King's College under the recently terminated British rule) as professor of chemistry, natural history, and agriculture. Here he taught for eleven years. Although a man of many diverse interests, he always considered himself a medical man, having studied under the mentorship of Dr. Samuel Bard, a famous New York City physician. In 1797 Mitchill launched America's first medical/scientific journal, the *Medical Repository*, and he remained its chief editor for eighteen years. He also founded and edited the *American Chemist* and was a genuine pioneer in the study of hydrogen and evaporation. As chief physician of the Grand Hospital of New York for twenty years, he demonstrated a special interest in eradicating epidemic diseases such as typhoid and yellow fevers, influenza, and dysentery. He believed that much suffering could be alleviated through improved public sanitation.⁵⁰

In 1799 he married Catharine ("Kate") Ackerly; and from their voluminous correspondence, they enjoyed a most felicitous relationship.⁵¹ Though unable to have children, the Mitchills adopted two daughters, Caroline and Catharine. A popular public figure, Mitchill served as an assemblyman in the New York Legislature (1797–1800),

quality of a Professor. . . . Your private and friendly aid, has always been joined with your academic instruction. We can never cease to remember with gratitude and affection, your benevolent and unwearied efforts to assist and encourage the youthful, diffident and unfriended student." The S. L. Mitchill Professorship of Chemistry and University Professor continues in his honor at the University of Columbia to this day.

⁵⁰Samuel L. Mitchill, *Address to the Officers Composing the Medical Staff by Samuel L. Mitchill, M.D. and Surgeon General of the Militia in the State of New York*, pamphlet (New York: E. Conrad, 1820). Mitchill believed in a "systematized program of street cleaning together with a thorough scrubbing of houses and ships with lime, ammonia, and soap, especially in areas threatened by plague. The results . . . were remarkable." "Colonial Physician, Universal Man," *Columbia Alumni News*, October 1953, 9.

⁵¹See, for example, Samuel L. Mitchill, Letter to Mrs. Mitchill, December 15, 1802, Mitchill Papers. Unlike Anthon, who remained unmarried throughout his life, Mitchill enjoyed a very happy marriage, as their correspondence (Mitchill Papers) reveals. Mitchill refers to her as "my little sweetheart at New York," "my Queen of Hearts," and "the dear partner of my joys." See also Carolyn Hoover Sung, "Catharine Mitchill's Letters from

then resigned from Columbia in 1801 to serve until 1805 as a Democratic Republican in the U.S. House of Representatives. He was then elected U.S. senator by New York's legislature, a post he held until 1809. He served later terms in the U.S. House of Representatives (1810–13) as well as in the New York State Assembly. He championed many causes, including education,⁵² improved fortifications for New York City and other U.S. coastal ports and harbors, and improved steamboat navigation of America's rivers. He was an ardent supporter of Robert Fulton's efforts to build the first steamboat, which churned up the Hudson River in 1808, and was also an enthusiastic proponent of the Erie Canal, a major project of his friend, Governor De Witt Clinton.⁵³ At Clinton's invitation, Mitchill attended the celebration ceremonies, was aboard the first boat to reach the Hudson River when the canal opened in October 1823, and had the honor of "pour[ing] into the Canal a bottle of water from the Pacific Ocean and

Washington 1806–1812," *Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress*, July 1977, 171–89. Many of these letters were printed as "Dr. Mitchill's Letters from Washington City," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 58 (April 1879): 740–55. The correspondence also details Mitchill's several years in Washington, D.C., as New York's Congressman and U.S. Senator. On December 15, 1801, for example, he wrote her: "I have received no kind of reply. I fear some miscarriage. I fear you may be sick. I fear the time of our separation does not seem so tedious to you as to your husband. I am very well, and am jogging along in the Congressional business as well as I can. Write to me, I beg of you my dear, often, very often, and even if you have nothing to write, write me that you have nothing to write. For my own part, let the dearth of news be as great as it may, there be one old subject that will be a perpetual theme, that is the pleasure I take in renewing my assurances of tenderness and affection to my little, kind, loving and unrivaled Kate."

⁵²S. L. Mitchill, Letter to William Samuel Johnson, February 29, 1798, Correspondence of Early Columbia University Papers.

⁵³Five years younger than Mitchill, De Witt Clinton graduated from Columbia College in 1786. His famous uncle, George Clinton, had served as governor of New York and mayor of New York City. His presidential campaign as a Whig against James Madison failed in 1812, but he was reelected New York governor in 1820 and 1824. William W. Campbell, *The Life and Writings of De Witt Clinton* (New York: Baker and Scribner, 1849).

another from the Atlantic Ocean.”⁵⁴

Although trained in medicine, Mitchill avidly pursued additional interests in the natural sciences—botany, zoology, geology, and climatology. As a boy he devoured the writings of one Goldsmith and in Scotland had studied under Professor John Walker (1730–1803), who was internationally known for his collections of plants and animals. As a youth he was insatiably interested in the physical world around him, and developed a remarkable memory and sense of detail.⁵⁵ Mitchill also was well known for his prodigious collection of specimens of plants, seeds, and animals.⁵⁶

As a U.S. Senator, Mitchill was a friend of James Madison and a strong supporter of Jefferson’s policies and dined often with Jefferson and earned his trust and respect as a naturalist.⁵⁷ As chair of the House of Representatives’ Committee for Commerce and Manufacturing, he supported Jefferson’s efforts to explore “certain remote and unknown parts of Louisiana” and worked hard to gain funding for the Louisiana Purchase.⁵⁸ Jefferson sent Mitchill and the American Philosophical Society several new specimens of flora and fauna forwarded to him by

⁵⁴De Witt Clinton, Invitation to S. L. Mitchill, September 28, 1823, holograph, Document #15785, New York State Archives, Special Collections, Albany.

⁵⁵*Public Characters of 1801–1802*, 2d ed. (London: Printed for Richard Phillips, 1804), 417–24.

⁵⁶For example, see [Charles G. Haines], *An Examination into the Expediency of Establishing a Board of Agriculture in the State of New York* (Brooklyn, N.Y.: E. Worthington, 1819): 47–50. For his discovery of mastodons, see “Original Communication” *American Monthly* 1, no. 3 (July 1817): 195–96, and “Original Communications,” 2, no. 1 (November 1817): 46–47, “Transactions of Learned Societies,” 56–57.

⁵⁷Samuel L. Mitchill, Letter to Kate Mitchill, January 7, 10, 1802, Mitchill Papers, captures his description of Thomas Jefferson: “I have several opportunities of seeing and conversing with him. . . . He is tall in stature and rather spare in flesh. His dress and manners are very plain. He is grave or rather sedate, and without any tincture of pomp, ostentation or pride. And occasionally can smile, and both hear and relate lively anecdotes or humorous stories as well as any other man of social feelings.”

⁵⁸Samuel L. Mitchill, *A Discourse on the Character and Services of Thomas Jefferson, More Especially as a Promoter of Natural and Physical Science. Pronounced before the New York Lyceum* (New York: G. and C. Carvill, 1826),

Lewis and Clark during their famous explorations westward.⁵⁹ Although a strong advocate of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, Mitchill feared for their safety and success. "I confess when I consider the hardships and dangers of such an undertaking, I tremble for the fate of the adventurers. In mentioning my fears to Mr. Jefferson, he said the Commander and crew were well selected and with great care for the purpose in view, and were uncommonly zealous to perform the service. . . . I wish them success."⁶⁰ Upon the expedition's successful completion, Mitchill wrote to Kate: "I feel rejoiced on his [Lewis's] own account; an account of geography and natural history; and an account of the character and honour of country that this expedition has been successfully performed."⁶¹

Years later, Major Stephen Long provided Mitchill with specimens, as did countless American sea captains and explorers from all

36: "In determining the limits [of the Louisiana Purchase] the chairman observed that beside the tracts on the east side of the Mississippi, it included all the regions lying to the west thereof, to the dividing ridge called the Shining or Rocky Mountains; and beyond that chain quite to the Pacific Ocean. . . . To this proposition I [Mitchill] objected that the claim was extravagant, and the vast tracts lying on the eastern slope of those mountains . . . was, in all conscience, enough. After some further conversations he [Jefferson] concluded that if I chose to report according to my own plan, he saw no actual harm in it; for in the present case, as a declaration at law, under a large demand, any smaller amount might be recovered. I reported so; the money was appropriated, the explorations went on, and public opinion has ever since sanctioned the doctrine—that the purchase rightfully reaches quite through to the ocean of the west." See also *Ibid.*, 53.

⁵⁹Mitchill, "Discourse on the Character and Services of Thomas Jefferson," 64. For a glimpse into their relationship, see Wyndham D. Miles, "Washington's First Chemist-Congressman, Samuel Latham Mitchill," *The Capital Chemist* 17, no. 7 (October 1967): 209: "Thomas Jefferson presents his compliments to Dr. Mitchill and his thanks for the pamphlet he was so kind to send him. . . . He expects on his return to Washington . . . to find there a great collection of the chemical subjects of Louisiana which Capt. Lewis has sent, with a desire to forward to the Philosophical Society at Philadelphia. . . . He tenders to Dr. Mitchill his friendly salutations."

⁶⁰Samuel L. Mitchill, Letter to Kate Mitchill, November 25, 1803, Mitchill Papers.

⁶¹Samuel L. Mitchill, Letter to Kate Mitchill, December 30, 1806, Mitchill Papers.

over the globe.⁶² A leading supporter of the rise of democracy in the emerging Spanish republics in Mexico and in South America, Mitchill likewise encouraged explorations in these southern regions.⁶³

Mitchill also championed several humanitarian causes including the abolition of slavery, imprisonment for debts, dueling, and the death penalty; improved conditions for the deaf and dumb; and better education for women. In 1807, he returned to New York City and co-founded the College of Physicians and Surgeons where he taught natural history, chemistry, and botany until at least 1820. Following a dispute with the regents, he supported his longtime colleague and professor of botany, Dr. David Hosack—one of America's most eminent physicians of his time—in his efforts in 1826 to establish Rutgers Medical College. Mitchill was vice president of the college in New York City at the time of Martin Harris's visit.⁶⁴

Mitchill's limitless scientific interests and indefatigable energy made him arguably the greatest American naturalist of his age. The cataloguer of his papers wrote, "His furious rate of publication never abated."⁶⁵ A member of forty-nine different learned societies in eleven countries, he lectured widely and published papers on geography, earthquakes, hurricanes, hydrography, botany, and zoology. Author of several books and scores of articles on topics ranging from his

⁶²Major S. H. Long, Letter to S. L. Mitchill, February 23, 1818, quoted in Mitchill, "Discourse on the Character and Services of Thomas Jefferson," 53.

⁶³J. J. Izquierdo, "A Note on the Early Relations between Scientists of Mexico and the United States," *Journal of the History of Medicine*, January 1955, 45–57. Alan David Aberbach, *In Search of an American Identity: Samuel Latham Mitchill, Jeffersonian Nationalist* (New York: Peter Lang, 1988), 58–59, argues that a link among Mitchill's diverse interests was his intense nationalism.

⁶⁴Rutgers College, not to be confused with Rutgers University, closed in 1835. David Cowen, *Medical Education: The Queen's-Rutgers Experience, 1792–1830* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers State University, 1966). During Mitchill's service as vice president, Rutgers College had a satellite campus in Geneva, New York, twenty-one miles from Palmyra.

⁶⁵Manuscript Division Staff, "Finding Aid for Samuel Latham Mitchill Papers, 1802–1815" November 1995, The Samuel L. Mitchill Papers Register, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

groundbreaking study of the importance of sanitation in fighting pestilential disease, to his massive report on the state's ichthyology and fish species (*The Fishes of New-York* [New York: D. Carlisle, 1814]), by the time he died on September 7, 1831, he had earned the plaudits of the great and the small. John Randolph called him "a chaos of knowledge" and Felix Pascalis, a doctor, described him as "an umpire of all merits, inventions, discoveries, projects, arts [and] sciences."⁶⁶ He was known among his colleagues as the "nestor of American science," a "stalking library," and "the Delphic Oracle of New York." Thomas Jefferson called him "the Congressional Dictionary," admiring him for his knowledge of the natural sciences. Many obscure farmers and fishermen, who invariably sent him specimens of their discoveries, "really believed [he] knew everything."⁶⁷ An 1896 author termed him "the father of modern American geology."⁶⁸ At his burial in Greenwood Cemetery in New York City, the sexton penned the following: "A great character. One who knew all things on earth and in the waters of the great deep."⁶⁹

"A NATION NOW EXTINCT, WHICH HE NAMED"

In addition to his encyclopedic knowledge, Mitchill possessed special interests and experiences that may have prompted Harris to request a meeting: the American Indian, New York's geology and mineralogy, a marked familiarity with western New York including Ontario County, American antiquities, a knowledge of ancient languages and hieroglyphics, the coincidental synchronization of Harris's visit to Mitchill's current publishing interests, and finally, Mitch-

⁶⁶Felix Pascalis, M.D., *Essay on the Life and Character of the Honorable Samuel Latham Mitchill, M. D. . . . October 15, 1831* (New York: American Argus Press, 1831), 22.

⁶⁷Abimelech Coody, *Letter to the Hon. Samuel L. Mitchell, M.D. . . . On the Danger of Putting Money into the U. States and Manhattan Banks* (New York: Literary Exchange, 1811). A satire on what some saw as Mitchill's eccentricities as he aged, this work nevertheless captured the sentiments of many people.

⁶⁸W. S. Youmans, *Pioneers of Science in America: Sketches of Their Lives and Scientific Work* (New York: D. Appleton, 1896), 72. See also Courtney Robert Hall, *A Scientist in the Early Republic: Samuel Latham Mitchill* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934), 76.

⁶⁹Edgar Faks Smith, *Samuel Latham Mitchill*, 33.

ell's genuine love of people. In other words, there came together in 1828 a fascinating confluence of time, place, people, and interests.

His interest in America's native peoples grew directly out of his careful observations and prodigious knowledge as perhaps the leading mineralogist and geologist of his time. Even as a student at Edinburgh, he often took tours "around that great seat of learning," according to his own recollections, "and an excursion to the mountains, rendered me more than an admirer of natural scenes in perspective. I was taught to penetrate beyond the surface, and to conceive something of geognostic formation[s]." ⁷⁰

In 1796 the Society for the Promotion of Agriculture, Arts and Manufacturers commissioned Mitchill to explore the Hudson River and its several tributaries. In 1797 he conducted a careful mineralogical survey of New York. His *Observations on the Geology of North America* published his findings on white clay, red iron, bog ore, petrification of wood and bark, sea shells, stone axes and arrow points. ⁷¹ A frequent visitor to Niagara, Ontario, Genesee, Seneca, Cayuga, and Onondaga counties, he had found and catalogued a great many fossils of salt-water life forms from this region. ⁷² In this fascinating study, Mitchill argued that much of New York, including the Great Lakes region, once lay under the Atlantic Ocean and that, with the passage of time, its saline waters were trapped behind rising mountain ridges stretching from Upper Canada to the Carolinas, leaving in their wake scattered breaks to the sea. They eventually formed the fresh-water system of Niagara Falls, the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence drainage systems, the Cumberland Gap, and various other geological formations leading to the sea. ⁷³

The expedition also significantly contributed to Mitchill's massive collection or "museum" of geological specimens, which formed

⁷⁰Samuel L. Mitchill, *Observations on the Geology of North America* published as part of M. Cuvier, *Essay on the Theory of the Earth . . . with Mineralogical Notes . . . by Prof. Jamieson* (New York: Kirk and Mercein, 1818), 321. See also "Colonial Physician, Universal Man," 8–9.

⁷¹Mitchill, *Observations on the Geology of North America*, 8–9.

⁷²"At the remarkable sulphurous spring in the town of Phelps, eleven miles north-west of Geneva, they appear like coral lines, and madrepores. On both sides of the Genesee and Tonewanto rivers, they resemble marine shells." Mitchill, *Observations on the Geology of North America*, 332.

⁷³*Notices of Certain Events connected with the History of the Canal in the*

the basis of his “Mitchillian Cabinet” packed with fossils, rocks, skeletons, ancient artifacts, and specimens.⁷⁴ “I am satisfied,” he wrote, “that New York is as important a centre of geological production and occurrences as London, Paris, or Rome.”⁷⁵ Because of his geological and mineralogical expeditions and early treaty work with the Indian tribes, Mitchill was quite familiar with the Canandaigua-Manchester

State of New York, Uniting the Hudson with Lake Erie. In a letter from Samuel L. Mitchill, late a member of the New York Legislature, to David Hosack, author of a Discourse on De Witt Clinton, 15 November 1828, www.history.rochester.edu/canal/bib/hosack/APPOX1.html (accessed October 2, 2009). Mitchell does not give his itinerary in greater detail than “the western counties.” It seems likely that he visited Palmyra and discussed the canal route and other topics with the local residents. Harris supported the Erie Canal concept and, considering the “leisurely and moderate rate” Mitchill set upon his careful, fact-finding missions, may have met Harris beforehand.

⁷⁴A *Concise Memorandum of Certain Articles Contained in the Museum of Samuel L. Mitchill* (New York: E. Conrad, n.d.), is an eight-page listing of prints, drawings, plants, correspondence, articles, minerals, vegetables, books, rocks, and much more. His “museum is almost daily increased by some additional fact, article, production, or thing, adding substantially to its magnitude and value. It is the invariable practice of the Professor, to teach by specimen, picture, map, diagram, table, etc. . . . under the conviction that material objects aid most impressively the abstract conception of the understanding” (7–8). Mitchill’s collections of more than 11,000 specimens were eventually transferred to the Museum of Natural History in Philadelphia, but his papers have been scattered among many repositories. See also Will and Testament of Samuel Latham Mitchill, November 8, 1831, holograph, Letters of S. L. Mitchill. New York Historical Society, New York City.

⁷⁵Mitchill, *Observations on the Geology of North America*, 326. Mitchill took the position that North America’s geological formations were older than much of Europe and Asia. Indeed, he believed that “the human race was created in America,” and that the Garden of Eden was located near Onondaga, New York. “No. VI: Heads of That Part of the Introductory Discourse delivered November 7, 1816, by Dr. Mitchill in the College of Physicians at New York, which relates to the Migration of Malays, Tartars, and Scandinavians, to America,” *Archaeologia Americana: Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society* (Worcester, Mass.: Printed for the American Antiquarian Society by William Manning, 1820), 1:331, 324; John W. Francis, M.D., *Reminiscences of Samuel Latham Mitchill, M.D., L.L.D.* (New York: John F. Throw, 1859), 16.

region. His research interests had led him to discover several ancient Indian burial mounds and fortifications stretching across upstate New York from Sacketts Harbor to Boughton Hill in Ontario County and from Canandaigua to Onondaga. His life-long friend and fervent admirer, De Witt Clinton, likewise came to consider such constructions to be of ancient origin, the place of great battles between former Indian tribes long before the arrival of the European races. Clinton concluded: "I am induced to believe that the western parts of the United States were, prior to their discovery and occupation by the Europeans, inhabited by numerous nations in a settled state and much further advanced in civilization than the present tribes of Indians. Perhaps it is not too much to say that they did not fall short of the Mexicans and Peruvians when first visited by the Spaniards." Clinton reported, without specifying his source, that at Boughton Hill (near Victor, some twenty miles southwest of the Hill Cumorah) an ancient "bloody battle is said to have been fought."⁷⁶ Clinton died in office on February 11, 1828. Mitchill attended his funeral in Albany three days later.

A keen and long-time student of upstate New York's Native American tribes, Mitchill had been appointed one of the state's commissioners to negotiate the 1788 treaty, which he signed as a witness

⁷⁶De Witt Clinton, *A Memoir of the Antiquities of the Western Parts of the State of New York. Read before the Literary and Philosophical Society of New York. By De Witt Clinton, President of Said Society* (Albany: E and E. Hosford, 1820), 4, 46. Modern researchers believe that Boughton Hill is the site of the Senacan "great town," Gannagaro. A force of 3,000 men led by the Marquis de Denonville, Governor General of New France (Quebec), destroyed it in 1687. Today the site is preserved as the Ganondagan State Historic Site near Victor, New York. Clinton and Mitchill also believed that "a race of men much more populous, and much further advanced in civilization" preceded the Indians' progenitors, citing "the numerous remains of ancient fortifications" as evidence. De Witt Clinton, *A Discourse Delivered before the New York Historical Society, December 6, 1811* (New York: Van Winkle and Wiley, 1814), 39. Said Mitchill, "No. VI: Heads of That Part," 1:343: "Think what a memorable spot is our Onondaga, where men of the Malay race from the southwest, and of the Tartar blood from the northwest, and of the Gothick stock from the northeast, have successively contended for supremacy and rule; and which may be considered as having been possessed by each before the French, the Dutch, and the English visited the tract, or indeed knew anything whatever about it."

at Fort Schuyler, by which the Iroquois and the original Five Nations ceded the Western District to New York. Trusted and highly respected by them, Mitchill was adopted into the Mohawk fraternity, learned their language, and translated into English many of their Indian war songs. The Oneidas and the Onondagas bestowed personal names on him.⁷⁷ He sustained an abiding interest in Indian languages and later concluded that all tribal languages were derived from the same linguistic root. A long-time member of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, the Natural History Society of New York City, the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Massachusetts, and many other contemporary centers of research,⁷⁸ he shared his findings freely with contemporary colleagues and students of the American Indian at a time when much discussion focused on their origins and culture.⁷⁹ In 1795 he presented a paper lauding Chief Tammany

⁷⁷Francis, "Reminiscences of Samuel Latham Mitchill," 8–17; Samuel L. Mitchill, *Some of the Memorable Events and Occurrences in the Life of Samuel L. Mitchill of New-York, from the Year 1786 to 1828*, pamphlet (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1828), 1; copy at the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.

⁷⁸He was also a member of the Foreign Associates of the Royal Society of Arts and Sciences at Cape Francois, Fellow of the Medical and Natural History Societies of Edinburgh, and Secretary of the Agricultural Society of New York. Samuel L. Mitchill, *An Oration Pronounced before the Society of Black Friars at Their Annual Festival* (New York: Friar McLean, 1793).

⁷⁹If Harris, as Joseph Knight records (Jessee, "Joseph Knight's Recollection of Early Mormon History," 34–35), continued on from New York City to Philadelphia, he may well have met with Mitchill's learned associates at the American Philosophical Society, then a center for the study of ancient North American Indian languages. Among the most likely possibilities were Caleb Atwater (1778–1867), author of *Descriptions of the Antiquities Discovered in the State of Ohio and Other Western States* (1820), Peter Stephen Duponceau [(1760–1844) "Memoire sur le systeme grammatical des langues de quelques nations Indiennes de l'Amerique du Nord (Paris, 1838)], and Constantine Samuel Rafinesque (1783–1840), *Ancient History, or, Annals of Kentucky: with a Survey of the Ancient Monuments of North America* (1824), and *The American Nations: or Outlines of a National History of the Ancient and Modern Nations of North and South America* (1836). Rafinesque, a leading naturalist and antiquarian, corresponded with Champollion and described him-

and various characteristics of Indian culture.⁸⁰

Stemming from his work with the six Indian Nations and from his years in the U.S. Senate as chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs, Mitchill developed his own theory on the origin of the ancient American Indians. It might aptly be called the New York theory on Indian origins since other leading New Yorkers also subscribed to it. Not entirely discarding the lost ten tribes tradition—a theory many had held in America since the days of William Penn—he had come to the conviction that “three races of Malays, Tartars, and Scandinavians, contribute to make up the American population.”⁸¹ Echoing the path-breaking studies of the intrepid German naturalist and explorer, Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859) who had recently argued that many of the ancient inhabitants of the Americas had come from Asia across the Bering Sea, Mitchill believed that the “Tartars” (as he called the originating stock) were pri-

self in 1828 as “involved in a labyrinth of language, nations, monuments and traditions” in his studies of the ancient Americas. Rafinesque, Letter to John Torrey, April 12, 1828, Rafinesque Papers, American Philosophical Society. Rafinesque strongly opposed the “lost ten tribes” theory of populating the Americas and argued for the divergent origins of northern and southern ancient American peoples. Whether Harris met with Rafinesque is unknown; but if he did, they likely agreed on little. It is nevertheless intriguing that, no later than 1833, Rafinesque had been introduced to the Book of Mormon and concluded that it was yet another unsuccessful attempt to connect the ten tribes with ancient Americans. Josiah Priest quotes him as scoffing: “A new sect of religion has arisen, namely, the Mormanites, who pretend to have discovered a book with golden leaves, in which is the history of the American Jews, and their leader, Morman [sic], who came hither more than 2000 years ago.” Josiah Priest, *American Antiquities, and Discoveries in the West*, 2d ed. rev. (Albany: Hoffman and White, 1833), 72–73. Priest does not include Rafinesque’s statement in his first edition.

⁸⁰Samuel L. Mitchill, *The Exploits and Precepts of Tammany: The Famous Indian Chief. Being the Anniversary Oration Pronounced before the Tammany Society or Columbian Order* (New York: J. Buel, 1795).

⁸¹Samuel L. Mitchill, Letter to Samuel M. Burnside, Corresponding Secretary of the American Antiquarian Society, January 13, 1817, printed as “Letter from Dr. Samuel L. Mitchill of New York, to Samuel L. Burnside, esq., corresponding secretary of the American Antiquarian Society,” *Archaeologia Americana*, 1:314–15.

marily from northeastern Russia and China.⁸² “My faith in the transatlantic doctrines began to be shaken in 1805,” he wrote, “when my intercourse with the Osages and Cherokees led me to entertain of them very different opinions from those I had derived from the books I had read.”⁸³

After visiting various caves in Kentucky and carefully examining mummies and bones found there and elsewhere, he originated the idea—one shared by Governor De Witt Clinton—that another “more delicate race” had once co-inhabited ancient America at the same time as his Tartars. He believed that this delicate race, whom he termed “Australasians” or “Malays,” originated in the Polynesian Islands. Their physical size and physiognomy, as seen in various Indian mummies, clothing, eating utensils, fishing nets, and moccasins “all have a perfect resemblance” to those of “the Sandwich, the Caroline, and the Feejee [Fiji] Islands,” he asserted.⁸⁴ These tribes of “the lower latitudes” had “greater proficien[cy] in the arts” than their northern enemies, “particularly of making cloths, clearing the ground, and

⁸²Samuel L. Mitchill, Letter to John W. Francis, M.D., Newport, September 13, 1816. “No. IV: The Original Inhabitants of America Shown to Be of the Same Family and Lineage with Those of Asia, by a Process of Reasoning Not Hitherto Advanced. By Samuel L. Mitchill, M.D., Professor of Natural History in the University of Newyork [sic]; in a communication to De Witt Clinton, Esq., President of the Newyork Philosophical Society, dated Newyork, March 31, 1816,” *Archeologia Americana*, 1:325. See also E. Howitt, *Selections from Letters Written during a Tour of the United States, in the Summer and Autumn of 1819 Illustrative of the Character of the Native Indians, and Their Descent from the Lost Ten Tribes of Israel* (Nottingham, England: J. Dunn, 1819).

⁸³Mitchill to Burnside, 314–15. The Esquimaux, he believed, originated from northwest Europe, particularly from northern Scandinavia.

⁸⁴Samuel L. Mitchill, “No. III: The Original Inhabitants of America Consisted of the Same Races with the Malays of Australia, and the Tartars of the North,” *Archeologia Americana*, 1:323. Samuel L. Mitchill, Letter to John W. Francis, M.D., September 13, 1816, Samuel L. Mitchill Collection, Rare Books Department, Countway Library of Medicine, Harvard University Library, also concluded: “From such an exact resemblance in the art and manufactures of the present inhabitants of the Pacific Islands, and the late, now extinct, people living south of the North American lakes, there is a violent presumption in favour of their identity and origin of blood.”

erecting works of defence.” They began with

colonies of Australasians, or Malays, landed in North America, and penetrated across the continent, to the region lying between the Great Lakes and Gulph of Mexico. There they resided, and constructed the fortifications, mounds, and other ancient structures, which every person who beholds them admires.

What has become of them? They have probably been overcome by the more warlike and ferocious hordes that entered our hemisphere from the northeast of Asia. These Tartars of the higher latitudes have issued from the great hive of nations, and desolated, in the course of their migrations, the southern tribes of America, as they have done to those of Asia and Europe. The greater part of the present American natives are of the Tartar stock, the descendants of the hardy warriors who destroyed the weaker Malays that preceded them.⁸⁵

Mitchill had advanced his theory to the point that the “Iroquois of New York or the Five Nations of Canada as they have been called” were, he believed, of “Tartar descent, who expelled or destroyed the former possessors of the fertile tracts reaching from Lake Ontario south westwardly to the River Ohio.”⁸⁶ Having arrived at such a conclusion, it would be reasonable to conclude that any record purporting to be a history of ancient American Indians and of a system of continuous wars between cultures would have been of obvious interest to Mitchill and a cause of earnest discussion.

Stanley Kimball argued that Mitchill knew little or nothing about ancient languages or hieroglyphics and therefore could not have substantiated much of what Anthon was saying.⁸⁷ That description may not be entirely accurate. Martin Harris’s characters were not the first time, nor was it likely the last, that Mitchill received or was

⁸⁵Samuel L Mitchill, “No. III. The Original Inhabitants of America,” 1:324–25. Mitchill repeated to Clinton in 1816 that “the northern tribes were probably more hardy, ferocious, and warlike than those of the south” and consequently “overpowered the more civilized, though feebler inhabitants” nearer the equator. Unquestionably, the victor in “these terrible conflicts” was “the Tartars.” “No. IV: The Original Inhabitants of America,” 1:326. For further context, see my “Colonies of Australasians, or Malays, Landed in North America: American Indian Origin Theories as of 1820 and the ‘New York’ Theory of Professor Samuel L. Mitchill,” publication pending.

⁸⁶Mitchill to Francis, September 13, 1816.

⁸⁷Kimball, “The Anthon Transcript,” 336.

shown hieroglyphics and transcriptions from other languages. He had already received hand-drawn hieroglyphics with possible translations from various regions of the globe. And he had on hand writings which he could compare to the characters Harris showed him. For instance, he had studied many such "Indian Hieroglyphs" from the Mohawk languages.⁸⁸ Furthermore, along with his ability to read and translate classical Greek and Latin, he had also studied Chinese and Hebrew.⁸⁹ As early as 1817 American explorers to the Middle East had been sending to him writings and hieroglyphics from ancient Babylonian tombs and temples for his review, if not verification.

In fact in 1823, five years before Harris's visit, Colonel Abraham Edwards of Detroit (otherwise unidentified) found a "curious manuscript" containing supposedly ancient inscriptions near Detroit, Michigan, and sent it to Mitchill "to ascertain the language and character of the manuscript." After careful study, Mitchill published his opinion that the manuscript in question was in Latin, "that its age is perhaps a little anterior to the invention of printing, possibly subsequent; [and] that it was carried to Detroit by one of the learned Jesuits, who when Canada was colonized, embarked in the missionary service among the aborigines."⁹⁰ Thus, long before Harris arrived at Mitchill's door, others had asked him about other ancient writings.

There remain two other significant reasons why Mitchill showed such interest in his Palmyra visitor. The first was the simple matter of

⁸⁸Francis, "Reminiscences of Samuel Latham Mitchill," 16–18.

⁸⁹At one time, he gave a "profound exegetical disquisition upon Kennicott's Hebrew Bible in disproof of the interpretations of Gershom Seixas, the great Jewish rabbi of the age." Beverly Smith, "A Fredonian Worthy," *The Lantern*, n.d., in the Correspondences of Early Columbia University Papers.

⁹⁰Samuel L. Mitchill, Letter to A. Edwards, Esq., April 18, 1823, quoted in *Detroit Gazette*, May 16, 1823, 2. See "Uncle Dale's Readings in Early Mormon History (Newspapers of Michigan)." <www.sidneyrigdon.com/dbroadhu/MI/miscmich.htm, printed in Stout, "A Singular Discovery," 1:4–6. Stout sees both the Book of Mormon and the Detroit manuscripts as frauds, even arguing (27) that Joseph Smith borrowed from Mitchill. I have found no evidence to support such a claim. See also Moore, "The 1823 Detroit Manuscript: A Book of Mormon Prequel," <http://solomonspalding.com/SRP/saga/saga02b.htm> (accessed September 19, 2009).

timing. Harris could not have caught the good professor at a more propitious moment. For the previous eight years, Mitchill had been busily propounding and publishing one aspect or another of his “two-races” theory of ancient America.⁹¹ His interest in the history of the ancient American Indians was at a peak when Harris arrived. Four months later in June 1828, Mitchill lectured on the natural history of New Jersey in which he recounted discovering a mastodon four years earlier near Eaton in Monmouth County. He argued that ancient human beings once inhabited the area between New York City and Philadelphia but on a “surface from 30–50 feet below the present level of the land adjacent to the Atlantic coast. The existence of lignite or mineralized wood, at considerable depths underground . . . bear marks of the axe [and] corn-cobs.”⁹² How much Harris told Mitchill about the coming forth of the Book of Mormon or about the translation as far as it existed at that point is not known; however, Mitchill’s anthropological conclusions and the history of Book of Mormon ancient peoples have a great deal in common.

The second was Mitchill’s boundless curiosity, kindness, and open and engaging personality. As important as anything the two men said to one another was the simple matter of personality, for Mitchill was a man who delighted in, listening to, and learning from all kinds of people. As one put it, he was “an interpreter to all their inquiries.”⁹³ He could never have published his work on New York fishes without listening to scores of uneducated fishermen who brought him samples from their catches, nor could he have written about early New York anthropology without listening to the many farmers who brought in bones and specimens from their fields. People from every walk or station of life felt comfortable talking with him about their discoveries and found in him a warm and receptive audience.⁹⁴

In fact, Harris probably received the same cordial reception as another visitor who, in 1822, left this record of a visit to Mitchill’s of-

⁹¹Mitchill, “Discourse on the Character and Services of Thomas Jefferson,” 15.

⁹²Samuel L. Mitchill, *A Lecture on Some Parts of the Natural History of New Jersey. Delivered before the Newark Mechanic Association . . . 3 June 1828* (New York: Elliott and Palmer, 1828), 28.

⁹³Francis, *Reminiscences of Samuel Latham Mitchill*, 20.

⁹⁴For instance, he catalogues in his *Observations*, 345–73, Isaac

fice in the College of Physicians and Surgeons on or near Broadway:

The doctor showed us Capt. Ainslie's sea serpent from the East Indies, and also a sea serpent from the West Indies. . . . He showed us the penates or house-hold gods of the South Sea Islands, and vessels of the Chinese. He showed us the skull of a flat-headed Indian . . . specimens in mineralogy . . . entymology, and botany. He showed us bits of stones from the western lakes and pieces of pavement of Carthage, clam shells from the East Indies, and tobacco pipes from the Osages. In short, there was nothing in the heavens, upon the earth, and in the sea of which he had not collected some fragment or relic. And they were there, all crowded together from the four quarters of the globe, a very Babel of curiosities.⁹⁵

Isaacher Cozzens, one of Mitchill's friends, recalled Mitchill's unflinching cordiality even for cranks: "The Doctor used to be pestered with all kinds [of] projecters, crazy-headed inventors, fellows who thought they had found the philosopher's stone (when they had only found a mares nest), fellows who pretended that they could make a true divining rod, and others who was only full of the gift of gab! . . . But the Doctor was a good old soul, and listened to them with much patience and not a little curiosity."⁹⁶

From these many visitors and correspondents near and far,

Adriance of Ontario County, New York, who had brought in a petrified oyster six inches long. Amicartha Miller had presented some "peculiar stones" from the New Hurley, New York, region. "A superb specimen" (does not mention of what) was donated by James Smith of Mount Pleasant, New York. He had a collection of tusks from Chenango County, shells from a Major General Brown at Sacketts Harbor, marine specimens from Andrew Ellicot of West Point, and human bones and Indian mummies from Kentucky. He did have his detractors, however. Some felt he took himself and his knowledge much too seriously, that his universal ambitions led him to vanity. Others lampooned him for his eccentricities; he once dressed in the costume of South Pacific islanders to impress visitors. Yet "despite his peculiarities and lightness of heart, Mitchill was neither a buffoon nor a dilettante. His powers of concentration and perseverance were remarkable," and he could be "stubborn and resourceful when defending an issue that was important to him. "Colonial Physician, Universal Man," 8-9.

⁹⁵John Neilson Jr., Journal, April 19, 1822, Aeronaut Collection, New York Historical Society, New York City.

⁹⁶Isaacher Cozzens, List of Maps, Prints, etc., Item #77, New York His-

Mitchill had created not merely a “cabinet of minerology and geology,” botany, and zoology second to none in America and surely one of the greatest collections assembled anywhere in the world,⁹⁷ but also a large network of friends and admirers. As one of his colleagues put it, “There was an amiable simplicity in his character connected with a consciousness of his own acquisitions.”⁹⁸ Unlike Anthon, he was “never disconcerted by intruders, however ignorant, or idle, or indiscreet, and managed to send each away contented. . . . No man was ever more universally accessible than he—holding so high a place in society, yet he condescended to the lowest without ostentation—descending even to the capacity of a child, to instruct, to encourage the love of study, or to amuse.”⁹⁹ The very kindness of the man and the graciousness with which he would have listened to Harris may have proven more than a little comforting to a backwoods farmer from Palmyra.

Finally there remains the intriguing possibility that historians for all these many years have viewed the whole story in reverse. In what might be the very first written record of Harris’s visit—predating Joseph Smith’s 1832 history, E. D. Howe’s 1834 account, Lucy Mack Smith’s 1844 story, and certainly B. H. Roberts’s version in the *History of the Church*—the celebrated Scottish-born New York journalist James Gordon Bennett, then associate editor of the *Morning Courier and New York Enquirer*, wrote in 1831 that he had interviewed Charles Butler, the lawyer-philanthropist from whom Harris had attempted to

torical Society. Mitchill’s death in September 1831 and a fire soon afterwards in his Staten Island home destroyed most of his papers, making discoveries of further commentary on the Mormons or the discovery of relevant personal papers unlikely. “Died,” *New-York Evening Post*, September 8, 1831; “Saturday, Sept. 10,” *New York Evening Post*, September 10, 1831; Aberbach, *In Search of an American Identity*, ix–x.

⁹⁷Charles G. Haines, *An Examination into the Expediency of Establishing a Board of Agriculture* (1819), 48.

⁹⁸*New York Spectator*, September 13, 1831; *New York Morning Courier and New York Enquirer*, September 8, 1831, 2; Pascalis, “Eulogy,” 22.

⁹⁹Pascalis, “Eulogy,” 23. Another said: “With all his official honors and scientific testimonials, foreign and native, he was ever accessible to everybody, the counsellor of the young, the dictionary of the learned.” Francis, “Reminiscences of Samuel Latham Mitchill,” 24.

borrow money for the printing of the Book of Mormon.¹⁰⁰

It is reasonable to suppose that Butler and Bradish, both lawyers in New York, were well acquainted and also that Butler knew Samuel L. Mitchill. In 1828, Mitchill was vice president of the Rutgers Medical College of New York City which, surprisingly, had a satellite campus in Geneva, New York. Harris told Butler, according to Bennett, that he carried the engravings from the plates to New York and “showed them to Prof. Anthon who said that he did not know what language they were—told him to carry them to Dr. Mitchill. Dr. Mitchill examined them and compared them with other hieroglyphics—thought them very curious—and [said] they were the characters of a nation now extinct which he named. Harris returned to Anthon who put some questions to him and got angry with Harris.”¹⁰¹

This account is elaborated upon in Bennett’s article, published in September 1831:

They attempted to get the Book printed, but could not raise the means till Harris stept [sic] forward, and raised money on his farm for that purpose. Harris with several manuscripts in his pocket, went to the city of New York and called upon one of the Professors of Columbia College for the purpose of shewing them to him. Harris says that the Professor thought them very curious, but admitted that he could not decypher them. Said he to Harris, “Mr. Harris you had better go to the celebrated Doct. Mitchell and shew them to him. He is very learned in these ancient languages, and I have no doubt will be able to give you some satisfaction. “Where does he live,” asked Harris. He

¹⁰⁰Charles Butler (1802–97), a former clerk in the office of Martin Van Buren, was assistant district attorney of Genesee County, New York, in the late 1820s where he prosecuted those charged with kidnapping William Morgan, whose Freemason exposé had touched off a sensation. Butler became president of the board of Union Theological Seminary in Schenectady, New York, where he served for twenty-seven years. Leonard J. Arrington, “James Gordon Bennett’s 1831 Report on ‘The Mormonites,’” *BYU Studies* 10 (Spring 1970): 354; see also Francis H. Stoddard, *The Life and Letters of Charles Butler* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1903), 125–28; Franklin S. Harris, “An Impression of Martin Harris,” *Improvement Era*, November 1940, 663.

¹⁰¹James Gordon Bennett, Diary, August 8, 1831, as quoted in Arrington, “James Gordon Bennett’s 1831 Report on ‘The Mormonites,’” 355. See also Stoddard, *The Life and Letters of Charles Butler*, 125–28.

was told and off he posted with the engravings from the Golden Plates to submit to Doc. Mitchell—Harris says that the Doctor received him very “purlitely,” looked at his engravings—made a learned dissertation on them—compared them with the hieroglyphics discovered by Champollion in Egypt—and set them down as the language of a people formerly in existence in the East, but now no more.¹⁰²

An undated account by Charles Butler suggests that Harris was not only seeking personal corroboration but also hoped to raise money to defray some of the printing costs. The support of leading academics might make fund-raising easier. Henry Jessup came to Palmyra from Long Island in 1800 and became a prosperous Palmyra businessman.

In 1831 or 1832 while engaged in making loans for the N[ew] Y[ork] Life Ins[urance] and Trust Co. of which William Bard was Prest. and B. F. B one of the original incorporators a man came to CB [Charles Butler] (in Geneva) from Palmyra, Wayne Co. with [a] letter of introduction from [Henry] Jessup who was [an] elder in Pres[byterian] Ch[urch] there to CB. The letter introduced Martin Harris as a well to do farmer in Pal[myra] who wanted to borrow a sum of money on his farm. CB according to his custom asked what he wanted the money for. After some hesitation he said he wanted it to pay for printing a book, which would cost \$1,300. This was a surprise, that a Wayne Co. farmer should be willing to mortgage his farm in order to print a book and Mr. B. asked What is the book[.] He said—“a Bible”—and on being asked what Bible—he said “The Mormon Bible”—and then went on to say that a young man named Joseph Smith living in Palmyra had been directed by a vision from God to go to a certain place in the town of Manchester the town in Ontario Co. next adjoining Palmyra on the north and that on digging there he would find the plates of books of the Bible—that Smith had done according to the direction of the vision and had found the plates which he had in his possession and from which Harris was desirous of having the Bible printed. Mr. B. told Harris that he could not lend the money for such a purpose as he did not regard it as legitimate business for a farmer to mortgage his farm for such a purpose but on Harris pressing the ap-

¹⁰²James Gordon Bennett, “Mormon Religion—Clerical Ambition—Western New York—The Mormonites Gone to Ohio,” *Morning Courier and Enquirer*, September 1, 1831, reprinted in Arrington, “James Gordon Bennett’s 1831 Report on the ‘Mormonites,’” 362. Bennett’s reference to Mitchill’s awareness of Champollion may indicate that Mitchill, of all American scholars, knew best Champollion’s work.

plication he consented to submit it to Mr. Bard and Harris left after arranging to come again in a short time for a final answer. Mr. B. wrote to Mr. Bard giving the particulars of the application which was declined. According to appointment Harris came again to Geneva when the result was made known to him. He said I shall procure the money and the Book shall be printed and when printed I will send you a copy of it. He did in fact raise the money and not long afterwards brought or sent to Mr. B the promised Mormon Bible. Harris later on removed from Palmyra with Smith and followed the fortunes of the Mormon leader. Mr. Bard s[aid?] that some time after Harris's applications to him, as he was walking in the street at Geneva he was accosted by a young man who showed him a letter asking if he knew where he c[oul]d find the person to whom it was addressed. The letter was to Mr. B. from James Watson Webb [?] then editor of the NY Inquirer introducing the bearer James Gordon Bennett who was sent to get information about the discovery of the Mormon Bible.

If this account is historically accurate, it sheds valuable light on many aspects of the coming forth of the Book of Mormon—where the hill was located; Harris's attempt to raise the needed funds in stages; what Harris understood the "Mormon Bible" Joseph Smith that was translating to be— "books of the Bible"; and the probability of James Gordon Bennett's visit to Palmyra.

At least four elements in Bennett's account demand serious study. First, written in 1831, it is the earliest known record of Harris's visit to New York City. Second, Bennett states that Anthon "did not know what language they were." This we now understand is correct, since Anthon was a grammarian, a promising but youthful scholar who knew virtually nothing about Egyptian, Reformed Egyptian, or whatever kind of writings or characters were on the "Anthon Transcript." It was natural and credible that he would refer Harris to the more prominent senior scholar, Samuel L. Mitchill. Third, the statement that Mitchill "compared" the transcript which Harris brought him with "other hieroglyphics" conforms to what we now know of Mitchill. He not only had many such writings on hand in his cabinets

¹⁰³Charles Butler, "Recollections and Biographical Notes on the Life of Charles Butler—Part of his Diaries," n.d., holograph, Charles Butler (1802–97) Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. See also Richard Lloyd Anderson, *Investigating the Book of Mormon Witnesses* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1981), 100–101.

of antiquities but had also translated ancient writings for others. Whether he tried to translate Harris's characters on the spot is not known, but he certainly seems to have studied them carefully enough to deliver a "learned dissertation" on them and to identify them as those of "a nation now extinct which he named." Finally and almost certainly, he saw in these characters additional evidence for his own richly developed theories on the extinct "delicate" Australasian race that had been destroyed by the more ferocious Tartars somewhere in upstate New York not far from where Harris lived in Palmyra.

We may never know the full extent of the conversations Martin Harris had with Luther Bradish, Samuel Mitchill, or Charles Anthon in February 1828. While it is probably safe to say that the discussions between Harris and Anthon will ever prove more popular among Latter-day Saint readers as a fulfillment of prophecy, the fact remains that Harris took strength and encouragement not only from Anthon. It may well be that the secondary characters in this story, Luther Bradish, the leading American eye-witness of contemporary Egyptian discoveries, and especially Professor Samuel L. Mitchill, the greatest American naturalist of the age, were far more important than we have previously supposed in supporting Harris in his determination to believe and support the nascent translation of the Book of Mormon.

REVIEWS

Michael W. Homer, ed. *On the Way to Somewhere Else: European Sojourners in the Mormon West, 1834–1930*. Vol. 8 of KINGDOM IN THE WEST: THE MORMONS AND THE AMERICAN FRONTIER. Spokane, Wash.: Arthur H. Clark Co., 2006. 420 pp. Photographs, illustrations, bibliography, index. Cloth: \$39.50; ISBN 0-87062-341-9

Reviewed by Dixie Dillon Lane

In history, perspective matters—the historian’s, the source’s, the editor’s, the reader’s, the library cataloger’s. Finding a truly fresh perspective, however, is no easy task—just ask the high school student writing his fifth timed essay on George Washington. *On the Way to Somewhere Else: European Sojourners in the Mormon West, 1834–1930*, edited by lawyer and historian Michael W. Homer as part of the KINGDOM IN THE WEST: THE MORMONS AND THE AMERICAN FRONTIER series, offers a unique opportunity for Mormon and Western historians to address this problem by observing nineteenth-century Utah anew, this time through the eyes of articulate, lively, and judgmental European visitors to the American West. The delight of the book is not just that these travelers have minds of their own, but that readers will recognize in their words numerous opportunities for comparison to American travel accounts, American and European literature on the Latter-day Saint religion, and other contemporary commentary on Mormons and the West. Divided into six chronological and four topical chapters, Homer’s skillful selections of accounts of forty-eight individual journeys to, in the excited words of one Frenchman, “see Mormons!” is a useful, well-timed, and intriguing resource for historians interested in revisiting their own historical impressions of the West (345).

Homer’s Europeans notice a number of curiosities in their visits to Utah; but unsurprisingly, polygamy is the dominant theme. Though careful to de-

clare their revulsion, most of the travelers exhibit the same fascination with polygamy that appeared in contemporary fiction and doubtful works by former plural wives, such as Maria Ward's *Female Life among the Mormons* (New York: J. C. Derby, 1855). In fact, Homer cleverly includes a chapter of fictional European accounts along with those of real travelers to emphasize the influence of fiction and to explore the fluid line between fictional and factual observations. As he writes, "It is not surprising that fictional accounts of life in Utah are more widely read than more sober and boring travel accounts, but it is ironic that the image of Utah crafted by authors who did not visit the territory [should] become, more often than not, the primary source for Europeans wanting to know more about life in Utah" (188–89).

The foreign perspective refreshes many of the well-known stories of Mormon history because of the authors' national affiliations and specific religious backgrounds. Here Homer makes an important contribution to recent efforts to include more trans-Atlantic primary source perspectives in American Mormon history.¹ As Homer observes in his introduction, to Europeans "Mormons were obvious examples of what the flawed American experiment produced. Neither America nor its religious experiments matched up well to their own notions of European superiority" (26). These sojourners observed Utah with an eye for a special kind of comparison, a relationship to the concerns of particular European countries, cultures, and religions. One of the most interesting accounts, for example, that of the "fiery French feminist" Olympe Audouard, centers on comparing Utah Mormon polygamy with the customary adultery practiced by many Frenchmen (123). While entirely unconvinced by theological arguments for Mormon polygamy, Audouard writes that the "Mormonism [adultery] of Europeans" is "ten times worse," for "at *Salt Lake*, there are no degraded women" (145; emphasis hers). This foreigner simultaneously rejects Utah polygamy in disgust and concludes that it is far preferable to the customs of her own country.

Such responses also help to clarify how Mormons treated visitors in this period. The Mormon argument that polygamy eliminated adultery, illegitimacy, and spinsterhood, for example, clearly fell upon European ears as well as American. In addition, a majority of these European accounts record meeting or at least seeing Brigham Young (or another Church president) and often also describe meeting a model Mormon family. And while the ac-

¹See, for example, two recent articles introducing European anti-Mormon texts in *BYU Studies*: Mark A. Noll, "A Jesuit Interpretation of Mid-Nineteenth-Century America: 'Mormonism in Connection with Modern Protestantism,'" *BYU Studies* 45, no. 3 (2006): 39–74, and Julie K. Allen and David L. Paulsen, "The Reverend Dr. Peter Christian Kierkegaard's 'About and Against Mormonism' (1855)," *BYU Studies* 46, no. 3 (2007): 100–156.

counts tend to focus on polygamy, theocracy, and the Prophet, they also reveal much of what early Mormons were proudest of. Mormon guides took Europeans to cultural events, bragged about Utah's schools, cited the smooth running of Mormon households, and essentially focused on impressing Europeans with the practical rather than theological aspects of LDS life—or at least, this is what the guests thought worthy to record. For Brigham Young in particular, in the eyes of these travelers, diplomacy was the name of the game; some selections explicitly note his reluctance to discuss doctrine. The accounts also mention the transforming landscape, irrigation, and the tidy layouts of Mormon towns. The authors come to no agreement, however, on the value of these accomplishments.

It is in great part this combination of similarity and variety across accounts that makes *On the Way to Somewhere Else* so useful. Homer consulted an impressive range of libraries and archives in uncovering and researching his selections, and the collection includes both published and unpublished accounts, some appearing in translation for the first time. Italians, Frenchmen, Danes, Germans, Austrians, and even Corsicans, among others, appear in the book, espousing religious affiliations from Judaism to Catholicism to Waldensianism. Most of the authors are creative and educated—several have clearly read each others' works—yet not quite all belong to elite circles. Most, however, are men.

By employing skillful writing along with an encyclopedic knowledge of the relevant figures, Homer succeeds most admirably in introducing each individual in his or her own context while also taking into account the greater questions. Yet occasional ellipses within the selections will sometimes confuse the reader, who will wonder what has been lost. More often, however, Homer's astonishing footnotes preempt requests for more information; he leaves no stone unturned in searching out the identities of the Europeans' unnamed Mormon acquaintances, from a daughter of Brigham Young (355 note 10) to a young missionary's uncle (336 note 28).

Taking these qualities together, what should readers make of *On the Way to Somewhere Else*? The introduction and afterword emphasize the distance between perception and reality in Mormon history, suggesting that the Utah described by Europeans in this book "no longer exists and probably never did" (28). Yet Homer's selections do not intrinsically indicate where the observations of these myriad travelers align with reality and where they do not; it is the rich and timely task of the reader to evaluate here where perceptions end and reality begins. Historians interested in a refreshed understanding of Mormonism in the American West should welcome *On the Way to Somewhere Else* for the opportunity it offers to address this exciting question anew.

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Cardell K. Jacobson, John P. Hoffmann, and Tim B. Heaton, eds. *Revisiting Thomas F. O’Dea’s **The Mormons**: Contemporary Perspectives*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2008. 462 pp. Notes, references, index. Cloth: \$34.95; ISBN 978-0-87480-920-6

Reviewed by Howard M. Bahr

More than fifty years old, Thomas F. O’Dea’s *The Mormons* (1957) remains perhaps the most respected social scientific account by an outsider of the rise and progress of Mormonism. As the fiftieth anniversary of its publication approached, members of the Mormon Social Science Association marked the occasion by inviting proposals for chapters in a celebratory volume from “about thirty scholars who had contributed to the social science literature on Mormonism” (xii). The book’s goal was “to develop a volume to revisit and reevaluate *The Mormons* in light of contemporary scholarship” (xii). This method assured participation by some distinguished students of Mormon life but yielded an unbalanced representation of contributors by academic discipline and choice of theme.

The original reviewers of *The Mormons* stressed its relevance for historians, sociologists, and theologians. As a history, it had “fine balance” and “imposing historical perspective.”¹ Its presentation of Mormon theology was “brilliant,” “astutely described.”² It was a “masterly” analysis of sources of strain and conflict in Mormonism’s encounter with modern secular thought. Further, it gave the Book of Mormon “full and careful analysis.”³ In contrast, ten of *Revisiting’s* fifteen chapters focus on “strain and conflict,” a motif to which O’Dea devoted one thirty-six-page chapter in his 263-page text.

The sixteen contributors include five anthropologists, four sociologists, two psychologists, and one each from business administration, political sci-

¹ Sterling M. McMurrin, “[Review of] *The Mormons*,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 26 (April 1958): 184; Ezra Geddes, “[Review of] *The Mormons*,” *New Mexico Historical Review* 33 (April 1958): 159.

² Gustave Weigel, “[Review of] *The Mormons*,” *Theological Studies* 19, no. 4 (1958): 660; Lowry Nelson, “[Review of] *The Mormons*,” *American Journal of Sociology* 63 (May 1957-58): 673.

³ Robert M. Barry, “[Review of] *The Mormons*,” *American Catholic Sociological Review* 18 (December 1957): 344; Vincent C. Hopkins, “[Review of] *The Mormons*,” *Thought: Fordham University Quarterly* 33 (Spring 1958): 145.

ence, family studies, comparative literature, and pediatric medicine. One anthropologist doubles as a theologian. There are no historians. O'Dea's history, praised as the "best brief descriptive account available of LDS theology and history,"⁴ generates not a single contributor. One wonders what the book might be, had its organizational genesis been meetings of the Mormon History Association.

The editors aim for "a sound assessment of O'Dea's essential contributions" and "an update on the sociology of Mormonism and the sociological work done since O'Dea" (xi–xii). These are high aims, and it would be unrealistic to expect a single volume to achieve them completely. In Part 1, "Engaging O'Dea," four chapters critique aspects of O'Dea's work. Part 2, "Contemporary Social Issues," has six chapters usually related to O'Dea through "strain and conflict," treating Mormon peculiarity, church-state relations, and societal changes that O'Dea "failed to anticipate," including civil rights, the women's movement, and increased tolerance for homosexuality (xi). Part 3, "The International Church," is also heavily oriented to "strain and conflict" in its examination of high tension between LDS lifeways and the cultures of Latin America and Russia, convert retention, and organizational changes required for Mormonism to shift from an American to a "supra-national" entity.

Except for Part 1, *Revisiting* is less evaluation than new analysis "in the spirit of Thomas F. O'Dea's sociological orientation to Mormon cultural values" (184). That "spirit," which sociologist Lynn England calls the "new spirit and science" that O'Dea practiced, was simply to study Mormonism "as the object of a detached, scientific analysis" (4). O'Dea was a functionalist trained in environmental determinism. Although he recognized the limits of modernist science in studying religion, he took the position that Mormon theology is an amalgam of ideas, attitudes, and aspirations already present in nineteenth-century New England. To O'Dea it is logical and prudent that a vital Church, essentially an expression of the social environment of its past, should adapt to its contemporary culture and social processes. Thus, Mormonism's challenges and tensions over the years can be explained by differential rates of change—cultural leads and lags—between its culture and that of host societies.

O'Dea (or any expert investigator) applies accepted scientific techniques to describe things as they are and can therefore advise how, for example, to reduce intergroup tension, clarify misperceptions, or explode myths. Too-rigid adherence to past ideas and practices will increasingly subject the

⁴John Beuttner-Janusch, "[Review of] *The Mormons*," *American Anthropologist* 60 (April 1958): 385.

Church to embarrassment and disaffection, while the odds of its viability improve if experts can help it adjust its theology to a changed environment. *Revisiting* is, in many respects, an enactment of O’Dea’s ideas on how intellectuals may help to redirect, even “save” the Church. Several authors, in the spirit of O’Dea, therefore recommend changes that might reduce the tension between the Church and the surrounding society.

Part I critically reevaluates O’Dea’s work. Lynn England’s chapter pays tribute to five social scientists of the Church’s “fourth generation”—Lowry Nelson, Nels Anderson, Joseph Geddes, Ephraim Ericksen, and Hamilton Gardner—who “provided major ideas for O’Dea’s work and were critical adherents to Mormonism. They placed their scholarship above questions of religious belief and were committed to the science before the theology” (9).

England credits O’Dea for incorporating their approach and findings into his own work to create “a distinct intellectual approach to Mormon studies” that avoids “apologetic or destructive analysis” (17). O’Dea’s approach is indeed distinctively nonpolemic, but objectivity was prized by mainstream social science of his time. Being “committed to the science before the theology” characterized the secular education of both O’Dea and the Mormon scholars whose works he used.

O. Kendall White Jr.’s chapter is essentially two pieces, the first urging that O’Dea’s “apologetics versus apostasy” dichotomy be seen as a continuum, and the other summarizing recent trends in LDS theology as tending toward “Mormon neo-orthodoxy,” a “Protestantization” movement that deemphasizes aspects of traditional Mormon belief about God and salvation that conflict with evangelical Protestantism. White sees O’Dea’s apologists/apostates division as “too simplistic” and reframes the relationship between education and apostasy as a continuum, anchored on the right by “apologists who are ardent defenders of the faith” and on the left by “apostates who have left Mormonism” (30). At the center are persons committed both to the LDS worldview and to one or more alternative frameworks. They manage both, either because they are good at compartmentalization or at integrating what White sees as worldviews in tension. He positions Mormon intellectuals he knows along this continuum as an illustration.

His implicit assumption counters the LDS principle that true science and true religion belong to the same seamless whole. Accepting that principle shifts the paradigm, with religious truth and scientific truth no longer at separate poles where intellectual honesty forces choice, but rather, as Terry Givens maintains in *People of Paradox*, within a multi-dimensional space in which “the conflation of divine and secular categories is essential” to intellectual development, “religion and science ask different questions, and thus cannot be in contradiction,” and the ability to live with uncertainty and am-

biguity are marks of intellectual maturity.⁵

White's expansion of O'Dea's dichotomy is an improvement. But his references to "the" Mormon intellectual and "the" orthodox-apostasy continuum divert attention from what, for me, is his chief contribution, apparent as he describes the characteristics of particular intellectuals—that each position represents the intersection of *multiple* continua. Also in play is a continuum of perceived salience (the personal priority accorded to religion or to science), another of participation or extrinsic religiosity, another of cultural identity or identification with the Mormon community, and another of orthodoxy of belief, plus other continua for such variables as tolerance for ambiguity, intuitiveness or sensitivity to transcendent reality, open-mindedness, and degree of commitment to the ultimate unity of religious and scientific truth. Things are much more complex than they seem, and to interpret this complexity as a single dimension may distort rather than clarify.

Douglas Davies proposes that O'Dea's "mastery and mystery configuration" has much broader theoretical utility than O'Dea employs. Applying it as an overriding framework organizes relationships among O'Dea's other concepts, thus putting some of the values O'Dea saw as contradictory ("paired opposites") in a different light. For instance, the authority/obedience versus democracy/individualism pair can be reinterpreted as different types of mastery, encompassing both mastery over self (individualism) and mastery over organization (authoritarian control). This is an important insight—that O'Dea's mental habit of dichotomies may conceal less oppositional views. As Davies puts it, "O'Dea's preference for organizing his material through dichotomies leads to issues that need not arise if one ponders the opposed factors as expressions of an underlying phenomenon" (76).

Davies recommends that we extend mastery much further than O'Dea did, at all levels of reality. Davies devotes separate sections to mastery of self, nature, society (and "urban mastery"), history, and "celestial mastery-mystery," which includes control of one's ultimate future. He also offers the interesting notion of negative mastery, or loss of control (for example, the Mountain Meadows Massacre). He suggests that future interpretations of negative events through the mastery of history may contribute to positive outcomes. Finally, the concept of mastery, broadly defined, moves discourse into issues of power and control, that is, into the realm of conflict theory.

Davies wonders that O'Dea does not spend more time discussing Mormonism's mastery of time and eternity through temple ritual, an enterprise of control that goes far beyond the standard Christian belief in Christ's mas-

⁵Terryl L. Givens, *People of Paradox: A History of Mormon Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 71, 239.

tery of death. He also points to O’Dea’s neglect of “the Gethsemane event” (67) but does not emphasize O’Dea’s larger omission of the centrality of Christ in LDS theology.

Terryl Givens argues that O’Dea’s narrowing of Book of Mormon themes to the “religious and political concerns of early-nineteenth-century New York” is too constraining (80). Consequently, O’Dea overlooks Book of Mormon incongruities with American political culture. Givens quotes Richard Bushman’s conclusion that the Book of Mormon, instead of reflecting the political ideas of the early 1800s, is “strangely distant from the time and place of its publication” (81). More recent scholarly assessments of the book’s content point to influences beyond O’Dea’s “facile environmentalism,” raising questions about transmission of ideas from “strangely distant” cultures and religious currents, and generating such nonenvironmental explanations as Joseph Smith’s “uncanny ability” and “religious genius” (83).

Givens admits that even the cumulative weight of internal evidences of ancient, or at least non-nineteenth-century origins “is counterbalanced by what appear to be striking intrusions . . . of anachronisms, nineteenth-century parallels, and elements that appear to many scholars to be historically implausible and inconsistent with what is known about ancient American cultures” (87). He reviews continuing controversies, concluding that while “many problems remain unsolved . . . the trend is toward fewer, not more, discrepancies” between the Book of Mormon and historical knowledge (90).

For Givens, the point is “not what the Book of Mormon contains, which Mormons value, but what it enacts” (91), or its power to *make* history. He urges a focus on process, not content, on what the book inspires and provokes, not just its relation to historical or archeological evidences. O’Dea’s summary of Book of Mormon basic themes, chief among them a reflection of New England revivalism, misses the book’s power of “prophetic disruption,” its “transgression of boundaries,” its “phenomenal power to instill discipleship and to incite hatred, to found a major religious tradition and to incite hostility, opposition, and displacement” (92, 93).

The eleven chapters in Parts 2 and 3 mainly relate to tension and conflict, treat international social issues, and raise issues of definition and identity. They summarize trends in Mormonism’s recent experience with tension-related topics or consider Church growth and associated tensions in specific countries.

Armand L. Mauss contributes two chapters, both about the need to maintain “a satisfactory accommodation with the surrounding secular society” (164). “The Peril and Promise of Social Prognosis” traces the growing salience of the “race issue” to the Church during the civil rights movement, O’Dea’s tardy response to it as a “diagnostic issue,” and its eventual resolution in the 1978 revelation. Mauss interprets the Church’s response as an in-

stance of “the general LDS response to modern secular thought” (167) and argues that Mormonism’s struggle with this issue conforms to the “new paradigm” or “tension-management model” of religion in society better than to the secularization model.

Mauss’s second chapter, “From Near-Nation” to New World Religion?,” continues his application of the “new paradigm.” Refuting O’Dea’s model of “irresistible secularization,” he finds secularization self-limiting because people seek “spiritual rewards” in addition to material rewards; the more secular a society, the less capable it is of supplying such “goods.” O’Dea’s secularization model can, he argues, be incorporated in the more inclusive tension-management paradigm, which allows for change in multiple directions, retrenchment as well as secularization. The point is not simply secularization’s inevitable engulfing of religions, but the degree of tension or difference, whatever the direction of internal change, between a religious subculture and its host society.

Mauss divides O’Dea’s list of specific “strains and contradictions” into the “largely resolved” and the unresolved. Among the latter are authority and democracy (obedience versus individualism), consent and coercion, family ideals and women’s equality, and political conservatism versus social idealism. Mauss adds several new items: patriarchal tradition versus women’s equality, chastity outside marriage versus the conjugal aspirations of homosexuals, and modern scientific evidence versus the Book of Mormon’s historicity claims.

Mauss sees the conflict between Church leadership and secular scholarship as less sharp than O’Dea did. He writes of “uneasy rapprochement” (309) rather than ongoing conflict and points to “recent signs that Church leaders have become more desirous of seeing the academic study of the Mormon religion and culture acquire some respectability even outside of Church control.” He expresses confidence that the Church now has the intellectual resources “to manage a constructive relationship with both the secular world and the world’s various religious traditions” (311). Mauss’s detailed topical assessment of Mormonism’s continuing encounter with secular thought makes this chapter a valuable extension of O’Dea’s original chapter. It deserves to be cited with O’Dea whenever these issues are considered.

Carrie Miles also works within the “new paradigm” of tension management. Drawing upon her content analysis of Church leaders’ statement in Church periodicals (1940–2006), she charts LDS responses to changing definitions of marriage, family, and women’s roles. Society’s shifts in gender relations pose particular problems for Latter-day Saints because the Church’s family theology enshrines gender identity, patriarchy, and some traditional gender roles in the ideal of the “eternal family.”

Miles documents growing LDS concern with women’s issues but finds

growing accommodation in official pronouncements on mothers' paid employment and the legitimacy of women's careers in addition to homemaking. While the Church remains relatively inflexible in its family-related doctrines, in practice it recognizes and accepts considerable personal variation and movement toward social norms of family fertility and women's employment. Church leaders, by emphasizing positive rather than negative aspects of doctrines related to the eternal continuity of families and appropriate women's roles, seem to have kept disparities with the surrounding secular culture manageable.

Part of that successful tension management was "The Family: A Proclamation to the World," an authoritative clarification of family theology that sidestepped the problems of its less-than-definitive base in canonized scripture. The Church, Miles states, has managed to accommodate change without changing, exercising "flexibility in practice while maintaining purity of doctrine" (121), and clarifying doctrines formerly implicit. The Church has, among other things, "run up the value of motherhood." General Authorities began referring to motherhood as "divine" in the 1940s and now characterize it as "near to divinity . . . the highest, holiest service to be assumed by mankind" (127). A "new doctrine of motherhood" has evolved; and "to join the Church today, the potential member, especially a woman, not only has to obtain a testimony of the truthfulness of the Church but must also develop a testimony of the eternal and earthly importance of motherhood" (126, 127). Rather than prohibiting birth control or outside employment of mothers, the Church has stressed the importance of family values, good parenting, and devoted motherhood; and "by praising women and their innate virtues and strengths, the Church has found a way to turn its difference with society into an appealing feature rather than a repellant bug" (129).

David C. Knowlton's chapter is an authoritative description of an emergent international arena, a new and unfamiliar space in which religious institutions will move, accommodate, and adapt. He contrasts the international distribution of Mormons with Jehovah's Witnesses, Assemblies of God, and Seventh-day Adventists. Each occupies a distinct niche in global society, reflecting different histories of proselytizing, different theologies and practices interacting with historical period, subculture, and location, in determining their present national distribution, and their members' differing economic and educational status.

Knowlton suggests that "the Mormon diaspora took a strongly middle-class or upper-middle-class character" (394), which positions its members favorably with respect to formal or organizational relationships in an increasingly global society. The most fascinating part of the chapter is his description of "supranational society," an international "legal environment" including but not limited to the United Nations. This "new level of religious

organization” is an interlocking combination of organizations and movements that are external to individual nations and which can exert political pressure on them about the rights of religious organizations and religious belief within nations (398).

In effect, writes Knowlton, religion has been freed from local social control, and nations have become subject to the judgment of other nations or international bodies about the level of religious freedom within their borders. Mormonism’s “host society” now includes this new order, and Mormonism’s adaptation to the new order includes an increased emphasis on the universality of its message and a supranational sense of LDS identity. “They are connected with an international, multiethnic, and multiracial people who are the children of God . . . religiously outside or beyond any nationality” (404).

Knowlton observes that correlation and bureaucratic management correlate well with other international and supranational structures. He predicts that the “supranational society” will become increasingly important and Mormonism’s increasing international membership will make the U.S. role as the Church’s “major host” less important. Instead, “the Church will move more and more in that supranational space”; and because it is well-organized and widely distributed, the Church will influence “the ongoing evolution of the supranational space of religion” (409).

Two chapters based on ethnographic fieldwork describe the tension-management problems of members and converts. Both stress the challenges associated with Church membership in cultures where the encounter with secularism is only part of the problem, the other being the sheer cultural gap (behavioral, linguistic, attitudinal, and political), which may include distrust toward “American” elements. Sarah Busse Spencer illustrates this “double tension” in cross-cultural missionary work, drawing upon a year’s experience attending Mormon congregations in the Siberian city of Novosibirsk. She emphasizes that, in addition to the ongoing confrontation with secularism, Church ideals always conflict to some degree with local cultural norms. For example, the “small town, farmer friendliness . . . enjoined by Mormon leaders seems at great odds with Russian cultural norms” (429–30).

Henri Gooren’s fieldwork in Guatemala, Costa Rica, and Nicaragua underscores Pentecostalism’s greater appeal; he explains low retention and activity rates among LDS members in terms of sizable disparities between local and Mormon culture. While “Pentecostalism is about experience and emotion,” “Mormonism is about study and work” (368). Gooren describes three main sources of strain and conflict impeding Church growth: poor leadership performance, high inactivity rates, and the “machismo” culture. Only one new Mormon in four will become a “core member” who has developed friendship ties with other Mormons (384). High tension with “ma-

chismo” culture, characterized by male competition in sexual exploits, drinking, and physical prowess, limits Mormonism’s appeal for males.

In “Preserving Peculiarity as a People,” Loren Marks and Brent Beal summarize published survey data on whether self-identified Mormons follow the Word of Wisdom and law of chastity. They find that enough do to make Mormons distinctive as a group. The authors attribute this continued “peculiarity” to the Church’s internal structure, especially its lay clergy, lay priesthood and associated Church callings, missionary program, and temple worship.

Conceptually, identity issues also involve tension management, both within and between groups, because they concern definitions of group membership and the management of discrepancies and ambiguities in these definitions. How is “Mormon” defined? And who has the right to define it? The most common indicators are (1) self-definition, (2) other or peer-definition, and (3) official, organizational definition. Membership figures based in different indicators are never entirely congruent and may be dramatically different. Some authors seem to argue for the primacy of one or another of these identity indicators, but in fact they define different things and reflect different viewpoints.

White refers to self-defined Mormons who have been “victims of autocratic ecclesiastical power” but who “remain remarkably Mormon, refusing to allow Church officials to strip them of their claim to a Mormon identity” (39). This refusal amounts to a personal elevation of self-defined identity over organizationally defined identity. Each definition is meaningful or “real” within its sphere; yet each limits the “group” differently, and thus has the potential to create tension and conflict as expectations for consistent identities are violated.

David Stewart Jr.’s “Growth, Retention, and Internationalization” is a demographics of identity, a tour de force in statistical triangulation, combining census data, surveys, and Church statistics to demonstrate, country by country, the major discrepancy between the number of self-defined Mormons and the Church’s numbers. Stewart finds that, over the past quarter century, LDS growth rates have progressively declined—that other “out-reach-oriented faiths” have been far more successful than Mormonism outside the United States, and that “despite considerable international expansion, the LDS Church continues to draw most of its strength from North America” (330). He estimates self-identifying Mormons in most of the world at between one-third and one-fourth of the official membership, compared to perhaps two-thirds in the U.S. and Canada. As many as three-fourths of converts outside the United States are not attending church after a year, and “most individuals outside of North America officially claimed on LDS membership rolls do not consider themselves members” (339–40).

In “Mormons and the State,” Michael Nielsen and Barry Balleck explore the “conflicted identities” of Latter-day Saints “who see a discrepancy between the gospel message and the state’s practices” (236). They consider the implications of Church efforts to reduce “the structural inequities that foment direct violence” (242). These include humanitarian giving, disaster-relief efforts, the Perpetual Education Fund, and educational outreach. Much of the article is devoted to tensions related to the Church position on the conduct of war, the sometimes “conflicting ideals of peace and patriotism,” and religious identity in time of war (247).

Supporting the “spirit of O’Dea” which includes making expert recommendations for change are chapters by Janet Bennion and Melvyn Hammarberg. Bennion’s “Mormon Women’s Issues in the Twenty-first Century” criticizes O’Dea for not applying the dichotomy of “self-actualized individualism versus patriarchal totalitarianism” (not O’Dea’s term) (135) to the Church’s women. After examining “polygamous women in fundamentalist movements,” “the lesbian quagmire,” “Mormon women and work,” and “disillusionment, divorce, and single motherhood” she concludes that “LDS policies and doctrines . . . continue to exclude and misrepresent Mormon women” (153). Bennion argues that the polygamous wives she studied are “unique, fully Mormon,” having “vibrant” experiences “as Mormon women” (143). (White’s “Mormon community” also includes “divergent subgroups” that claim a Mormon heritage, from fundamentalist polygamists and “millennial survivalists” on the right through “most intellectuals, feminists, and gay and lesbian Latter-day Saints” on the left [29].)

Hammarberg’s lengthy (52 pp., one-eighth of the book) chapter on sexual identity describes the sexual revolution of the 1960s, the LDS response to it, and especially homosexuality as both a national and an LDS issue. He contrasts “the Church’s position on homosexuality,” documented by official Church manuals, statements by General Authorities, and “The Family: A Proclamation to the World,” with “nonchurch LDS publication” (192)—largely articles in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* and two anthologies published by Signature Books.⁶ Hammarberg views the Church as lagging behind both scientific knowledge on homosexuality and the norms of American society. He recommends that Church authorities resolve the “current crisis” in LDS sexual identity by “the extension of the Church’s view of civil marriage for time only to persons of all genders.” Such civil marriages would be the responsibility of civil authority. Only temple marriage, performed by

⁶Ron Schow, H. Wayne Schow, and Marybeth Raynes, eds., *Peculiar People: Mormons and Same-Sex Orientation* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1991); Brent Corcoran, ed., *Multiply and Replenish: Mormon Essays on Sex and Family* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994).

Church authority and perpetually heterosexual, would require “the Church’s normative standards of worthiness” and function as an “ordinance of exaltation” (230).

Revisiting has its flaws, in addition to its already noted neglect of the historian’s perspective. A few of the essays abandon objectivity for political advocacy, and there are occasional instances of expert overgeneralization. More important, O’Dea analyzed aspects of Mormonism other than its internal strains and its tensions with non-Mormon society. Trends in the “work, health, recreation and education complex,” the persistence of his thirty-plus “Mormon values,” the ongoing problem of “containment of charisma” in a multicultural, worldwide Church, the implications of the altered concept of “the gathering,” the adaptation of Mormon cooperation and self-sufficiency to urban environments, and the consequences of a growing “sacramentalism” apparent in heightened access to and participation in temple ceremonies, will have to await another volume.

There is much to recommend *Revisiting Thomas F. O’Dea’s The Mormons*. It certainly qualifies as the best application available of O’Dea’s “strain and conflict” theme. Its treatment of the ambiguities of LDS identity, while less focused and sometimes implicit, should stimulate additional research, and its four chapters of systematic engagement with O’Dea’s text set a high standard for the long-neglected systematic critique of that work. Serious students of contemporary Mormonism will want a copy near to hand.

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Jeffrey C. Fox, *Latter-day Political Views*. New York: Lexington Books, 2006. Xii, 230 pp. Notes, bibliography, appendices, index. Cloth: \$29.95. ISBN 0-7391-1555-3

Reviewed by John J Hammond

This laudable and valuable work is probably the most thorough analysis of the political views of active LDS Church members ever undertaken. The “foundation of this work,” Jeffrey C. Fox acknowledges, is his Ph.D. dissertation, in which he made “a formal study of the effect of religion

and culture on the political worldviews of practicing Latter-Day Saints [sic] (Mormon[s]) from different races and nationalities” (xi). Fox, an associate professor of political science at Fort Lewis College in Durango, Colorado, focuses on the question, “What is the impact of the LDS message on its members’ views after controlling for the effects of race and culture?” This question acquired new salience during Mitt Romney’s failed campaign for the U.S. presidency in 2008 and will doubtless come up again during his expected second run in 2012. Fox’s study thus provides a helpful snapshot of Mormon attitudes in the early twenty-first century that future historians can benchmark against. He “uses multiple research methods, data sources, and a specially-designed cross-national and cross-cultural sample of active Latter-Day Saints to answer this question” (xi).

Fox maintains that “virtually every known study of [American] Mormons’ political attitudes finds ‘conservative’ political tendencies” and strong identification with the Republican Party. The problem is that the data for most of these studies were acquired only from Utah, which is “the most homogeneous 14% of the church’s worldwide membership. No Utah data set can serve as an adequate indicator of LDS political attitudes worldwide.” Unfortunately, however, “to date, there has been no systematic study of the political views of Latter-Day Saints outside of the United States” or in America outside of Utah (6–9).

Fox examines LDS teachings on economics, the accumulation of wealth, military and foreign affairs, self-sufficiency, the “divinely inspired” U.S. Constitution, and the notion of “American exceptionalism,” and attempts to determine whether these Church messages generally produce a specific political ideology.

Beginning with a discussion of the political conflict among LDS Church leaders in the 1960s over the right-wing speeches of Apostle Ezra Taft Benson, Fox points out that at least two of those in the hierarchy who strongly disagreed with Benson politically (Hugh B. Brown and Nathan Eldon Tanner) “both grew up in Canada and were socialized [apparently no pun intended] into Canadian political values” (4).

Chapter 2 provides a brief account of the political history of the LDS Church, while the last four chapters focus on Fox’s field research among Mormons in the United States, Canada, and Mexico. Here the social science jargon and methodological and statistical analysis may discourage some readers, though the summary explanations should be understandable to non-academics. Fox used “Q Sort Methodology,” working with one of my political science colleagues at Kent State University, Stephen Brown, the leading Q Methodology advocate.

The respondents were presented with fifty cards with “belief statements” printed on them which they then ranked or “sorted” “on a 1–5 scale ranging

from ‘most agree’ to ‘most disagree.’” This is a somewhat less structured way of allowing for respondents to register their opinions than the standard survey technique. The results are then converted into numbers (“quantified”) which can be analyzed statistically. I have my doubts about the methodology, but the issue is too involved to discuss in this review.

The author’s “sample” was breathtakingly small—only 51 respondents—but he claims that these numbers are “large for Q methodology” because it is “an intensive mode of analysis designed to understand respondent worldviews in depth rather than make broad generalizations,” and “the sample was balanced in terms of gender, income, and political party identification” (57–58). The third trait does not seem to be true for the eleven Canadian respondents; almost all identified with the right-leaning western Reform Party, and only one identified with the center-left Liberal Party.

All the respondents were active members of the LDS Church, age eighteen or older, and most were married with children. Eleven of the twenty-six U.S. respondents were from Utah (mainly Provo, Salt Lake City, and Ogden), six were Native Americans from Oklahoma, five were Polynesians from California, and only one is listed as “African.” The Canadians were all white and from Magrath and other nearby Alberta communities, where the majority of the population is LDS. All of the fourteen Mexican respondents lived in Colonia Dublan, Nuevo Casas Grandes, or Colonia Juarez—founded in the nineteenth century as a Mormon enclave. Eight were whites, six were ethnic Mexicans, and all were English speakers (194–97).

One can argue that the Mexican and Canadian respondents were likely to be more conservative politically than Mexican and Canadian Mormons living elsewhere in these countries; and, in fact, Fox concedes that “the sample used in this book is weighted heavily toward rural, western North Americans” and “also biased toward English speakers.” He adds that “Mormons in the liberal democracies of northern Europe would likely favor a more activist government than any group identified here” (163).

Not surprising, therefore, employing the Q Sort Methodology, of the six political ideologies (“worldviews”) Fox identifies among the respondents, “none of the worldviews are very liberal on social or economic issues,” and “none of the members of the sample . . . can be classified as ‘true’ liberals who strongly support government economic control and little social regulation at the same time” (69). In addition to the interviews, the respondents responded to a “survey” which “employed a battery of questions probing opinions” on at least twenty political issues (73); according to the author both survey and interviews confirmed and supported the results of the Q Sort study.

On some issues there was general agreement among all or most of the respondents, but—as is the case in the U.S. population generally—Fox found

that “white and non-white [LDS] members differ on a large number of public policy issues,” and “non-whites as a group show significantly more ‘liberal’ tendencies than whites. This is true despite the over-sample of white Utah Democrats” (113, 115). (By “non-white” Fox means the Native Americans, Polynesians, Latinos, and the one African in his sample.) He points out that this finding has been confirmed by American polling data: “LDS non-whites [in the U.S.] are 29% more likely to associate with the Democratic Party,” and they “classified themselves as liberals much more often than whites” (115).

As far as national differences are concerned, he found that “Canadian Latter-Day Saints like their health care system and continue to support the positive role of government in this sphere. . . . In fact, most of the Canadian respondents argue that the inequalities in the American system violated their sense of justice and equality. Many called the American system ‘immoral’” (143). The contrast here with the views of most Utah Mormons is profound.

He concedes that “active Mormon non-whites tend to be more conservative than their fellow [non-Mormon] ethnic group members” and that “many of these similarities can be traced directly to LDS religious culture and doctrine, and some to the values and beliefs that pervade U.S. culture generally.” But he contends that “the clear message is that non-whites and non-American Mormons, the ‘forgotten Saints,’ have political views that reflect unique national and racial preferences” (119).

Fox also carefully analyzes the relatively sparse data on American LDS political attitudes, such as the 2002 KBYU/Utah Colleges Exit Poll, the 1994 Armand Mauss study which compared the political attitudes of Mormons in Salt Lake City with those in the San Francisco Bay area, and the data that sometimes can be extrapolated from national surveys. The Mauss study found that “Bay Area respondents were considerably more liberal on virtually every issue” and much more likely to “affiliate” with the Democratic Party than LDS respondents in Utah (11).

The author also discusses the research carried out by BYU political scientist Lamond Tullis during the 1970s and 1980s, which indicated that “LDS church members in Latin America (where much of Mormonism’s new growth has occurred) think about politics very differently than members in the United States. In Central America, many members are poor and some are members of oppressed classes that support revolutionary (even Marxist) movements that would shock conservative Mormons in the United States” (14–15).

Fox cites a number of examples where the Church’s insensitivity to national and cultural differences causes irritation, such as the notion of “American exceptionalism,” glorifying the Mormon Battalion (not thrilling

to ethnic Mexican Saints), and Arnold Friberg's paintings. They are "beloved in Utah, but not in Latin America," since the Book of Mormon people "have decidedly Anglo features" ("white and delightsome?"). A "Mexican stake president agitatedly said, 'These paintings are not paintings we can show to an educated Mexican. They're well done, but they show such an enormous ignorance of culture and they are offensive.' He even referred to them as 'imperialism in art'" (147).

Fox concludes: "The political views of Mormons living outside the United States, those living outside of Utah, and the views of non-white members differ systematically in their political perspective from white, Utah Mormons. Nationality, region, and race all have important and definable independent effects on the political worldviews of active Latter-Day Saints" (119).

While arguing that the "impact" of LDS beliefs is "significant" on the "political thinking of active Mormons," at the same time Fox maintains that "the sphere of religious influence is also smaller than the conventional wisdom about Mormons suggests"—that "religion, although very important, is not as powerful [an influence on political ideology] among Latter-Day Saints as previously thought." He wryly adds: "There may be some liberal or socialist Latter-Day Saints somewhere in the world, but it would be hard to argue that the LDS church naturally produces them" (161).

Fox frankly admits that this work only scratches the surface of the political views of active Mormons, since the focus was on members in only three countries, and the data on them are sketchy at best. But this is a good start.

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Susan Easton Black. *Setting the Record Straight: Joseph Smith the Mormon Prophet*. Orem, Utah: Millennial Press, 2007. 113 pp. Notes. Paper: \$9.95; ISBN 1-932597-38-7

Reviewed by William D. Russell

Susan Easton Black is a professor of Church history and doctrine at Brigham Young University, and this volume, is one of nine (at this writ-

ing) published by Millennial Press in its “Setting the Record Straight” series. The information about Joseph Smith is presented in the form of 127 questions and answers arranged under three headings: his life, his core religious concepts, and comments by his contemporaries. There is also a thirteen-page chronology of key events in Joseph’s life as well as contemporary national and world events.

This book, at 113 pages, is very short, averages only about 300 words per page, and is written for laypersons. Each answer is almost always a direct quotation from Joseph Smith, even though the Prophet’s statement sometimes does not directly answer the question. Sometimes the answer simply isn’t satisfactory, such as the answer to “What did Joseph Smith teach about repentance?” The answer is: “Repent, repent, is the voice of God to Zion,” and “repentance is a thing that cannot be trifled with.” We are admonished not to “wait for the deathbed to repent” (70–71). But the answer includes no definition of repentance (70–71).

Although this book is clearly intended for laypersons rather than scholars, the results are disappointing. Susan Easton Black, a Joseph Smith specialist, could, in the same amount of space, have provided concise and historically accurate responses to these questions that would have responded more directly to the questions.

The question-and-answer method also makes it easier to leave out questions that one might prefer not to have to answer. A historian would point out that Joseph Smith in the late 1830s recalled that, during the First Vision in 1820, the Savior told him that “all of the sects” were “an abomination in his sight” and that their “professors” (presumably ministers) were “all corrupt” (JS—H 1:18–19). However, no question and answer dealing with this information appears. Instead, an answer to the question stresses Mormon toleration of other religions (66).

In his excellent book, *In Sacred Loneliness: The Plural Wives of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2001), Todd Compton concludes that reliable evidence exists for determining that Joseph Smith had thirty-three wives. Polygamy was an extremely significant piece of Joseph’s biography. But the topic does not appear in Black’s book. Instead she quotes a statement by Joseph Smith affirming monogamy: “It is the duty of a husband to love, cherish and nourish his wife, and cleave unto her and none else” (82). Eliza R. Snow and Mary Elizabeth Rollins are mentioned in the text, but the significant fact is omitted that both were Joseph’s plural wives. Thus, the record is distorted rather than “set straight.”

Black does not accurately specify the nature of the charges against Joseph Smith and the other civic leaders in the destruction of the *Nauvoo Expositor*, an incident that led directly to his death. The *Expositor* published affidavits from William Law, Jane Law, and Austin Cowles, all three of whom had read

the revelation that is now Section 132 in the LDS Doctrine and Covenants and which provides the commandment and theological justification for plural marriage. Rather than acknowledging this accusation (correct) of polygamy, Black says only that they “charged Joseph with indulging in whoredoms and abusing political power” (57). She is technically correct: the *Expositor* uses the term “whoredoms” and “abuse of power” which they specify as, among other things, misuse of the habeas corpus. She thus leaves the impression that Joseph’s reputation was unjustly assaulted by liars whereas, although its editors at this point were definitely opposed to Joseph’s practices and policies, they told the truth. Furthermore, she neglects to provide enough context for the reader to understand that Joseph Smith’s contemporaries would have seen suppressing the *Expositor* as a direct attack on freedom of the press, a crucial guarantee of the U.S. Constitution’s first amendment. Although Joseph Smith took the precaution of having the Nauvoo City Council pass an ordinance against “nuisances” and then ordering him, as mayor, to “abate” this nuisance, it was only a paper legality. In essence, the Mormons did to the *Expositor* in 1844 exactly what the mob did to the Mormon press in Independence in 1833.

Richard Bushman has insisted that Joseph Smith cannot be understood merely as a product of his environment because he transcended it in many ways. Even if many of Smith’s ideas came from God, he was clearly influenced by his environment as well, but the only causation we see in this book is the divine.

Joseph Smith’s theology evolved considerably during his career as a prophet. His Book of Mormon contained fairly conventional Protestant theology; but in the years that followed, he built an elaborate theology containing unique and sometimes quite unorthodox and unpopular ideas nowhere to be found in the founding document published in 1830. The Prophet’s thinking evolved significantly during the Kirtland period, 1831–38, followed by more radical innovations in Nauvoo. Joseph’s Wentworth letter in 1842 contained what was essentially the “Kirtland Theology” because Smith was not inclined to tell Editor John Wentworth about the unique Nauvoo doctrines that he was developing.

Thus, the Articles of Faith, based on the Wentworth letter, leave these unique Nauvoo doctrines out, and the Articles sound like the orthodox RLDS faith I learned growing up—mainly what I call “the Kirtland Theology.” The Articles are reproduced in full here (63–64), but Black provides no explanation why they do not include such distinctive doctrines as the plurality of gods and baptism for the dead. Baptism for the dead is introduced with no historical explanation or context. Even more puzzling, while she mentions that Joseph taught that God was once a man, she does not continue with the statement’s major innovation: that men may become gods.

Joseph Smith is quoted as saying that he always abides by the law (77), but she fails to note that he was simultaneously engaged in clandestine and certainly illegal polygamy.

The series title, “Setting the Record Straight,” suggests that these books are historical writings that will correct some mistaken information now circulating to the public, and it implies that the reader will receive new information on the subject. However, from my perspective, the author provided no new information and no corrections to mistaken understandings of the founding prophet. The answers given merely repeat the current LDS orthodox historical and doctrinal views on the matters in question.

I’m all for publishing histories written for the layperson. Historians write too much for other historians. But we need to reduce the knowledge gap between the historians and the non-historians, rather than perpetuate the existence of two separate understandings of our history, one for the historians and a fiction-loaded version for the folks in the pews. This book doesn’t close that gap. It could have filled a need for a brief biography written for the layperson which does not perpetuate “incorrect traditions,” something Joseph Smith himself warned against in Alma 3:8, 9:17, 26:24, and 37:9 (LDS version; Community of Christ Book of Mormon: Alma 1:106, 7:22, 14:107, 17:38). This book doesn’t set the record straight.

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Johnnie Glad. *The Mission of Mormonism in Norway 1851–1920: A Study and Analysis of the Reception Process*. Frankfurt am Main, Germany: Peter Lang, 2006. 517 pp. Bibliography, index. Paper: EUR 77.30; ISBN 3-631-54478-2

Reviewed by Kim B. Östman

Johnnie Glad’s *The Mission of Mormonism in Norway 1851–1920* is a welcome contribution to the study of Mormonism and, as its subtitle suggests, to the study of religion in the Nordic countries. Based on Glad’s doctoral dissertation, completed in 2004 at Det teologiske Menighetsfakultet in Oslo, Norway, it focuses on the often turbulent interface between Mormonism and Norwegian society, emphasizing the non-Mormon part of the equation. Publisher Peter Lang has included the book in its European University Studies collection in its theology series.

Born in 1929, Glad spent a portion of his adult life in the United States and is on the clergy roster of The Evangelical Lutheran Church in America. His book is a result of research from these years in the United States, continued after his return to Norway in 1968 where he taught religion at Levanger Teachers' College and present-day University of Stavanger. Now retired, he continues his research full-time. Glad's deep familiarity with religion in Norwegian society has allowed him to contextualize the reception of Mormonism within wider frameworks of religious pluralization and boundary maintenance in the country. Such wider frameworks also illuminate the wider significance of Glad's study: It fleshes out the understanding of the historical Norwegian religious landscape further by elaborating on the reception of one particular Anglo-American, non-Lutheran new religious movement.

The Mission of Mormonism in Norway 1851–1920, written in English, is divided into three parts. Part 1, "How It All Started," charts Mormonism's founding, doctrinal structure, and arrival in Norway in 1851 through contacts made in Denmark. The second part discusses nineteenth-century religious freedom legislation developments in Norway with particular attention to their meaning for Mormonism. Central in this overview are the Conventicle Law of 1741 (annulled in 1842), regulating religious gatherings, and the Dissenter Law of 1845, regulating the formal organizing of sectarian religious movements. Part 3, covering about half of the book, analyzes how Mormonism was received in Norwegian society at large. In my opinion the most interesting portion of the book, it explores the topic from several perspectives, including the press, key individuals, and other religious organizations. The index covers persons, places and themes.

Probably the most significant prior study of early Mormonism in Norway is that of Gerald M. Haslam, *Clash of Cultures: The Norwegian Experience with Mormonism, 1842–1920* (New York: Peter Lang, 1984). Countering Haslam's thesis, Glad argues that the clash was not primarily one of cultures, but rather one of religions. In his opinion, since the early Mormon missionaries to Norway were often natives who knew the culture intimately and had extended family there, it was religion that took center stage in the encounter. Nevertheless, Glad concedes that culture was not a negligible element as "the [immigrant] missionaries had been influenced by American culture and way of life" (19). Glad expands on earlier work, especially on the question of why Norwegian society reacted to Mormonism as it did.

A welcome aspect of Glad's work is his extensive use of Norwegian non-Mormon source material. In contrast to many other works of non-American Mormon history, the book references only two document collections and two periodicals that he studied at the Church History Library of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Salt Lake City, Utah. This paucity of Mormon sources unfortunately sometimes leaves Mormon motivations and

reactions to the issues unexplored. However, considering that Glad's focus is on the reactionary reception process and not on the entrance process, the perspective is understandable. As he explains: "Within our context the recipient is the most important while the dispatcher has a more reserved role. In other words, the attention is directed towards the addressee or recipient. . . . [I]t is important to take a look at what occurred when a religious majority was confronted with a new and minor religious movement that presented their message wrapped in terminology that was familiar to many members of Christian churches and denominations" (28–29). In illuminating the reception process from the receiving side Glad succeeds well, thanks to the vast array of governmental, ecclesiastical, and journalistic sources that he has collected and now uses. These sources make the book an especially interesting showcase example of the type of Mormon history that brings the discipline into discussion with wider fields of study.

Not all reactions to Mormonism in Norway were negative. For example, while the majority of newspaper discussions regarding Mormonism were antagonistic, numerous "more mild and humane" writers thought that the Mormons should be allowed free exercise of their religion also in Norway (235). Indeed, even the earliest official response was mixed. When deciding on where the Mormons stood in relation to the Dissenter Law, the Theological Faculty of the University at Christiania (now Oslo) and three Lutheran bishops felt it applied to the Mormons, while a minority of two bishops did not. Furthermore, even the Higher Court and Supreme Court agreed with such an interpretation, while the Church Department (an arm of the secular government that was responsible for and had the highest authority in matters related to religion and the Lutheran state church) did not, on doctrinal grounds. Glad praises "the Church Department in contrast to a number of institutions and resource persons" because it "stood as an example in regard to how this issue ought to have been handled. In a clear and concise manner the problem was stated and treated. . . . [T]he theological expertise in this case was represented by the Church Department and not the [Theological] faculty" (464).

In addition to journalistic and governmental responses, Glad also documents the considerable emotions raised among the population by the Mormon issue. For example, a 1912 protest meeting in Trondheim resolved to urge the government to take steps to "prevent the propaganda of the Mormons" in Norway. Significantly, about 1,600 persons are estimated to have attended, evidencing the degree of interest that many laypersons had for the issue (243–46). Glad's dedication of an entire chapter to discussing such resistance to Mormonism in early twentieth-century Norway—after the official cessation of the controversial practice of plural marriage—is important, because a wave of similar resistance swept Europe at that time. The chapter

provides valuable comparative material for further studies in that much underresearched area.

Causes for upset public feelings were often reactions to Mormon doctrines (especially plural marriage, in both real and sensationalized forms) and proselytizing methods. Glad further explores the theme of a widespread public perception that the Mormon message was deceptive. A chief reason for this perception was the Mormon use of otherness-reducing phraseology and terminology, which to the Norwegians meant one familiar thing but by which the Mormons meant something different. For example, the commonly cited thirteen Mormon Articles of Faith discuss belief in God, Jesus Christ, Christ's atonement—all three of these being concepts "upon which various Christian denominations may meet" (66); however, the concise statement does not explain the Mormon nuances and distinctive interpretations attached to such basic concepts. Moreover, the thirteen do not include more controversial and otherness-inducing Mormon doctrines such as the plurality of gods, the temple endowment ceremony, and so on (65–66).

Like every book, some aspects of Glad's volume are not entirely successful. Mistakes of spelling ("Hunsager" versus "Hunsaker," 16), grammar ("Another person who not always have gotten," 31), and minor historical errors occur sporadically. Puzzlingly, Glad challenges Haslam's characterization of Eilert Sundt (a Norwegian scholar and eventually Lutheran clergyman) as "a detractor" (311), when the accompanying discussion of Sundt makes clear his negative attitude toward Mormonism ("Mormon's apostles are falsehood's apostles," 317). Citations to modern countercult publications also seem out of place. A few examples are R. Philip Roberts et al.'s *Mormonism Unmasked* and Jerald and Sandra Tanner's *Mormonism: Shadow and Reality?* on Mormon views on the Bible and Joseph Smith's "Inspired Version" (72), and Marvin Cowan's *Mormon Claims Answered* on the provenance of the Book of Mormon (302). Scholarly sources are readily available about these issues and controversies. Generally, however, the book strives for objectivity and balance.

When it comes to deeper issues of content, the reader may at times feel that the book loses focus. While extensive context is useful, dwelling on matters that are of marginal relevance at best tends to detract from the book's central topic. This is the case, for example, in some of the early chapters discussing legislation. Similarly, contextualization may, in some readers' opinions, assume too much stage time in Chapter 9 when Glad presents biographies of some central religious personalities in nineteenth-century Norway. The extensive context could have been replaced with a fuller discussion of Mormon reactions to their own reception and associated evolutions in policy and methods.

Despite some shortcomings, Glad provides a fine case study of the pro-

cesses and issues at stake when new religious movements enter religious fields with state-sponsored key players. More generally, “How should the establishment react?” and “Can this philosophy be embraced by the nation?” are but two of the central questions that emerge whenever societies define their relationship to social movements that enter their borders; he treats Norway’s response to such questions well. Furthermore, Glad’s book is especially useful due to its extensive use of a variety of Norwegian primary sources that speak directly to how such questions were answered. *The Mission of Mormonism in Norway 1851–1920* is thus most welcome as a new contribution to the study of religion in Norway and to the study of Mormonism in Scandinavia, one of the faith’s nineteenth-century strongholds.

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Craig L. Foster. *A Different God? Mitt Romney, the Religious Right, and the Mormon Question*. Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2008. 244 pp. Photographs, notes, bibliography, appendices, index. Paper: \$24.95; ISBN 978-1-58958-118-0

Newell G. Bringhurst and Craig L. Foster. *The Mormon Quest for the Presidency*. Independence: John Whitmer Books, 2008. 318 pp. Photographs, notes, bibliography, appendices, index. Paper: \$24.95; ISBN 978-1-934901-11-3

Reviewed by Michael Harold Paulos

Historian Craig L. Foster, in his preface to *A Different God? Mitt Romney, the Religious Right, and the Mormon Question*, happily admits he’s been a “political junkie” from his teenage years. And even though he’s a “conservative Republican” and a “lifelong active member” of the LDS Church, Romney was not his first choice in the GOP primaries because of Romney’s inconsistent stand on abortion and other social issues. However, after “a lot of reading and visiting with friends and family,” Foster wholeheartedly supported Romney as both a volunteer and a financial donor. For any book written and published against a backdrop of a politically charged presidential campaign, Foster’s personal information is highly relevant to readers seeking to understand, evaluate, and factor in biases and motives. Foster was acutely aware of this predicament and further explained that he forestalled against unwitting bias by using his “good friend and mentor,” Mormon historian Newell G. Bringhurst as a sounding board, because Bringhurst holds “polar opposite” political and

religious views (Acknowledgements).

As a fellow political junkie who relishes public policy debate, I greatly appreciated Foster's upfront candor. Spin, nuance, and machination infest political discourse, enabling covert agendas to hide behind simplistic talking points. Furthermore, political campaigns impact large numbers of citizens, igniting passionate debates within communities. Similarly, as a Mormon history enthusiast, I thrill at the energetic historical debates that engage sections of the Mormon community. At times, these debates have the potential to shape historical interpretation affecting large numbers of Church members. In 2002, President Gordon B. Hinckley spoke to the importance of LDS history, "I knew a so-called intellectual who said the Church was trapped by its history. My response was that without that history we have nothing."¹

Comparatively speaking, both Mormon history debates and political debates in general share similar earmarks. For example, in both areas, opposing groups exhibit emotional commitment and intellectual arrogance about their respective positions. At times they assert that all relevant facts and data support their opinions. But in other cases, opponents resort to Machiavellian tactics that include ad hominem attacks, calculated pandering, demeaning language, and intentional obfuscation of facts. For Mormon history buffs also interested in politics, that election was a deluge of politicized Mormon history that was unpredictable, pleasurable, and painful rolled into one. Indeed, Mitt Romney's decision to run for president ignited a new firestorm about the fabled "Mormon Question" in the U.S. political process, comparable in size and scope to the Utah Expedition, the federal government's anti-polygamy legislation, and the Reed Smoot hearings that challenged Smoot's ability to serve as a U.S. senator because of his position as a Mormon apostle.

A century has passed since the Smoot hearings, during which American Mormons have creatively adapted to mainstream U.S. values and found increasing acceptance in a steadily accelerating spiral of mutual accommodation. Given this comparative placidity—and the fact that many Mormons were blindsided by the naked hostility that greeted Romney's Mormonism—it's small wonder that publisher Greg Kofford Books rushed *A Different God?* into print. It became the first book on the market to address Romney's presidential run in the context of the Mormon Question, but from a historian's vantage point, the quick publication set brisk limits on the efficacy of historical examination and, understandably, curtailed the level of historical marination.

Moreover, Foster's book is hamstrung by the lack of access to insider information such as internal campaign memos, Romney's personal papers,

¹Gordon B. Hinckley, "The Marvelous Foundation of Our Faith," *Ensign*, November 2002, 78–81.

and personal interviews with important campaign advisors or Romney himself. Romney, in fact, was completely unfamiliar with *A Different God?* when I asked him to sign my review copy at a fund-raiser in San Antonio in early October 2009. Therefore, in some sections of the book, the shelf-life of facts had already expired although others offered information that will become newly relevant if (or when) Romney runs again. My review will attempt to fill some of these gaps.

In the spirit of full disclosure, my personal politics and current activity in the LDS Church match Foster's. But I was a passionate supporter of Mitt Romney for president shortly after he was elected governor in Massachusetts. I likewise was a financial supporter, although given our married-students-with-kids' budget, that support was largely symbolic. Like Foster, I was an outspoken advocate for Romney; and on several occasions after discussing Romney with friends and work colleagues, I defused what could have been a heated situation by remarking, "I'm just doing my 'Mittionary Work.'" On December 6, 2007, I had the good fortune to meet Romney and ask him a public question at a campaign event in San Antonio, Texas, just a few hours after his historic "Mormon speech." My question was how, if elected, he would improve the State Department. He responded that in all his campaign events, he'd never been asked this question. Showing excitement for a fresh question, Romney provided a wonkish answer on how he would strategically restructure the world geographically. Certainly, I couldn't help feeling pleased at breaking new ground. But to sum up, in no way do I consider myself objective on the topic of Mitt Romney and the invidious treatment he and the Mormon Church received from the media and from segments of the Republican and Democrat parties, for whom I feel only continued contempt.

As is clear from the lengthy subtitle, *A Different God?* presents in delectable detail the story of Mitt Romney's 2008 presidential run. Primarily using news stories accessed by the internet, Foster brilliantly captures the essence of the religious bigotry focused against Romney. Indignant Latter-day Saints around the country mobilized behind his candidacy as the media and politicians distorted Mormon doctrine and history. Foster concludes that the religious opposition played a "major role" in the failure of Romney's campaign. Mormon historian Kathleen Flake, who sagaciously analyzed the Smoot hearings, summed up the parallels: "This is not a proud moment in our process."²

Smoot was also embroiled in a national political fight in which his membership in the Mormon Church, was being used to disqualify him from

²Brooke Adams, "Mormon Apostle Paved the Way for LDS Candidates," *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 8, 2007, <http://www.signaturebooks.com/reviews/hearings.htm> (accessed August 9, 2009).

elected office. Despite initial mutual misgivings about giving a “Mormon speech,” both men delivered eloquent stem-winders intended to assuage voter concerns about Mormonism. Smoot specifically addressed questions about Mormonism, while Romney spoke more generally about the role of religion in society. Smoot’s speech paved the way for vindication and a successful Senate career, while Romney’s address inflamed religious bigotry in Iowa and played an important role in killing his candidacy. Comparatively speaking, the historical context favored Smoot. Smoot was not the first Mormon elected to the U.S. Senate, but Romney would have been the first Mormon elected president. Smoot’s speech came after he was a duly elected senator; Romney’s speech preceded by a month the first primary presidential election. Smoot’s audience was ninety senators, a majority of them Republicans like himself; Romney’s intended audience was millions of voting Americans. The publication of my book on the Smoot hearings serendipitously coincided with Romney’s campaign, and I was continuously delighted to discover so many historical parallels between the Smoot-Romney goal posts spaced a century apart.³

Foster’s first two chapters briefly cover the rise to power of the “Religious Right.” Historically, the religious right “was not only present but very powerful politically.” Therefore, “the rise of the religious right in the 1970s could be better be described as a reemergence” (1). Foster then delineates the slight differences among Christian religious movements in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, including Evangelicalism, Fundamentalist Christians, Pentecostal, Charismatics, and Southern Baptists. Foster continues, “By the 1960s and 1970s, the national setting was perfect for the reemergence of the Christian Right” (11), and these groups began forming political organizations intent on influencing public policy. Conspicuous leaders were Fundamentalist Christian Jerry Falwell’s Moral Majority (1979) and Evangelical Christian Pat Robertson’s Christian Coalition (1989). Even though Latter-day Saints and these Christian groups shared near-identical political views, doctrinal differences prevented the otherwise predictable political alliances. “The irony of this situation has not gone unnoticed by scholar and political pundits,” comments Foster. “If it were not for their intense theological disagreements, Latter-day Saints would naturally be evangelicals’ and fundamentalists’ best political allies” (28).

Chapter 3 provides a non-partisan historical overview of Mormons in politics during the nineteenth century. Missing is any substantive discussion of

³For the analysis of the speech as well as the full text, see Michael Harold Paulos, “I am not and never have been a polygamist: Reed Smoot’s Speech before the United States Senate, February 19, 1907,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 75 (Spring 2007): 100–115.

Joseph Smith's 1844 run for the U.S. presidency, a topic that seems to cry out for analysis of the likely parallels between the Religious Right's opposition to Joseph Smith's candidacy in 1844 and Mitt Romney's run in 2008 (xiii). This omission is more understandable, however, considering the fact that the Romney material was initially intended as a chapter in the book that Foster and Bringhurst produced together, *The Mormon Quest for the Presidency* (reviewed below), which devotes an entire chapter to Joseph Smith's presidential run without, however, discussing similarities between Romney and Smith.

Central to Chapter 3 is Foster's explanation of Mormons' long-standing reverence for the U.S. Constitution and his analysis of the controversial "White Horse Prophecy." This prophecy, ascribed to Joseph Smith in 1843, states that, in the last days, the Constitution will hang by a thread and the elders will save it. Foster includes the entire primary source transcript of the White Horse prophecy and provides compelling evidence that demolishes its historical veracity, a great service to Mormon history though not to Mormon folklore.

Foster and Bringhurst's *The Mormon Quest* provides further analysis of the primary source and summarizes how this prophecy intersected with Romney's campaign. Early on in the campaign, former New York City mayor Rudy Giuliani's campaign distributed a *Salt Lake Tribune* story on the White Horse prophecy to prominent bloggers in an attempt to damage Romney politically (*Quest*, 282–92). Though not mentioned in either book, Giuliani's campaign eventually apologized, calling this action a "a regrettable mistake."⁴ Post-mortem apologies regarding Mormonism from political opponents have become commonplace for Mitt Romney.

In Chapter 4, Foster provides a solid biography: Romney's mission, education, business career, political family, 1994 Senate campaign, 2002 Winter Olympics, 2002 gubernatorial campaign, and 2008 presidential campaign. Most interesting was the story of Romney's 1994 Senate campaign in Massachusetts against liberal standard-bearer Ted Kennedy. A similar account, with additional details can be found in *The Mormon Quest* (235–38). As Romney gained early momentum in the polls, a panicked Kennedy deployed a family surrogate (Congressman/nephew Joseph Kennedy) to impugn "Romney and his religion for holding arcane views on race" and questioned if "someone of that religion should be elected to public office." An incensed Romney pinpointed Kennedy's hypocrisy: "In my view the victory that John Kennedy won was not for just 40 million Americans who were born Catho-

⁴Thomas Burr, "Giuliani: Campaign Sent Article Tying Mitt to a Mormon Legend," *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 5, 2007, http://www.sltrib.com/ci_6062680?source=rss (accessed June 5, 2007).

lic, it was for Americans of all faiths. And I am sad to say that Ted Kennedy is trying to take away his brother's victory" (89). Kennedy's unscrupulous tactics were an element in defeating Romney, but rankled his close friend and fellow senator Orrin Hatch. Hatch angrily reprimanded both Massachusetts politicians, eliciting apologies from both. Though not mentioned in either book, Kennedy's nephew also personally apologized to Romney,⁵ expanding the list of politicians who've been forced to apologize.

Foster's book culminates in Chapters 5, 6, and 7, in which he assiduously chronicles almost every instance when Mormonism entered the national campaign. Titling his chapters with boxing metaphors, Foster portrays Romney as ambushed by a "Left Hook," a "Right Cross," and a "Low Blow." Attacks on Romney's faith from the left were leveled by journalists and bloggers, while blows from the right were delivered by rival campaigns and religious zealots. The ferocity of media smears caused Romney biographer and supporter Hugh Hewitt to admit that the Mormon issue is "a much bigger problem than I thought" (122). Also surprised by the sucker-punches was Utah Senator Robert Bennett who lamented, "There have been more anti-Mormon comments made in the press than I expected" (124). *A Different God?* contains numerous examples of media enmity toward Mormonism.

For example, in August 2006 and February 2007, news articles entitled "Could Ancestors Haunt Romney?" and "Romney Family Tree Has Polygamy Branch," attracted national attention. Foster explains, "The topic [of polygamy] seemed to make Romney uncomfortable"; and when asked about polygamy on *60 Minutes* in May 2007, he asserted "I can't imagine anything more awful than polygamy." Romney was not the only candidate in 2008 with polygamous ancestry, but the hypocritical media "almost completely ignored the polygamous connections of Barack Obama, whose "father was polygamously married to three women and the father of at least eight children" (128). Intriguingly, historical polygamous parallels exist among Reed Smoot, Romney, and Obama. During the Smoot hearings, the most politically damaging charge leveled at monogamous Smoot was that he was a polygamist; like Romney, Smoot was asked probing questions about polygamy. Interesting, both men responded with carefully canned answers intended to diffuse negative political fallout.⁶ But like Obama, Smoot was the offspring of a polygamous union. (Romney's nearest polygamous ancestor was his great-grandfather, Miles Park Romney.)

In November 2006, liberal journalist Andrew Sullivan smeared Mitt

⁵Frank Phillips, "Rep. Kennedy Apologizes to Romney on Mormon Issue," *Boston Globe*, September 24, 1994; printout of e-copy in my possession.

⁶Michael Harold Paulos, ed., *The Mormon Church on Trial: Transcripts of the Reed Smoot Hearings* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2008), 543.

Romney on his *Atlantic Monthly* blog by posting a photograph, obtained on Wikipedia, of an anonymous man and women wearing garments, which Mormons hold sacred because they are associated with temple ritual. Sullivan's mocking caption read: "So Mitt Romney will never have to answer the boxers or briefs question. But will he tell us whether he wears Mormon underwear at all times, including when asleep?" (125) At the time, Romney had not officially announced his campaign, but Sullivan was obviously making an early attempt to sabotage it. In yet another ironic parallel, Sullivan's actions mirror those of intolerant Americans in 1904. During the Smoot hearings, the national press repeatedly lampooned the Church; and in a similar attempt to gain political traction, the *Washington Times* on December 14, 1904, published front-page photographs of a man wearing temple garments.

In December 2007, MSNBC analyst Lawrence O'Donnell appeared as a guest on the PBS's political analysis show, *The McLaughlin Group*. This specific show discussed Mitt Romney's "Faith in America" speech. With vitriolic passion, O'Donnell called the speech "the worst political speech of my lifetime" because Romney was part of a "ridiculous" faith that is "based on the work of a lying, fraudulent, criminal named Joseph Smith who was a racist, who was pro-slavery, whose religion was completely pro-slavery" (133). Foster did not add the helpful comment that O'Donnell has a history of irrational tirades. In 2004 on *Scarborough Country*, O'Donnell uncontrollably shouted "Liar!" at Swift Boat Veterans for Truth founder John E. O'Neill.⁷ Chillingly, no substantive public outcry ensued against O'Donnell's anti-Mormon rant; stunningly, *New York Times* columnist Frank Rich even agreed with him. Additional context that Foster could have mentioned was O'Donnell's subsequent admission he would like to criticize Islam but refrains because of fears for his personal safety. In contrast, "Mormons are the nicest people in the world," and they'll "never take a shot at me." It's hard to imagine that PBS would have aired this show had O'Donnell so passionately attacked another faith.⁸ Foster concludes, "No action appear[s] to have been taken against O'Donnell except that apparently he has not been invited back as a guest" (134). That was the case at the time of the book's publication, but O'Donnell appeared on *The McLaughlin Group* on May 15 and June

⁷Transcript, October 22, 2004, <http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/6327790/> (accessed August 15, 2009).

⁸Hugh Hewitt, "Lawrence O'Donnell, Unplugged," *TownHall.com*, December 11, 2007, <http://hughhewitt.townhall.com/blog/g/ebcbb670-93a6-4bbd-b0bf-f12275897ea9> (accessed August 9, 2009).

19 in 2009.⁹

Other high-profile attacks from the left discussed in Chapter 4 include Christopher Hitchens, Sally Denton, Al Sharpton, Timothy Garton Ash, Jacob Weisberg, and Robert Redford. Foster captured the essence of the media vitriol; however, a couple of other important media attacks would have strengthened his thesis.

In January 2007, before Romney announced his candidacy, *The New Republic* published an abrasive article titled “The Big Test: Taking Mormonism Seriously.”¹⁰ Using experiences from his two-year stint as a visiting professor in BYU’s Political Science Department, Linker depicts the Mormon doctrine of living prophets as “truly radical” and “potentially dangerous.” When he tried to point out those dangers in his classes, “more than one pious young Mormon invariably responded by declaring that he would execute the prophet’s commands, no matter what.” Linker surmised that Romney had likely “embrace[d] the fundamental tenets of his church more fully than ever before in his political career.” And if so, then “voters need to know” because of the “possible consequences of making such a man the president of the United States.” Even hyper-partisan Democratic pundit Chris Matthews found Linker’s highly speculative piece unfair: “Mitt Romney is about to announce an exploratory committee tomorrow. And what happens[?] *The New Republic* runs a front page story on the cover of their magazine about the dangers of a Mormon president. That is pretty rough stuff. And I read the long piece. I don’t think it does the damage they thought it would, but boy, what a long, exhaustive attack on someone’s religion.”¹¹ Formally responding to Linker’s article on *The New Republic*’s blog was Mormon history mogul Richard Lyman Bushman. Fascinatingly, Bushman rebutted Linker’s charges by using Smoot hearings testimony: “Senators repeatedly questioned church President Joseph F. Smith . . . about his control of Mormon politics. Over and over, he assured the committee that he had no intention of dictating Smoot’s votes in the Senate.”¹²

As a second example, HBO’s *Real Time with Bill Maher* brought up

⁹See <http://www.mclaughlin.com> (accessed August 9, 2009).

¹⁰Foster references this article in a footnote on a paragraph discussing Romney’s reticence to give a “Mormon” speech (189, 206). See Damon Linker, “The Big Test: Taking Mormonism Seriously,” *The New Republic*, January 1, 2007, <http://www.tnr.com/politics/story.html?id=55c95805-4b2b-483d-ace7-f88b297a6d52> (accessed August 9, 2009).

¹¹Chris Matthews, *Hardball*, transcript, <http://www.article6blog.com/2007/01/04/a-revealing-hardball-segment-on-the-damon-linker-essay/> (accessed August 9, 2009).

¹²Richard Bushman, “Have Faith,” *The New Republic*, January 29, 2007, <http://>

Romney's Mormonism in February 2007. The panel included host Bill Maher, former Maryland Lieutenant Governor and current Republican National Committee head Michael Steele, former Hewlett-Packard CEO Carly Fiorina, and TV host Craig Ferguson. Maher raised the following talking points: "Do you realize that in the [19]50s the Mormons preached the only way a black man could get into heaven was as a slave (Steele agrees: "That's right")¹³ . . . People don't know about Mormonism, and when they find out they will be amazed at how weird it really is. It's even weird by the standards of other religions, and we know that they're weird. They believe in stuff that is demonstrably not true; you can prove that it is not true. You can't prove about Jesus, it was 2000 years ago. But Joseph Smith, the prophet of Mormonism, lived less than two centuries ago. (Steele agrees: "That's true") And he was, excuse me, a con-man. . . . Brigham Young said that race-mixing should be punishable by death. (Steele agrees "Right")."¹⁴ Anyone familiar with Maher was not surprised by his religion bashing; it's part of his shtick. However, the audible acceptance of distorted facts on Mormon history by Michael Steele, an African American, came as a great surprise.

This implicit bias against Mormonism probably explains Steele's tepid punditry of Romney throughout the 2008 election as well as Steele's comments in May 2009. When he guest-hosted *Bill Bennett's Morning in America* radio show. During the show, a caller asserted that Romney, instead of McCain, would have won the general election. Steele replied, with a hint of glee, that among other things, the Republican base "rejected Mitt because it had issues with Mormonism." Romney's spokesperson swiftly condemned

www.tnr.com/politics/story.html?id=53c70dfb-72d1-4276-bec5-9949963be26b (accessed August 9, 2009). In fact, no senator directly asked Smith if he was going to dictate Smoot's votes, but Smoot was asked this question multiple times. See *Proceedings before the Committee on Privileges and Elections of the United States Senate in the Matter of the Protests against the Right of Hon. Reed Smoot, a Senator from the State of Utah, to Hold His Seat* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1906), 3:188–89 (cited hereafter as *Smoot Hearings*). When future apostle James E. Talmage was asked the same question, it was phrased hypothetically and he shrewdly answered, "If the president of the church, or any other officer of the church, were to presume to instruct me in my position as a Senator, I should remind him that I was the Senator and he was not." *Smoot Hearings*, 3:32–33.

¹³Maher used the same line on March 12, 2007, during an interview on *Larry King Live*. For a full transcript see <http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/0703/12/1kl.01.html> (accessed August 9, 2009).

¹⁴My transcript of the panel discussion; for the video see <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=96Qf2ethoUA> (accessed August 9, 2009).

Steele's comments. Steele retracted the remarks and apologized.¹⁵

In January 2008 as Romney campaigned in Florida, the *Politico* published on its website "Missionaries Popping Up at Mitt Events." In an attempt to link LDS proselytizing with Romney's campaign, *Politico* correspondent Jonathan Martin reported that, on a few occasions in Florida, missionaries "sporting the trademark short-sleeved white dress shirt" were seen at campaign events, although no one claimed to see them engaged in campaign activities. When reporters asked Romney if he was comfortable seeing missionaries at campaign events, he first dismissed the question but later conceded, "This is America, I guess people can go wherever they'd like to go."¹⁶

Foster's "Right Hook" and "Low Blow" against Romney were perpetrated by Republican Party members, hits that proved fatal. As Romney gained momentum in the polls, Evangelicals feared that Romney's success would legitimize his religion. According to a savvy Republican insider: "I think the Mormon issue is a real problem in the South, it's a real problem in other parts of the country, but people are not going to say it. . . . What they're going to say is he is a flip flopper" (188). In Chapters 5 and 6, Foster chronicled many of right-wing assaults on Romney's religion.

Foster argues that "one of the major reasons that Evangelicals, Southern Baptists in particular, fear allowing . . . legitimacy to the LDS Church is because . . . two of the more aggressive evangelist faiths in America are Southern Baptists and Mormons" (156). LDS missionary efforts have found a receptive audience with Evangelicals, causing prominent Evangelical Richard Land to mourn, "There are now more Mormons that used to be Southern Baptists than any other denomination" (158). In recent years, Foster notes, Evangelical antipathy has expressed itself in angry street protesters outside temple dedications, semi-annual general conferences, and historical pageants.

Foster accurately documents Evangelical vituperation at historical pageants. In the summer of 2006, I attended the Hill Cumorah pageant at Palmyra, New York. At the event's entrance, obnoxious protesters shouted virulent messages through megaphones at pageant-goers: "Joseph Smith was a liar! He is a crispy critter in hell. So is Brigham Young!" As I ran the gauntlet of haranguers, a man attired in a Halloween mask and red robe, surmounted

¹⁵Reid Wilson, "Romney Slaps Steele over Mormon Comments," *The Hill*, May 11, 2009, <http://thehill.com/leading-the-news/romney-slaps-steele-over-mormon-comments-2009-05-11.html> (accessed August 9, 2009). For an audio recording, see http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Yh820c2w_Ps (accessed August 9, 2009).

¹⁶Jonathan Martin, "Missionaries Popping Up at Mitt Events," *Politico*, January 25, 2008, http://www.politico.com/blogs/jonathanmartin/0108/Missionaries_popping_up_at_Mitt_events.html (accessed August 9, 2009).

with temple robes, wove through the foot traffic chanting, “Joseph Smith is in hell. He is the devil. . . . Joseph Smith is a liar.” The most comical moment of the night occurred when the prayer began. The cacophonous sound of protestors unexpectedly fell silent; but when the prayer concluded in the name of Jesus Christ, the protesters immediately pounced: “You don’t worship the same Jesus as we do! You don’t worship the right Jesus!”

During the summer of 2007, staffers from Senator Sam Brownback’s and Senator John McCain’s presidential campaigns strategically peddled anti-Mormon material to the media and potential voters. Brownback personally apologized to Romney, but McCain did not (176). Later in the campaign, McCain and his mother appeared on MSNBC, and ninety-five-year-old Roberta McCain minimized Romney’s voluntary service as CEO of the 2002 Olympics, claiming: “He’s a Mormon and the Mormons of Salt Lake had caused that scandal” (177). McCain immediately distanced himself from the remarks but did not apologize.

In early 2006, conservative journalist Robert Novak reported, “Prominent, respectable Evangelical Christians have told me . . . that millions of their co-religionists cannot and will not vote for Romney . . . solely because he is a member of the [LDS Church]” (151). Novak’s column presaged the rise of former Southern Baptist preacher Mike Huckabee in the Iowa caucuses—the first GOP primary. Months before the Iowa caucuses, Romney enjoyed a significant lead in Iowa primary polls; however, other ominous polls revealed that significant numbers of Americans would not vote for a Mormon. Seizing his opportunity, Huckabee began exploiting the anti-Mormon emotions of thousands of Iowa Evangelicals by running campaign ads demarcating his Christianity from Romney’s Mormonism (178). Furthermore, Huckabee repeated the trite anti-Mormon talking point, “Don’t Mormons believe that Jesus and the devil are brothers?” (182) Huckabee apologized to Romney for this remark, but the strategy reminded Evangelicals in Iowa that Mormons were “not Christian”; and on caucus day, approximately 15,000 religiously motivated Evangelicals who had not voted in the Iowa caucuses for at least thirty years showed up and cast a vote against Mormonism, defeating Romney. Huckabee’s underhanded religious attacks were severely criticized by many conservative pundits including George Will and Bill Bennett.

Latter-day Saints throughout country were incensed that Huckabee so blatantly made Mormonism the issue in Iowa. Though not mentioned in the book, by early February 2008, *Politico* published an article titled, “Utah’s Mormons Loathe Huckabee.”¹⁷ Also upset with Huckabee was prominent LDS Church member Glenn Beck. During the early primaries, Beck ap-

¹⁷Richard T. Cullen, “Utah’s Mormons Loathe Huckabee,” *Politico*, February 4,

peared to have misgivings about Romney; but, disturbed by Huckabee's religious pandering, Beck privately buttonholed Huckabee at a chance meeting in an airport.

In the course of their conversation, Beck gave a brief explanation of the persecutions and forced exodus of the Mormons and related his own conversion story. As he did so, tears filled his eyes. He later commented that Huckabee did tell him he was sorry. But there was something that bothered Beck. "We were knee to knee. Not once did this pastor reach out and put a hand on my shoulder or on my knee and say, I am so sorry, Glenn. . . . As I told him in the end, "By their fruits ye shall know them." (185)

Beck's skepticism about Huckabee's sincerity was well-placed; Huckabee maintains to this day that he did nothing inappropriate. Six months after Foster's book was published, Doug Wright of LDS radio station KSL in Salt Lake City interviewed Huckabee. During the campaign, Wright had sharply criticized Huckabee for his religious hustling; but when asked to explain his tactics, Huckabee unpersuasively replied, "I have never said anything unkind about Mormons" and the "11 words [about Jesus and Satan being brothers] were completely misconstrued."¹⁸ My guess is that Foster would find Huckabee's defense flimsy and unbelievable because the evidence presented in *A Different God?* decisively supports the opposite conclusion.

One important Mormon moment from Romney's campaign—not discussed in *A Different God?*—was a Romney radio interview in Iowa a few days before the state's important straw poll. For most of the campaign, Romney's strategy was to circumspectly avoid discussing the details of his faith. But the interview evoked Romney's most candid discussion and forceful defense of Mormonism from the campaign. During 2007, Romney held more than 200 Iowa events including this radio interview with local conservative host Jan Mickelson, who began innocuously, then abruptly ambushed Romney: "You and I share a common affection for the late Cleon Skousen. . . . He was one of my instructors, via a book he wrote on the making of America . . . a wonderful commentary on the U.S. Constitution. . . . [that] tells you exactly what [the founders'] original intent is." Mickelson then grilled Romney on the legality of abortion. Romney responded that he had not read the Skousen book and that abortion was the currently the law of the land. Mickelson swiftly interrupted, "You just flunked Cleon Skousen's test. . . . Cleon is spinning in his grave, sir." Mickelson further lectured Romney on Mormonism and insinuated that the Church should have disciplined Romney for his pre-

2008, <http://dyn.politico.com/printstory.cfm?uuid=E6D74830-3048-5C12-002A6D17694C55DA> (accessed August 9, 2009).

¹⁸Bob Bernick Jr., "Huckabee Says He Has Not Said Anything Unkind about Mormons," *Deseret News*, January 9, 2009, <http://www.deseretnews.com/article/1,5143,705276300,00.html> (accessed August 9, 2009).

vious pro-choice position.

When the interview ended, studio cameras continued to roll, capturing Mickelson's off-air harassment: "I think you're making a big mistake—this is only my opinion off the air, but I think you are making a big mistake when you distance yourself from your religion." An impassioned Romney retorted, "I'm not distancing myself from my faith. I'm proud of my faith. There is nothing I distance myself from. There are Mormons in the leadership of my Church who are pro-choice. . . . My Church says . . . if you have sex outside marriage that you could be excommunicated. Now, do we make a law that says that? No. . . . My Church says I can't drink alcohol. . . . Okay, should I say that as Governor of Massachusetts we are stopping all alcohol sales? . . . My religion is for me and how I live my life. My Church, the leaders of my Church, who I know well, and . . . I have been, a leader of my Church, says with the same vehemence that we have our own beliefs, we also vehemently believe other people should be able to make their own choices." This interview received national attention and Romney went on to win the Iowa straw poll. Nevertheless, this event reminded Iowa Evangelicals that Romney was a Mormon, thus initiating Huckabee's ascent.¹⁹

As a close follower of the 2008 election cycle, I collected more than 150 political cartoons from newspapers around the country featuring Romney. In another parallel, the Smoot hearings provided fodder for political cartoonists. I personally collected more than fifty political cartoons satirizing Smoot and Mormonism.²⁰ Foster does not elaborate on this deluge of Romney cartooning but includes four (156, 158, 184, 214). Many of those I collected perpetuated religious bigotry against Romney and Mormonism. For example, the Massachusetts newspaper *MetroWest Daily News* published a cartoon on January 10, 2007, "Mormons for Romney '08." The cartoon depicted a polygamist husband and his seven wives making fund-raising phone calls. The man is saying, "Yes sir, by law, spouses can donate \$2100. . . . For example in my case it's \$14,700."²¹ Including a few more cartoons would have perfectly supplemented Foster's thesis.

¹⁹See <http://committedtoromney.com/2007/08/05/transcript-of-gov-romney-interview-with-jan-mickelson/> (accessed August 9, 2009).

²⁰For some of these Smoot cartoons, see Michael H. Paulos, "Political Cartooning and the Reed Smoot Hearings," *Sunstone*, December 2006, 36–40; Michael Harold Paulos, "Senator George Sutherland: Reed Smoot's Defender," *Journal of Mormon History* 33, no. 2 (Summer 2007): 81–188; Michael Harold Paulos, "Under the Gun at the Smoot Hearings: Joseph F. Smith's Testimony," *Journal of Mormon History* 35, no. 4 (Fall 2008): 181–225; Paulos, *The Mormon Church on Trial*, 286–98.

²¹See <http://davegranlund.com/cartoons/2007/01/11/mormons-for-romney/> (accessed August 9, 2009). Five days later, a letter to the editor, indignantly re-

Because of its tight publication schedule, *A Different God?* could not include any analysis of Romney and the California gay marriage referendum (Proposition 8), LDS institutional involvement, and alleged retaliation against the Church by gay marriage supporters. Full studies of this topic remain to be written. Nevertheless, anyone interested in understanding or reliving the Mormon aspects of the 2008 campaign should own a copy *A Different God?*

Mormons in politics are more visible today than ever before. As an illustration, in July 2009, Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid, an LDS convert, joined LDS President Thomas S. Monson for a private meeting with President Obama.²² President Monson presented Obama with a leather-bound, five-volume history of his family. As another example, in November 2006, Representative Jeff Flake of Arizona was profiled on *60 Minutes* as a fierce opponent of wasteful government spending. One questioner asked whether his LDS mission to Africa prepared him for his political career in Congress. Smiling, Flake responded, "Yes. For one, I think as a missionary you gotta be stubborn. And you gotta try to be persuasive."²³ Given this contemporary context, Newell G. Bringham and Craig L. Foster's book titled *The Mormon Quest for the Presidency* could not have been published at a more appropriate time.

Interestingly, *A Different God?* and *The Mormon Quest* began as a collaborative biography of Mitt Romney and his father George Romney. But during the research, the project morphed into two books.²⁴ Readers benefitted from this project's evolution.

sponded: "Shame on Dave Granlund; his Wednesday editorial page cartoon was vicious and not at all funny. I worked for a Salt Lake City based high-tech start-up for three years. It was owned by two brothers. They both tithed—large amounts of money. They were active in the Mormon church—both elders. One resigned from his company to return to missionary service in Africa. And, they both were and are monogamous. To portray Mormons in general, but Mormons for Romney in particular, as bigamous hayseeds is untrue, egregiously so. Worse, it is a uncalled for insult. . . . They do not drink, smoke or curse. They are unfailingly polite, and the worst language that I ever heard from the entire company in the three years I worked with them was 'drat.' Finally, they are monogamous. Granlund—shame on you. You have betrayed, certainly, your ignorance but, perhaps also, your bias. This cartoon is not funny, it is egregiously vicious." John Ellsworth, "Letter: Cartoon Insults Mormons," *MetroWest Daily News*, January 15, 2007, <http://www.metrowestdailynews.com/opinion/8999002564989026303> (accessed August 9, 2009).

²²Thomas Burr, "LDS Church Leader to Meet with Obama," *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 20, 2009, http://www.sltrib.com/ci_12872708 (accessed August 9, 2009).

²³For a transcript, see http://www.votesmart.org/speech_detail.php?sc_id=11047&keyword=&phrase=&contain=?q=print (accessed August 9, 2009).

²⁴Jonathan A. Stapley, "A Different God?: Interview with Author Craig L. Foster,"

In four sections, *The Mormon Quest* presents ten vignettes of the Mormon-affiliated candidates who ran for president. Joseph Smith made the only attempt during the nineteenth century, but major-party candidates in the twentieth century include George Romney, Mo Udall, and Orrin Hatch. Minor-party candidates in the twentieth century were Parley P. Christensen, Ezra Taft Benson, Eldridge Cleaver, Sonia Johnson, and Bo Gritz. Mitt Romney is the only twenty-first-century candidate to date.

In their introduction, the authors accurately declare: “[The] 2008 election was not the first time the Mormon question had surfaced” in presidential politics. They note the “eerie” parallels between Mitt Romney and his father, George, who had run for president forty years earlier: physical likeness, Republican Party affiliation, “highly successful business careers” that had netted each “a large personal fortune,” launching their campaigns at age sixty, and “fail[ing] to secure their party’s nomination” (2). In Chapter 2, Bringhurst and Foster commented on how membership in the Mormon Church adversely impacted George’s campaign, but without the same maelstrom of religious bigotry that attacked Mitt. Mitt’s campaign seemed focused on avoiding his father’s 1968 mistakes—most prominently, an undisciplined message, ambivalence about running, and mismanagement of campaign personnel. But other than these peripheral similarities, *The Mormon Quest* does not include a full analysis of the father-son campaigns.

Chapter 9 presents a mini-biography of Bo Gritz and his 1992 candidacy for the “ultraconservative Populist Party.” A convert to the LDS Church, Gritz campaigned heavily in “Utah and other western states with significant Mormon populations, seeking to capitalize on his status as an active, practicing Latter-day Saint.” Gritz also “employed recognizable Book of Mormon expressions, applying the phrase ‘secret combinations’ to purported governmental abuses” (217). Most ironic is Gritz’s pandering to the Religious Right: “Gritz also brought forth a number of more radical proposals. Seeking support from the increasingly powerful religious right, Gritz addressed the role of religion in politics. He proclaimed that America was ‘a Christian nation’ and proposed that all laws ‘should reflect unabashed acceptance of Almighty God.’ Gritz also called for the abolition of the federal income tax along with elimination of both the Internal Revenue Service and the Federal Reserve System” (216).

After Gritz’s campaign failed, his activities and teachings veered sharply into religious and political extremism, signaling red flags of apostasy to LDS General Authorities. Gritz and his followers began advocating chiliastic “global conspiracies” and an “impending governmental collapse” (223). Re-

sponding to the Gritz movement, Church headquarters issued formal statements warning Church members of heretical “colonies and cults,” and later launched a “housecleaning campaign” that “yielded hundreds of excommunications” (224). But before Church leaders could excommunicate Gritz, he resigned his Church membership.

By publishing these companion books, historians Newell G. Bringhurst and Craig L. Foster have performed a great service to Mormon history buffs interested in politics. Moreover, Bringhurst and Foster planted seeds for future writings on Mormons in politics. In the last paragraph of the introduction of *A Different God?*, Foster makes the following prophecy, “Although Mitt has taken himself out of this race . . . the American nation has not seen the last Romney campaign.”

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Reid L. Neilson. *Global Mormonism in the 21st Century*. Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 2008. Xxi, 320 pp. Scripture index, index. Hard cover: \$19.99; ISBN 978-0-8425-2696-8

Reviewed by Matthew R. Lee

Global Mormonism in the 21st Century gives readers a small glimpse into the delicate and often challenging role of those who are working to establish the Church abroad in support of current and future generations who will truly bloom where they have been planted, now that centralized “gathering” has been expanded to Zion-building worldwide.

Reid L. Neilson identifies the relationship between these efforts and Mormon history in his introduction, calls on Mormon historians to reevaluate their focus, and urges them to more closely record events that are happening in the Church outside North America. He asks that this be done quickly, while many of the first converts to Mormonism in international locations are still alive and available.

Neilson’s introduction is followed by twenty chapters selected from vari-

ous sessions of the LDS International Society Conferences held between 1998 and 2005. Half are presented by current, former, and emeritus General Authorities. The remaining contributors are BYU faculty, Church employees, a retired Church Educational System (CES) employee, and a doctoral candidate at Loyola University.

The book is divided into five parts: (1) “Joseph Smith, Mormonism, and the World,” (2) “Missionary Work in a Global Village,” (3) “Humanitarian Outreach and the Latter-day Saints,” (4) “Church Education Initiatives in an Era of Globalization,” and 5) “International Challenges Facing the Church.”

This is not a collection of self-congratulating status updates on how well the Church is doing in the international arena. Internal and external challenges to international growth are presented with candor; and in some chapters, more questions are asked than answered. The strength of this collection is in the accounts of participant observation, since they provide primary documentation of contemporary experiences that are already historical data. The majority of contributors recount personal experiences—but unfortunately, they provide few dates and rarely any citations. I would have preferred specific sources and dates for both conversations and unsourced quotes (e.g., 197, 229, 245, 247, 284, 291, 292).

The opening essay, “Joseph Smith and the Rise of a World Religion” by Robert L. Millet, might seem most relevant to a history-reading audience; but I found his basic premise faulty. His compilation of quotations from past and present Church leaders is excellent; yet his “ten characteristics of a world religion” quickly narrow in scope from a “world religion” (4) to a “church” (7) to a religion that is open to new “revelation” (11).

Historically important material appears in “Sharing the Gospel in a Global Setting” by Lance B. Wickman of the Seventy, which quotes an eight-page excerpt from “The Missionary Work of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints” (originally published in an article coauthored with Elder Dallin H. Oaks at the request of Emory University’s Center for the Study of Law and Religion). Emory’s on-going series is primarily addressed to international government leaders working to establish state policies governing not only the religions already practiced by their citizens, but those religions who are, as President Hinckley has said, knocking at “the front door.”

In “Humanitarian Aid: The Challenge of Self-Reliance,” Elder James O. Mason points out some of the errors made by well-intentioned humanitarian organizations when aid is given without consideration for the receivers’ long-term needs. One example is the over-abundance of used clothing sent to developing nations. Rather than helping, such donations often make local manufacturing and sale of clothing obsolete.

In Elder Alexander B. Morrison’s 2001 essay “The Tumultuous Twenty-First Century: Turbulence and Uncertainty,” he describes some of the harsh

realities in Sub-Saharan Africa. He compares a traveler in an air-conditioned stretch limousine to much of the Western world as it drives across the potholed streets of New York City past homeless beggars representing the developing world. David A. Shuler discusses idealism, the ethics of change, and the use of agency; he compares colonial efforts to “bring” civilization to the world with current work to “bring” prosperity, asking: “When are development workers humanitarians and philanthropists, and when are they cultural and even political imperialists” (269). He calls modernization theory not only “arrogant and condescending” but “dangerous and perhaps leading to unethical decisions and behavior” (274–75). In the ideal world, “free agents choose to educate themselves . . . then live by . . . principles of happiness . . . [and] in nonselfish and nonmanipulative ways, help others to see the mistakes and misjudgments that lead to their unhappiness” (279).

President Dieter F. Uchtdorf calls for “all of us” to “make some alterations in our views of one another . . . increase our empathy and cross-cultural sensitivity and progressively discard prejudices incompatible with brotherhood. . . . We also need to make a clear distinction between our cultural and other preferences and the gospel of Jesus Christ” (304). He reaffirms: “This is not an American church. The Church is beyond the nation-state because no state is an official representative of God . . . [and] a diverse Latter-day Saint people cannot have brotherhood if one of its segments insists on being always right, all the time, on everything” (305).

These two examples represent the general tone of several contributions. The dominant note sounded from the first page to the last is that, as a Church and a people, we have a long way to go. Still, the contributors to this volume clearly believe that this is the work of the Lord. For them and like-minded readers, this belief makes all the difference.

Joining the LDS International Society (membership is free) allows reading or download the proceedings of nearly every conference the society has held. I support Reid Neilson’s call for a larger view of Mormon history. May historians of the twenty-second century find collections of international documents in the LDS Church History Library that are far superior, in both breadth and detail, to the nineteenth-century collections we prize so much today.

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BOOK NOTICES

Eileen Hallet Stone, ed. and comp. *A Homeland in the West: Utah Jews Remember*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2001. xvi, 500 pp. Photographs, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth: \$39.95; ISBN 0-87480-702-6

Eileen Hallet Stone introduces this book as follows:

This book is not a history of Utah Jews, which would be impossible to compile in one volume. It is a book about historical conversations steeped in the unique experience of Utah; it is about lifestyles, attitudes, issues, events, traditions, legacies, and the personal searches for Jewish authenticity. Compiled of a cross section of Jewish experiences throughout the state of Utah, these stories weave the threads of an otherwise uncaptured ethnic experience into the fabric of Utah history. They are here to represent Jewish immigrants, from the early pioneer era up to the modern day, and to portray their influence and commitment to the settlement of the West. These earnest accounts will define in personal terms the economic, educational, and social challenges Jewish families experienced, the adversity they endured, the discrimination they faced, the failures they overcame, and the successes

they achieved. Their stories, accounts, memoirs, interviews, explicit conversations, excerpted articles, and even tales are presented to become visible to a population that continues to have little or no awareness of the Jewish existence. They are here to help others develop the ability to challenge the many forms of discrimination that face all ethnic minority groups in contemporary American culture. (xi-xii)

Stone has collected a wide variety of material regarding the experience of Jews in Utah, ranging from the significant and memorable to trivia and minutiae.

One of the first Sephardic Jews in Utah was Solomon Nunes Carvalho who traveled with John C. Frémont's ill-fated expedition in 1853-54. He almost died of exposure, then recuperated in Parowan and Salt Lake City, where Brigham Young befriended him.

One of the more intriguing accounts was of the agricultural colony Clarion near Gunnison, part of the worldwide Jewish "back to the soil" movement. Instigated in 1911 by Benjamin Brown, a Russian emigrant, Clarion was beset by many

challenges including floods, lack of water, less than ideal soils, a harsh climate, and lack of capital. The people of Clarion struggled mightily to overcome these challenges but finally abandoned the town, leaving only a few remnants of buildings and a cemetery with tombstones with the star of David.

A number of Jewish merchants managed stores in Utah with a wide range of merchandise, including Auerbach Bros., Grand Central Markets, Skyline Floral, Standard Optical, Sweet Candy Company, and Zinik Sporting Goods.

Jews who held political office in Utah include Simon Bamberger, governor (1916–20); Louis Marcus, Salt Lake City's mayor (1932–36); and Wally Sandack, Utah State Chairman of the Democratic Party (1967–70).

Many accounts describe immigrant backgrounds (mostly from Europe and Russia) and the factors that brought them to Utah. Several Holocaust survivors are also included. Participants cover a wide spectrum of Jewish belief and culture: from conservative (Orthodox) to liberal (Reformed) and from believing to non-believing.

While this book does not focus on the interactions of Jews with Mormons, there are a few anecdotes. One story involved Ruth Matz McCrimmon and her sister Berenice:

What happened was one day when I was about six and Berenice was seven or eight, the Mormon bishop came to talk to my Dad. He said, "Why don't you let the kids come to Church? They could come to Sunday School with their

friends." So my Dad said, okay, he'd send us to church. Well, when we got to the class, the teacher started telling everyone that the Jews killed Christ. That Jesus was the Son of God and that we killed him. All the kids started shaking their finger at us, saying, "Shame on you." . . .

Well, my poor dad was furious. He called the bishop and said, "You asked me to send my kids to Sunday School. I did so they could learn bible stories, and the teacher tells them that the Jews killed Christ and they come home and tell me that I killed Christ. My kids aren't going there anymore!" (329–30)

Three appendices provide useful information. Appendix A is a partial list of Jewish-owned businesses in Utah, before and after World War II. Appendix B contains eighteen recipes of Jewish foods, including challah, stuffed cabbage, strudel, latkes, and blintzes. Appendix C is a Yiddish glossary, Hebrew terms, and some expressions, such as "B'nai B'rith," "chutzpah," "goy," "Haggadah," "High Holy Days," "mazel tov," "shul," and "trayf."

Kip Sperry. *Kirtland, Ohio: A Guide to Family History and Historical Sources*. Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 2005. xiv, 235 pp. Photographs, maps, bibliography, timeline, appendixes. Cloth: \$24.95; ISBN 0-8425-2600-5

This book is a list of the major genealogical and historical resources

of Ohio and of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints accompanied by advice for how to go about researching using these sources. Sperry also provides a brief chronology of Kirtland's Mormon history.

Most of the book (more than 120 pages) deals with sources for those researching LDS ancestors in Kirtland. The sources are in alphabetical order, include a physical location (with maps), and web addresses where applicable. Also, Sperry provides concise descriptions of some, but not all, of the sources. For example:

Cook, Lyndon W., and Milton V. Backman Jr., eds. *Kirtland Elders' Quorum Record, 1836-1841*. Distinctive Mormon Documents Series. Provo, Utah: Grandin Book, 1985.

Transcriptions of minutes of meetings of the Kirtland elders quorum, 1836-41. Most meetings of the elders quorum were held in the Kirtland Temple. Includes biographical sketches: and name and subject indexes. Indexed in the Early Church Information File.

Ronald L. Holt. *Beneath These Red Cliffs: An Ethnohistory of the Utah Paiutes*. 2d ed. Logan: Utah State University Press, 2006. xxiv, 197 pp. Photographs, bibliography, index. Paper: \$21.95. ISBN 0-87421-637-0

This book, updated from the first edition published in 1992, describes relations between the Paiute Indians and Americans, primarily Mormon settlers and the federal government.

Despite the title, it is less ethnography than history; it touches only lightly on the culture of the Paiute Indians, focusing instead on economic changes, attitudes, and policies that come from outside the tribe.

Holt relates Paiute history from the time before the arrival of Spanish explorers up through 1984, the period covered by the first edition. The second edition has a new foreword and a five-page update that describes the tribe's condition through 2005, but these seem to be the only changes. Holt, who is a professor of anthropology at Weber State University, shows how federal (and Mormon) ideologies led to "paternalistic strategies to save the Indians from extermination and to allow time for their assimilation to white civilization, education, and Christianity" (32). The Paiutes "adapted by ostensibly going along with the imposed policies of assimilation, dependency, and religious conversion, while . . . they remained hostile to many aspects of white culture" (13).

Throughout much of the Paiutes' interactions with Americans they have been looked down on. "Not only did the courts and 'common wisdom' view Indians as politically and economically dependent; they were also seen as morally dependent. Thus, part of the 'white man's burden' consisted of civilizing the Native American" (39). Holt specifically charges Mormons with active hostility to Paiute culture: "In order to assimilate the Indian into a homogeneous life-style that conforms

to the Mormon world view, one of the primary goals of the Mormons has been to destroy the culture of the Paiutes” (153).

Holt does recognize that soon after arriving in the Salt Lake Valley, Mormons “appropriated [money] for Indian provisions, clothing, and blankets” (31), and provided food and odd jobs (35) to the Paiutes. Such aid continued well into the twentieth century. However, Holt considers such aid to have had short-term benefits only: “Informants and documents both suggest that help from the Mormons in the form of canned goods and bulk food items were often all that kept the Paiute above starvation level. Yet even this help may actually have contributed to dependency, since it was only enough to ‘keep them alive’ and still dependent on the LDS church” (102).

Holt also blames the federal government for the Paiutes’ condition. They were often ignored, and promises made with them were often broken. In a meeting at the Fillmore courthouse in 1953, Paiute elder Clifford Jake questioned Senator Arthur Watkins about the policy of terminating trust status for the Paiute tribes. The senator reportedly rejoined, “You’d better sit down, and mind your own business and shut-up” (75). In the end, “the termination policy that was supposed to make the Paiutes more independent actually destroyed their last independent farming enterprise, lowered their real income, and left them more dependent on welfare than they had been prior to termination” (77).

The “Update, 2005” section, which currently appears immediately after the introduction, would be more logically placed at the book’s end. The narrative currently ends in 1984, making readers return to the beginning of the book for the brief overview of the intervening twenty years.

Bill Harris. *A New Zion: The Story of the Latter-day Saints*. San Diego, Calif.: Thunder Bay Press, 2004. 128 pp. Photographs (black and white; color), maps, index. Hardcover: \$17.98 + \$3 shipping and handling within the United States (\$7.49 international). Ordering information: Barnes & Noble, www.bn.com; email: service@barnesandnoble.com. ISBN: 1-59223-206-X

A New Zion: The Story of the Latter-day Saints is divided into ten chapters filled with illustrations, photographs, and maps. This book recounts the story of the Latter-day Saints from its beginnings to the first years of the twenty-first century under the direction of the fifteenth president of the Church, Gordon B. Hinckley.

The ten chapters in this short, illustrated history are “Revelations,” “Taking the Word to the West,” “The Beautiful Place,” “Gathering Zion,” “The Way of the Lord,” “The Place of the Refuge,” “Greater Glory,” “Wars and Deliverance,” “A New Lease on Life,” and “Tradition.” Nearly every page includes

images from the Museum of Church History and Art (renamed the Church History Museum in 2008) in Salt Lake City, the Brigham Young University collection, and the LDS Church Library.

Bill Harris, who is not Mormon, has written more than 100 books, many of them focused on the history of the American West. He describes the locust infestation:

The Saints fought back, swatting them with sticks and boards and water-soaked rags, but still the hordes kept coming. They tried drowning them by diverting water from the irrigation ditches, but the water was quickly filled with dead insects and live ones used as bridges to avoid drowning themselves. There didn't seem to be any way to hold back this terrible tide and, with it, certain ruination of all their crops and their hopes along with them—except through prayer.

The entire community was on its knees when the sky darkened again. This time it was flocks of seagulls flying in from the lake, although few of the Saints regard[ed] it as anything like an answer to their prayers—these birds were crop eaters. But on this occasion, the gulls had an appetite only for crickets and they devoured them by the thousands over the next few weeks. Finally, when there were no crickets left, the gulls flew off west toward their nests on the islands in the lake fifteen miles away. A miracle? Probably. At least the Saints were convinced that they had just witnessed one. (72–73)

Chapter 1 describes the religious climate in the United States in the early 1800s and Joseph Smith's de-

sires to find the truth. It briefly relates some of his visions and revelations.

Chapters 2–3 narrate the foundational events of the Church's first fourteen years, including the construction of the Kirtland and the Nauvoo temples, plural marriage, the attack on the *Nauvoo Expositor*, and the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith.

Chapters 4–9 cover the Mormon Battalion, the Brigham Young period, emigration to the Salt Lake Valley, Mormon colonization in the West, an overview of the largely successful settlement history, and the increasingly tense interactions with the U.S. government. Other major events include the California gold rush of 1849, the development of business and commerce, associations with the Indians, the Mountain Meadows Massacre (which he describes without a name), missionary work in Europe, and the Perpetual Emigrating Fund.

Harris describes events in 1861 this way:

When the transcontinental telegraph line reached Salt Lake City in 1861, the first message that went out over it was from Brigham Young to the new president, Abraham Lincoln. "Utah has not seceded," it said, "but is firm for the Constitution and laws of our once happy country." The reference was to the gathering war between the States, but Brigham understood that, as far as his people were concerned, happiness might be just around the corner. He knew that the war news was going to push the Mormons off the front pages, and

that they would be able to get on with their lives in their own way without interference from the distracted Gentiles. (90)

Chapter 9 concludes with federal laws against polygamy and Wilford Woodruff's 1890 Manifesto. Chapter 10 summarizes the Church's last major political challenges from the government. "Significantly, although the Church was foursquare on the side of the later Prohibition amendment to the Constitution, Utah cast the deciding vote to ratify the amendment that repealed it in 1933" as evidence that the Church had "no control over politics in Utah" (117).

The final paragraphs in the last chapter describes the international Church: numbers of converts, seminaries and institutes, Church schools, and students, and the establishment of the worldwide Perpetual Education Fund.

There are no notes. The only sources are for illustrations in the acknowledgments. The three-paragraph foreword by Wm. Budge Wallis explains his own Mormon origins and how much Mormonism means to him.

Stewart Aitchison. *A Guide to Southern Utah's Hole-in-the-Rock Trail*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2005. 84 pp. Photographs, maps, appendixes, bibliography. Paper: \$11.95; ISBN 0-87480-821-9

"With tears welling up in his eyes, little Willie Decker cried, 'How will we ever get home again?' He and his

mother, Elizabeth, had just scrambled down the infamous Hole-in-the-Rock, a natural crack widened in a sandstone cliff that barely accommodated a wagon, and then had made their way along Uncle Ben's Dugway, a road literally tacked onto the side of the vertical cliff—a clever engineering feat" (p. 1).

With a focus on both geography and the human dimension, Stewart Aitchison, a longtime guide in the Southwest, guides the reader visually along southern Utah's Hole-in-the-Rock Trail through pictures and descriptive passages of the trail. The Saints who traveled it in 1879 anticipated a six-week journey from mid-October to the beginning of December through what they called the Escalante Shortcut. Their trek turned into an adventure through the winter of 1879–80 that lasted more than five months. Aitchison's book not only provides detailed explanations about how to follow the trail today but also includes numerous anecdotes from the lives of its first travelers.

This guide contains eight chapters organized chronologically around the history of the trek. It begins with the decision to make a settlement in southeastern Utah (Chapter 1), the call for volunteers (Chapter 2), the exploratory party (Chapter 3), the trek made by the Mormon settlers (Chapters 4–7), and the establishment of a city (Chapter 8). Aitchison characterizes their achievement: "It was the last major wagon train in the United States, the only emigrant train to go

west to east, one of the few that actually gained in numbers . . . , and one of the slowest (with a daily average of less than two miles . . .)” (2).

Readers who do not intend to visit the sites may feel inclined to skip the sections, “Following the Trail,” that give detailed explanations of how to find each site, which road to turn on, exact mileage, etc. However, these sections contain little gems that are not duplicated in the narrative. For example, “According to Escalante locals, there is a tale about a golden statue of Jesus allegedly stolen from the Spanish and hidden on top of the Kaiparowits [Plateau]” (27).

The Hole-in-the-Rock Trail is still some of the most inaccessible ground in the United States. The Saints experienced the difficulties of crossing this land firsthand: “The pioneers were trapped between the Kaiparowits Plateau and the maze of gulches draining into the Escalante River. Behind them, snows were deepening in the Escalante Mountains. Ahead was a 1,000-foot-deep canyon containing the 300-foot-wide river” (p. 32). Despite the dangers of this part of the country, Aitchison also describes it as “hauntingly beautiful, wild quintessential slickrock country” (p. 27).

Kirk Huffaker. *Salt Lake City: Then and Now*. San Diego, Calif.: Thunder Bay Press, 2007. 144 pp. Photographs, index. Hardback: \$18.95; ISBN-10: 1-59223-836-X and ISBN-13: 978-1-59223-836-1

In *Salt Lake City: Then and Now*, Kirk Huffaker, who earned his master’s degree in historic preservation from Eastern Michigan University, walks the reader through a charming, illustrated history of Salt Lake City and the surrounding area. Huffaker has been devoted to saving historic buildings and promoting good architecture in Utah for years, a devotion manifested in his book. Starting with the heart of Salt Lake City, Temple Square, and moving outward to Provo, Alta, Ogden, and Park City, among others, each double spread describes a different location and provides the reader with descriptions and photographs of specific locations in Utah from the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

From downtown Salt Lake City, Huffaker includes Brigham Young’s Lion House and Beehive House, illustrated by photographs from the twentieth and twenty-first centuries to show changes that have taken place to both houses over time, while the text describes the historical significance of these buildings. Huffaker mentions the designer of both houses, Truman O. Angell, (12) and also explains that the “Beehive House served as Young’s executive mansion while he was governor of the Utah Territory and president of the LDS Church” (12).

In his description of the “now,” Huffaker describes the restoration of both houses and states their historical implications: “In seeing the Beehive and Lion houses, one can begin to know Brigham Young. The houses are symbols of a man’s faith,

belief in a strong work ethic, and modest yet caring appointment to detail and craftsmanship” (13).

Because of the strong LDS presence in the Salt Lake Valley, many of the photographs and descriptions deal with historical sites related to the LDS Church and its leaders. Huffaker includes photographs of the site of the Primary Children’s Hospital (20) which later became the site of the LDS Church Conference Center (21), the site of Latter-day Saint University (18), later the site of the LDS Church Office Building (19), photographs of the original Zions Cooperative Mercantile Institution, “founded in 1868 as a commercial enterprise of the Mormon Church” (24), and a photograph of its late-twentieth-century ZCMI successor department store (25; later purchased by a national chain), and then-and-now photographs of downtown Provo which “was settled by Mormons in 1849 as the first settlement outside Salt Lake City” (138–39).

In addition to the LDS-affiliated works of architecture included in his book, Huffaker includes important centers for the arts, theaters, shopping centers, ski resorts, recreational centers, and buildings of significance for other religious groups. Examples include the First Presbyterian church which was dedicated in 1906 (92–93); Westminster College, which was founded in 1902 by the Presbyterians (114) and “has grown to be the largest private college in the state of Utah” (115; he is mistaken. Brigham Young University is by far the state’s largest private school), the

Holy Trinity Greek Orthodox Church (68–69) constructed in 1924, and St. Mary’s Cathedral (now Cathedral of the Madeleine) on which construction began in 1899 (90–91).

Dawn and Morris Thurston. *How to Breathe Life into Your Life Story*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2007. Illustrations, notes, appendices, index. Paperback: \$22.95; ISBN: 978-1-56085-094-6

How to Breathe Life into your Life Story is essentially a guide for writing personal histories. Although the book appears to target beginning writers, the tools and techniques are useful to a broad range of writers with varying levels of ability. While not specifically addressed to a Mormon audience, this book is a great resource for LDS readers who are interested in personal or family history or are keeping a journal.

The book has a brief introduction, thirteen chapters, and four appendices. The chapters each emphasize a particular aspect of writing:

1. Breathing Lessons: First Things First
2. The Power of “Showing”: Giving Your Story the Breath of Life
3. Lights, Camera, Action! Zoom In on Key Events
4. Writing at the Gut Level: Let Your Feelings Show
5. Writing about People: Breathe Life into Your “Characters”

6. Writing about Places: Put Your Life on the Map

7. Re-creating Your World: Establishing Your Life Context

8. Linking Your Life with History: Where Were You When

9. The Hitchcock Factor: Rivet Readers with Conflict and Suspense

10. What's Essential and What's Not: Cutting the Clutter

11. Beginning with a Bang: Write a "Wow" Beginning

12. Jump-starting Your Imagination: Story Ideas for the Stumped

13. Breathing on Your Own: Steady to "The End"

The appendices are learn-by-doing exercises, a sample sketch of a childhood home, another of a neighborhood, and award-winning stories.

Although the techniques are helpful for any writer, many of the exercises seem to be geared toward an older generation of writers who would have a strong interest in recording their life stories but who encounter memory obstacles. The authors provide tips for reconstructing times or events long past, such as talking to involved relatives or friends, visiting memorable places, or even doing research on local history and background information. Memory-provoking questions found throughout the book help writers recall details and impressions. In the chapter on describing people, for example, they probe and elicit creativity at the same time: "Think of all the shades of yellow. Was your high school prom dress the color of daffodils, mustard, wheat fields, butter, or sunshine?" (59–60). Such strategies help readers to focus their learning

and develop understanding of the technique on their own lives and writing.

The writing activities in each section help force writers to focus and practice the techniques even further. At the end of the chapter on describing places, they help readers find ways to describe their hometown: "Write a description that leads your reader on a 'tour' of your community. If people were to drive into your town, what would they see first? What landmarks would catch their attention? What sights, sounds, and smells would they notice?" (86). These kinds of exercises are intended to help make writing as painless as possible by breaking the process down into smaller, less intimidating tasks.

The Thurstons predict and articulate common hesitations for beginning writers and provide multiple reassurances: "Polished prose rarely flows easily out of a writer's head. Ideas, and words to express them, can come at an excruciatingly slow pace. If you worry too much about the quality of your writing at the beginning, you'll cripple your creativity from the get-go. Write first, polish later" (8). Throughout the book, they underscore this idea and then do their best to provide comic relief with quotations from famous authors, cartoons, and illustrations, such as Schulz's Snoopy at his typewriter. In the character chapter, a quotation from David Ben Gurion reads: "Anyone who believes you can't change history has never tried to write his memoirs" (54).

The Thurstons also incorporate writing into their examples by hyperbole and sharp contrasts. Here are their instructions about writing strong emotions:

Let's look at the different ways you can write about an incident typically charged with strong feelings—the day you became engaged. You could write, “John proposed to me in my home on June 10, 1965.”

Not good. No feelings there.

How about this? “When John proposed on June 10, 1965, it was one of the most thrilling days of my life.”

Okay, there's an inkling of emotion. But how thrilling was it?

It requires more skill to make your readers feel the same emotion you experienced when John proposed to you. You'll agree that the following example better accomplishes this purpose.

“After dinner, John and I went into the living room to talk. I sat on the sofa expecting him to join me, but he just stood there in the middle of the rug staring at me. He looked like he wanted to say something, like he was about to give a speech. It suddenly occurred to me that he was going to propose. Yes, that was it! My heart started pumping in wild bursts. I felt like I couldn't breathe.

“When he reached into the pocket of his suit, I stood up and started walking towards him, wanting to soothe his awkwardness, reduce the tension of the moment. I took a few steps and suddenly felt lightheaded. I couldn't see him in front of me anymore.

“The next thing I knew, I was lying on the floor, my head in John's lap. He looked worried. Then he grinned and said, “I've fallen for

you, too, Julie. You have to marry me.”

This scene dramatizes the couple's feelings. We see how Julie and John physically and emotionally respond to the stress of the moment. We learn that they love each other, that John is awkward, that Julie wants to save him from discomfort. So not only do we understand their feelings, we learn a little bit about their personalities. A one-sentence summary of this significant event doesn't do it justice. (44–46)

Despite this book's obvious strengths, at least some beginning writers will still need a class or an editor who can make more specific comments and suggestions. While the ideas in the book may be helpful for some people, they may fail to prompt good memories in others, simply because they may be too general, too specific, or impersonal. An in-person teacher would be able to guide writers in a more direct way than a book.

The book is designed with broad outer margins (2.5”), which are sometimes used for quotations, illustrations, or highlighted tips.

Arthur O. Naujoks Jr. and Michael S. Eldredge. *Shades of Gray: Memoirs of a Prussian Saint on the Eastern Front*. Salt Lake City: Mill Creek Press, 2004. viii, 305 pp. Photographs, maps, introduction, foreword, appendix, author's note, references, selected bibliography, index. Paper: \$17.99; ISBN 0-974-01582-2

Michael S. Eldredge, a lawyer turned historian, teamed up with World War II veteran Arthur Naujoks to write this memoir of Naujoks's days as an LDS soldier on the Russian front. Eldredge met Naujoks through a mutual friend in the summer of 1995. Almost immediately the two began poring over Naujoks's journals and other writings to bring Naujoks's experience to print.

Arthur ("Art") Naujoks (1922–2002), grew up in Tilsit, East Prussia. His memoir briefly describes his childhood there and his family's conversion to the LDS Church in 1927. However, though Naujoks was a Mormon during the war, he rarely mentions this element of his biography. The book ends with a few brief chapters about living in communist East Germany and his escape to the United States in 1950 with his wife and daughter.

The main focus of the book is Naujoks's years on the Russian front (1941–45), which included two separate winter retreats across Russian wilderness. His first retreat, in 1943, was a four-month march across the snow-covered Don plains of Russia. He wandered, sometimes with fellow soldiers, sometimes alone, for more than 400 miles back to German lines. Particularly poignant is the scene describing the disbanding of his battalion on the Don River: "When he walked out of the hut, several men surrounded the captain asking questions for which he had no answers. Mounting his horse, he stood in the saddle and called out to all the men in a firm, strong voice, '*Rette sich wer*

kann!' ("every man for himself!") Drawing his pistol from his holster, he laid it against his temple and pulled the trigger. In stunned silence we watched his lifeless body slide from the saddle in a crumpled heap in the snow. . . . We were on our own now" (115).

Though a German soldier, Naujoks was never stationed at any concentration camps, nor did he fully understand what they were until well after the war. During his return to the Russian front and second retreat from it, he encountered SS troops guarding German land and killing German soldiers unwilling to return to fight the Russians, even though these retreating soldiers had no ammunition and often no guns. Naujoks hid from both the conquering Russian army and the retreating Nazi soldiers. He did not feel safe until he was captured by Americans:

Then it was there, a long tank barrel in drab olive green, and the most beautiful sight I had ever seen—the big white star of the American Army painted on the side of a Sherman tank!

In an instant the tension of four years of war unwound inside me. I laughed, I cried, I jumped up and down like a little kid. The war was over. I would not be going back to Russia, I was no longer subject to Nazis, I would never again carry arms into war. I fell to my knees and thanked God I had been spared. Never had I felt so many emotions at one time. (198–99)

Shades of Gray is illustrated with maps depicting his travels as a soldier in the text and photographs of

Naujoks, his family, and friends inserted between pages 138 and 139.

Karen M. and Paul D. Larsen. *Remembering Winter Quarters: Writings of the Mormon Pioneers at the Missouri River*. Orem, Utah: Granite Publishing and Distribution, 2004. 186 pp. Photographs (black and white), sketches (black and white), notes, bibliography, index. Paper: 15.95; ISBN 1-56684-622-6

Remembering Winter Quarters is a collection of first-person writings from sixteen pioneers who lived temporarily in Winter Quarters, Kaneshville, and other nearby locales between 1846 and 1852. The short introduction and preface summarize the historical context and explain the authors' goal to allow us "into the inner chambers of the pioneers' lives, also to see with our own eyes and hear with our own ears what these people, under duress, did, said, and thought, as revealed in their private journals" (11).

The book is organized in sixteen chapters, one for each individual, ranging from the well-known to the obscure. They are Brigham Young, Job Taylor Smith, Eliza M. Partridge Lyman, Helen Marr Kimball Whitney, Aroet Lucius Hale, Anna Clark Hale, Jane Snyder Richards, Joseph Fielding, Bathsheba Wilson Bigler Smith, Lucy Meserve Smith, Richard Ballantyne, Sarah Studevant Leavitt, Alfred Boaz, Allen Joseph Stout, Luke William Gallup, and Gibson Condie. An introductory note for

each chapter gives a brief history of the writer before the personal history begins and ends with a short note summarizing the pioneer's experiences after Winter Quarters. All the narrators traveled to Utah; but one, Luke Gallup, later went to Santa Ana, California, and left the Church. The chapters are composed of one official epistle (by Brigham Young), eleven autobiographies/reminiscences, and four journals. The authors use supplemental sources such as other journals and a poem where helpful.

In editing the entries, the Larsens specify: "All the pioneer writings have been preserved as they were originally written. Occasionally words or dates have been added in brackets for clarification" (17). Both the style and readability of passages vary widely depending of the writer's literacy. The Larsens deliberately drew from varied social groups to "portray a variety of life experiences" (13). The book is organized chronologically, by proceeding from those writers stressing earlier parts of the migration to those who finally left with the 1852 companies.

Eliza Partridge Smith Lyman's journal contains both a touching Eliza R. Snow poem about the death of her baby and entries such: "**Wednesday 26th** Made a cheese./**Thursday 27th** Washed at the creek/.../**June 1st** Sister Elvira Holmes' baby died" (42). As another example, Aroet Lucius Hale recorded his dying mother's counsel as follows, "Ses She to me Aroet Promise me One thing. That you

will take good Cair of My darling Chreldren” (80).

Eight of the total sixteen journals were written by young people: Job Taylor Smith, Eliza Partridge Lyman, Helen Marr Whitney, Anna Clark Hale, Jane Snyder Richards, Bathsheba W. B. Smith, Alfred Boaz Lambson, and Gibson Condie. In addition, Lucy Meserve Smith, Richard Ballantyne, and Allen Joseph Stout as well as Eliza Lyman, Helen Whitney, and Alfred Lambson (just mentioned) were all either newly married or actually married during their stay at Winter Quarters.

Others, however provide a variety of perspectives. Anna Clark Hale, for instance, arrived at Winter Quarters at age five, and her contribution is a reminiscence written when she was in her early seventies. Job Taylor Smith and Joseph Fielding were English, Richard Ballantyne and Gibson Condie were Scottish, and the rest were Americans. Naturally many religious traditions were represented including, perhaps most interestingly, Job Taylor Smith, who had been a member of the United Brethren in central England.

Luke William Gallup of Ledyard, Connecticut, joined the LDS Church at age twenty-eight after living for a few months among the Saints in the Council Bluffs area. But most of the other pioneers were likely acquainted with each other in Nauvoo because of their close ties to Church leadership. These include Brigham Young, Eliza Lyman (daughter of Edward Partridge and a plural wife to both Joseph Smith and Amasa M. Lyman), Helen M. Kimball (daughter of

Heber C. Kimball, daughter-in-law of Newel K. Whitney), Aroet Lucius Hale (drove a team for Heber C. Kimball), Jane Snyder Richards (wife of Apostle Franklin D. Richards), Joseph Fielding (brother-in-law to Hyrum Smith), Bathsheba Smith (first wife of Apostle George A. Smith), Lucy Smith (George A.’s third wife), Richard Ballantyne (son-in-law of John Taylor), and Alfred Boaz Lambson (brother-in-law of Bathsheba Smith).

Their interactions with each other provide interesting points of recognition even in these relatively short segments. For example, Bathsheba and Lucy show different aspects of Apostle George A. Smith. Bathsheba mentions that “my husband spent most of his time . . . visiting [the] camps, counsiling, comforting, and cheering the Saints” (116). Lucy recalls a period when she had scurvy, and “my husband took me in his arms and held me till my bed was made every day for nine weeks. I could not move an inch” (120).

Five of the sixteen (Brigham Young, Eliza Lyman, Joseph Fielding, Bathsheba Smith, and Lucy Smith) participated in polygamy. Their references are muted however, with no description of or emotional response to the situation in which polygamy placed them. They choose to focus rather on other aspects of daily life, such as labor, leisure, travel, and the many difficulties the Saints encountered in this period.

Colonel Thomas L. Kane, a twenty-four-year-old non-Mormon reformer from Pennsylvania who vigorously defended the Saints,

stayed in Cutler's Park (near Winter Quarters) in summer 1846. Helen Whitney first encountered Kane when she caught him eavesdropping at a tent (probably Heber C. Kimball's): "Who should I see but a young stranger standing in a listening attitude . . . hardly a yard away from our tent. . . . He looked up . . . and I felt my cheeks crimson as our eyes met; and I made a hasty retreat, wondering who he was and what we had said that he could take advantage of, if so disposed" (60). Kane became deathly ill while in the camp, and Helen records the following: "Colonel Kane, as before stated, was convalescent. The only cause of his sending to Fort Leavenworth for a physician was his anxiety for his Mormon friends, fearing that a relapse might take him off, and his death might be laid to our charge" (60). Aroet Hale and Lucy Smith also mention Kane in passing.

Other themes that appear in the account are the enlistment of the Mormon Battalion, the government requirement to move across the Missouri River back into Iowa and the city of Kanesville, interactions with the local Indians, and recurrent diseases that took a heavy toll.

Lawrence Flake. *Twelve Sons of Britain*. Springville, Utah. Cedar Fort, 2008. 71 pp. Photographs, Illustrations. Paper: \$7.99; ISBN: 978-1-59955-136-4

"No nation except the United States has made a greater contribution to

the leadership of the Church than has Great Britain," (2) claims Lawrence Flake. Flake marshals in his introduction reasons why Britain should be recognized as making one of the most valuable contributions of any nation to the Church. As one example, when the Tabernacle Choir sang in 1982 "in London's prestigious Royal Albert Hall," the master of ceremonies at the concert's end asked members of the 375-voice choir who had British ancestors to rise. "All but six of the singers arose!" (2)

The book is not a narrative history describing these "remarkable" (3) British Saints, but twelve stand-alone biographies of General Authorities (ranging from three to nine pages long) of John Taylor (1808-87), John Rex Winder (1821-1910), George Quayle Cannon (1827-1901), George Teasdale (1831-1907), Charles William Penrose (1832-1925), George Reynolds (1842-1909), Brigham Henry Roberts (1857-1933), James Edward Talmage (1862-1933), John Wells (1864-1941), John Longden (1898-1969), Derek A. Cuthbert (1826-1991), and Kenneth Johnson (1940-).

These biographies are ordered chronologically by birth date, from oldest to most recent (as above). Each biography begins with a one-page information sheet containing an image (either a photo or illustration) and a list of important dates including birth, baptism, emigration, ordination, and death date (where applicable). The biography of John Taylor (the oldest) includes his con-

version story and some of his “hardships along the way” (9) as a Church leader, including his steadfastness when “many members and even leaders were apostatizing” (8). Flake writes his most detailed biography on Taylor, expressing deep respect: “He truly answered the call to preach in America and truly earned the titles he was known by: ‘Champion of Truth, Right, and Liberty’” (11–12).

Of the other eleven, four were apostles (Cannon, Teasdale, Penrose, Talmage), two were members of the Presiding Bishopric (Winder, Wells), four were members of the Seventy (Reynolds, Roberts, Cuthbert, Johnson), and Longden was an Assistant to the Twelve. Several were also members of the First Presidency (Winder, Cannon, Penrose, and Wells).

Longden had a “beautiful voice” and “used his many talents for the blessing of his church and community.” An interesting anecdote is that Longden as a General Authority was assigned to “dedicate a beautiful new chapel” in the locale where he had grown up (57).

In Flake’s three-paragraph conclusion, he praises once again the contribution of these twelve “sons of Britain” for “the amount of good they have accomplished. . . . They have baptized hundreds of converts and strengthened literally millions” (69).

Barbara Walden and Lachlan Mackay. *House of the Lord: The Story of the Kirtland Temple*. Independ-

ence: John Whitmer Historical Association, 2008. 44 pp. Photographs by Val Brinkerhoff. Maps by John C. Hamer. Paper: \$14.95; ISBN 978-1-934901

This book’s 8.5x11" format provides a wealth of Val Brinkerhoff’s photographs and drawings (about 84) and four maps by John Hamer: one of the eastern United States in 1830 highlighting Mormonism’s birthplace in upstate New York and its second location in Ohio’s Western Reserve (3); a topographical map of Kirtland in the 1830s including such sites as the Joseph Smith home, the Johnson Inn, the Frederick G. Williams Farm, and the Kirtland House of the Lord (23); the 1838 route of Kirtland Camp to Far West, Missouri (25); and the cemetery adjacent to the temple, identifying, for example, the graves of early Mormons (41).

Now a National Historic Landmark, the Kirtland Temple is owned and operated by the Community of Christ as a “historic and sacred site.” “Open to all,” it welcomes “tens of thousands of visitors. . . . Architectural enthusiasts are captivated by the heavy stone walls and the mixture of styles.” Others explore the site’s significance as “another example of the many nineteenth-century utopian communities . . . striving to find answers to the theological, economic, and social questions of the day” (1).

Barbara Walden, site coordinator at the Kirtland Temple, replaced Lachlan Mackay, who served in that position for fifteen years and is now

coordinator of Community of Christ Historic Sites. The book follows the Community of Christ's policy of focusing on commonalities, rather than on theological differences between the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, and other expressions of Mormonism. A chart displays twenty-one of the numerous ("at least eighty") "divergent paths of the Latter Day Saint Movement" (27); and the book concludes: "Although each Latter Day Saint group differs in leadership and interpretations of doctrine and history, their members continue to return to the Temple to share in its history and to be continually inspired by the early Saints who sacrificed to construct this magnificent landmark" (43).

Designed for visitors seeking introductory material, the book is organized around key topics: a brief history of the Church's organization, "Why Kirtland?" "Why a Temple?," the construction process (includes elevations and floor plans), distinctive features such as items from pattern books, the unusual pulpits, separate views of the three stories, and the dedicatory service with its "Pentecostal Season" (2–21). This section includes quotations of spiritual experiences associated with the dedication. For example, Joseph Smith is quoted as saying, "[President] Williams also arose and testified that while [President] Rigdon was making his first prayer an angel entered the window and took his [position] seated between Father Smith and himself, and re-

mained there during his prayer. [President] David Whitmer also saw angels in the House" (21).

The second half documents the Mormon period of Kirtland and environs, including a town plat showing three temples and the owners of surrounding lots: community businesses featuring the Whitney store, owned and operated by the LDS Church; the post-1838 period of "caretakers"; a brief history of the RLDS Church, the Joseph Smith Jr. family, and temple ownership; and RLDS summer reunions (family camps) near the temple that lasted until the late 1950s. The book concludes with an overview of the temple's restoration and the LDS Church's "Historic Kirtland," consisting of the Whitney home and store "and a reconstructed sawmill, ashery, hotel, and schoolhouse" (38).

The final double-spread describes the opening in 2007 of the Community of Christ's Kirtland Temple Visitor and Spiritual Formation Center, whose features include an interactive museum exhibit, a theater, and a museum store. It is accompanied by a three-dimensional map of Community of Christ historic sites near the temple.

Unfortunately, for those whose appetites are whetted by the photographs and quotations, the book lacks citations or suggestions for further readings. In the review copy, p. 39 was printed out of register. Hopefully, this mistake only occurred in this copy.

Irene Spencer. *Shattered Dreams: My Life as a Polygamist's Wife*. New York: Center Street Press, 2007. 150 pp. Photographs, notes. Hardback: \$24.99; ISBN: 978-1-59995-719-7

Having grown up in a fundamentalist Mormon family, Irene Spencer (then Irene Kunz) felt she had no choice but polygamy once she was old enough to marry. Despite her dissatisfaction with what she had observed and periods of doubting her own desire for a polygamist lifestyle, Irene was never able to rid herself of the beliefs inculcated in her that polygamy was a divine commandment and "a necessary sacrifice in order to attain Godhood and avoid Hell" (3).

At age sixteen, she became the second wife of twenty-three-year-old Verlan LeBaron, to whom her half-sister was already married. Having many children was necessary, since husband and wives would create their own world in a next life with them and their descendants as its sole inhabitants.

Although she made sincere efforts to be content with what she felt was "God's Law," Irene could not overcome her jealousy and feelings of neglect as her husband continued to acquire additional wives. "God's plan just didn't seem to be the best one for me. I'd been promised that submission to his rules would be its own reward, that it would bring me a little joy, even in the here and now. But in reality, I was joyless, merely existing. My longing to be loved be-

came an obsession" (208).

When, after eighteen years of marriage and thirteen children (with another on the way), Irene found out that Verlan was planning to marry the woman who would become his eighth wife (within a few years he would also marry two final wives), she struggled greatly to support him in his decision. For years, Verlan had declared his dream of having seven wives; Irene had never expected him to marry beyond that number and didn't know how she could tolerate having his attention further divided and another sister-wife to resent.

She tried to comfort herself with the reminder: "I'd been taught it was better to have a tenth of a good man than a 'worldly' man all to myself. Would I trade some failure for the husband I had? Not hardly. I tried to smother the jealousy burning in my chest. Since I'd already hung in there for so many years, I thought it best to be patient. Why, I was right on the edge of glory. This life would be over soon enough, so why give up now?" (306).

As always before, Irene stifled her feelings of jealousy and unhappiness in hopes of the godhood she would be awarded in the next life. She then realized that she had become numb to feeling resentment anyway; she actually felt sorry for the new woman who didn't yet comprehend the new life she was entering as the wife of a man with seven others already.

Irene basically raised her fourteen children as a single mother, since her husband was either work-

ing for months at a time as a painter in the States (while his family stayed at their home in Mexico) to support his very large family of fifty-six children or dividing his available time among all his other wives and their children.

They all lived in poverty. Irene and her children moved repeatedly from Utah to various deserts throughout Mexico and Nicaragua, either in obedience to revelations from the prophet of their small polygamous sect, Joel (Verlan's brother), or out of fear that they would be arrested by the police or even killed by enemies of their group.

Irene wrote *Shattered Dreams* based on her memories as a child living in a polygamous household, as an adolescent struggling to decide the lifestyle she would choose for herself, and as an adult in a polygamous marriage. Through all her physical, emotional, and spiritual challenges, Irene manages to keep an optimistic view overall and eventually escapes the lifestyle she had long-regretted choosing for herself.

John R. Llewellyn. *Polygamy's Rape of Rachel Strong*. N.p.: John R. Llewellyn, 2006. 153 pp. Paper: \$14.95; ISBN 0-9777072-1-0

John R. Llewellyn's *Polygamy's Rape of Rachel Strong* explores a case of emotional and sexual abuse in the secretive True and Living Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (TLC). The TLC developed from a study group into a full-fledged po-

lygamous sect in Manti, Utah, under its leader-prophet James D. Harmston. Rachel Strong was ten years of age when she moved with her mother, Pauline Strong, and brothers to the TLC community in 1994. Harmston married Rachel's mother and "became the official father" of the Strong children (24). Rachel's mother "noticed he always seemed to give Rachel extra attention and affection" (24).

At age sixteen, Rachel married Jacob Romero and had his child. Harmston then "instructed Jacob to kick Rachel out of the home" (29). Harmston then convinced Rachel that the only way she could be saved was to marry him as his seventeenth wife. "James began to demand extra sexual time with Rachel. He would call her to his office or to another wife's house. Finally, sick at heart, Rachel could not deal with it any more. She refused to have sex with him at all, and said that she would rather go to hell and damnation than ever sleep with James again" (30). The Strong's mustered up enough courage to leave the TLC Church, and Rachel's mother told the story to Llewellyn.

Llewellyn asserts that such abuse is the "norm" in polygamous groups and argues: "The government states that they will prosecute crimes against children. . . . Polygamy is an old and unpleasant story and such stories get put away on the mental and emotional shelf—and forgotten. It is time [for the government] to realistically address all these humanitarian issues and pave the way for the American dream to be restored

to all American-born citizens" (61).

The foreword, preface, and introduction all present the same theme: that the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and its members still support polygamy by failing to actively oppose polygamy: "Because it was the federal government that forced the Church to stop the practice, and because the Church scriptures still contain the commandment, and because members expect to practice plural marriage in heaven, they still hold the belief of plural marriage as holy" (7).

The text itself consists of ten chapters. Chapter 1 is "Rachel's Mother Tells the Story." Chapter 2, "Decriminalize Polygamy?" describes what Llewellyn sees as the lack of government intervention in prosecuting crimes against children in polygamy. Chapter 3 is "Trusting, Vibrant Rachel & Stepfather James D. Harms-ton." Chapter 4 reports efforts of "Tapestry against Polygamy" to block efforts to decriminalize polygamy. Chapter 5, "A Frustrated Attempt to Seek Justice," documents Utah's Attorney General's Office failure to intervene strongly. Chapter 6 terms underage wives in polygamy "An Expensible Casualty." Chapter 7 is Llewellyn's appraisal of "Doctrine & Covenants 132." Chapter 8, "Losing Your Husband to Polygamy," is the story of Kelli Cox, whose husband joined a polygamist sect. Chapter 9 queries: "Is 'Breaking Down Barriers Working?'"

The concluding material consists of a profile of anti-polygamy Tapestry against Polygamy, pro-polygamy Principle Voices, an initiative to stop

polygamy in Canada, and finally a profile on the attorney general's office, a bibliography, and an author note. Llewellyn, a former member of the Apostolic United Brethren who is now ardently anti-polygamy, comments: "This story about Rachel Strong is designed to awaken the public to crimes occurring within Mormon Fundamentalism, and the fact that law enforcement is taking no action against it. The reasons are varied. Of great concern to many is the apparent developing strategy of the Utah Attorney General's office to back away from crimes in polygamy, unless they are committed against children under the age of eighteen. But I am unaware of any prosecution of crimes against children in Utah, since the Kingstons" (18).

Susan Ray Schmidt. *His Favorite Wife: Trapped in Polygamy*. [Twin Falls, Idaho]: Cassidy Lane, 2006. 433 pp. Photographs, maps. Paper: \$16.95; ISBN: 0-9779730-0-X

His Favorite Wife: Trapped in Polygamy is Susan Ray Schmidt's autobiographical account of her experience growing up and marrying in the polygamist Mormon fundamentalist colony that was headquarters for the Church of the Firstborn of the Fullness of Times. Her story begins in Colonia LeBaron, Texas, when she turns fourteen and becomes of an age to marry.

Over the next few years, Schmidt avoids a number of undesirable polygamous unions, including one to the Church patriarch and future president, Ervil LeBaron. (At that time, Joel LeBaron was the prophet and a third brother, Verlan, was president of the Twelve until 1972 when a schism erupted over controversial doctrines such as blood atonement and capital punishment for breaking biblical or civil law. Ervil had Joel murdered, Verlan and Ervil excommunicated each other, and Ervin formed his own church, which continued to promote blood atonement and other criminal activity.)

At age eighteen, she became the sixth wife of Verlan, then in his thirties. Schmidt gave birth to five children, whom she raised mostly alone, while struggling with the challenges of jealousy, loneliness, and poverty in Los Molinos, Mexico. While watching Verlan court his future seventh wife, she laments, "How could it be right that Verlan could hold Lillie in his arms without a twinge of guilt? Even as the thoughts stormed inside me, I remembered that it was God's plan. A man was created to have several wives, as Father Abraham had. . . . It was the supreme test for God's chosen people, an opportunity for growth that the ordinary person didn't have. It was what separated the Christians who were merely saved, from those who actually attained godhood" (215).

The wives had cooperative but strained relationships as they shared the burdens and tasks of running a household and raising an ever-growing number of children. Charlotte,

Verlan's first wife, taught school in a nearby city and provided the sole monetary resources to support Verlan and his eventual seven families, while Susan helped Lucy, the second wife, cook and clean for all the children.

By 1975, Schmidt had lost her faith in both the Church of the First-born of the Fullness of Times, then being led by Verlan, and in the principle of polygamy: "I'd finally understood women were considered mindless baggage—and if submissive, we would be admitted to heaven on our husband's coattails. . . . Since then, I'd come to realize that not just the women were leaning on the arm of flesh, but our men also. Joel's teachings had become more important to Verlan and the others, than Christ's, and in many ways they weren't the same teachings at all. Polygamy was the key to the door of disaster in this church" (399).

Hoping to make a better life for her five children, the youngest just months old, she left Verlan and moved to Cedar City, Utah, to live with her non-polygamous brother. She finished her high school diploma, went on welfare, and took a number of minimum wage jobs.

In 1979, she married a man named Dennis: "He took a timid, scared, twenty-five-year-old woman with a house-full of young children and made us his own. He patiently patched my frayed heart and restored my faith in men" (413).

Susan mentions no diary or other documents, so the book seems to be based completely on her memories. It offers a valuable perspective on the

violent power struggle among the first LeBaron brothers. Schmidt would like to add her story to other writers of these events: Rena Chynoweth and Dean Shapiro, *The Blood Covenant* (Austin, Tex: Diamond Books, 1990), Verlan M. LeBaron, *The LeBaron Story* (Lubbock, Tex: Keels & Co, 1981), and investigative reporters Ben Bradlee and Dale Van Atta, *Prophet of Blood: The Untold Story of Ervil LeBaron and the Lambs of God* (New York: Putnam, 1981).

Michelle Parkinson, ed. *The San Francisco Mormon History Walking Tour*. Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1996. 38 pp. Photographs and maps. Available at www.californiapioneer.org/index.php and www.nps.gov/safr/.

This thirty-eight-page pamphlet provides nine pages of historical background along with a map to relevant sites. It begins with a short history of the 250 Mormons in the *Brooklyn* company who landed in San Francisco in 1846. Photographs and biographical information of some of the *Brooklyn* passengers are included. They were the first American immigrants to settle in this former possession of Mexico after it became a part of the United States in 1846.

The pamphlet is illustrated with three maps and forty-three black and white photos. It refers those who are interested in more details to Richard O. Cowan and William E. Homer, *California Saints, A 150-Year Legacy in*

the Golden State (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1996).

The walking tour section of the pamphlet identifies twenty-two historic sites. The center spread shows a map and suggests convenient beginning and ending points for this walking tour. The sites include monuments and prominent historic locations such as the site of the first cable car and Yerba Buena Cove. One site is the Bank of Canton of California, which also served as the Chinese exchange of the telephone company. "People did not bother with telephone directories in the early 1900s. The caller would simply call and ask the operator for John Lee. 'Big John or Limping John,' would respond the operator in Chinese. Then the caller could be connected immediately with the person. The operators reportedly memorized over 1,000 names." Historical details like this are provided for each location along with a brief explanation of the site's significance and the reason for its inclusion in the tour. The tour covers about eight blocks and can be walked in approximately thirty minutes.

In addition to the walking tour, the pamphlet suggests other historic sites, most within a few minutes' drive of the walking tour. These additional locations include the San Francisco Maritime Museum, the Odd Fellows Building, and the Ina Coolbrith Park.

Berta James. *Sarah: The Fourth Wife. A Historical Novel of Real Love*

Vs. Polygamy. N.p.: XLibris, 1998. 343 pp. ISBN 0-7388-0269-7

Author Berta James's dedication signals that her book fictionalizes her own family history but includes no information about the historical characters or sources. Manchester convert Sarah Field crosses the plains in one of the ill-fated 1856 handcart companies, encountering Indians, a buffalo stampede, and, most importantly, handsome cavalry captain Alex Bainbridge with whom she falls passionately in love. In Salt Lake City, she receives shelter from Apostle Isaac Whitmore's family who has three wives and instructions to marry again.

Their sealing occurs July 22, 1856, two days before the announcement of the approach of the Utah Expedition, which includes Bainbridge. The disruptions of the conflict repeatedly derail the marriage's consummation. Thus, because she and Whitmore are not "really" married, Whitmore yields to the appeal of his first wife (whose daughter nearly died in an attempt to avoid an unwanted plural marriage), reinforced with an un-subtle threat to alert the media by Elizabeth Cumming, motherly wife of the territory's new governor. Whitmore performs the wedding ceremony for time, reserving Sarah for himself for eternity.

Because Sarah has a firm testimony of the gospel, she insists that they stay in Utah. Alex goes to the Montana goldfields where he makes a rich strike but is murdered while Sarah, back in Utah, gives birth to their daughter. The novel ends there except for a rather awkward contemporary frame story in which the historical narrative is embedded.

Spelling discrepancies abound (Issac/Isaac, Sophai, Haun's/Haughn's Mill), but more important are historical anachronisms. For example, Sarah is stunned to find out about polygamy when she reaches Salt Lake City in 1856, but the doctrine had been publicly proclaimed in August 1852 and a large number of missionaries had been sent out immediately to preach and defend the controversial doctrine.

As another example, the pre-Utah Mormon backstory is filled in during the singing of "Joseph Smith's First Prayer," by its author, George Manwaring, was not born until 1854 (a fact James could have ascertained by simply glancing at the foot of the page in her hymnal), and the hymn was not published until 1878 (Karen Lynn Davidson, *Our Latter-day Hymns: The Stories and the Messages* [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1988], 54-55).