# Journal of Mormon History Vol. 29, No. 1, 2003

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This full issue is available in Journal of Mormon History: https://digitalcommons.usu.edu/mormonhistory/vol29/iss1/
Correction: The publisher of Leslie G. Kelen and Eileen Hallet Stone's Missing Stories: An Oral History of Ethnic and Minority Groups in Utah, reviewed 28, no. 2 (Fall 2002): 214-17, was misidentified. This book was published by Utah State University. The Journal regrets this error.

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

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Dean L. May
RITES OF PASSAGE:
THE GATHERING AS CULTURAL CREDO

Dean L. May

In February 2002, Utah hosted the Winter Olympic Games, a gathering of people from all nations. It was a festive event; and by almost all accounts (one Denver sports writer excepted), a smashing success. Beyond that, it was a historic occasion, thrusting Utah
into a protracted period of introspection and, at the same time, subjecting Utahns to the intense scrutiny of reporters, athletes, and sports professionals and enthusiasts from many parts of the world.

For months those of us who work in Utah history were asked to offer the media our assessment of Utah’s cultural readiness to host such an event and how the state might be changed in the process. While some reporters were looking for pithy sound bites, many were deeply interested in Utah and the Mormons, spending several hours in conversation as we discussed the state’s past and present as they might relate to the Olympics.

The most common questions of the reporters arose from the notion that Utah is a remote, provincial, cloistered part of the world. Was it ready for, wouldn’t it feel threatened by, would it ever be the same after, this invasion of foreigners? It was a remarkable thing. I don’t recall the media dwelling on such questions at Calgary, Nagano, or Lillehammer, perhaps more remote and provincial—but, we must concede, not equally cloistered.

And of course the cloister, its association with secluded religious devotion, is the crucial difference. Salt Lake City is unique among American cities in being the center of a world religion. Temple Square and the surrounding buildings are the closest thing in all the Americas to a St. Peter’s Square and Vatican City and, as such, occasion curiosity, scrutiny, and sometimes distrust and animosity all over the world. However galling the fact may have been to some, these were the Mormon Olympics, and the Church did not have to lift a finger to make it so. The media moguls were happy to take on that task.

The Salt Lake Olympic Committee (SLOC) may have planted questions in the minds of reporters by its somewhat defensive slogan “The World Is Welcome Here.” When reporters asked me skeptically if that were really true, I assured them that it was and, more than that, that the world is in Utah and has long been so. I told them that Utah has been populated by American Indian peoples for millennia; that it enjoyed a considerable influx of Chinese, Japanese, and the so-called New Immigrants—Italians, Greeks, Slavs, and others—during the end of the last century and the beginning of this. And I reminded them that, from 1837 on, Mormon missionaries have gone to all the parts of the world, bringing back to Nauvoo, and later to farms in Payson, Moroni, and Millville, a cultural reach
that most farmers and ranchers of western Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, or Montana could not imagine. A member of our Salt Lake City ward, recently returned from a Russian mission, was one of fifteen volunteers assigned to help the Russian-speaking Kazakh delegation to the Olympics. They told her that their country’s delegation had no Russian speakers among the volunteers assigned to them in Atlanta and only one in Sydney. In Salt Lake thirteen of the fifteen were Russian speakers.

The foreign missions broadened the world of the local people. But, perhaps more importantly, they brought many converts from abroad. This has been an ongoing process, but was especially intense in the nineteenth century. In 1837, Joseph Smith, then in Kirtland, was overwhelmed by financial woes and the apostasy and betrayal of some of his closest associates. “In this state of things,” he wrote, “God revealed to me that something new must be done for the salvation of His Church. That “something new” was the opening in England of the first foreign mission.¹ The mission, followed by that of the Twelve in 1839, was a stunning success, spreading within a decade to Scandinavia, and the continent. Ultimately some 85,000 British, Scandinavian, and European converts immigrated to Nauvoo and Utah between 1840 and 1890. That number is impressive in itself, but one has to look a little closer to understand its full import. The 1880 U.S. census, reporting numbers of foreign-born by age, tells the story. In the fortieth year since overseas converts began to come to the United States, 65 percent of all Utah people age twenty-five and older were foreign born. Of Utahns forty-five and older, 74 percent were foreign born; and of those sixty-five and up, an astonishing 97 percent were foreign born.² Clearly, the British converts attached themselves in great numbers to Brigham Young

³The Utah sex ratio by age group and nativity is also dramatically at odds with that of their neighbors. In all the surrounding states, older men were much more likely to be foreign born. In Utah older women were more likely to be foreign born.
and the Twelve during the succession crisis; and they, together with Scandinavian and European converts, became vital to the very survival of the Utah church.

Of course, the predominance of the foreign-born among the adult Utah population was a consequence of the gathering, a doctrine and a process leading tens of thousands of men and women to sever ties and connections with their homeland and head out for a new life in the new world. Harvard historian Bernard Bailyn has described many dimensions of the broader migration of which the gathering was a part. He emphasized that immigration to the New World was an eddy in a vast migration taking place in Europe in the nineteenth century, more commonly from rural to urban, from traditional farms and country villages to places like Copenhagen, Gothenburg, Oslo, London, or Hamburg. Almost universally the aims of migration were to rise in economic well-being and/or civil status, and the question most commonly was not whether, but where to migrate.4

Converts to Mormonism no doubt shared the more general motivations of the 15 million immigrants who came to America between 1840 and 1890. But there were also profound differences. Since the Reformation, religious awakenings had been recurrent in Europe and America, the new religious commitments and attachments changing peoples' lives in profound ways. But those who responded to the Mormon message did so with more than a burning desire to get right with God. As William Mulder so eloquently put it, "After baptism by immersion, . . . and the laying on of hands at confirmation, came the baptism of desire, a strange and irresistible longing which ravished them and filled them with a nostalgia for Zion, their common home."5 The commandment that missionaries "bring to pass the gathering of mine elect . . . unto one place on the face of this land" had come early, in the fall of 1830 (D&C 29:7-8). Although Moses did not bestow the keys to the gathering until the dedication of the Kirtland Temple in 1836, the doctrine was there from the beginning; and the process began that first year, as the New

5William Mulder, Homeward to Zion: The Mormon Migration from Scandinavia (1957; reprint, Minneapolis:, University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 19.
York Saints and the Prophet himself gathered to Ohio and very shortly thereafter fostered a gathering to Jackson County, Missouri. Already in 1839, when John Corrill wrote the first general history of the Saints, he devoted a chapter to "The Gathering" as one of the unique and important teachings of Mormonism.6

Many have studied perceptively the philosophy, logic, demography and mechanics of the gathering.7 I here have tried to understand the meaning of one segment of that process—the crossing of oceans. I am interested in what that process meant to the participants themselves, the thoughts and reflections of those colliers, farmers, domestics, coopers, and tailors, as they undertook what for each of them was an epic, truly life-altering journey. One of them, in his teens at the time, captured the experience with eloquent understatement. His father had settled the family of nine in the parish of Chievely, west of Reading, England, when "a man called Allen came along with what is called Mormonism. After hearing it a few times he gladly accepted it. This changed the aspect of our after lives."8 Perhaps this spare utterance was an admission that no words

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6John Corrill, *Brief History of the Church of Christ of Latter Day Saints (Commonly called Mormons;)* . . . (St. Louis, Mo.: Corrill, 1839), 15.


8James May, Memoir, 9, holograph, LDS Church Archives, photocopy in my possession. Unless otherwise noted, all other manuscripts
were sufficient to help others understand the full impact of the gathering on his life.

His family, like thousands of others, went through the stages of anticipation and longing, preparation for the journey, departure, shipboard life, and landing. Each stage taxed to the limit spiritual and emotional, as well as physical resources. While the waters made their vessels roll and pitch, the very cultural foundations of the emigrants were also being shaken. And yet most, once again on land, did not reflect upon or understand how much their ocean crossing had transformed them.9

ANTICIPATION AND LONGING

The gathering clearly began for most with their being touched after conversion by, in Mulder’s phrase, that “strange and irresistible longing”—the spirit of gathering. George Dunford, a merchant of footwear who was serving as branch president in Trowbridge, Wiltshire, England, explained his 1849 decision to gather in doctrinal language:

9I have tried to grasp what the many thousands of the gathered, like this young man, were feeling, by reading all the diaries, memoirs, letters, and other documents relating to Mormon emigration I could find at five-year intervals between 1840, the first year of the overseas gathering, until 1870, by which time steamships and railroad travel had dramatically altered the migration experience. More than a thousand such personal accounts of Latter-day Saints who emigrated to Nauvoo or to Utah are on LDS Family and Church History Department, Mormon Immigration Index, CD-ROM (Salt Lake City: LDS Family and Church History Department, 2002). This compact disk is an enormously useful resource for historians and family researchers, including as it does a good many memoirs, diaries, and letters, including those of emigrants and returning missionaries. Their arrangement on the disk makes it possible to search the accounts by name of passenger, by ship, and by year of travel. All sources were microfilms of holograph journals, unless otherwise noted, cited by date if the author made daily entries or by page number if the author did not or if the memoir was composed over an extended period of time. Michael Cotter and I have checked each cited document for accuracy, returning spelling and punctuation to those of the manuscript except for the addition of initial capitals at the beginnings of sentences.
One of the Fundamental principles of the gospel . . . is that in the Latter days . . . [God] would gather all things in Christ Jesus, whither they be things in Heaven or things in Earth. . . . The churches in . . . England could not afford to pass it by so the Saints in Great Britin. . . began to gather to the Great Salt Lake. . . . I could [not], neither did desire to resist this command, so I began to make my arrangements to emigrate and in the course of time I had completed my arrangements, and after duly warning the people, the time arrived.10

A more common expression was that of George Whitaker, a twenty-four-year-old Worstershire brickmaker, who remembered that in 1845 “the voice of the Spirit had said to me, ‘Go to America,’ and I felt that now was the time. (If I had stayed another year, I might have spent what little money I had, and would not have been able to go).”11 Jane Charters Robinson Hindley wanted no confusion about whether her gathering was the result of spiritual or material longings:

In the year 1855 . . . , I together with a younger sister left home . . . for the purpose of going to America, very much against my father’s wishes, but I believed in the principle of the gathering and felt it my duty to go although it was a Sever trial to me in My feelings to leave My Native Land and the pleasing associations that I had formed there, but my heart was fixed I knew in whom I had trusted and with the fire of Isrel’s God burning in my bosom I forsook my home but not to gather wealth or the perishible things of this world and on the 23 of February, 1855 embarked on board the ship Siddons bound for Philadelphia.12

Like Jane, many woman, especially the unmarried, were strongly pressured not to gather. Sarah B. Layton remembered that, as she left for Liverpool in 1850:

My relatives and friends were there in full to persuade me to stay, and not go to Utah, where they said I had neither friends nor money. I told them that the gospel taught me that unless I was willing to forsake all for the Gospel’s sake, I was unworthy to be called one of the chosen. I shall never forget my feelings on that occasion, for though my heart

10George Dunford, Reminiscences and Journal, 26.
felt as though it would break, I felt that my way had been opened in answer to my prayer. . . . I would not let them see that it worried me in the least.  

Elizabeth Sims buried a child on the beach while waiting to depart from Port Elizabeth, South Africa, in 1865. Her former minister urged her to not go. Apparently conflating in his mind the Utah War and the Civil War, he assured her that "the United States is sending an Army to Utah for the purpose of exterminating all Mormons. They will kill and hang them all." Undaunted, the plucky Elizabeth replied, "Alright I will go and be hanged with the rest of them."  

Such expressions could be multiplied by almost the whole number of those who wrote of their experience. I, among others, have suggested that the spirit of the gathering had as its economic and social foundation a longing to escape the Babylon of dislocation, dependence, and chaos brought by industrialization. But I have found only one possible instance where the gathered expressed themselves in such terms. You can almost hear the zealous populism of David Moffat, a Scot, embarking in 1855 on the Samuel Curling. He rejoiced as "we bade farewell to Britain's shore, the land of Kings and Queens, Dukes & Lords, Rich Bishops, Priests, and Medical Doctors, Lawyers and Coal Kings."  

THE PREPARATION

And so, "ravished" by the Spirit of the gathering, the Saints feverishly prepared for their fateful journey. Henry Stocks, an iron moulder from Lancaster, was thirty-three when his opportunity came. He preserved in his diary the text of the letter he received in 1855 from Franklin D. Richards, president of the British Mission:

Dear Brother

I have great pleasure in informing you that I shall endeavour [sic] to send you out this season by the Perpetual Emigration Fund, & you may prepare for emigration please send your names for that purpose;

14Elizabeth McDermott Sims, Autobiography, 9.
15David Kay Moffat, Writings, 1850-61, 68.
may the Lord bless you in this opportunity of Gathering to Zion.your Bro, in Christ,

F. D. Richards
per J. [John] Linforth

Beneath the letter Stocks wrote:

This makes me rejoice & be glad likewise my wife & dear children & begins to prepare my boxes & other things as far as I can but is desperate short of means.

On the 14th Feb I had another Notice to get ready Immediately & be down in Liverpool on the 16th or 17th I had a hundred things to think about & also to do. I along with my dear Wife & children went to work unitedly with heart & hand. assisted by Brethren & Sisters in the Church Brothers & Sisters in the flesh & Friends the Lord moves upon the hearts of all & though things appears to be impossible to accomplish the Lord is gracious & opens up the way before us as we persevere.16

Stocks borrowed £2 from each of two brothers, received moral and financial support from other family members, and on 27 March boarded the Siddons, with his wife, Mary, and their four sons, ranging from ten-year-old Angus, through Moroni and Simeon, to four-year-old Henry. They joined 424 other Latter-day Saints for the voyage. Among their shipmates were newlyweds William and Rachel Atkin. Atkin put his conflicting emotions into verse which he read at the branch’s farewell party for them:

Oh England is my native land
Where I was bred and born,
And friends they now begin to weep
To think that we are going.

Here's a memory of all kind friends
Whom we shall leave behind,
And when far in the West
We'll bear them in our mind.

... 

There is a place far in the west
Where we hope soon to be,

16Henry Stocks, Diary, 146-47.
And there’s a people in the place
With whom we wish to be.

... 

And now we are quite ready
To leave this land of woe,
For the vessel is preparing
In which we’re bound to go.

Now to all that would be happy
We say true Mormons be,
And for yourselves you’ll surely gain
A heavenly jubilee.

He also described the beginning of their journey:

We bid our fathers, mothers, relations and friends farewell and started out for Liverpool about the 15th February, 1855. Calling on, and spending one night each with my wife’s sister and aunt, and arrived in Liverpool about the 20th and arriving there later in the evening, we went direct to the emigrant’s home, where we found a large number of Saints who were to sail with us, had already arrived. The ship on which we were to sail was not yet loaded and those who had money stayed on land and those who had none had to go on the ship and live until it was loaded and ready to sail, and we were among the latter.17

Stanley Taylor, who sailed in 1860, wrote with obvious satisfaction of his provident preparations:

After leaving my father’s house, my greatest ambition was to go to Zion, and a Brother by the name of Andrew Garner, who was an underlooker at Samuel Stocks Colliery gave me a situation which brought me in two shillings and sixpence a day... and with economy, in five years I was able to dress well, pay all my expenses and save money to emigrate myself independently all the way to Salt Lake City.18

The wait in Liverpool was commonly a fascinating and, for the

17William Atkin, Autobiography, 10-12.
many rural people, a novel, urban experience. Sarah B. Layton wrote eloquently of her preparations to sail on the *James Pennell* in October of 1850: “As the train passed through the tunnel going into Liverpool, the sight that met my eyes was wonderful to me, as I had never seen a ship nor the sea; but there I saw the ships for miles along the harbor, and the broad ocean spreading out before me; what a wonder!”

Andrew Gowan, filling in the time until his sailing date on the *Samuel Curling* in 1855, visited the Botanic Gardens. It was, he said, a treat to behold to see everything . . . arranged in order . . . 5 large houses full of all kind of plants and a fine library all free to the public every day for their pleasure with seats and to sit down in to rest yourself.

I have visited Birkenhead across the river and seen many strange things. Fine buildings and a splendid park . . . with everything nice and orderly and as for the shipping in Liverpool, it is like a dense forest for miles and the steamers running up and down the river and every moment which is pretty to behold.

On the evening of 18 April 1855, Matthew and Jane Rowan, also waiting to board the *Samuel Gowan*, “went to the Adelphis Theater and saw three good plays,” surely enough, even of British theater, for one sitting.

Clearly, the preparation for the journey could be trying, especially the farewells, raising the necessary funds, and traveling to Liverpool. Yet few expressed regrets, and most were giddy with anticipation. The impression created is of people converging excitedly on the port city from all directions, and once there, expressing one last time, individual preferences in pursuits and pleasures, whether in seeing family, visiting parks and public places, or attending the theater.

The departure abruptly ended such activities, constricting individual spheres, crowding hundreds into confined space. Yet in the accounts of most, the actual separation brought not only the sorrow of leaving friends, family, and the familiar but also an intensification

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of spiritual fervor, good cheer, and anticipation. Most, from scattered branches, had never before been in the company of so many Latter-day Saints. And it is during the departure that the ritual—the rites of passage—began clearly to manifest themselves. Andrew Gowan, who praised the orderliness of the botanical gardens and park, almost certainly approved the same quality aboard ship. Order became indeed the order of the day, as captains, crew, and Church leaders devised rules and procedures necessary to a safe, pleasant, and healthful voyage.

THE DEPARTURE

During the departure, there were perfunctory visits by health inspectors, the stowing of luggage, and the jockeying for berths. When George Whitaker boarded the Palmyra in 1845, he admitted, “I did not know anything about taking a berth. They seemed to be all taken up, so I sat upon a box all night. The next day things were regulated. I shared a berth with another young man. I got along very well for sleeping after that.”

Matthew Rowan, sailing ten years later, was pleased that “I got a berth about Midship, very good for air and light but much confused and thronged on account of the Staircase being so near it. Between Sister Smith and ourselves we had 9 Cwt, 11 pounds of luggage. I made her a present of the 6/4 [and] 1/2 I paid for her railway fare from Sheffield to L_pool.”

The whole departure process was characterized always and uniquely on the Mormon ships by two processes; one organizational and hierarchical; the other communal. Hugh Moon, a cooper from Lancashire, described preparations aboard the Britannia, the very first ship to bring converts across the Atlantic, sailing from Liverpool on 6 June 1840 with forty-one Saints. Returning to the ship after going out for supplies, his party “found Elders Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball aboard. They had stretched a curtain across our cabin and commenced blessing the company. They bid us walk in. They showed us a way and gave us directions about the route we should take to Commerce [Nauvoo].” The apostles were present

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22Whitaker, Autobiography, 6.
23Rowan, Journals, 19 April 1855. The couple had a hefty 911 pounds of luggage costing six shillings and four and one-half pence.
24Hugh Moon, Autobiographical Sketch, 2-3.
again on 8 September when 207 Saints sailed aboard the North America. The practice of apostolic blessings continued. Gibson Condie wrote of the departure of the Zetland in February 1849.

Bro. Orson Pratt and [a] few other Elders came on Board the vessel, and organized us and appointed, Bro Orson Spencer as our President with his two counsellors, Bro. James Ure and Bro. Mitchell. Bro. Pratt then stated to the saints, “if you would follow the direction and advice of those brethren we have appointed all will be well with you” he also Blessed the Saints and he gave them some good counsel and advice how to be clean and not forget their Prayers and live as Saints and respect the ship officers all would be well with them he promised them the ship would arrive in New Orleans with the saints all safe. it was a time of rejoicing to the saints to have an Apostle Bro Pratt giving us such good Counsel and advice filled with the Spirit of the Lord, Promiseing us in the name of the Lord that all would be well with us and arrived in Safety.²⁵

Obviously the apostles did more than exhort and bless. They organized. Thomas Day was appointed president of the Josiah Bradley over 262 other Saints sailing in 1850. He chose a counselor to minister to the Welsh aboard the ship and another for the Scots. He then arranged that

a Church meeting be held every Sabath Day when circumstances would permit Also preaching on Wenesday Evening for the English & Scotch and Thursday Evenings for the Welsh & I then Proposed that the Company be devided into Seven Wards Placing A Pressedent over Each Ward to observe Cleanliness and good order That Each ward unite in prayer at 8 O Clock in the morning & at 8 O. Clock In the Evening. . . . Also that the Commite of Six be appointed to serve out provisions once A week. Also notice given the Company to rise at Six In the morning.²⁶

In 1855 Osmyn Deuel had just boarded the Siddons when "Brother Franklin [D. Richards] came on Board and Called the Saints together and gave them some general instructions, and Dedicated them to the Lord and Blessed them, and Blessed and set apart Elder J. [John] S. Fulmer [Fullmer] to Preside over the Ship, and the Saints all rejoiced to see him, and he took me by the hand and

²⁵Gibson Condie, Reminiscences and Diary, 1849, 23.
Blessed me and steped off the ship which caused my heart to rejoice." (Presumably it was the blessing and not Richards's stepping off the ship that caused the rejoicing). 27

Richard Ballantyne was chosen to preside over the Charles Buck, which sailed in January 1855:

I afterwards blessed my Counsellors and set them apart to their office then called upon as many as are willing to serve the Lord and work righteousness on this voyage to raise their hands to heaven in token of it. They all with one accord raised their hands to heaven. I then gave such instruction as their circumstances and the preservation of their health required, and, as was necessary to the preservation of their virtue and chastity.

I also observed that if any one felt disposed to grumble while on this voyage we would like him to volunteer his services, and we would set him apart to that work. No one would volunteer, and my counsellor, Mark Fletcher, nominated me to that office. I said I would accept of it if they would with one heart sustain me, and I would endeavor to magnify my office and grumble only as a man of God should. They voted unanimously to sustain me in this. 28

Similar organization took place on every ship, establishing hierarchy and prescribing rules of behavior. And the brethren were careful to see that proper priesthood authority was understood and recognized. Edward Stevenson, president of the 432 Saints sailing on the Chimborazo, found that James Elliott and Richard E. Davies, who had been appointed to preside over two of the seven wards, were only priests. At a shipboard priesthood meeting, “it was Deemed wisdom by the Council to release them from the Presidency of Wards, as there were Elders there who should preside, and a vote of thanks was passed to these brethren for their punctuality in carrying out orders and doing their best.” 29

A common communal act was the spontaneous singing of hymns. Harrison Burgess wrote as the Argo prepared to sail in 1850, “We lifted up our voices, in praises to God, and singing some of the most appropriate songs of Zion, and every heart rejoiced and every eye seemed glad, at the idea of leaving the Babylonish World, to

27Osmyn Merrit Deuel, Diary, 26.
29Chimborazo Conference History, 6.
prepare for the land of the Lord in the West of America.” 30 William Atkin wrote that:

As the steamer came in to tow us out to sea many of us went on deck and joined in singing the hymn on page 241 of the Latter-day Saints hymn book:

Yes my native land I love thee,
All thy scenes I love them well,
Friends, connections, Happy country,
Can I bid you all farewell?
Can I leave thee,
Far in distant lands to dwell. 31

The hymn expresses well the ambivalence emigrants understandably felt, with three verses lamenting the loss of the native land, followed by three that strongly affirm the decision to leave:

Yes! I hasten from you gladly,
From the scenes I love so well!
Far away, ye billows, bear Me:
Lovely native land farewell!
Pleas’d I leave thee—
Far in distant lands to dwell.

In the deserts let me labor,
On the Mountains let me tell,
How he died—the blessed Savior—
To redeem a world from hell!
Let me haste—
Far in distant lands to dwell.

Bear me on, thou restless ocean;
Let the winds my canvass swell—
Heaves my heart with warm emotion,
While I go far hence to dwell,
Glad I bid thee,—Native, land,—
Farewell—Farewell.

Atkin continued his narrative:

30 Harrison Burgess, Autobiography, 28.
31 Atkin, Autobiography, 12.
Then as we were being towed along by the steamer, many of us looking back on the land of our birth for the last time, we sang the hymn on page 239 in the same book:

The gallant ship is underway
To bear us off to sea,
And yonder floats the steamer gay
That says she waits for me &c.

The “&c.” verses of this hymn again strongly affirm the decision to emigrate, underscoring that the emigrant is leaving not for peace of mind, for glory, or for treasure, but rather:

I go devoted to his cause,
And to his will resign’d;
His presence will supply the loss
Of all I leave behind. 32

Louis A. Bertrand described the organization of wards on the Chimborazo and then explained how

when thus divided and installed on a lower deck, our six hundred mormon emigrants sang together our beautiful songs of Zion in three different tongues: French, English and Welch. Each Sunday presented a different spectacle, no less curious, on the upper deck. The main capstan was transformed into a sacred pulpit from which our choicest orators preached under open skies to all passengers and crewmen.33

As the ships pulled away from shore, regrets and daily cares were momentarily forgotten. It was a time of rejoicing and high excitement. “The company cheerful,” wrote William Clayton, as the North America was “tugged into the sea,” in 1840.34 Thomas Atkin described the departure of the Zetland: “At 2:30 p.m. we left the shores of our native land, the large company of Saints on board,

32 A Collection of Sacred Hymns... (Manchester, Eng.: W. R. Thomas, 1840), hymn 239. This hymnal, assembled by Brigham Young, Parley P. Pratt, and John Taylor went, with revisions and enlargements, into twenty-five editions through 1912.
34 William Clayton, Diaries, typescript prepared by Clayton Family Association, n.d., 73.
presided over by Brother Orson Spencer, were joyfully singing the songs of Zion." Matthew Rowan wrote of the sailing of the *Samuel Curling*, “Friday 20th of April 1855. We left the dock about 12 noon and went up the river Mersey. . . . I did not see a tear shed by any one on board, all seemed very cheerful.” The clerk of the *Chimborazo* company left a detailed account of their departure:

At 5 minutes to 12 o clock the Steam Tug took us into tow and we pass gallantly through the gates into the river, amidst the shouts and hearty hurrahs and cheers of the Saints on board and the friends on shore. . . . The Saints felt to enjoy themselves much, and sang many hymns suitable to the occasion. The wind was light but favourable . . . and the sea was tranquil and the welsh mountains in the distance gave a feeling of rapture never before felt and enjoyed by many of the Saints.

“Great was the joy of the Saints on leaving moorings,” wrote Edward Stevensen, also on the same ship, “in the midst of the shouts of hundreds, not unnoticed by angels, and those Prophets who predicted and foresaw the sons of Jacob gathering home from every nation, kindred, tongue, and people, to the inheritance promised him and his seed after him.”

**SHIPBOARD LIFE**

The mood changed abruptly when the ship hit the open water. The apostles, who had themselves crossed the Atlantic, were under no illusion about the trials that lay ahead. They knew that an ocean crossing, unprecedented in the lives of most of the gathered, would require levels of organization, cooperation, and endurance beyond any the company had known. The waving and cheering Saints were about to undergo a crash course in what John Fullmer liked to call “practical Mormonism.”

President F. D. Richards in an impressive and affectionate manner instructed the Elders on the duties of all emigrating; especially of the ex-Presidents about to embark. He said “I hold you brethren respon-

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35 Atkin, Autobiography, 5.
36 Rowan, Journals, 20 April 1855.
37 *Chimborazo* Conference History, 5-6.
sible for the state, condition and feelings of all the Saints, temporarily and spiritually, under your watch care. You have more responsibility than you ever had before from the fact of the Saints being gathered from the various parts and coming from the privileges of a land home, and being associated so closely within the confines of a ship.\(^{39}\)

Seasickness, the bane of ocean travelers, brought immediate abject misery. No one could prepare them for this. Hugh Moon, on the initial 1840 Brittan\(\text{a}\) sailing kept a diary that was terse and to the point:

- June 6th - About 4 o’clock we were let loose in the river and set sail.
- June 7th - Sunday - Most of us were sick.
- June 8th - We had a strong and boisterous wind.
- June 9th - Some of us began to get a little better.\(^{40}\)

G. H. Knowlden was on the steamer Manhattan, sailing out of Liverpool with 269 Saints in July 1870, including several returning missionaries:

> Scarcely had we left Queenstown before the wind arose, the sea rolled, and everybody got the whirligigs, and over the side of the ship went breakfast, dinner and pretty nearly themselves, for they felt, after they had got through, that there was very little left except the hide. The brethren in the cabin were no better, for they could not contain the many good things they had taken in, and they had to share with the fishes; only three out of the seventeen returning missionaries could face the music at the table at dinner that day, namely, brother Thomas Rodgers, father Tuddenham and myself—all the others were in their berths. The spirit was willing, but the flesh was very weak.\(^{41}\)

Gibson Condie reported the same, with less humor, of the 358 Zetland passengers. Their tug pulled them out into the channel:

> Our ship was than [sic] left to herself. Than the Ship began to toss to and fro the buckets or cans would tip over. . . . The people than began to be sick, dissanes [dizziness], began to vomit. They could not sit up nor eat anything, they call it seasickness. Every one [who] goes to sea

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\(^{39}\)Chimborazo Conference History, 2.

\(^{40}\)Moon, Autobiographical Sketch, 2-3.

they generally have that attack, lasts three days and sometimes longer. A person do not fell like eating. they feel as though they could not live, I was about a week myself before I was able to be round again.42

Heinrich Reiser was among the Swiss on the William Tapscott, gathering in the fateful year of 1860 in which Abraham Lincoln was elected. He explained what a burden seasickness was for the lucky few, in an age when passengers did their own cooking and managed their own affairs:

Before long the sick passengers, including my own folks, began to recover. This made me glad because during their illness I had to be everything: housemaid, servant, cook etc., I being the only one of my family who was able to walk around. Father [John] Keller and myself, Brother Alder and his family, Father Stauffer [Stauffer] and Brother [Johan] Buehler [Buhler] were abt. the only ones of the whole swiss colony who were more or less spared from seasickness.43

Even without seasickness there was plenty of opportunity for friction and bickering. Several hundred people were crowded into one large space under the decks, over a shifting floor, with stifling air, elbow-to-elbow neighbors, limited space for cooking and sanitation, and vermin of many types in bed and board. There was no privacy. Nerves were on edge, and feelings easily aroused. William Clayton, on the 1840 sailing of the North America confided to his diary: “Sister Naylor and I have had a few words concerning our boxes. They have tresspassed on our privileges a little. They are but one family and have two boxes out. We are two families and have but one. I desired them to move one box out of our way but they would not. She railed a little at me and used some hard words.”44

Shipboard gossip could also cause hard feelings. Somehow those on the North America got the idea their ship president was profiting from the passage they had paid: “At night Elder [Theodore] Turley spoke concerning some of the company having said he had a shilling a head for all the saints and other such things. He showed his bills and accounts to satisfy them and rebuked them for their hardness of heart and unbelief.”45

43Heinrich Reiser, Autobiography, 5.
44Clayton, Diaries, 77.
45Ibid., 78.
In bad weather captains confined the passengers below decks and doused the lamps. Buffeted by what the panicky landspeople called “mountain waves,” they endured agonizing hours when every moment was sheer, white-knuckled terror. Perhaps Ann Pitchforth, on the *Palmyra* in 1845, said it best:

We had soon something else to think of than farewells, friends, or any thing else, for the winds arose, and our fears with them; wave dashed on wave, and storm on storm, every hour increasing; all unsecured boxes, tins, bottles, pans, &c., danced in wild confusion, cracking, clashing, jumbling, rolling, while the vessel pitched, and tossed, and bounced till people flew out of their berths on the floor, while others held on with difficulty; thus we continued for eight days—no fires made—nothing cooked—biscuits and cold water; the waves dashed down the hold into the interior of the vessel, hatchway then closed, all in utter darkness and terror, not knowing whether the vessel was sinking or not; none could tell—all prayed—an awful silence prevailed—sharks and sins presenting themselves, and doubts and fears; one awful hour after another passing, we found we were not yet drowned; some took courage and lit the lamps; we met in prayer, we pleaded the promises of our God—faith prevailed; the winds abated, the sky cleared, the fires were again lit, then the luxury of a cup of tea and a little gruel.  

On 18 May 1865, Per Olaf Holmgren was mesmerized by the gigantic storm that tossed their ship, the *B. S. Kimball*, sailing out of Hamburg.

It was remarkable to see how the great ship was thrown about by the waves, sometimes high in the air and then diving to all appearances down in the depths. The waves were large as mountains and it was a solemn sight to see how the ocean was disturbed. There was literally music in the masts and rigging as a result of the strong wind. They cracked and screamed the whole time, a steady roar and creaking all over. I had wished many times to see this sight, now I was permitted to see it. I thought the vessel would capsize; while it lay nearly on its side the water came up on the deck and at times no one could stand on the deck without holding to the hand holds at the rails, and no one could sleep. Below in the ship the bottles and pots and pans fell over each other, the beds broke to pieces so the people could not lie

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in them. Johanna was anxious; I would not lie down, but wished to see this and the other world's—namely the sea's—performance. I finally went at her wish and lay down, but could not sleep.\footnote{Per Olaf Holmgren, Diary, 4.}

Sanitation was always a problem, with so many confined in so small a space. After a routine cleaning in 1840 on the \textit{North America}, William Clayton reported, “Gas was burned to sweeten the ship air and prevent disease. . . . At night Elder [Theodore] Turley spoke considerable on cleanliness and afterwards went around the berths to see if all the company undressed. Some was found with their clothes on and some had never pulled their clothes off since they came on deck. . . . Elder Turley undressed and washed them and ordered the place cleaned out.”\footnote{Clayton, Diaries, 76.}

Though leaders on the \textit{Charles Buck} had assigned one of the two water closets for the 403 passengers to sisters only, problems remained. On 27 January 1855, Richard Ballantyne complained: “Some of the sisters have such filthy habits that they all get up on the seat with their feet, instead of sitting on it, and so besmears it that the next sister who comes finds it so filthy that she cannot use it. . . . We have been obliged to appoint a guard to watch over their water closet, and see that they are kept clean.”\footnote{Ballantyne, Diaries and Reminiscences, 228.}

Of course, in such circumstances vermin were abundant and vexing. Minor Atwood found on the \textit{Mexicana}: “Bugs are still very bad so that the brethren can't sleep in their berths.”\footnote{Minor Grant Atwood, South African Mission, Manuscript History, 22 May 1865.} John McNeil of Scotland, sailing on the \textit{Manhattan} in 1870, observed petulantly that “the Swis are very dirty & lousy,”\footnote{John McNeil, Letter to David and Ann MacNeil, 26 July 1870, in \textit{A Good Time Coming: Mormon Letters to Scotland}, edited by Frrederick S. Buchanan (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1988), 99.} which if true, was certainly a marked departure from the usual reputation of the Swiss. Richard Margetts on the \textit{Argo} in 1850 recorded: “This night caught a rat up a Sis’s Petticoats,” no doubt a trauma for the rat, as well as the sister.\footnote{Richard B. Margetts, Diary, 25 February 1850.}
Diets were spare and basic. Richard Margetts recorded with some surprise:

All my time took up in cooking, Waiting on the sick & taking an account of the provisions given out something being given out every day which causes great confusion while it lasts & requires much patience on part of the Saints so many being together in such close quarters. The provisions have been given out about as follows “viz” one day biscuits, the next day Meal Sugar & Tea, the next day Pork & so on but the Water is given out every day should be 3 quarts for each adult. . . . Thick porrage is a very favorite dish at present—Roast & boil Potatoes very Palatable. Water closets repaired—plenty of room about them, not for individuals but for improvement.53

The 403 emigrants on the Charles Buck experienced short rations when a storm temporarily drove them back to port. When they finally sailed:

some raw oatmeal, coarse biscuit, and a little rice and flour furnished, and even of these articles a sufficient quantity was not shipped; so that the passengers were placed on short allowance of provisions two weeks before our arrival in New Orleans. . . . Notwithstanding these unpleasant circumstances the company manifested an unusual measure of cheerfulness and patience.54

Cooking was often a problem, as ships usually had only one or two stoves and the passengers had to queue up to boil their daily rations. Mary Lois Walker, on the Josiah Bradley in 1850 explained:

Sometimes we had trouble cooking such things as rice and beans, which absorb so much water that we would not have sufficient to finish cooking them properly. This cooking was done on a sheet-iron stove about the size of an ordinary kitchen table, in a small room not much larger than a pantry. Many would be cooking at the same time, and would have to stand and watch their own things lest someone should come and push them back to give their own a better place.55

Taking seriously their responsibility for the moral as well as

53Margetts, Diary, 17 January 1850.
54Deseret News, 13 July 1855.
physical welfare of the gathering Saints, Church leaders were alert for possible misconduct between young men and women. To keep down temptation, marriages were common at the beginning of a voyage. The day the Chimborazo set sail in 1855, marriages were performed for “John Pickett and Rosetta Stringer, David Rees and Martha Eynon . . . and David Williams and Ann Walters. . . . After the ceremony was terminated the happy couples retired to do what seemed them best! Guards appointed by Bro. Slack and Mills.”

Guards watched over single men and women as well, though not to protect their privacy. William Cutler on the James Pennell in October 1850, found it necessary to call

30 Men of our company together, whom We had selected to act as watchmen for the remainder of the Voyage. . . . The men whom we selected concented to act as watchmen, & do what they ware, or should be instructed to do. One of our principal objects was to keep a few females in their proper place, after bed time & to prevent any person from going above or below Deck unless they had special business.

Four days later he wrote, “Those persons who have been so rebellious & caused us so much trouble, this day made a confession of their faults & promised to observe the regulations of the company & to obey our counsel for the future. This gave great satisfaction to all our company.”

John Fullmer, on the Siddons in 1855, laid out the rules for single youth:

We let the partition between the young men and families remain, and counselled the young sisters not to intrude upon the young men’s sanctum; the young men were not forbidden to visit their friends in a prudent and timely way, nor to eat with them; but excess of attention or gallantry was what we discountenanced. . . . The opinion of many is, that Saints do not need such stringent discipline; I will say that there are some persons in every four hundred that need all the checks that any have received, and much more would not come amiss.

Richard Ballantyne reported that three were excommunicated dur-

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56 Chimborazo Conference History, 7.
57 William L. Cutler, Diary, 23 and 27 October 1850.
ing the voyage of the Charles Buck in 1855. “One of the sisters desired to be cut off that she might have full liberty to keep company with the first mate.” He included her letter to him in the official journal of the voyage:

Dear Brother,

I am very sorry to have put you to so much trouble. I did not know that I was not able to take care of myself. I cannot go to the stairs head but there are men sent after me. That, I will not stand so you may cut me off as I do not want to put these men to any more trouble as I am capable of taking care of myself. That has been my wish for some time.

Yours Truly,
Elizabeth Kirkpatrick

She and the first mate left the company as soon as the ship docked in New Orleans, and the company did not hear of her again.

Nutritional problems, exposure, and infectious disease took a heavy toll, especially of children. Though no Mormon ship was ever lost in open seas, most experienced deaths and sea burials. Twenty-five children and three adults died on during the thirty-eight-day passage of the B. S. Kimball in 1865. William Clayton also described the illness and death of children aboard the North America in September 1840:

Friday 18th. Some of the company continue very sick, especially three of the children. . . . Elder Turley's mind is much grieved in consequence of these things. At night he called the saints together in order to ascertain their feelings concerning the recovery of those sick. . . . I said I did not believe it was the will of God we should lose one soul. Elder Turley said to the same effect. The saints then began to be more cheerful and the journey of darkness was in some degree banished. We prayed with the children and desired all to hold them by faith. But after all our exertion the Holmes child died [that] same night. This was a grief to our minds but it was so.

Measles broke out on the Clara Wheeler in 1854, claiming little Mary Brighton and Elizabeth Gibson only two days apart. Mary's father, William Brighton, confided his grief to his diary:

60Clayton, Diaries, 74-75.
A very little after they Died I may say that no one could no my fellience [feelings] upon that occasion except a Father when i looked on the little ones laid sid by sid and then soed up in a bag to be put in the sea. . . . my heart was pained. . . though i looked forward to a day when the sea will give up its dead. My Wife was very bad at the time and contuned very bad and weak for the want of food . . . but she has got over it and is now getting strong again and my Daughter Jennet is now very well and i rejoyes in the goodness of the Lord to me and family.\footnote{61}{William Stuart Brighton, Diaries, 1:11-12.}

Richard Margetts's entry of 27 January 1850, aboard the Argo is not uncommon in recounting affliction, but he, typically, found blessings amidst the sorrows:

Early this morning a child died that was born about a week before we started. About 8 a.m. a brother coming down the ladder with a kettle & frying pan in his hands fell & put his shoulder out and scalded himself. We have a Brother a Doctor on board and we soon got shoulder put to right & dressed the scald. The Saints in general very well today had a meeting and the sacrament administered in the afternoon, a most lovely evening.\footnote{62}{Margetts, Diary, 27 January 1850.}

The passengers were dependent upon captain and crew for their comfort and very survival. Generally, relations were good, though there were a few striking exceptions. The 109 Saints on the ship Hartley, sailing in 1850, were fortunate to have little illness and no deaths; but according to the Millennial Star,\footnote{63}{Thomas M'Kenzie, Letter, St. Louise, May 1850, in Millennial Star 12 (15 July 1850): 217.}

the conduct of Captain Morril was shameful: he did all in his power to make their situation as miserable as possible; and when they were holding their meetings he took particular pains to annoy them . . . The captain was very kind to some two or three of the females, inviting them into his cabin, and at the same time acting as a demon towards the rest of the company. This is one great evil the elders have to contend against, namely, the imprudence of some who called themselves sisters.

Matthew Rowan reported disapprovingly in 1855 aboard the Samuel Curling, that "All is well, only a few of our young Sisters who
will be friends with our gallant Captain, and some of our brethren say he, (the Captain) is not so bad a fellow after all, i.e. when he has just given them . . . a glass of brandy. Some would, I believe, call the Devil a complete gentleman for so small a compliment!"\(^6^4\) Shortly after his daughter Mary died, William Brighton approached the captain of the *Clara Wheeler* "and asked if he would sell a little food for a sick person and he said why the Devil, sir I have no food for anyone."\(^6^5\)

Perhaps more common, however, was the experience of Thomas Day, who reported the compassionate concern of Captain Mansfield, of the *Josiah Bradley*, after several children died on his ship. "The Captain sent for me to Converse with him upon the Death of the Children & Expressed his sorrow at the same & his anxious [anxiety] for the health of the Company & will do all that lies in his power for their health and comfort. . . . At leaving him he requested that I would come & sit with him at any time I felt disposed."\(^6^6\) Those on the *Mexicana* from South Africa seemed to enjoy their captain's humor. Elizabeth Sims remembered, "En route to the promised land we only met one vessel in hailing distance. The usual question was asked our captain, 'What are you loaded with?' The reply was, 'Sheep Skins and Mormons.' All the people on that ship cheered and laughed."\(^6^7\) It was not uncommon for parents to name children born on the ship after the captain or the ship, an indication of their affection and respect for their ship's chief officer, who determined allocation of food and water, access to the ship's amenities, and upon whose skills their very lives at times depended.

**COPING**

The gathering Saints thus were thrust abruptly from the lush green of English fields, from factories, and from country homes, into crowded, uncomfortable, and often traumatic circumstances from which there was no escape until the journey ended. Extraordinary conditions required extraordinary coping mechanisms. In this the Mormon companies had enormous advantages over others. The hierarchical structure, with appointed officers, provided an organi-

\(^{64}\)Rowan, Journals, 10 May 1855.

\(^{65}\)Brighton, Diaries, 1:11-12.


\(^{67}\)Sims, Autobiography, 9.
zation that could chafe at times, but nonetheless served them well, mediating between the passengers and the captain and crew and organizing shipboard life. On every voyage from 1840 through 1870, the first essential task was organization of the ship’s company. A good ship was clearly, in the eyes of Church leaders and ship captains alike, an orderly ship. The exigencies of sea travel were compatible with and reinforced the Latter-day Saint passion for orderliness.

The organization began with the designation, usually by British mission leaders, of a ship president. He and the leaders he called then counseled the company through sermons. Church leaders invariably enjoined the Mormons to cooperation, order, harmony, and unity. Daniel Spencer’s advice to the Chimborazo passengers was to “avoid all murmuring and do not complain; . . . have not hardness one with another, but let union prevail and confide in God, and then you shall cross the sea without one death.” Elder G. Grant followed with the terse advice that “this is a kingdom of order therefore commence right here.”

But the leaders did much more than preach. When the voyage of the Charles Buck began in January 1855, Richard Ballantyne systematically “visited through the ship and administered comfort and blessings to the sick.” He then organized four wards, including a Danish Ward, with a president and two counselors over each. This he followed with instructions concerning the cleanliness of the ship, and appointed the male members of each ward to take their turn in cleaning out all the filth in the morning, at 6 O’clock, before any of the families are up. The First Ward to do the work of cleaning and sweeping out the ship the first morning, and so on to the second and last, so that each able bodied man may do an equal share in this work. Then as soon as the ship is cleaned the people shall be called upon to arise and dress themselves and immediately thereafter unite, under the direction of the President of each Ward, in prayer, praise, and thanksgiving to the Lord. Then after morning devotions prepare breakfast and enter with cheerful hearts upon the duties of the day.

William Glover on the Juventa, also in 1855, wrote:

We found it was essential to the safety of the passengers that the

69 Ballantyne, Diaries, 18 January 1855.
utmost strictness with regard to cleanliness and order should be observed, and to that end it was resolved that each ward should furnish every morning a sufficient number of men, whose duty was to clean the ward thoroughly, washing and scraping out the same; these cleaners to commence at 4 o’clock each morning, so as to allow the females to get up at 6. The cooking operations were attended to in wards, each President seeing that none (except for the sick) came into the galley during the time his people were cooking, but the members of his ward. The same order was attended to in serving out the water and provisions. Thus, under the influence of the Spirit of God, all things passed off well with us. Meetings were held regularly in each ward morning and evening, and on Sundays we always observed a fast, and held meetings on deck, where discourses were delivered by the various Elders, which were always listened to by the officers of the ship with all due attention and respect.⁷⁰

A late example was the Belle Wood, which sailed 29 April 1865. William Shearman reported that the brethren who had blessed the ship were barely out of sight when “we turned our attention to the practical duties before us,” organizing the 636 Saints aboard into nine wards, with presidents over each. There was enough sickness the next day to require further organization:

Elder William Willes and a Female Sanitary Committee, . . . were appointed to that important labor of love. This office they cheerfully accepted, and faithfully performed the onerous duties devolving upon them, dispensing sago, tapioca, arrowroot, hot tea, coffee, soup, boiled rice, and dried apple sauce, with other little luxuries, which were carefully prepared, and proved very grateful and nourishing to the invalids.

To supply the Saints with regular meals, an organization of brethren for cooking was formed. . . . The wards cooked in rotation, commencing with the 1st Ward one morning, and the 9th Ward the next. Water and provisions were served in the same order. This arrangement gave the middle wards about the same hour for cooking every day, and gave general satisfaction.

Brothers Fowler, Palmer and Stonehouse, were appointed a committee to make arrangements for social parties for the recreation of the Saints, at which well-selected pieces were recited, and anthems

and songs, both spiritual and secular, were executed in a very creditable manner.

The group had, in addition, a brass band and even published a newspaper. Small wonder that “union in good feeling, characterized the conduct of the Saints during the entire trip, and our hearts are thankful to him who rules on high, for the operations of his Holy Spirit, which produced these most desirable results.”

During the 1840s and 1850s, men and women occupied a good deal of their shipboard time in sewing tents and wagon covers for the overland part of their journey. The president of the Samuel Curling emigrants improvised an elaborate ritual to celebrate the completion of their first tent, which he had erected on the quarterdeck and obviously saw metaphorically as the tent of Zion:

President [Israel] Barlow, desired that the… tentmakers, should pass through the erected tent in sacred procession in order to hallow the present tent and commemorate the ancient and modern wandering of the people of God. Thus all things being prepared, the procession was formed in the following order. President Israel Barlow to walk in front with his counselors, then the Seven Presidents, each with their respective counselors, and in rear of them, Secretary Wm Willis was to form in line, bearing on each arm a Lady tentmaker, and then all the other lady and gentlemen tentmakers to follow in order. The procession formed, and the spectators arranged The Marshal Eld D. [David] Moffat was instructed to proclaim to the procession—when ordred, to March… singing the hymn of “Praise to the man who communed with Jehovah.” The command being given “March!” the procession moved off in grand and sublime order, each president linked in by his associates, and the song acting simultaneous with the movement thereof. The Marshal led the way, proceeded through the tent, followed by the honourable train, which marched through three successive times.

The sailors aboard proceeded to lampoon the ceremony, by marching through the tent themselves.

One fellow with a red shirt, Mounted, and seated himself steadily on the shoulders of two of his comarades, in connexion with his red shirt, he had on a hat that would puzzle a philosopher to describ its

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shape, in his hand he carried a pole, and an old bass-rug on it for a flag. The others who followed bore in their hands poles, oars, &c—so they all appeared like the old English balifs in their Halbarts of office.

David Moffat, who reported the event felt that the parody was “done through no evil intention”; but when the Saints laughed at the proceedings, Barlow “reproved them with a degree of Sharpness, which restored order and solemnity to the waiting Audience. Order being restored the Marshal was commanded to call upon the procession with all the saints, to repeat the song “Praise to the Man” &c.”

There were other shipboard activities, some practical, some less so. On the William Tapscott, English classes were organized for Scandinavian emigrants. On the Mexicana, sixty-seven days at sea, leaders arranged schooling for the children. Dancing and singing were most often spontaneous, sometimes organized, and nearly universal. A straitlaced Swiss convert, Johann Baer was shocked at the revelry of the English Saints, including, no doubt, the rowdy Jessops, aboard the Underwriter in 1860:

After all was settled the ship did plow its way over the briny deep and what did we the Swiss hear and see. Hand organ, violin music and then dancing. We did not like that and asked one another what kind of people is this? One of our Elders, . . . [who] could . . . speak English fluently, told us they were all Mormons. We were horror stricken in hearing this. We never expected that Latter-Day Saints would indulge in such worldly pleasures. We were disgusted.

In good weather when the Saints were allowed on deck, they were drawn irresistibly to the rails where they marveled at the vast expanse of sea and sky, the passage of occasional ships, and the sight of porpoises, sharks, whales, and other fish that at times came within view. Matthew Rowan wrote, close to the end of their voyage in May 1855, “The Sun in Setting this evening was beautiful. It looked like a great body of fire resting on the Sea. I met with my ward in the evening.”

The voyage was ordered and made harmonious through the sermons, careful organization, and dispute resolution provided by

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72Moffat, Writings, 1850-61, 71-72.
74Rowan, Journals, 17 May 1855, 180.
the leaders. But the coping resource the Saints drew upon most often was their own spiritual sensitivity—their faith. Over and over and in the face of unimaginable hardship and tragedy, they saw providential care, the hand of God, saving them from disaster, consoling them in grief, and assuring the ultimate triumph of their enterprise.

The very first crossing of the *Brittania* was a miserable one, according to John Moon, whose brother Hugh was also aboard. He confessed:

> I feel somewhat sorry for all those who have to come after us but keep up your hearts and as your day is so shall your strength be. You must expect great tribulation in the way to Zion for those who John saw had come through much tribulation and I do not know anyway but one that leads to the kingdom of God. . . I can say with truth that if things had been 10 times worse than they was I would just have gone right ahead through all. We had 3 storms but the prophecy of Er [sic] Kimball was fulfilled. The winds and water was calmed by prayer and the power of God.

While the *North America* was becalmed in 1840, a fire broke out in the galley. William Clayton observed: “Some of us had wished in the morning that the wind would blow but it was well we had a calm or the consequences might have been awful. As soon as the battle subsided the wind began to blow and we were again on our way home. The Lord has been kind to us for which we feel thankful.”

Significantly, Clayton, a convert on his way to the United States for the first time, speaks of the gathering place he had never seen as “home.”

David Moffat was reassured as he set sail on the *Samuel Curling* by a letter from Franklin Richards:

> It gave assurance to the Saints, that if they observed to obey the counsel of their presidents and him who was appointed head of all, even Elder Israel Barlow that not one soul would perish by the way but all would arrive in life and come up on the land of Joseph, even

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75“*We Had a Very Hard Voyage for the Season*: John Moon’s Account of the First Emigrant Company of British Saints,” *BYU Studies* 17, no. 3 (Spring 1977): 340-41. This account is included in William Clayton, Letter to Brigham Young, 19 August 1840, Brigham Young Papers, LDS Church Archives.

76Clayton, Diaries, 77.
the land of America and realize their long hopes and ardent expectations.

Several miserable days later he took comfort in a vision the ship leader vouchsafed to him.

President Israel Barlow have at this moment dropped to me a knowledge of God’s dealings with the Saints on Bord the Samuel Curling,—He says, he saw in the night season; the vessel going forward, and something going before it paveing the way: and by puting his hands together shewed me the figure of the apparatus that went before us— This thing which he saw Branched out in spires and fork, and those horns shielded, and broke off from us every contrary wind, and opposing influence, and led the way of the Samuel Curling with its precious cargo to the wished-for haven. 77

Nearly all, like those sailing on the Argo in 1850, wrote of miraculous interventions. Harrison Burgess reported that, on 26 January,

a terrible storm arose. About two o’clock in the afternoon the sea began to swell and show its power, and the vessel lay first on one side and then on the other. Water came in upon us on both sides of our ship. We lost our sails and yard-arms, and the chains in the rigging of the ship broke. In the evening, when everything looked most dismal, our president called together his counselors and all joined in prayer to the Lord to cause the winds to cease. Scarcely had the brethren ceased their supplications when there was a calm, so sudden in fact that the captain and the officers of the ship were greatly surprised, and they came and inquired of us how it was that we felt so happy and gay amid the great danger through which we had just passed. They could not realize that the Lord removed all fear from the hearts of his faithful Saints when they were endeavoring to do their duty.

He and several other passengers wrote in detail of an incident that occurred during a dark, tropical night, as they sailed briskly through the Caribbean, approaching the Gulf of Mexico:

The heavens seemed to open, and a chain of Fire descended on to the Earth, as some sort of a token. it took the attention of the saints and as they stood gazing on the heavens Lo! another star shot forth

77 Moffat, Writings, 1850-61, 70.
and to the surprise of all, we found ourselves running aground against the Rocks of the Pine Isles. All hands were called on Deck and soon the saints like brave sailors, hauled at the ropes &c to get ourselves clear from this awful Situation, soon was the Yard-Arms squared and on we rode, but through the 2nd mate and his Mrs. Bennet, we found ourselves running into the Cape St Antonio, on the Isle of Cuba, and the danger was so great that we were obliged to Haul out our Cable, ready for the last extremity but through the prayers of the saints, mixed with their works, we once more rode through the waters of the Lord.⁷⁸

The words of Osmond Deuel on the Siddons sound as if they could have come from 1 Nephi: “We . . . come together at knight and . . . agreed to unite our voices and hearts together and call on the Lord for His merce in Turning away sickness and causing the winds to change and blow towards the promised land. And the Lord heard our prayers and the wind changed in our favor and the sickness abated.”⁷⁹ Even when dozens were suffering from illness, and death was rampant, they felt the hand of God. George Thomas wrote of tragedy on the Clara Wheeler: “Throw [through] the fidge [voyage] we had 21 children dide in the melas [measles] and 2 wiman.” But, astonishingly, he proceeded to conclude that “the lord was wery good to his people and Blest us with A good pasage.”⁸⁰ Clearly, their confidence that God was with them helped them endure the most calamitous of trials. William Clayton summarized his 1840 voyage with these words:

I once could not have believed that it was possible for me to endure the toils I have endured; but to the praise of God be it spoken, all I have endured has never hurt or discouraged me, but done me good. We have sometimes had to change our food entirely & live on food we had not been used to. We have sometimes been almost suffocated with heat in the old ship, sometimes almost froze with cold. We have had to sleep on boards, instead of feathers, and on boxes which was worse. We have been crammed together, so that we had scarce room to move about, & 14 of us had to live night and day for several days, in a small cabin (composed of boxes) about 2 yards long, and 4 feet wide. We have had our clothes wet through with no

⁷⁸Burgess, Autobiography, 32.
⁷⁹Deuel, Diary, 27-28.
⁸⁰George Thomas, Daybook, Reminiscence and Diary, 49.
privilege of drying them or changing them. . . . Yet after all this we have been far more healthy & cheerful than when at home; and we have enjoyed ourselves right well. . . . I can assure you brethren and sisters, that if you will be faithful you have nothing to fear from the journey the Lord will take care of his saints. 81

The Mormon ships were a tiny fraction of the massive movement of peoples emigrating from Europe to the New World between 1840 and 1890—fewer than a hundred thousand of the fifteen million who came. 82 Yet, as we have seen, their shipboard experience, trying as it was, must have been far more tolerable than for other emigrants. The consequences of the sermons, organization, and spiritual grounding seemed evident to all. John Fullmer described the state of affairs during rough seas on the Siddons:

We toss about like a log upon the water, sometimes one side up and sometimes another, in a kind of alternate rotary motion, reminding me of the cradle upon the tree top, when the wind blows the cradle will rock. This keeps up a kind of friction among the passengers and boxes from one side of the ship to the other, which is rather new to land lubbers, and somewhat endangers heads, legs and arms, as the case may be; but all is born in within a very praiseworthy and commendable spirit, as a striking illustration of practical Mormonism. 83

Richard Ballantyne was pleased with the demeanor of Saints on the Charles Buck, recording that, on the morning of 6 February 1855, “the upper deck is crowded with a busy crowd of cheerful Saints all intent on sewing the tents according as they have been taught. It is truly pleasing to see so much happiness and contentment, combined with our active desire to do all that is required.” 84 Mormons sometimes drew pointed contrasts with other passengers. On the B. S. Kimball in 1865, Christoffer J. Kempe showed his sectarian bias in reporting that “while peace and good will reigned among the Saints the others . . . lived more like cats and dogs to-

82Sonne, Saints on the Seas, 43.
83Fullmer, Diary, 46.
84Ballantyne, Diaries and Reminiscences, 6 February 1855.
gether; some had disputes and engaged in fights, others played cards and swore, while some preached, and altogether there was a real pandemonium."\textsuperscript{85} Orson Spencer was convinced that "none but Saints can cross the Atlantic in large companies without serious difficulties and probable loss of life, without a much better organization than I have yet seen or heard of. In some instances, one-half of the Irish emigrants die going only to New York. And much greater mortality would doubtless attend them on a voyage through the West Indies to New Orleans."\textsuperscript{86}

Upon docking in New York in 1855, John Goulstone, surgeon on the \textit{Cynosure}, wrote to George Seager, president of the ship's LDS company: "I cannot but express my thanks for the very able co-operation you have afforded me on the late passage from Liverpool, in maintaining order, and cleanliness among the passengers, under your presidency and only regret that some few others did not follow the example set by the Mormons."\textsuperscript{87} And as a minor, but perhaps significant, echo, upon docking in New York harbor on 4 October 2001, after a thirty-eight-day crossing aboard the full-rigged wind ship \textit{Christian Radich}, Captain Gunnar Utgaard made a point of taking me aside and complimenting the Mormons on the remarkable unity and order that had prevailed during the journey. As ship president trying to deal with issues that arose, it had seemed to me we had had problem upon problem the whole way.

**THE LAND OF JOSEPH**

Landfall, after a long ocean voyage, was for all immigrants a joyous event. It was no less so for the Mormons. As they approached the coast, they eagerly looked for land birds, small craft, or other evidence that they were nearing the shores of America. John Moon, on the very first Mormon immigrant ship, recorded on 17 July 1840: "At 5 saw Long Island all covered with green trees and white houses such a beautiful sight I never saw. I did rejoice to behold the Land of Joseph: yea, I thought it did pay for all the hardships which I had

\textsuperscript{85}Quoted in an unsigned report of the passage, \textit{Millennial Star} 27 (20 May 1865): 315-16.
\textsuperscript{86}Orson Spencer, Letter, \textit{Millennial Star} 11, no. 12 (15 June 1849): 183.
\textsuperscript{87}"Arrival of the Cynosure," Letter, \textit{Millennial Star} 17, no. 41 (13 October 1855): 650.
gone through.” 88 On Tuesday, 17 April 1855, Osmyn Deuel, on the Siddons, excitedly recorded, “The anchor chain is up, the flag for a pilot is up and the saints rejoice.” 89 John Fullmer, president of Deuel’s company, recorded gratefully on the same day:

This morning the day was clear and beautiful and so calm that a ripple hardly stirred the vast expanse; towards noon, however we began to do a fair business, and in the afternoon a wind sprang up which brought with it rain. We now had just feasted our longing eyes with the welcome sight of land. This was the S.E. Coast of New Jersey, near the Delaware Bay. 90

The next month on the Chimborazo, William Mills rejoiced: “We pass beautifully up the river Delaware—land on both sides, which cheers the hearts of the Saints.” 91 Matthew Rowan on the Samuel Curling exulted that, on 22 May at 6:00 a.m.,

the land was sighted by a naked eye, and oh! how beautiful it did appear to the emigrant’s eye. All were electrified by the cry of land. Lame, old, young, Sick, and all ran up on deck to see it. It seemed like a fairyland. We first gazed upon what is called “Never Sink,” then “Sandy Hook,” then “Stratton Island,” to the left, then we feasted our eyes upon the beauty of “Long Island.”

The captain is eloquent in extolling our Conduct and propriety on board to the pilot, Doctor, excise officers, and reporters. He boasts that for goodness and healthiness, there never was a better shipload of people brought into port. He and the Crew wish we had further to go with them, our company has been so engaging, they express their regret to part from us. The Captain gets us to sing to Strange officials when they Come aboard. Oh! he is big about his passengers. He was told at L. pool what a life he would be led by our Misconduct on board, during the voyage. This, he states, he is prepared to speak against. Our landing was reported in the New York papers today and our voyage and general conduct and appearance were commented upon. We were called cleanly and orderly and our order was recommended to other emigrants &c. 92

89 Deuel, Diary, 41.
90 Fullmer, Diary, 72.
92 Rowan, Journals, 22 May 1855.
David Moffat wrote a heartfelt benediction to his voyage on the same vessel:

The high lands of America in sight. I see a lighthouse by its lights. It has two lights, one is standing, and the other is revolveing. 9 a.m. nearing New York. The scene at this moment is grand and imposing. The houses is clean, light, and cheerful, indeed it is beautiful beyond anything I have yet seen. 10 a.m. Here we are drawing near to anchor, the spacious River . . . filled with steam Boats of every discription, plying in haste. Here lieth Ships of all dimensions all is bustle and activity. The anchor of the Samuel Curling is let go!!! We are all safely landed in New York, America This 22nd day of May 1855. Glory and blessing be unto the Lord for evermore, Amen.\(^91\)

And so, their voyage over, the Saints set foot once more upon land—but not just any land. Though they had thousands of miles yet ahead, for some upon the river waters where they understood Satan’s power held sway, they had a sense as they stepped off their ships that they were home. All of America was their promised land, their Zion, what the early travelers among them called the Land of Joseph, in reference both to the prophet of the Restoration and the Book of Mormon peoples.

Church agents were commonly on hand to greet them and speed them on their way to the gathering places. In New York, Philadelphia, and St. Louis were branches, where immigrants found fellowship and assistance. Some remained in the East or Midwest to work for years before gaining the means to move on. But all, upon leaving their ships looked west, and seldom looked back. The waters had not parted for them. The oceans had been a trial, an obstacle, an impediment. But now they were past that. They were home.

It is perhaps not surprising that in Mormon folk memory, the ocean voyage has been all but forgotten, or at least had been until Bill and DeAnne Sadleir and others with Seatrek2001 brought it so vividly back into Latter-day consciousness. Though animate life is thought to have had its origins in the seas, perhaps there is something innate in us as human beings that fears oceans and loves land. Perhaps the gathered suffered from some kind of post-traumatic stress syndrome that made it painful to think or talk about the voyage ever again. Perhaps identification with ancient Israel projected

\(^91\)Moffat, Writings, 1850-61, 76-77.
plains, deserts, wagons, and carts onto their consciousness as the proper habitat and instruments of travel for God's people.

Certainly Brigham Young thought of the Great Basin as a “good place to make Saints” and devised a whole set of institutions specifically for the purpose of accomplishing that. I, among others, have written on the Mormon village as a primary agent of the cultural changes that created a distinctive culture in the Far West. But my reading of all these vivid and powerful folk narratives has caused me to reconsider. For as I looked at the experience of these people—their longing and anticipation, their preparations for the journey to Zion, their departure, their life on board and their arrival—it seemed that the gathering Saints entered Zion much earlier than they or their descendants imagined.

Anthropologists Arnold van Gennep and Victor Wright have paid particular attention to the meaning for human societies of “rites of passage,” experiences that mark the transition from one lifestage to another. My argument here is that, while not prescribed, formal, and repeated, as rituals commonly are, the ocean voyage that all of the gathered Saints endured, was in itself a powerful agent of cultural change, unquestionably marking for most such a transition. Moreover, the experience was profoundly different from that experienced by the many millions coming to America from Britain and Europe at the same time. Nearly all of those millions progressed through the classic stages of a rite of passage as described by Victor Turner—separation (as they departed from their homeland), liminality (the neither/nor character of the voyage itself), and finally, reentry (as they landed in America and began their lives anew). For them, the crucial life-changing events were attached to reentry. Where and how they reentered was commonly much less predictable and more variable than among the Mormon immigrants. That fact changed the entire character of their experience, as they struggled to find a place in liberal, democratic, individualistic America. They often learned through bitter experience the lesson of the Norwegian immigrant who complained, “In Norway no one who begs a lodging

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92 May, Three Frontiers.
for the night is turned away, but a self-made Yankee is less generous: it is every one for himself over there." And through that buffeting they gradually learned to fend for themselves in such a world. Their cultural transformation took place only after their escape from the liminality of their ocean voyage.

The Mormon immigrants had a very different experience. For most the separation and liminal aspects of their rite of passage were compressed into their journey from their home to Liverpool. But boarding the ship was their reentry. Once on board they were not just in transit—on their way "homeward to Zion," as William Mulder so eloquently put it—but in important ways already were "home," living with more fellow Saints than they had ever seen and under the careful, attentive tutelage of Church leaders. It would be easy for the immigrants to interpret in such circumstances the exigencies of shipboard life as the cultural credo of Mormonism itself. The two were, in fact, mutually reinforcing and have comingled to form the defining values of the Latter-day Saint world.

I am tempted, in fact, to think of the ocean voyage as a crash course in what the Saints at the time called "practical Mormonism," by which they meant learning communal skills. Suddenly, on the ships they were thrust into an emotionally intense environment where their very survival depended on learning to recognize authority and obey counsel, to organize for the collective good, to deny self, to be patient in adversity, and to exercise faith in providential care. The ocean voyage was the boot camp, or maybe even the Parris Island, of modern Mormonism. As we've noted, in 1880, 97 percent of all Utahns over sixty-four had gathered to Zion from outside the United States. When a powerful cultural experience is so widely shared among a people, it must surely have profound and lasting consequences.

Perhaps this helps us to understand better some of the administrative, cultural, and even doctrinal differences that have long separated the Prairie Saints, the Community of Christ, from the Mountain Saints, for a smaller proportion of the RLDS flock was gathered from Europe and thus was subjected to this intense cultural trans-

formation. In fact, no other immigrant group of such numbers crossed to America under such a finely tuned regimen. And few, once they landed, had the reinforcing instruments of Church agents, overland travel, and village life, to implant and perpetuate the shipboard survival skills as part of their ongoing cultural credo. Stepping gratefully off their ships and moving over land to the gathering places, they did not know how much their voyage had taught and changed them. They and their descendants have forgotten that the Mormon village had its beginnings on the banks of the Mersey, at the port of Liverpool.
Dean L. May on the main upper topsail, Christian Radich, Las Palmas, Canary Islands, September 2001
PROPHETS IN AMERICA CA. 1830: EMERSON, NAT TURNER, JOSEPH SMITH

Richard H. Brodhead

IN SOUTHAMPTON COUNTY, VIRGINIA, on 21 August 1831, a group of black slaves massacred their masters and surrounding white families, killing fifty-five people in the most potent slave revolt in U.S. history. Two months later on 30 October, the rebellion’s elusive leader was caught; and in the days that followed, from prison, he told his story to a lawyer, Thomas Ruffin Gray. Read in court, this narrative led to Turner’s conviction and his execution on 11 November. When this story was published, as it was soon thereafter, it supplied missing antecedents for an event that had been as enigmatic as it was horrid. This book was The Confessions of Nat Turner, one of the most remarkable pieces of writing from the American 1830s.

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The genre of *The Confessions of Nat Turner* is prophetic autobiography. This is the story, not of a person's life, but of those parts of a life that gave him a special identity as one divinely chosen for a holy work. A precocious child, the speaker recalls that the folk culture surrounding him read his precocity as a sign that he had the gift of second sight, causing "them to say in my hearing, I surely would be a prophet." Later, Turner learned to play toward his reputation for "Divine inspiration," acting the prophet to this communal reception: "Having soon discovered [that] to be great, I must appear so, . . . [I] wrapped myself in mystery, devoting my time to fasting and prayer" (307). But at this point, what began in part as pretence suddenly literalized itself into a new mode of experience. Turner recalls that in early manhood he was struck by the scriptural passage: "Seek ye the kingdom of Heaven and all things shall be added unto you." Then, "as I was praying one day at my plough, the spirit spoke to me, saying 'Seek ye the kingdom of Heaven and all things shall be added unto you.'" "What do you mean by the Spirit?" the astounded Gray asks at this point. Turner replies, with contempt for Gray's ignorance: "The Spirit that spoke to the prophets in former days" (307-8).

This revelation gave Turner the conviction that he had been "ordained for some great purpose in the hands of the Almighty," and this certainty was reinforced when, a few years later, the experience of revelation was renewed. In 1825, by Turner's account, "I had a vision—and I saw white spirits and black spirits engaged in battle, and the sun was darkened—the thunder rolled in the Heavens, and blood flowed in streams—and I heard a voice saying, 'Such is your luck, such you are called to see, and let it come rough or come

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smooth, you must surely bare it’” (308-9). In this vision, what would seem to be a fantasy or premonition of this-worldly race war is fused with the drama of otherworldly biblical apocalypse, a conflation that later revelations make ever more powerful. Turner next has a vision in which the lights in the night sky become the hands of the crucified Christ, after which he discovers “drops of blood on the corn as though it were dew from heaven” and bloody hieroglyphs imprinted on forest leaves “representing the figures I had seen before in the heavens.” The message of this fusion of observed natural and visionary spiritual realities is clear: “It was plain to me that the Savior was about to lay down the yoke he had borne for the sins of men, and the great day of judgment was at hand” (309).

At this point, Turner recounts, he told his vision to a white man, Etheldred T. Brantley, who was first physically afflicted and then miraculously healed by Turner’s prophetic message. Then “The Spirit appeared to me again, and said, as the Savior had been baptised so should we be also—and when the white people would not let us be baptised in the church, we went down into the water together, in the sight of many who reviled us, and were baptised by the Spirit—After this I rejoiced greatly, and gave thanks to God” (310).

With no transition, Turner moves straight from this highly charged cross-racial baptism to the vision that brings the whole series to its climax: “And on the 12th of May, 1828, I heard a loud noise in the heavens, and the Spirit instantly appeared to me and said the Serpent was loosened, and Christ had laid down the yoke he had borne for the sins of men, and that I should take it on and fight against the Serpent, for the time was fast approaching when the first should be last and the last should be first” (310).

Informed that he is to be the agent of apocalypse, the man whose “fight against the Serpent” will bring about history’s final, inversionary turn, Turner learned that heavenly signs would tell him when he should “commence the great work” of racial insurgency and apocalyptic violence. The appearance of a sign, the startling solar eclipse of February 1831, instructed Turner that the time has come when “I should arise and prepare myself, and slay my enemies with their own weapons” (310). When he delayed, the sign reappeared yet more insistently in August 1831. At this point, according to his narrative, Turner gathered his apostolic crew, staged a sacramental meal, and unleashed “the work of death” (312)—the massacre for which he was executed.
I recount *The Confessions of Nat Turner* at some length because, although this is a work everyone has heard of, it is a book few have actually read. But I also retell the story with the thought that an audience of Mormon historians might recognize strange likenesses in Nat Turner's tale. I have never seen Joseph Smith mentioned in any study of Nat Turner, and I have never seen Turner alluded to in the voluminous work on Joseph Smith. It is easy to see why. Our way of conceptualizing the fields these figures appear in has the effect of locating them in mutually insulated categories: Turner in African-American history or the history of slavery, Smith in Mormon studies or the history of American religion. But if we dissolve the partly fictitious structures that separate them and draw them into a common field, we will find startling resemblances between these distant and unlikely doubles.

To begin, Nat Turner and Joseph Smith were near contemporaries, Turner having been born in 1800, Smith in 1805. The visionary experiences that lifted them out of historical anonymity were perhaps even more closely contemporaneous. Turner speaks of having had his first direct encounter with the Spirit after he had “arrived to man’s estate” (307). If this means when he was twenty, a not implausible guess, then Turner would have had his inaugural vision in 1820, the same year as Joseph Smith’s first vision of the Father and the Son. Smith’s next major manifestation, his first visit from the Angel Moroni, took place on 21 September 1823, an interesting numerical coincidence with Turner’s 21 August. (The number “21” is a date whose place in the horoscope may have given it occult significance for both Turner and Smith.²) After visits to the designated hill on this same date for four consecutive years, Smith received the golden plates on 21 September 1827, his probationary period having exactly bracketed Turner’s 1825 vision. Smith had begun the translation of the Book of Mormon with Martin Harris as his scribe when Nat Turner had his May 1828 revelation. He was at work translating the Book of Mormon through 1829, during the interval between Turner’s call to fight the Serpent and the appearance of his final sign.

²Lance S. Owens, "Joseph Smith: America’s Hermetic Prophet," *The Prophet Puzzle: Interpretive Essays on Joseph Smith*, edited by Bryan Waterman (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1999), 164, notes the coincidence of Smith’s visions with the autumnal equinox.
As they overlap in time, these bodies of experience take uncannily similar forms at a number of crucial points. In Joseph Smith’s narrative of his first vision (I am using the 1838 recital published in 1842), this experience involves an abrupt intrusion of transcendence, a moment in which divine or supernatural realities become directly present to a natural, human consciousness. (The Methodist minister who assured Joseph Smith that he could not have had a vision because the age of revelation was over was Smith’s version of Turner’s skeptical Thomas Gray.) This crossing of orders is a commonplace of vision; but in Smith’s as in Turner’s narrative, vision springs from the same prior event, an almost magical fixation on a passage from scripture. Smith recalls that, while in religious perplexity, he “was one day reading the Epistle of James, First Chapter and fifth verse which reads, ‘If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally and upbraideth not, and it shall be given him.’”³ (The message is virtually identical to that of Turner’s fetishized text: “Seek and you shall find.”) “Never did any passage of scripture come with more power to the heart of man than this did at this time to mine,” Smith concludes—and here as with Turner, obsessional concentration on the divine word in its mediated, printed form promotes an unmediated contact in which the Spirit appears and speaks. Ushered into vision in this way, Smith too entered on a series of renewals of visionary privilege during which he too was given access to divinely encoded “caricters exactly like the ancient”⁴ and called by the Spirit to be baptized. In May 1829, while Smith and his new scribe Oliver Cowdery were brooding on the emptiness of sacraments in modern times, “on a sudden, as from the midst of eternity,” in Cowdery’s words, “the voice of the redeemer spake peace to us, while the vail was parted and the angel of God came down clothed with glory, and delivered the anxiously looked for message, and the keys of the gospel of repentance.”⁵ In


⁵Oliver Cowdery’s 1834 manuscript “History of the Church,” in
Smith's narrative of this event, the angel, whom he identifies as John the Baptist, "commanded us to go and be baptized, and gave us directions that I should baptize Oliver Cowdery, and afterward that he should baptize me." Smith and Cowdery thus performed in the Susquehanna the rite Turner and Brantley had performed in the warmer waters of Virginia.

It goes without saying that neither The Confessions of Nat Turner nor Smith's account of his visions is taken at face value on all sides. Did the Spirit speak to either of them as and when they reported? The asserted events being inward, spiritual, and by their nature not available to those not comparably elect, there is no knowing them separate from the prophets' narratives of them. These narratives were both produced a considerable length of time after the incidents they describe, which raises the possibility that they may be retrospective reelaborations of what they record or even late inventions of episodes that never "happened" as events at all. James B. Allen has established that Smith's First Vision was a relatively late addition to Smith's self-narrative and only later became installed as the inaugural event of Mormon history. Recent work on Nat Turner has questioned the extent to which "his" narrative may be the work of his enforced collaborator Thomas Gray. (We do not want to forget that, as an imprisoned slave, Turner was doubly denied the power to tell a free story.) New scholarship has also questioned the extent to which The Confessions may have been used as a cover story to hide the reality of a very different kind of rebellion—a mass uprising of the angry and rebellious, not the work of a solo prophetic leader.

This is not the place to debate the question of these narratives' authenticity; and in any case, this question is in some crucial sense

Jessee, Papers, 1:31.

6Ibid., 1:290.

beside the point. For whatever their degree of truth or fictionality (which, precisely, we can never know), it is the nature of Smith’s and Turner’s stories that they succeeded in fusing themselves with real episodes in the world. From 1831 virtually until the present day, what some have proposed to call the Southampton Slave Revolt has been far more generally known as Nat Turner’s Rebellion: The event has been known together with and through the published narrative, which has almost completely circumscribed its meaning. In similar fashion, since the moment of its publication the Book of Mormon has been so thoroughly bound up with Smith’s claim to divine powers that there has been virtually no reaction to this book that is not a reaction to that story. In this sense at least, the prophetic narratives of Nat Turner and Joseph Smith have become historical facts, circulating in real history and determining responses to real historical events. Those who thought Turner sincere in his account of his visions but deluded or demented called him a fanatic, and those who suspected that he faked his visions and hieroglyphics to fool the naive called him an impostor—“fanatic” and “impostor” being names prophets are called by those unpersuaded of their prophetic authority. These same names dogged the career of Joseph Smith, which tells us that the response to Smith too was a response to his prophetic self-assertion.

The differences between Smith and Turner are so clear as scarcely to require mention. One was a free man, one was a black slave; one led a bloody uprising, one founded a church. But as I hope to have suggested, once we begin to attend to them, the similarities in their careers become almost uncanny—and all the more haunting because they occur across such deep lines of social difference. How are we to understand these likenesses? Clearly, they are not products of direct interaction or mutual influence. Though the Book of Mormon was published in 1830 and Mormonism received considerable press from that time on, there is no evidence that Nat Turner heard of Joseph Smith, and the Smith narratives that I cited appeared only after Turner’s death. Similarly, though he could scarcely have failed to hear of the August 1831 massacre, there is no evidence that Joseph Smith read or knew The Confessions of Nat Turner. (I do assume that Nat Turner’s rebellion and the specter of race war that it unleashed lie behind Smith’s December 1832 prophecy on the South Carolina Nullification crisis: “And it shall come to pass, after many days, slaves shall rise up against their masters...” D&C 87:4). As I understand
it, the ground of the likeness between these figures lies not in any relation between them but in their common involvement in an over-looked history: the history of prophetism in their time.

The history of prophetism is the story of how actual men and women have asserted themselves as bearers of prophetic privilege and of the consequences of these self-assertions. A prophet is a person singled out to enjoy special knowledge of ultimate reality and to give others mediated access to that otherwise unavailable truth. A prophet is also a man with a mission, one whose relation to a deep truth both requires and entitles him to enact that knowledge against the grain of worldly understandings. To say this is not to declare that some figures actually are this rare, super-entitled kind of self. Though religious belief will confer the status of true prophet on some figures and deny it to others (the decision that a Jesus, or a Muhammad, or a Joseph Smith was God’s earthly messenger lies at the core of the choice of faiths), the history of prophetism must include everyone who has envisioned and asserted himself on these terms. Apart from the designations of faith, the prophet is never just something a person is but also something a person takes himself to be and demands to be taken as. This means that in the prehistory of any act of prophetic identification, a person must have access to some concept of “the prophet,” an image that circulates in the cultural repertoire of identities as one idea of what a self can be. When people “become” prophets, they identify with some concept of the prophetic self, project themselves into this concept, and use it to tell themselves and others who they are.

To speak of the prophetic as a transaction (in part) between actual selves and the concepts of selfhood they find around them is to recognize that prophetism has been available on different terms at different times and places. Clearly, this phenomenon has not been an American monopoly, as China’s recent preoccupation with the Falun Gong sect and Afghanistan’s recent experience with Mullah Omar can attest. But stretching down from Christopher Columbus (who believed that he was divinely appointed to discover the New World) to the 1630s Antinomian prophetess Anne Hutchinson and the Quaker prophets executed in Boston around 1660 to prophetical self-asserters of more modern times—Elijah Muhammad, Martin Luther King Jr., David Koresh, the Unabomber Theodore Kaczynski, to name only a few—this country has hosted an unusually lively and variegated amalgam of prophetic traditions. The Nat Turner-
Joseph Smith years form one particularly vigorous moment in this long-running history.

I began by trying to project these two prophets onto the same picture plane. But if we were to focus them on the larger ground of American prophetism, we would see that they form two points in a far larger display of prophetic activity, bearing likenesses and differences not just to one another but to a host of prophetic contemporaries. It has long been recognized that the early Mormons lived near the New York base of Jemima Wilkinson, the Publick Universal Friend, who had received her vision and commission on the eve of the Revolutionary War. Jemima Wilkinson shared territory with Handsome Lake, the prophet of the Seneca Nation, who delivered his own version of scripture: the Gaiwiio or Code of Handsome Lake. In both New York and Ohio, the Mormons lived near communities formed around the prophetic career of Mother Ann Lee—the Shakers being a sufficiently proximate threat that Smith had a revelation in March 1831 denouncing their prophetic lore on sexual abstinence and the gender of the new Messiah (D&C 49). After moving to Kirtland the Mormons could be coupled with Joseph Dylks, the self-appointed messiah whose contemporaneous Ohio cult was confused with Smith’s Mormons in early newspaper reports.8 Not far away, having just returned from their Indiana base, New Harmony, to the town of Economy in western Pennsylvania, was the Harmony Society, followers of the prophet George Rapp.

(It was Rapp who proclaimed "I am a prophet, and I am called to be one.") Rapp, whose prophetic authority established a community of goods, a belief in alchemy and magic stones, and a sense of end-time expectation, all with clear analogies to early Mormonism, predicted that the New Age would be inaugurated on 15 September 1829, the high season of Smith's and Nat Turner's prophetic activity. Having sent letters to world rulers summoning the faithful to gather in America (Rapp like Smith and Ann Lee worked to gather in the New World Zion), Rapp drew to Economy one Bernhard Mueller, the illegitimate son of a German baron who "had become convinced, though reluctantly, that he himself was the reincarnated Messiah who would lead the world in the millennium." Rapp greeted Mueller, who had rechristened himself with the prophetic name Count de Leon, as "the Anointed One" and presented him in this role to his community. This event occurred on 18 October 1831, while Smith was busy collecting his revelations and Turner was still twelve days from his capture.9

August 1831 is when Father William Miller, eventual leader of the largest millenarian movement in American history, stepped forth from shy silence to begin his prophetic career. In June 1830 at virtually the same spot on the New York-Vermont border the ne'er-do-well Robert Matthews came to the knowledge that "God was about to dissolve the institutions of man" and that he was God's new emissary, "Matthias"—a knowledge that moved him, too, to baptize his wife "in the Holy Spirit." (Either the Spirit is particularly insistent on this point or prophetism has cultural conventions.) Visiting New York in his new prophetic capacity, Matthias experienced a reciprocal confirmation of prophetic identity with the former investment banker Elijah Pearson, who had discovered himself to be the reincarnation of the Prophet Elijah. Matthias and the now subjugated Elijah set up their prophetic community Holy Zion at Ossining, New York; but after a criminal inquiry, Matthias fled, among other places, to Ohio. Calling on the Mormons at Kirtland in 1835, Matthews, alias Matthias, was the "Joshua, the Jewish Minister" to whom Joseph

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9Karl R. Arndt, "George Rapp's Harmony Society," in America's Communal Utopias, edited by Donald E. Pitzer (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 57-87; see esp. 57, 75-76. Arndt notes (69) that the Harmony Society gave financial assistance to the Mormons among other communitarian movements.
Smith gave one of his earliest accounts of his first visions, a fact that permits us to recognize a dimension of prophetic sharing—or more likely of prophetic competition—in that far fuller expansion on Smith’s visionary history.\(^{10}\)

The founder of a more enduring prophetic community than Holy Zion, the Oneida Community in upstate New York, John Humphrey Noyes experienced the ecstatic conviction of his perfection in New Haven in 1832. Like Smith and like Turner (as I say: prophecy has its conventions), Noyes came to his vision by a quasi-magical biblical encounter. “As I sat brooding over my difficulties and prospects, I listlessly opened my Bible and my eye fell upon these words: ‘The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God.’ The words seemed to glow upon the page, and my spirit heard a voice from heaven through them promising me the baptism of the Holy Spirit and the second birth.”\(^{11}\)

William Lloyd Garrison never formed a community in the Oneida or Nauvoo sense, but he created a community of opinion behind a radical abolitionism almost as unthinkable as Noyes’s communalization of private property and sexual relations when it was first broached. Garrison did not claim immediate experience of the supernatural, but he clearly modeled his moral politics and indignant, fulminative rhetoric on the Old Testament prophets. (Thomas Wentworth Higginson said that the typical Garrison speech or editorial sounded “like a newly discovered chapter of

\(^{10}\)On William Miller’s 1831 emergence see David L. Rowe, Thunder and Trumpets: Millerites and Religious Dissent in Upstate New York, 1800-1850 (Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1985), chap. 1. The prophetic career of Robert Matthews is reconstructed in Paul E. Johnson and Sean Wilentz, The Kingdom of Matthias: A Story of Sex and Salvation in 19th-Century America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); quotations on 79. Smith’s 1835 account of the first vision to Joshua, the Jewish Minister, is reprinted in Jessee, Papers, 1:124-27. After Joshua’s identity as Matthias was revealed, Smith eventually informed him that “his God was the Devil” and made him leave, but his reception of Matthias was not unambivalently hostile. Matthias had been invited to “deliver a lecture to those present” even after he had “confessed that he was really Matthias” (1:128-32).

Ezekiel." His *The Liberator* made its debut in January 1831. Not far from Garrison’s Boston base, Ralph Waldo Emerson began to put forth his eccentric and influential version of prophetism a short time later.

This rush of prophetic activity suggests that the years around 1830 were a time when the category of the prophetic was unusually accessible in America and when special pressures drove the recourse this identity. Each of these self-inventions bears the marks of its specific social origins. As is now widely recognized, in his early career Joseph Smith fused a prophetism derived from biblical models with divination or folk magic elements drawn from his local culture. In *The Confessions*, Nat Turner brings almost unbearable intensity to a millenarianism widespread across social groups at this time, but African-derived folk elements help inflect his otherwise-generic apocalypticism. Each of these figures would also help us identify local urgencies that sought release or resolution through prophetic assertion. Current historiography is fond of tracing the prophetism of the 1830s to anxieties bred by this time’s rapid, dislocating social transformations. This point is not unhelpful, but the exhibits just mentioned would help identify a wider spectrum of motive forces. Turner fuses religious fantasies with the bloody rage bred in one 1830s social situation: the harsh subordination of blacks in slavery. John Humphrey Noyes was spared the status degradations that Turner, Smith, Robert Matthews and many of their fellows suffered. As I read it, he was drawn to prophetism by the superior pleasure it afforded: Noyes founded a society based on the improvement of pleasure that gave extraordinary scope to his fantasies of personal prerogative.

The embrace of prophetic identity typically unleashes a flooding of the self with a sense of authority, a sense that makes it feel compelled and entitled to announce a new right way against the authority of worldly customs. The meaning of antebellum prophetism is thus found partly in the careers it sponsored, but partly too in the ideas it put in social circulation. The self-assertions

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13 The strongest recent version of this argument, which is quite familiar from Mormon historiography, is Johnson and Wilentz, *The Kingdom of Matthias*. 
of prophetic individuals gave what authority they had to many of the counter-ethics and divergent practices of the 1830s and 1840s United States: alternatives to competitive economic individualism and private property (America’s indigenous socialisms are mostly prophetic socialisms), alternative sexual regimes, alternative dietary regimes, and so on. But American antislavery is no less a product of antebellum prophetic identification. Garrison’s powerfully seized prophetic stance gave force to the view that a higher law, God’s law, required men to break merely social laws to enact true righteousness. Sojourner Truth, another major antislavery orator, emerged from and drew on number of prophetic cultures: Truth was a follower of the prophet Matthias, then William Miller, before she found the antislavery cause. Garrison and Truth began by promoting a nonviolent form of resistance; but when slavery became the object of direct, violent physical assault, prophetism helped make it a thinkable course. Turner’s supernatural visions required and justified a violence his ordinary ethics would have condemned. When John Brown took up his work as a holy instrument in the antislavery cause, prophetic fantasies licensed his paramilitary tactics. (We know that Brown had Nat Turner on his mind when he first conceived the Harper’s Ferry raid.)

But if the embrace of this identity helped authorize social forces of enduring importance, as another of its by-products 1830s


prophetism generated new versions of the prophetic itself. Emerson would be an example of a Nat Turner-Joseph Smith contemporary who engaged this same conception but realized it on different terms. Emerson has long been recognized as the spiritual father of American individualism, but it is less often observed that Emerson defines the idea of individualism in explicitly prophetic terms. In his 1838 “Divinity School Address” Emerson went to the Harvard Divinity School to tell the graduates that they were mispreparing themselves for spiritual careers. The heart of his message, built up to through a series of graceful and blandly uncontroversial paragraphs, is this:

Jesus Christ belonged to the true race of prophets. . . . He saw that God incarnates himself in man, and evermore goes forth anew to take possession of his world. He said, in this jubilee of sublime emotion, “I am divine. Through me, God acts; through me, speaks. Would you see God, see me; or see thee, when thou also thinkest as I now think.” But what a distortion did his doctrine and memory suffer in the same, in the next, and the following ages! . . . The understanding caught this high chant from the poet’s lips, and said, in the next age: “This was Jehovah come down out of heaven. I will kill you, if you say he was a man.” The idioms of his language and the figures of his rhetoric, have usurped the place of his truth; and churches are not built on his principles, but on his tropes.16

Jesus’ claim to be the Christ or messiah was never meant to be exclusionary, Emerson asserts. The idea that Jesus alone was the Son of God is a piece of retrospective mythmaking, an assertion made after the fact as part of the institutionalization of a Christian Church. Before he was made a cult figure and his followers made subordinate to his alleged unique divinity, the message of the living Jesus was just the opposite: I find God to be in myself, I find myself to be God—and so can you, when you are in a state of parallel spiritual exaltation. “Would you see God, see me; or see thee, when thou thinkest as I now think.” Once he is understood to have announced not his exclusive but our collective potential divinity, then Jesus invites his followers to a profoundly altered career. He invites them not to the role of minister, holder of an official position in an institutional

church, but rather to the role of preacher-prophet: a proud enjoier of access to the divine who awakens others to their own, comparable powers. “Yourself a newborn bard of the Holy Ghost,—cast behind you all conformity, and acquaint men at first hand with Deity” (89).

“The Divinity School Address” proclaims that the function of the great prophets of the past is to call me to my own prophetic career: “The divine bards are the friends of my virtue, of my intellect, of my strength. They admonish me, that the gleams which flash across my mind, are not mine, but God’s; that they had the like, and were not disobedient to the heavenly vision” (81-82; emphasis mine). Emerson’s great 1841 essay “Self-Reliance” expands on this message with the difference that while “The Divinity School Address” still spoke of the opening of the self to a domain of spirit, that domain is now fully identified with the self itself. “Nothing is at last sacred but the integrity of your own mind” (261) is the central assertion of “Self-Reliance.” “Integrity” here does not mean honesty or uprightness but something more like “individuality,” the traits that establish a person as one self—an integer—rather than another. Emerson finds such integrity in a force of personal perception unshaped by the internalized opinions of others, a force that expresses itself spontaneously, inescapably, through the enactment of one’s particular being. To say that “nothing is at last sacred but the integrity of your own mind” is to do more than praise this integrity as a good thing. It is to proclaim that such selfhood is the seat of that holiness that other men have located in the divine. In Exodus God called to Moses from the burning bush, but in Emerson He reveals himself in any strong display of self: “Bid the invaders take the shoes from off their feet, for God is here within” (272).

Emerson’s work in “The Divinity School Address” and “Self-Reliance” is to revive a prophetic conception of selfhood and rethink it in such a way that prophetic identity becomes virtually synonymous with selfhood itself. Personal identity is elevated in this process, made identical with the elect selfhood previously reserved for the prophets. But in a less noticed but more interesting development, prophecy itself is also radically diffused through this reconceptualization, removed from the category of rarity and made widely available and familiar. No longer the special province of a spiritual elite, the selfhood that is in touch with the sacred is reimagined by Emerson as something completely democratic, something open to each of us to the extent that we have an identity or are someone. As
it dissolves the barrier to admission, Emerson also blurs the boundaries of the prophetic in a second way, broadening it to the point where it ceases to have anything special to do with religious experience. Since it displays itself anywhere a distinctive self puts itself forth, for Emerson the prophetic manifests itself in every act of individuality in every creative domain. In a verbal formula that enforces this message in “Self-Reliance,” Emerson lists Moses as one more undifferentiated item in the list “Moses, Plato and Milton” (259) and gives Jesus only third billing in the list that includes Pythagoras, Socrates, Jesus, Luther, Copernicus, Galileo, and Newton (265).

Emerson sought no converts but he did exert a powerful influence, and the figures he affected most deeply bear a clear prophetic cast. I am thinking of Thoreau, our great literary witness-bearer, reviver of the prophetic message: “I know, as you obviously do not know, the truth that you should live by”; or Whitman, whose “Song of Myself” is both a poem and a newer testament, an annunciation of where the divine is to be found. (Guess where? In Myself.) But the point of Emerson is that his message was not only heard by those who tried to live it. Having made the prophetic a modality of ordinary experience, Emerson created a message that could be found inspiring without requiring to be “believed” in the hard sense. (No one ever called Emerson either a fanatic or an impostor.) This version of prophecy could be absorbed into the literature of national uplift and thence into American civic religion (or nonreligion), that distinctive ethic in which “being oneself” takes on the character of a personal mission and high moral obligation.

Joseph Smith too took the materials of prophetic self-conception and realized them in a new way. Smith and Emerson were another pair of contemporaries (Emerson was born in 1803), and from a distance, their careers have important aspects in common. Both begin by being called out of institutional religion. In his 1820 vision Joseph Smith goes to the woods to try to learn which of the churches of early nineteenth-century Protestantism is the true one, only to have it revealed that God is in no established church. “I asked the personages who stood above me in the light, which of all the sects was right. . . . and which I should join. I was answered that I must join none of them, for they were all wrong, and . . . all their Creeds were an abomination in his sight.” Emerson had been ordained as a Unitarian minister in 1829 but resigned his ministry in 1832, and
"The Divinity School Address" is his classic statement of the emptiness of spirit he found in the church. Institutional religion is an empty form, Emerson maintains, because it worships or commemorates a divine incarnation it claims happened long ago. What Emerson calls the "assumption that the age of inspiration is passed" (88) is what Joseph Smith encounters in the Methodist minister who rebuffs his claim to vision: "He treated my communication not only lightly but with great contempt, saying it was all of the Devil, that there was no such thing as visions or revelations in these days, that all such things had ceased with the apostles and that there would never be any more of them."18

Over against this historiography and in massive resistance to the weight of official truth that attends it, Smith and Emerson propel themselves to the identities we know by claiming that revelation is not dead, that direct access to divinity is still available in the present, and that the experience of spirit in other times can be lived again, here, now, by me. Jesus "felt respect for Moses and the prophets; but no unfit tenderness at postponing their initial revelations to the hour and the man that now is," Emerson writes (80). In his right worship, Jesus will provoke us to the recognition that "God is, not was; that He speaketh, not spake" (88) and that "the gleams which flash across my mind" (82; emphasis mine) are contemporary revelation. You say that there is no longer such an experience as "visions or revelations," Smith tells his skeptic, but guess what? I just had one. Though apparently the lowest of the low, "an obscure boy of a little over fourteen years of age and one too who was doomed to the necessity of obtaining a scanty maintenance by his daily labor, . . . it was nevertheless a fact, that I had had a vision."19

The great moves Smith and Emerson make in common are what might be called the presencing and the appropriation of prophecy, the conversion of revelation from past to present tense and from the experience of others to something I can have. Smith's difference is that he couples these moves with a powerful gesture of literalization.20 The early church took Jesus' sayings literally, Emerson writes,
but to grasp their truth is to recover them as figures of speech. Emerson's strategy is to assert that Jesus, Moses, and the prophets are important, not as real historical individuals, but as images of the power that could be mine: "The divine bards are the friends of my virtue, of my intellect, of my strength. They admonish me that the gleams which flash across my mind are not mine, but God's; they had the like, and were not disobedient to the heavenly vision" (81-82). Joseph Smith, at the same conceptual pass, affirms that those who were elected to know God at first hand are the very individuals scripture mentions (Smith saw Moses, Elijah, and John the Baptist but not Socrates, Copernicus, or Galileo) and that they had just that rare, unshared power that tradition assigns them. Smith refuses to be imaginative about the canonical prophets, we could say—or we could say that his imaginative act is to take them as literally, actually real. When he then appropriates what they clearly were for himself and his present time, the result is that he thinks himself—living, actual Joseph Smith—a figure in the same elect line. The Book of Mormon announces this modern Joseph as a "choice seer" who shall be "great like unto Moses"; and though many Americans have presented themselves as Moses figures,21 Smith asserted that he was

Joseph Smith moved to appropriate the status of the Chosen People through his literalizing recapitulations of biblical marks of chosenness: the Aaronic Priesthood, the exodus, the temple, the twelve apostles, and so on. See also Harold Bloom's apt remark: "Had they met in their lifetimes, the Transcendental sage and the Mormon prophet could not have talked to one another. Smith's visions and prophecies were remarkably literal; the subtle Emerson, master of figurative language, knew that all visions are metaphors, and that all prophecies are rhetorical." *The American Religion: The Emergence of the Post-Christian Nation* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1992), 53.

God’s elect intermediary as the literal truth. The result was to con-
centrate in his special person the privilege Emerson had opened to
all. “Verily, verily I say unto thee, No one shall be appointed to
receive commandments and revelations in this church excepting my
servant Joseph Smith, Jr., for he receiveth them even as Moses”
(D&C 28:2), a revelation of September 1830 announced. When the
Mormons arrived at Kirtland and a Mrs. Hubble was spurred by
Smith’s visions to have visions of her own, he let her know—or God
let her know through him—that revelations were to come only
“through him whom I have appointed unto you” and that “none else
shall be appointed unto this gift except it be through him” (D&C
43:1-2). 22

Nat Turner’s prophetic work was holy massacre. Joseph Smith’s
first prophetic work was holy translation. Here again Smith made
his special difference through his literalizing claims. Treating di-
vinely inspired speech as a figure for inspired speech of any sort,
Emerson dissolves the boundary between scripture and imaginative
literature such that Jesus’ words can be called a “high chant from
the poet’s lips” (80) and “Muse” and “Holy Ghost” become inter-
changeable “quaint names” for “unbounded substance.” (485) At
understanding of the psychological and rhetorical operation of such
identification is highly relevant to the study of Joseph Smith (as to many
other prophets); but King’s deployment of this identification as a figure,
not as a literally claimed identity, marks an important difference from
Smith.

22In early Mormonism the monopolization of vision by the Prophet
was not quite total, as the second of these revelations suggests. One of the
less egotistical prophets, Joseph Smith was willing to share the prophetic
prerogative on occasion with close associates (e.g., Oliver Cowdery and
Sidney Rigdon), though these licensing moves were offset by countermoves
of containment or subordination. Later Mormonism, Shipps (Mormonism,
137-38) explains, allows all church members access to that degree of
revelation appropriate to their church position—a move that democratizes
revelation in a somewhat Emersonian way while also subordinating such
access to the structures of church hierarchy. But it is not envisioned that
believers will have church-founding revelations of the order of Joseph
Smith’s. The way Mormons partake of revelation in that strong or primary
form is by participating in the church the Prophet founded, the institution
his vision restored in which the divine is felt to be continuously embodied.
this same conceptual point, Joseph Smith asserts that some writing is indeed absolutely different from other writing and that the difference is that it literally was revealed by God. This strong traditionalism is the prelude to Smith’s innovative act. For when he then claims such writing for his own, present self, the consequence is to make him the privileged bearer of this long-lost revelatory power. Smith’s claim was that God literally spoke through him in the translation of the Book of Mormon, his Inspired Version of the Scriptures, and the continuing revelations printed in the Doctrines and Covenants, and he compelled others to respond to these works on these terms. Terryl Givens has reminded us of the peculiar extent to which Smith fused this claim with this writing, making it virtually impossible to “read” the Book of Mormon except in relation to Smith’s claims to literal inspiration.23 Readers have either accepted it as authentic scripture or rejected it as scriptural sham, but almost no one (Fawn Brodie is one exception) has read it as a piece of ordinary creative writing.

In Emerson, restored access to the spirit in “the hour and the man that now is” causes the dissolution of everything institutional, returning religion from the ritual and formal to a living spiritual pulse. Smith is another great restorationist; but in his version of prophecy, recovering unmediated access to the Spirit leads to the reinstitution of the religious, not to its dissolution. Their relation to the traditional sacraments is especially instructive here. Emerson was ordained in March 1829 but resigned his ministry three years later over his refusal to administer the Last Supper. In his final sermon, Emerson mounts many ingenious scholarly arguments against the notion that Christ actually meant later men to repeat this ritual, but he has another argument that counts as much as these: this ritual does not suit me. Having removed religious authority from what is now made a mere form, Emerson resigns the office of minister—now conceived as a purely bureaucratic role—the better to perform this role’s “highest functions” (1140). Having founded his career on the refusal of received rites, the last thing Emerson has in mind is the creation of new ones. Toward the end of “The Divinity School Address” he writes: “All attempts to project and establish a Cultus with new rites and forms, seem to me vain. . . . All attempts to contrive a

23Givens, By the Hand of Mormon, esp. 72-88.
system are as cold as the new worship introduced by the French to the goddess of Reason,—today, pasteboard and filigree, and ending tomorrow in madness and murder” (91).

Smith’s prophetic career also begins with renegotiation of a sacrament, baptism playing the role that the Last Supper played for Emerson. As usual, where Emerson worked to find a freeing figurative meaning for “Do this in remembrance of me,” Smith’s move is to literalize this practice back to a strong historical origin. In the May 1829 episode on the shores of the Susquehanna, Smith and Oliver Cowdery have been anxiously musing on the prophecy they had translated that spiritual darkness would cover the earth “and gross darkness the mind of the people.” This provokes the thought that contemporary sacraments are without consecrating or redeeming power, since they lack the ground they possessed in apostolic times. In Cowdery’s words, “On reflecting further, it was as easily to be seen, that amid the great strife and noise concerning religion, none had authority from God to administer the ordinances of the gospel[.] For, the question might be asked, have men authority to administer in the name of Christ, who deny revelation? when his testimony is no less than the spirit of prophecy?”24 In this highly Emersonian passage, the modern church, having declared that immediate contact with the Spirit is a reality confined to a vanished age, in effect consigns its sacraments to the category of empty customs, since it denies the ongoing relation to divinity that would give men “authority from God to administer the ordinances of the Gospel.”

But having contrasted modern sacraments with their full, authoritative originals, Smith and Cowdery then see that exact original brought back to life—here, now, in the present, in them. In Smith’s narrative:

On a certain day [we] went into the woods to pray and inquire of the Lord respecting baptism for the remission of sins.... While we were thus employed praying and calling upon the Lord, a Messenger from heaven, descended in a cloud of light, and having laid his hands upon us, he ordained us, saying unto us, “Upon you my fellow servants in the name of the Messiah I confer the priesthood of Aaron, which holds the keys of the ministration of angels and the gospel of repen-

24 Jessee, Papers, 1:30.
tance, and of baptism by immersion for the remission of sins, and that this shall never be taken again from the earth.”

This messenger identifies himself as “John, the same that is called John the Baptist in the new Testament.” He commanded them “to go and be baptized, and gave us directions that I should baptize Oliver Cowdery, and afterward, that he should baptize me.”

Smith here embraces the sort of rite that Emerson refused to perform; but to say that is to say the least of what is going on. To catch the force of this episode is to realize that Smith is not just doing a baptism but claiming to reinstitute the sacrament of baptism, restoring the value it had in the days of John the Baptist by recovering the power that gave it force. In Smith’s wonderfully presumptuous assertion, on a spring day in 1829 in the middle of nowhere in northern Pennsylvania, God restored to actual, living men the authority to administer in his name and restored it as an ongoing historical presence. He restored it by reinstituting, through Joseph Smith’s renewed prophetic authority, the sacrament of baptism and the divinely commissioned priesthood.

As Smith’s First Vision gave him his first prophetic role as seer and hearer of the Spirit and his 1823 vision gave him an augmented role as deliverer of a new scripture, the May 1829 vision or self-envisioning gives Smith his further prophetic role as church founder and institution builder. The rite of baptism reinstituted here would be followed by other rites he would give for those who accepted his prophetic claims—the temple endowments, the baptism of the dead, and so on; and the recovery of the Aaronic Priesthood would be followed by the panoply of administrative roles and structures he invented: the Melchizedek Priesthood, the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, the Council of Seventy, and more. Emerson’s version of prophecy dissolved religious institutions to reopen access to the Spirit; Smith’s reinstitutes them as the vehicles through which the Spirit performs its saving work.

I have spoken of Smith’s visualizations of his prophetic self, but the point is that they became more than that. For his way of envi-

25 Ibid., 1:290.
26 Mario S. De Pillis’s “The Quest for Religious Authority and the Rise of Mormonism” (1966) is the classic reading of the nature and meaning of Smith’s act on this occasion. In Quinn, New Mormon History, 13-35.
sioning it put forth his prophetic authority as a real-world fact and demanded that real others accept it on those terms. Emerson so to speak mentalized the prophetic, taking it out of the realm of persons, places, and things and making it available as a fiction of self-empowerment, a freely circulating, nondenominational thought that individuals could entertain with intermittently inspiring results with no continuing commitment to its truth. Smith insisted that he in his actual person was the bearer of the new dispensation, that his writings were divine revelations, that salvation was available through the exact forms, rites, and offices that he designated—and thousands of people accepted these claims as the truth. These were the converts to Joseph Smith's new church, whose numbers had reached 18,000 by the year of "The Divinity School Address." (When Emerson there wrote, "Where shall I hear words such as in elder ages drew men to leave all and follow,—father and mother, house and land, wife and child?" [84] he was not mindful of contemporary Mormon missionary activity.)

This essay began by surveying forms of prophetism in the American 1830s and the various consequences they gave rise to: slave revolts, the ethical and rhetorical style of the radical antislavery movement, and other counter-cultural ethics as well. To this list two more consequences can be added now. After the 1830s, by virtue of the way one person engaged the matrix of prophetic thought, this country had in circulation a concept of selfhood that helped structure and legitimate the ethic of American individualism; and after 1830, by virtue of another such act, it had a new church that gathered in and helped produce a distinctive social community, the Mormons. Very different realities, but products of a parallel act: the ways two contemporaries realized the possibilities of a shared matrix of thought.
The Christus in the Temple Square Visitors Center. This marble figure, eleven feet one-quarter inch in height, was carved by Rebechi Aldo & Gualtieri Studio in Pietrasanta, Italy, in 1959.
FEW LATTER-DAY SAINTS RECOGNIZE Bertel Thorvaldsen’s name. Yet most members of the Church readily recognize Thorvaldsen’s elegant marble statue of Christ and even call it by its Danish name—the Christus. To the surprise of many Church members, however, the original Christus (lit., “Christ”) is not displayed on Temple Square in Salt Lake City but overlooks the altar of the Lutheran Church of Our Lady in Copenhagen, Denmark. In fact, it is ironic that what some have considered “a veritable emblem of the Protestant faith” has, in many ways, become to many an icon of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Each year, over 3.5 million people view a copy of Thorvaldsen’s Christus dramatically displayed on Temple Square and another two million see copies of the Christus in other LDS visitors centers throughout the world. In addition to the traffic at visitors centers,

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1 Anne-Mette Gravgaard and Eva Henschen, On the Statue of Christ by Thorvaldsen (Copenhagen, Denmark: Thorvaldsen Museum and the Church of Our Lady, 1997), 55.

2 This figure (5,665,210) is based on number of visitors (both non-LDS and LDS) at centers where a statue of the Christus was on display.
countless individuals have seen the *Christus* in the Church’s media productions, advertisements, pamphlets, open houses, videos, magazines, and on the Church’s official website (www.lds.org). Naturally, with such exposure, an increasing number associate the *Christus* with the Latter-day Saints.

In recent years, however, non-Church entities have also contributed to the iconography of the *Christus*. In 1999, for example, the Church dedicated its first temple in Spain. In commemoration of the event in Madrid, Lladro, world-famous makers of fine porcelain, created a figurine of the *Christus*. Jose Lladro, president of the company, presented Gordon B. Hinckley with the first five copies. Included with each statue was a certificate of authenticity: “This figurine . . . by Lladro artists, drawing inspiration from the original by Bertel Thorvaldsen (1768-1844), was created in commemoration of the opening of the very first Temple in Spain pertaining to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.” Later, President Hinckley presented one of these porcelain figurines to King Juan Carlos and Queen Sofia of Spain.3

How did this association between Bertel Thorvaldsen’s *Christus* and the LDS Church begin? This paper chronicles Thorvaldsen’s conception and creation of the *Christus* and documents how the Church came to embrace the statue.4

In 2000 as the Church Department of Missionary Exhibits and Displays reported to me. Salt Lake City: 3,551,991; Los Angeles: 91,164; New Zealand: 46,674; Laie, Hawaii: 116,196; Mesa, Arizona: 194,773; Mexico City: 100,665; Washington, D.C.: 149,973; Nauvoo: 1,001,063; Oakland: 87,708; St. George: 135,108; Hill Cumorah: 189,895. This figure does not include visitors at open houses where the “traveling” *Christus* was displayed.

Gerry Avant, “President Hinckley Visits King, Queen of Spain,” *Church News*, 20 March 1999, 5.

Unfortunately, Stephen L Richards and most of those closely involved with obtaining the first statues of the *Christus* for the Church did not keep journals. In many instances, purchasing records and other materials involving the marble reproductions of the *Christus* were destroyed when LDS departments relocated or updated filing systems (1955-89). Thus, to chronicle the historical events of the LDS Church and the *Christus*, this paper relies on personal interviews, surviving journals, personal writings (letters, cards, notes, etc.), newspapers, memos, biographical records, appointment books, and drawings. Records concerning the
Bertel Thorvaldsen, painted by Christoffer Wilhelm Eckersberg in Rome, 1814.
THORVALDSEN’S CREATION OF THE CHRISTUS

In 1820, forty-nine-year-old Bertel Thorvaldsen, a renowned Danish sculptor, returned from Denmark to his studio in Rome with so many commissions that he could only hope to “give birth” to his projects before turning them over to his capable assistants to complete. Among his new commissions was a freestanding marble statue of Christ to be enshrined in the Church of Our Lady in Copenhagen.

Thorvaldsen never identified the sources of his inspiration for the Christus. Some believe that popular figurines of the Greek god of healing, Asclepius, was an influence, while others see it as emerging from Byzantine art in the Mandylion tradition.\(^5\)

Like most artists of the time, Thorvaldsen studied the great artists of the past and admired the Italian greats, especially Raphael. Besides these masters, some of Thorvaldsen’s contemporaries may have influenced his work as well. Vincenzo Camuccini (1771-1844) and Peter von Cornelius (1784-1867) are two whose paintings and sculptures have striking commonalities with Thorvaldsen’s Christus.\(^6\)

financial dealings of Stephen L Richards and the LDS Church are not currently available to researchers.

\(^5\)Thorvaldsen’s private collection included several Asclepius figures, and he had actually sculpted one for Christiansborg Palace in 1809. Torben Melander, “Antik Skulpture—Restaureret, Kopieret of Bortfurt,” Kunst of Liv I Thovaldsens Rom (Copenhagen, Denmark: Thorvaldsens Museum, 1992). The Mandylion tradition stems from a legend that the ailing King Abgar of Edessa (Ufra, Turkey) sent a messenger to ask Jesus to come heal him. Jesus instead sent a cloth that he had pressed against his face and which retained his features. This cloth, first called the “Image of Edessa,” later was known as the Mandylion (lit., “little handkerchief”). The Mandylion was also known as Akheirophefos, “not made by human hands.” In 944, the cloth was brought to Constantinople, then disappeared around 1247, leading some to believe that it is the Shroud of Turin. Its influence on Byzantine portrayals of Christ’s facial features (long slender nose, bifurcated beard, and hair parted in the middle) is strong and distinctive.

\(^6\)According to Dyveke Helsted, Eva Henschen, and Bjarne Jornaes, Thorvaldsen (Copenhagen: Thorvaldsen Museum, 1990), 32-33, Thorvaldsen was an avid collector of art, particularly pictorial art. He owned a print of Raphael’s Christ Presenting the Keys to Peter which shows Christ bare-chested, robe draped across his left shoulder. While Thorvaldsen was teaching at the Academy of Santa Luca in Rome, he became acquainted
Ragnar Josephson, a Swedish art historian, argues that Thorvaldsen produced five modeling of the Christus in 1820 before striking his final rendering of Christ. He feels the five were created in a specific order, one idea evolving into the next. Because Thorvaldsen rarely kept drawings or models, we shall probably never be able to

confirm Josephson’s hypothesis; however, there are three known plaster models and two pencil drawings of the *Christus*, all five in Thorvaldsen’s Museum in Copenhagen.

Tales of Thorvaldsen’s inspiration and creation of the *Christus* have been recounted over the years, many with idyllic variations. Perhaps the most frequently retold and best-beloved tales center on Thorvaldsen’s frustration in creating the position for Christ’s arms. Early sketches and models show Christ’s arms raised above his head in the blessing position. Apparently, Thorvaldsen was not completely satisfied with this arrangement and spent considerable time fussing with it. According to J. M. Thiele, Thorvaldsen’s biographer, Hermann Ernst Freund (1786-1840), a Danish sculptor and Thorvaldsen’s friend, listened to Thorvaldsen’s complaints with his own arms crossed upon his chest and questioned what Thorvaldsen wanted to communicate with the position of the arms. As Thorvaldsen contemplated an answer, he suddenly exclaimed: “I have it now! it shall be so!” Thus, according to Thiele, the conception of the *Christus* was nothing short of an epiphany or divine inspiration.

Theodor Opperman, a former director of Thorvaldsen’s Museum, has a more practical variation on this story. While Freund, standing with arms folded across his chest, was listening sympathetically to the discouraged Thorvaldsen, he tried to cheer him up, unfolded his arms, and half-opened them, dropping them slightly downward, palms upward. Thorvaldsen saw in this pose the posture he desired for his statue of Christ and quickly sketched the idea in his notes.

Perhaps the most charming version of this tale deals with one of Thorvaldsen’s early clay models. In this tale, overnight the raised arms slumped from the blessing position to the waist. Thorvaldsen, seeing this new pose, quickly made it permanent. This tale, a favorite among many Danes, allows the listener to interpret variously that the *Christus* was conceived by luck, divine intervention, artistic process, or mere gravity.

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None of these versions can be either confirmed or ruled out. Some believe the Christus to be the pragmatic result of artistic trial and error, while others see in it divine guidance, even though Thorvaldsen was not considered a devout Christian by many of his contemporaries. President Spencer W. Kimball, after viewing the Christus and Thorvaldsen's Twelve Apostles, also commissioned at the same time from Thorvaldsen, in the Church of Our Lady, stated that “the man who created these statues was surely inspired of the Lord.”

In 1821, Thorvaldsen turned the sketch model over to Pietro Tenerani (1789-1869), an Italian sculptor and his student, for modeling the Christus. By the end of the year, Tenerani finished the three-plus meter clay model. Thorvaldsen retouched the model and

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12 Archdeacon Tryde, in his eulogy at Thorvaldsen's funeral, described Thorvaldsen as a “great man, but he was lacking solely in one thing: Christianity.” Gravgaard and Henschen, On the Statue of Christ, 28.

13 Quoted by Rex D. Pinegar, Report of the Semi-Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2 October 1976 (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, semi-annual), 104 (hereafter Conference Report).
finished the details, making the Christus ready for casting. The first plaster cast was made in January 1822 and stood untouched in Thorvaldsen’s Rome studio for the next five years. A new form was created from the original model in 1827, and several plaster castings were then executed. The Christus made its debut in Copenhagen as a plaster cast at the consecration of the Church of Our Lady on 7 June 1829.

One of the plaster castings went to Carrara, Italy, in 1827 where sculptor Pietro Bienaime (1781-1857) transferred the figure to marble using the “pointing method.”14 The figure was finished in 1828 and awaited Thorvaldsen to retouch the work. Thorvaldsen visited Bienaime briefly in 1832 and gave final instructions for alterations but never worked on the statue, which was shipped from Italy in May 1833, arriving in Copenhagen six months later. It was moved into

14This technique uses two large measuring frames with hanging plummets suspended over the plaster model and a block of marble. A skilled stonecutter would use measuring devices, a large pair of calipers, chisels, hammers, and drills to transfer the figure “point by point.” This method produces a very accurate copy.
The Christus in the Church of Our Lady, Copenhagen. Pietro Bienaime cut it in marble, 1827-33.
the Church of Our Lady in November 1833, and Thorvaldsen’s friend, H. E. Freund, finished mounting it in May 1839.

Even before this step was completed, copies were already being made for other locations. In 1833, for example, Thorvaldsen had the statue copied in reduced size for the Cathedral of Krackow on Mount Wavel in Poland (mounted in 1835). After Thorvaldsen’s death in 1844, the statue continued to be copied and displayed in Europe and throughout the Christian world. The first known American copy was installed in the Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore, Maryland, in the autumn of 1896. It would be impossible to number the replicas and copies of the Christus made since its first casting in 1822.

THE MORMON ICON

In 1912, President Joseph F. Smith asked Stephen L Richards, a Salt Lake City businessman and member of the Sunday School general superintendency, to investigate the possibility of the Church’s creating a new cemetery in Salt Lake City. Richards visited several cemeteries to view their properties and meet with management. One of them was Forest Lawn in Glendale, California. As a result of Richards’s investigation, the Church formed Wasatch Land and Improvement, which created Wasatch Lawn Cemetery on Highland Drive in the eastern foothills of Salt Lake City. After Smith’s death in 1918, Church President Heber J. Grant asked Richards, now an apostle, to find a buyer for Wasatch Lawn. Richards purchased the property himself and, by 1921, was its sole owner.

15The Johns Hopkins statue, often called Christus Consolator or The Divine Healer, was commissioned by local businessman William Wallace Spence for $5,360 in 1889. Executing the statue—ten and a half feet tall and weighing six tons—took seven years. Randi Henderson and Richard Marek, Here Is My Hope: Inspirational Stories from the John Hopkins Hospital (New York: Doubleday, 2001), 2-3.


17Ibid. The three original shareholders had been Joseph F. Smith (representing the Church’s interests), Stephen L Richards, and James M. Cannon.

18Ibid.
As part of his 1950 apostolic assignments, Richards visited the missions in Europe, Scandinavia, Britain, and the Middle East. On 2 September 1950 in Copenhagen, Richards and his wife, Irene Smith Merrill Richards, visited the Church of Our Lady. In a letter home, Sister Richards commented: “The statuary of Thorvaldsen’s Christus and the Twelve apostles is of course famous and awe-inspiring.” While the Richardses wrote no other letters from Denmark, they described their experience in the Church of Our Lady to their children upon their arrival home. According to Philip Richards, while his parents were in the Danish cathedral, they had an “awe-inspiring experience” while gazing at the Christus and “the idea was planted” in his father’s mind that a copy of this statue needed to be on Temple Square.

While this 1950 experience with the Christus was inspirational for Richards, he had probably already seen a Christus at Forest Lawn, which displayed three Christus replicas. In a 1957 letter to Hubert Eaton, owner of Forest Lawn Cemeteries, who had become Richards’s friend, Richards commented on having seen a Christus at Forest Lawn.

Although Richards reported that the desire to obtain a copy of the Christus was “planted” in Denmark in 1950, apparently he was not in a hurry to purchase a statue. He continued, however, to mull over the idea of obtaining one. LaRue Sneff, who became Richards’s

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19Philip L. Richards, interviewed 15 March 2000, Salt Lake City, notes in my possession; see also Philip L. Richards, “Christus,” Ensign, January 1992, 79; Philip L. Richards, “An Inspiration to So Many People,” Church News, 13 June 1992, 7. In addition, a travel itinerary of this 1950 trip and letters to family members are in the Stephen L Richards Collection, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. See also Halverson, Stephen L. Richards, 144.

20Irene Smith Merrill Richards, letter to her children, 2 September 1950. Her letters were bound in a family-produced volume, Dear Children, copy in possession of Philip L. Richards.


22In 1925, Forest Lawn Cemetery had acquired a smaller marble replica of the Christus. A full-size marble copy arrived in 1946. In 1947 a smaller (3'2''), yellow replica was added. Margaret Burton, Forest Lawn Cemetery Museum Curator, telephone-interviewed 17 March 2000, notes in my possession.
The Christus at the Wee Kirk, Forest Lawn Cemetery, Glendale, California. Varlecchi cut this copy in marble, 1925.
secretary in 1954, remembers that Richards expressed a desire to purchase the statue with his own funds and give it as a gift to the Church, hoping that it might be his “legacy” to the Church. Meanwhile, other events were converging to eventually nudge his dream into reality.

In the 1950s, the Temple Square Presidency (Richard L. Evans, Marion D. Hanks, and Robert McKay) was assigned to find ways to improve missionary work at the historic site. In consultation with Church Architect George Cannon Young, who had been working on the idea since the mid-1940s, they began designing a new Bureau of Information building on Temple Square in 1954, an idea the First Presidency approved in 1955.

During the same time, the Temple Square Presidency began working on a new concept for a guided tour that would facilitate an orderly and informative experience for visitors. Significant sites on Temple Square were organized into numbered “stations” where visitors heard short presentations on LDS history and theology. According to George Cannon Young, it was in a planning meeting that Elder Evans commented, “You know, the world thinks we’re not Christians,” then explained, “Because they see no evidence of Christ on this square. They hear the words, but see no evidence.” The group decided that an appropriate way to address these concerns would

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23LaRue Sneff, interviewed April 2000, notes in my possession.
24George Cannon Young said that he approached Marvin O. Ashton, then first counselor in the Presiding Bishopric (1938-46), and suggested remodeling the existing Bureau of Information (dedicated 1902). After some study, it was decided that the building was not worth preserving and should be replaced. On 3 March 1955, Evans, Hanks, McKay, and Young presented their proposal to the First Presidency who approved it on 15 April 1955 and appropriated a budget of $1.5 million on 22 June. George Cannon Young, Oral History, interviewed by Paul L. Anderson, 1973, transcript, 9, James Moyle Oral History Program, Archives, Family and Church History Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter LDS Church Archives); George Cannon Young, Appointment Books, 1954, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City. The appointment books contain figures, notes, and dates that confirm these events. Robert McKay, a jeweler, was the son of David O. McKay, who had become president of the Church in 1951.
25Young, Oral History, 9.
be a statue of Christ placed on the southeast side of the square “in line with the east spires” of the temple. In a meeting with the First Presidency on 7 June 1957, Evans, Hanks, Robert McKay, and Young, joined by Wendell Mendenhall who was then chair of the Church Building Committee, met with the First Presidency about potential changes on Temple Square. While the group looked at a map, or “scheme,” as Young called it and discussed the proposed tour sites, they paused at the station where they hoped to place a statue of Christ. President David O. McKay asked, “What is this?” Before anyone else could answer, Stephen L Richards, who had become President McKay’s counselor in 1951, immediately said: “Here is a place for the Christus.” Hanks explained the need for a “representation” of the Savior that would leave little doubt that Mormons were Christians. The representation, in his estimation, should be something that would be “world-known and be received without creating controversy.” Richard L. Evans then proposed that Thorvaldsen's Christus in Denmark be reproduced for the site.

After some discussion about marble’s durability in the harsh mountain climate, someone proposed some type of protective shelter—possibly a glass dome. According to Young, it was at this juncture that he “took a deep swallow” and suggested an alternative place for the statue where it would be protected. When the First Presidency inquired which location he had in mind, Young pointed to the location of the new bureau of information center and said, “In the rotunda of the new building we’re building.”

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26 This site, Station 7 on the proposed tour layout, is between the temple and the South Visitors Center. See George Cannon Young, Biography, 17 January 1980, transcript, 7A-5, Special Collections, Marriott Library.

27 Young, Biography, 7A-6; Marion D. Hanks, interviewed 15 March 2000, Salt Lake City, notes in my possession; Young, Oral History, 9.

28 Hanks, interviewed 15 March 2000, said that he had seen Thorvaldsen’s Christus earlier, possibly in Copenhagen, and had been impressed by it. Young had seen one of the Forest Lawn Christus copies prior to this meeting. Young, Biography, 7A-6.

29 Even though Young tells the story as though this was the first time they proposed acquiring the statue to the First Presidency, the Temple Square Presidency had clearly already discussed using the statue in the
Apparently Presidents McKay and Richards had already discussed the Christus prior to this time because McKay turned to Richards and asked: "Don't you have access to acquire a statue through your association with Hubert Eaton and Forest Lawn?" Hanks also remembered McKay suggesting that Richards explore the feasibility of acquiring a copy.  

The very next day, 8 July, Richards wrote Eaton, expressing his interest in obtaining a suitable copy of Thorvaldsen's Christus and asking Eaton's advice. Eaton responded on 16 July 1957, including a "forest lawn pictorial and art guide" showing Forest Lawn's two copies. Richards and Young met on 15 August to discuss the details of the statue.  

Since Richards intended to donate the statue to the Church, he brokered all the arrangements with Eaton. On 22 April 1958, Richards requested Eaton to order a full-size copy of Thorvaldsen's Christus. Because Eaton was on holiday, the order was not processed until June 1958. Since the Christus statue is not copyrighted, Eaton was free to find a suitable sculpture without restrictive stipulations. He commissioned Rebechi Aldo & Gualtiero, a marble studio in Pietrasanta, Italy, to carve the Christus out of white statuary marble from "the pits of Terrone owned by the Henraux Company" building. Young, Oral History, 9.

30 Hanks, interviewed 15 March 2000. Richard L. Evans, Memo to Stephen L Richards, 7 June 1957, Stephen L Richards Papers, LDS Church Archives, also confirms that the location of the Christus was "settled in meeting" and gives the statue's height as 11 feet 3 inches.

31 Young, Appointment Books, 15 August 1957, Special Collections, Marriott Library; Stephen L Richards, Letter to Hubert Eaton, 8 July 1857; Eaton, Letter to Richards, 16 July 1857; both in Stephen L Richards Papers, LDS Church Archives.

32 Thorvaldsen's original Christus is 345 cm. tall, 135 inches, or 11 feet 3 inches. According to Forest Lawn's records, Richards ordered a precise copy of the original. Burton, interviewed 17 March 2000.

33 Although there has been some concern regarding the replication of the Christus and possible copyright violation, Thorvaldsen's Museum in Copenhagen confirms that "there isn't any copyright concerning the statue of Christ, except an unwritten obligation to respect the common rules of ethics." Gitte Smed, assistant, Thorvaldsen's Museum, e-mail, 19 March 2002.
for an estimated $10,000.\textsuperscript{34} Although Richards ordered a statue that was to be 135 inches, several different heights of the first LDS *Christus* (Richards's statue) have been reported, ranging from ten to twelve feet. The finished statue ordered by Richards, by my measurements, is actually eleven feet one-quarter inch and weighs close to 12,000 pounds.\textsuperscript{35} At some point during this process, Richards decided to make his donation an anonymous gift. Thus, arrangements were made for the Church to take custody of the statue upon its completion; and very few were aware of Richards’s involvement with the *Christus*.

Rebechi Aldo & Gualtiero finished carving the statue in January 1959 and began preparing to ship it to the United States. Richards left on another European tour on 11 April 1959, returning to Salt Lake City on 23 April. The First Presidency wrote Eaton on 7 May 1959 to inquire about the statue’s completion date.\textsuperscript{36} Within the week, Richards became gravely ill. On 13 May 1959, he died. His *Christus* left Florence, bound for San Francisco, two days later. Sadly, Richards never saw the statue that was his legacy to the Church. The *Christus* arrived in San Francisco in early June, was inspected by Forest Lawn representatives, and reached Salt Lake City before the end of the month.

The statue was uncrated for inspection by those concerned, although it is not clear who was present. They were overwhelmed, not only by its beauty, but by its sheer size.\textsuperscript{37} Then the statue was

\textsuperscript{34}The specifications appear in a contract sent to Richards from Rebechi studios on 12 August 1958, Stephen L Richards Papers, LDS Church Archives. This price of $10,000 also included commissions, shipping, customs, etc. Young, Oral History, 11. According to Forest Lawn’s curator, the total cost of the statue would have been no more than $9,000. Burton, interviewed 17 March 2000. Because Richards’s personal donation is considered private, the records documenting the actual cost are not currently available to researchers.

\textsuperscript{35}My measurements, March 2000.

\textsuperscript{36}First Presidency, Letter to Hubert Eaton, signed by J. Reuben Clark and Stephen L Richards, 7 May 1959, Stephen L Richards Papers, LDS Church Archives.

\textsuperscript{37}LaRue Sneff, interviewed 7 June 2000, said that Lynn Richards (Stephen L’s son), she, and others she cannot remember were present. According to Young, he saw it for the first time in the rotunda.
recreated and stored in a Church warehouse on Industrial Road.\textsuperscript{38} This storage not only protected the statue but also reflected some uncertainty about what to do with it. The First Presidency had not yet announced the new Bureau of Information. In light of the status the statue would later acquire within Mormonism, there was an interesting concern on the part of some that a heroic-sized statue of Christ was not a traditional part of Mormon worship. Although statuary was not completely foreign to the Church, as the \textit{This Is the Place Monument} (1947), the Temple Square statues of Joseph and Hyrum Smith (1910), and the Brigham Young Memorial (1893) manifest, the Church has always taken a careful position regarding statuary in places of worship. Some feared that those seeing the statue might worship the statue itself, genuflecting to the marble, and not paying homage to the Savior.\textsuperscript{39} While this concern was legitimate, it seems to have been short-lived.

\textbf{BUREAU OF INFORMATION/VISITORS CENTER}

By the time the statue arrived in Salt Lake City, the \textit{Christus} was a dominant part of the early designs for the Bureau of Information presented to the First Presidency. In fact, Richard Marshall, an employee of Evans Advertising and special consultant to Church exhibits and displays, recalls that the Bureau of Information (now the North Visitors Center) was literally designed around the \textit{Christus} as the “cynosure” of the structure.\textsuperscript{40} This is not to say that the statue

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{38}Lynn Richards, Letter to David O. McKay, 5 June 1959, Stephen L. Richards Papers, LDS Church Archives; Theodore Jacobsen and Florence Smith Jacobsen, interviewed 13 March 2000, St. George, notes in my possession; Sneff, interviewed April 2000.


\textsuperscript{40}Richard J. Marshall, interviewed 22 May 2000, Salt Lake City, notes in my possession. For greater clarity, I hereafter refer to this building, named the Bureau of Information Center, as either the “visitors center” or by its current name, the “North Visitors Center.” The term “Visitors Center” was first used September 1963 in a film by Brigham Young University highlighting Temple Square. Apparently the name caught on and was in almost universal use by 1966 when the building officially opened. “North” was added to the name when the South Visitors Center replaced
\end{footnotesize}
was the most important part of the proposed center, but rather that Jesus Christ was to be the dominant theme or “focal point” of the center.\(^{41}\) In light of Marion D. Hanks’s suggestion that a world-renowned representation of Christ would dramatically proclaim the Church’s Christianity, Marshall’s comment is logically accurate.

While the statue was being made, George Cannon Young had continued to shape the design of the building. In January 1957, he, Richard L. Evans, and Marion D. Hanks, went to New York City to gather new ideas for the new visitors center. There they met with G. Stanley McCallister, a prominent businessman with Federated Department Stores and president of the New York Stake, and Theodore Jacobsen, head of a Utah construction firm who was then serving as president of the Eastern States Mission, headquartered in New York. Jacobsen and his wife, Florence, remember that Evans, Hanks, and Young visited the Lord and Taylor retail building on Long Island which had a two-storied, curved glass facade and talked about placing the *Christus* in a glass rotunda.\(^ {42}\) Young completed his first set of drawings by 15 March 1957; they included a curved glass rotunda instead of the flat two-story glass window facade he had designed in 1955-56.\(^ {43}\)

Even though the design of the visitors center was technically completed in 1959, other ideas were submitted to the First Presidency as well. In 1960, Stephen G. Covey, Stephen L Richards’s son-in-law, submitted a proposal for a new visitors center, copyrighted in 1960, entitled *You Have Received My Kingdom*. This elaborate proposal included a multi-leveled rotunda with a statue of Christ in the center of the main floor. Interestingly, Covey proposed that the statue “could well be a copy of Thorvaldsen’s Christ—a most proper work.”\(^ {44}\) Surely, Covey knew of the statue’s existence from family sources and included the *Christus* in his proposal. His ideas,
however, were too late since plans for the new center were nearly completed by 1959.\(^{45}\)

On 2 July 1960, the First Presidency publicly announced plans to build a new “Bureau of Information Center” on Temple Square at a proposed cost of $1.6 million and estimated completion time of eighteen months.\(^{46}\) Accompanying the announcement was an architect’s rendering showing a glass rotunda as the center’s highlight. Work on the site began in August and excavation was well underway by December. Meanwhile, the Christus remained in storage.

Although it is not completely clear when the statue of Christ was actually placed on the second floor of the visitors center rotunda, most published sources date this event at 1966.\(^{47}\) However this date seems too late. In January 1962 as the rotunda walls were nearing completion and the steel beams for the dome were being readied, George Cannon Young realized that moving the huge, heavy statue into the finished building would pose difficulties. According to Young, “I left the top off the new Visitors Center until the statue arrived, at which time we put it over the top of the wall with a crane to a temporary wood-block platform.”\(^{48}\) Richard

\(^{45}\)Young, Appointment Books, 1959-60. Lynn S. Richards wrote to Richard L. Evans on 13 August 1964 suggesting that Evans acknowledge receipt of Covey’s book and that its contents might be considered in future programs. George Cannon Young Papers, 1919-91, Special Collections, Marriott Library.

\(^{46}\)“New Bureau of Information to Be Built on Temple Square,” Church News, 2 July 1960, 6.


\(^{48}\)Young, Biography, 17 January 1980, 7A-8. A much later article, “Christus Is Damaged,” Church News, 11 January 1975, 11, also reported that the Christus was “installed in the Visitors Center in 1962,” although
Marshall also remembered a crane lifting the crate containing the Christus over the center's walls and lowering it into the rotunda.\textsuperscript{49} The domed roof was completed 12 May 1962, and the statue's marble base was completed and positioned the same month.\textsuperscript{50} Almost ten months later, on 5 March 1963, the glass façade was completed. After that point, placing the Christus inside would have required removing the huge sheet-glass panels.

Several days later, President David O. McKay inspected the progress of the building.\textsuperscript{51} According to Young and others, it was a stirring experience when the lid of the crate was removed exposing the statue. McKay was deeply touched. He requested that the statue remain crated since the visitors center would be used as a temporary annex to the temple while a new annex was under construction.\textsuperscript{52}

**NEW YORK WORLD'S FAIR**

In mid-1962, G. Stanley McAllister recommended to the First Presidency that the Church mount a display in the 1964-65 New York World's Fair. President McKay signed an official agreement to participate in the fair on 19 October 1962.\textsuperscript{53} Apostle Harold B. Lee served as executive director of the Mormon Pavilion with Elder Bernard P. Brockbank, an Assistant to the Council of the Twelve, as managing director. They worked with the Church Information Service Committee (CIS) whose key members included David W. Evans (Richard L. Evans's brother) and Richard J. Marshall.\textsuperscript{54}

\textsuperscript{49}Richard J. Marshall, interviewed 22 May 2000, Salt Lake City, notes in my possession.

\textsuperscript{50}Young, business calendars and appointment books, May 1959.

\textsuperscript{51}Young's entry, Appointment Book, 5 March 1963, was, "President McKay . . . to Bureau Rotunda (Christus)." This entry is marked with a star and several exclamation points.


The decision to build a temporary pavilion represented a monumental effort that was unprecedented for the Church at the time. According to Richard Marshall, Thorvaldsen's *Christus* played a dominant role in the design of the pavilion. A heroic-sized statue would communicate that Mormonism was Christian, immediately and with visual clarity. Brockbank and others involved with the pavilion were well aware that the Church already owned such a statue. The Church Information Service Committee (CIS) recommended that the *Christus* statue should be sent to the World's Fair.

However, when Marshall began to make arrangements in early 1963 to ship the *Christus* to New York, he found that he could actually commission another statue in Italy and ship it to New York for the same price as sending the Richards statue from Salt Lake City to New York. As a result, Marshall contacted Forest Lawn Cemetery and arranged to commission another copy from Rebechi Aldo & Gualtiero. The second *Christus*, cut from the same casting as the Richards *Christus* and hence its exact duplicate, was finished in January 1964. It arrived in New York in March and was placed in the pavilion shortly afterward. Ironically, the cost of removing and transporting the statue from the harbor to the exhibition site cost as much as making the statue and shipping it from Italy.

55Florence Jacobsen, interviewed 13 March 1999; Marshall, interviewed 21 March 2000; Young, Oral History, 10-11, states that David Evans asked him to uncrate the *Christus* in the rotunda with the intent to use it in the 1964 World's Fair.
56According to George Cannon Young, he would not let anyone get near the crate without David O. McKay's personal permission. He also said that just removing the rotunda roof and/or glass would equal the cost of a new statue. Young, Oral History, 11; Young, Biography, 7A-10.
57Although Forest Lawn arranged the commission, Marshall oversaw the project, even visiting Rebechi studios in Italy to evaluate progress. Richard J. Marshall, interviewed 21 March 2000, Salt Lake City, notes in my possession.
58Young, Oral History, 11, LDS Church Archives; Marshall, interviewed 21 March 1999.
59Young, Oral History, 11, LDS Church Archives; Marshall, interviewed 21 March 1999.
while, the first *Christus* remained crated in the visitors center rotunda in Salt Lake City.

The overwhelmingly positive response to the Mormon pavilion in New York was quite unexpected. Because of these positive responses and visitors’ requests for more information, missionary efforts were impacted for years to come, public attitudes changed, and the Church felt encouraged to approach missionary work and displays differently.\(^{60}\) It also decisively removed worries that a statue of Christ might be seen as too great a departure from traditional Mormon worship. Rather, the New York World’s Fair sparked new confidence for the Church to continue its planned exhibitions for the new North Visitors Center on Temple Square.

When the World’s Fair closed in 1965, the Mormon Pavilion Committee decided to house its *Christus* at the Bureau of Information at Joseph Smith’s birthplace in Sharon, Vermont.\(^{61}\) Those in Vermont anxiously awaited its arrival in vain. The statue was shipped instead to Los Angeles to be placed in the newly renovated Los Angeles Temple Bureau of Information. Although no reason was given for this decision, the World’s Fair statue, over eleven feet high, far exceeded the height of the ceiling at the visitors center in Vermont.\(^{62}\)

Meanwhile, the new temple annex in Salt Lake City was completed in March 1966, and the visitors center was being readied for the summer influx of tourists on Temple Square. Most of the other displays and paintings exhibited at the World’s Fair in New York City became part of these displays. Simultaneously that summer, the renovation and construction of the Los Angeles Bureau of Information was nearing completion. On 21 November 1966 the World’s

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\(^{61}\) In a meeting of the Mormon Pavilion Committee held in the Eastern States Mission home with Harold B. Lee, executive director of the Mormon Pavilion presiding, the Vermont destination was determined. Agenda, Mormon Pavilion Committee, 18 October 1965, in Hannah Irene Edwards Staples, “The Mormon Pavilion at the New York World’s Fair, 1964-65,” LDS Church Archives.

\(^{62}\) Office of Boyd K. Packer, telephone conversation May 2000, notes in my possession.
Fair Christus was removed from storage and placed on its pedestal there.\footnote{The statue arrived in Los Angeles soiled, chipped, and with two broken fingers. It was cleaned and repaired after placement. “The Christus,” Visitors Center History (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Visitors Center, n.d.); see also “Famed Statue at L.A. Bureau,” Church News, 26 November 1966, 5.}

As the first visitors viewed Thorvaldsen’s Christus in the rotunda of the North Visitors Center on Temple Square in 1966, they had no idea that Stephen L Richards had donated the work to the Church. In fact, the millions of visitors who stood in the rotunda for the next twenty-six years did not know how the statue came into existence. Then in 1992, Philip Richards wrote a small article that appeared first in the Ensign and then in the Church News that revealed his father’s role.\footnote{Richards, “Christus,” Ensign, January 1992, 79; Richards, “An Inspiration to So Many People,” 7.}

Before Philip submitted his article for publication, he asked President Gordon B. Hinckley, then a counselor in the First Presidency, if it would be appropriate to share his father’s connection with the Christus. President Hinckley, calling the article a “good idea,” also felt that the time had come for this disclosure.\footnote{Philip L. Richards, interviewed 3 March 2000, Salt Lake City, notes in my possession.}

**1970 WORLD EXPOSITION JAPAN**

Encouraged by the overwhelmingly positive experience at the New York World’s Fair, the Church announced its participation in the World Exposition held in Osaka, Japan, in 1969.\footnote{The Church also participated in the San Antonio Hemisfair (1969) and a smaller exposition in Montreal, Canada (1967). These exhibits were smaller and less costly than the New York and Japan pavilions. While it is certain that the Christus statue was not used in either, it is unknown whether a photograph or cutout of the Christus was used in one or both.}

Again Thorvaldsen’s Christus would serve as a visual announcement that the Latter-day Saints were indeed Christians. Since both statues of the Christus were now on permanent display in Salt Lake City and Los Angeles, Richard Marshall commissioned a third statue, this time negotiating directly with Rebechi Aldo & Gualtierio on the commission.\footnote{Richards, interviewed 3 March 2000, Salt Lake City, notes in my possession.} In the early stages of development, the design committee
contemplated several different sizes of the *Christus* statue to be used in Japan, settling on one nine feet six inches tall, weighing 10,000-11,000 pounds.\(^\text{68}\)

In the summer of 1969, Marshall and Elder Hartman Rector Jr., an Assistant to the Council of the Twelve and interim president of the Italian Mission, visited the Rebechi Aldo & Gualtiero studios in Italy to observe progress on the statue.\(^\text{69}\) In addition to the *Christus*, the studio was also carving a heroic-sized statue of Joseph Smith.\(^\text{70}\) Despite hopes that the *Christus* statue would be shipped to Japan by July 1969, it was not completed until early 1970. It went from Florence directly to Osaka, where it was placed in the pavilion before the Expo opening on 15 March 1970.

The impact of the *Christus* was again impressive. More than 6.5 million people visited the Mormon Pavilion. Shozo Suzuki, then a counselor in the mission presidency, remembers standing before the *Christus* and telling Crown Prince Akihito about the restoration of the gospel of Jesus Christ. Akihito, now emperor of Japan, was “very impressed about Jesus Christ.”\(^\text{71}\)

After the Expo closed on 26 September 1970, the *Christus* statue was stored in a warehouse in either Osaka or Kobe for the next six years.\(^\text{72}\) Finally, in March 1977, the statue was shipped to


\(^{68}\) Building Division, Minutes, 27 March 1969, LDS Church Archives.


\(^{70}\) The Joseph Smith statue was a copy of Mahonri M. Young’s *Joseph Smith*, displayed on Temple Square. The Rebechi copy is over nine feet tall and weighs 3,950 pounds. After use in the Church’s visitors center in Independence, Missouri, it was stored in a Church warehouse and in 1993 was placed in the Joseph Smith Memorial Building in Salt Lake City. “A Heroic Figure,” *Ensign*, September 1993, 38. Rector actually chipped stone from between Joseph’s legs under the direction of Aldo Rebechi. Rector, interviewed 21 March 2000; Cleave Dibble, assistant to President Rector, interviewed April 2000, Layton, Utah, notes in my possession.

\(^{71}\) Shozo Suzuki, letter to Matt Richardson, 13 April 2000, in my possession; Shozo Suzuki, interviewed 7 April 2000, notes in my possession.

\(^{72}\) While the exact location is uncertain, Suzuki, interviewed 7 April 2000, and Cheiko Okazaki, interviewed April 2000, Salt Lake City, notes in
New Zealand to be displayed in the visitors center in Hamilton on Temple Hill.\textsuperscript{73} Robert L. Simpson, then Area Supervisor in the Pacific and an Assistant to the Quorum of the Twelve, helped transport the \textit{Christus} from the harbor.\textsuperscript{74} Apparently, the statue was left outside in its crate while renovations to the center were completed.\textsuperscript{75} The prolonged exposure to dampness (whether in Japan or New Zealand is uncertain) left its mark upon the marble \textit{Christus}. Water leaked through the storage crate and dripped from a rusted nail onto the back of the statue, seeping into the marble. Despite cleaning, a faint stain is still visible.\textsuperscript{66} On 4 August 1977 “the Temple Visitors Center was officially reopened after major renovations with the premiere viewing of the famous ‘\textit{Christus}’ statue.”\textsuperscript{77}

\textbf{THE STATUE IN VISITORS CENTERS}

The success of the \textit{Christus} statue in confirming the Church’s Christianity encouraged its use in the Church’s larger visitors cen-

my possession, both felt that the statue was stored in either Kobe or Osaka. The length of time is suggested by Elder Mark E. Petersen, Memo, 8 March 1976, Historical Sites File, s.v. “Christus,” LDS Church Archives: “I do know of one other copy which was made for the world fair in Japan. It is still in Japan.” Historical Sites File, s.v. “Christus Statue,” LDS Church Archives.

\textsuperscript{73}Albert Zobell, Church Historical Librarian, Memo to file, Historical Sites File, bears a handwritten note by an unidentified writer: “Now in New Zealand, Mar. 1977- Exhibits.” Glen Rudd, emeritus member of the Second Quorum of Seventy, found notes in a “day book” indicating that the statue arrived in New Zealand in 1977 when he was zone director of the Welfare Program in the Pacific.

\textsuperscript{74}Robert L. Simpson, interviewed March 2000, St. George, Utah, notes in my possession.

\textsuperscript{75}Donna Cravens, e-mail, 7 April 2000, in my possession.

\textsuperscript{76}Glen Slight, former director of the New Zealand Visitors Center, interviewed April 2000, Holladay, Utah, notes in my possession. The rust stain was not this statue’s only mishap. Two fingers were broken during its transport to Hamilton, New Zealand. Simpson, interviewed March 2000. The fragility of the fingers and their vulnerability during shipping was the reason Fairbanks finished the hands of the Washington, D.C., statue on the site.

\textsuperscript{77}New Zealand Temple Annual Historical Reports, 4 August 1977, LDS Church Archives.
ters as well, while its success at the visitors centers in Salt Lake City, Los Angeles, and Hamilton, New Zealand, impacted the future course of exhibits in the Church. Between 1979 and 1988, the Church commissioned four more statues for visitors centers. Apparently Rebechi Aldo & Gualtiero carved three of them—copies of the ten-foot, five-ton version—out of white Carrara marble. The fourth statue was carved by Bertagnini Sauro, another sculptor in Carrara.

The first of these four was carved in 1979 for the newly expanded and renovated visitors center in Laie, Hawaii. The center opened 4 September 1979 with the Christus displayed on a four-foot pedestal. Around the same time (1979), another Christus was planned for display in the Arizona Temple Visitors Center. The statue was commissioned in 1980, was shipped to Long Beach, California, in 1981, and was trucked to Arizona and positioned on a three-foot pedestal in the newly remodeled visitors center in time for the dedication held 15 February 1981. The following year, 1982, a third statue was commissioned for the Mexico City Visitors Center, then under construction, and placed before its bay window by July 1983.

The fourth statue was also the smallest to date. Carved by Bertagnini Sauro, it is only eight feet tall. It was commissioned for the Washington D.C. Visitors Center in 1987, arrived in Baltimore in March 1988, was placed in the center in May, and was unveiled by Apostle Dallin H. Oaks in ceremonies on 24 June. In the thirty years since Stephen L Richards had first made contact with Hubert Eaton, the Church had acquired seven marble copies of the statue, displayed in the United States, Japan, and New Zealand.

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78 This size apparently worked better in the smaller visitors centers. Susanne Benassa, granddaughter of Aldo Rebechi, stated that the studio produced six altogether for the Church, including the Richards statue. Susanne Benassa, e-mails, 27-28 April 2000, in my possession.

79 Ortho Fairbanks, acting on instructions from the Church Department of Missionary Exhibits and Displays, negotiated the commission with Sauro, visited the work in progress in Carrara, and finished carving the fingers in Washington, D.C. Ortho Fairbanks, interviewed June 2000, Salt Lake City, notes and duplicates of his photographs in my possession; “Christus Enhances Washington Center,” Church News, 2 July 1988, 11.
THE NEW CHRISTUS

Two years after the Washington, D.C., statue was put in position, the Church News reported that a “miniature statue of the Christus” would appear in the newly enlarged visitors center in Nauvoo, Illinois.80 Clearly, the Church was still interested in using the image of the Christus in its displays because of its comfortable fit with the Church’s objectives. In addition, the statue had achieved a familiar association with the Church through the fairs and visitors centers. But the announcement that the statue would be a “miniature” seemed to signal a change of direction, possibly that the statue would no longer be the aesthetic and emotional focus of the centers.81

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81Ever since completion of the North Temple Square Visitors Center, the design and functioning of Church exhibits and displays have seemed
Dee Jay Bawden creating the clay model for the fiberglass Christus, 1990.
LaVar Wallgren, left, Dee Jay Bawden, and J. Dell Morris with the clay model for the fiberglass Christus, 1990.
However, the *Christus* statue that was put on display in Nauvoo in 1990 next to the window overlooking the Monument to Women gardens was not a miniature. Another eight-foot version that dominated its space was used, and most visitors did not notice that it was smaller than the Salt Lake City version.

The most significant change in the new Nauvoo statue, however, was also the very thing most people didn’t even notice. Rather than using Rebechi or Sauro to create a smaller marble statue, the Church Department of Missionary Exhibits and Displays sought a way to produce the statue more economically. Not only was a new artist used to replicate Thorvaldsen’s work, but a new medium was used as well.

In September 1990, Stacey Goodliffe from Missionary Exhibits and Displays contacted 3-D Art, a fiberglass company in Kearns, Utah, and commissioned the next generation of statues. Owner LaVar Wallgren asked J. Dell Morris, an art instructor at the University of Utah, and Dee Jay Bawden, one of Morris’s former students, to work on the project. They produced an eight-foot clay model of Thorvaldsen’s *Christus* from which they created a fiberglass mold, a process that destroyed the clay original. The fiberglass statue created from the mold was then sprayed with a marble coating. This process took only thirty working days and weighed only 250-300 pounds. This innovation set the standard for the Church’s *Christus* statues from then on.

In 1992 the 3-D Art mold was used to create another statue for the new 22,000-square-foot visitors center in Oakland, California. In only two weeks, the statue was completed, shipped to Oakland in April, and readied for display. The *Church News* reported: “A replica of the *Christus* statue, like the one in the North Visitors Center on Temple Square in Salt Lake City but slightly smaller, dominates the

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82 LaVar Wallgren, interviewed 2 June 2000, Kearns, Utah, notes in my possession.

83 The statue was delivered to Nauvoo by 6 October 1990. Wallgren, interviewed 2 June 2000. The fiberglass *Christus* costs an estimated one-eighth the cost of a marble status of comparable size. LaVar Wallgren, interviewed 2 January 2003, Kearns, Utah, notes in my possession.
As before, the Church continued to use the statue to inspire visitors and announce its Christian status as the dominating message of public displays.

**THE TRAVELING STATUE**

As the world became more familiar with the Latter-day Saints, the Church used world’s fairs and expositions less frequently to exhibit the Church’s message, while visitors centers simultaneously became a permanent and popular resource to the general public. Using the image of the Christus to imprint the Church’s position of Christianity fit well for the Church; furthermore, the Christus had become increasingly identified with the Church. Finding a way to use the image appropriately and effectively outside of visitors centers was challenging.

One of these venues is “front-line exhibits” (exhibits in which visitors have personal contact with a guide or volunteer, like temple openhouses). For example, the Church sponsored a display at the Parliament of World Religions in Chicago held 28 August-5 September 1993, which presented the LDS image and doctrine much like a mini-visitors center. To maintain the continuity of the Church’s imagery, part of the display featured a seven-foot contour cutout made of foam-board of the Christus statue. Reportedly, the display was easily recognizable as the Church’s. Reverend Thomas A. Baima, a member of the parliament’s organizing council and ecumenical officer for the Catholic Church’s Archdiocese of Chicago, commented on its distinctive appearance: “I immediately identified the exhibit as being from The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.”

Another venue emerged from the increasing number of new temples. Typically, every new temple hosts a public open house where visitors can tour the temple prior to dedication. In addition to the tour of the building itself, the Church has made efforts to create a “temporary Visitors Center” to help visitors better understand the Church and its doctrines. For example, as the San Diego

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Temple neared completion in December 1992, the Church commissioned another eight-foot Christus statue from 3-D Art for its open house. The statue was completed by January 1993 and arrived in San Diego in April. An estimated 700,000 visitors viewed it over the six-week period of the open house.

The fiberglass was so light that the statue could be shipped anywhere in the world with relative ease. As a result, this statue, sometimes called the “traveling Christus,” and its accompanying displays were used at several other temple openhouses, including: Orlando, Florida (1994), Bountiful, Utah (1995), Hong Kong (1996), Timpanogos American Fork, Utah (1996), St. Louis, Missouri (1997), Vernal, Utah (1997), Preston, England (1998), Albuquerque, New Mexico (1999), Billings, Montana (1999), Houston, Texas (2000), and Nauvoo, Illinois (2002). Well over 3.3 million people viewed the “traveling Christus” between 1993 and mid-2002.

However, as the number of temples increased dramatically during President Hinckley’s administration, it was not possible for the statue to be displayed at every open house. Other exhibits, generally featuring a framed photograph of the Christus or a large contour cutout of the statue, are displayed when the actual statue is unavailable.

Three more fiberglass statues were created after the “traveling” Christus, one for the St. George Visitors Center (18 August 1993), the Hill Cumorah (early March 1995), and the Icelandic Immigration Museum in Reykjavik (produced May 2000).

CONCLUSION

The Latter-day Saints have clearly embraced Thorvaldsen’s

87 The Christus had become such an icon of the Mormon Church that local leaders asked for a Christus statue, not a cutout, to be displayed at the open house. Stacey Goodliffe, Missionary Exhibits and Display, interviewed 3 March 2000, Salt Lake City, notes in my possession.
89 Goodliffe, interviewed 3 March 2000.
90 This figure is based upon the numbers of visitors at open houses where the Christus statue was also on display. Telephone interview, 9 July 2002, Department of Missionary Exhibits and Displays, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.
Christus, and it continues to be associated with the Church, even by those who are not of its membership. For example, when the Icelandic Immigration Museum was planning its exhibit, the Icelandic government requested that the Church use a statue of Thorvaldsen’s Christus in the museum, according to J. Brent Hammond, director of the museum project. The Icelanders had two reasons for the request: They recognized the association of Thorvaldsen’s Christus with Latter-day Saints and also were especially pleased that Thorvaldsen’s father, Gotskalk Thorvaldsen, was Icelandic. As the world continues to meet Mormons through visual media (statuary, paintings, photographs, television, video, and the Internet), the Christus is a commonly associated image. As a result, many others will come to view the Christus synonymously with the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

When Stephen L. Richards stood before Thorvaldsen’s Christus in Denmark in 1950, the inspiration he received was not singular. Thorvaldsen’s representation of Christ continues to inspire those who stand before what is often described as its compassionate gaze and inviting posture. It beckons both nonbelievers and believers to come closer and look. Elder Earl C. Tingey, of the Presidency of the Seventy and executive director of the Missionary Department, spoke of seeing a woman weep quietly before the Christus in the North Visitors Center rotunda, and commented that this was where people could “come and feel the Spirit and gain a fresh perspective on life.”

The Christus has served the Church well in providing an image that invites rather than offends, one that strongly declares its Christianity. Elder Oaks, speaking at the Washington, D.C., unveiling ceremony, told of the impact the Christus had upon one of his friends. After silently viewing the statue in Salt Lake City, they left Temple Square; and his friend told him, “Now I understand something about your faith that I have never understood before.” In reference to the role of the Christus in the Church, Oaks added, “I

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91J. Brent Hammond, interviewed April 2000, notes in my possession.
92“Visitors Centers: Places to Feel the Spirit” (article about Tingey’s address to visitors center and historic site directors) *Church News*, 15 February 1997, 7.
hope that every person who has ever had doubts about whether we are Christians can achieve that same understanding.”

For Latter-day Saints, the Christus has become a familiar representation of their faith—an icon, of sorts. Apostle Howard W. Hunter called the statue a “memorial” which serves “to unite generation with generation, preserving in a long, unbroken chain the important events of our common heritage.” He concluded that such memorials will “preserve the power of our united faith.”

Apostle M. Russell Ballard said that when he thinks of Christ as a “spiritual beacon,” Thorvaldsen’s Christus comes to mind. “This stunning work,” he continued, “captures the loving benevolent spirit of the resurrected Lord, His arms outstretched, kindly beckoning all to come unto Him.”

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93Conference Report, 4 October 1987, 78.
94Howard W. Hunter, “That We May Be One,” Ensign, May 1976, 106.
BEGGING TO BE IN THE BATTLE:
A MORMON BOY IN WORLD WAR I

Lynne Watkins Jorgensen

A PERSONAL INTRODUCTION
IN AUGUST 1970, I answered the phone and heard a tinny voice: "Lynne, is that you? This is your Aunt Juanita. I need to tell you about Leland." Juanita Jorgensen Horton, age sixty-two, was my husband's paternal aunt.

Since both my husband and son are named Leland (my husband goes by "Lee"), I said I would call Lee to the phone.

"No, no," she shouted, "Not Lee! I'm telling you about his father, Leland, my big brother. You're a family historian! Now you listen. I am remembering!"

And so I took quick notes as I listened to an amazing story about World War I and my father-in-law, Leland Maeser Jorgensen, whom I never knew. He had died in a duck-hunting accident in
Private First Class Leland Maeser Jorgensen, World War I. All photographs in possession of Lynne Watkins Jorgensen.
Madison County, Idaho, on 29 December 1924, age twenty-eight, when Lee, his only child, was two months old. Here, in essence, is the story I recorded that night in my journal.

Juanita was ten when Leland enlisted in the U.S. Army and went to France in 1918. Her parents received word only that he was at Verdun. Her mother, Anna Berg Jorgensen, became distraught as weeks wore on, trying in every possible way to learn whether he was dead, imprisoned, or wounded. Then Anna’s father, Ole H. Berg, founder of Berg Mortuary in Provo, Utah, visited his daughter at her home on a farm in Sandy, Utah, and took the step of contacting Senator Reed Smoot, a personal friend.1 When his inquiries produced no result, he took the train for Washington, D.C., where he warned Smoot that he would remain camped outside his office until he learned the whereabouts of his grandson.

Juanita told me that she vividly remembered helping her mother do the laundry one morning in January 1919 when the telephone, a wall-mounted crank-style instrument, rang. She climbed on a chair to answer it, and heard the operator say it was a long-distance call. Juanita turned excitedly to her mother. “Maybe it’s Leland!” Anna grabbed the phone, and heard her father say, “They’ve located Leland in France. He was gassed and is in the hospital but will be all right and soon return home!”

Juanita recalled that her mother turned to face her, tears of relief streaming from her eyes. She stumbled back toward the wringer washing machine, which Leland had hooked up to electricity just before he went into the army. Juanita watched paralyzed as her mother, blind with emotion, turned on the wringer motor. Her hand became entangled in the wet clothes and was drawn slowly between the crushing rollers.

1Lifelong residents of Provo, they worked together on many important projects, including the Provo City Council, the school board, and the state legislature. As businessmen they helped build the county infirmary, the Provo Woolen Mills, the first buildings of the Brigham Young Academy, and the Provo Tabernacle. “Bishop Ole Hendriksen Berg,” Utah Since Statehood: Historical and Biographical Illustrated (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing, 1919) 3:968-69 and “Senator Reed Smoot,” ibid., 3:592-95; Andrew Jenson, “Ole Hendriksen Berg,” Latter-day Saints Biographical Encyclopedia, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson Company, 1901) 1:785-86 and “Reed Smoot,” ibid., 1:178.
Anna screamed. Juanita had the presence of mind to yank out the plug and stop the machine. As she ran for help, Anna, a woman who was not more than five feet tall, released the rollers and pulled her arm clear. It was crushed to above the elbow. “Mama was never again able to raise her arm even to hold a hairbrush,” Juanita concluded.

When Aunt Juanita told me this story, only she and her older sister, Ruth Jorgensen Morrell in Hawaii, were alive out of twelve siblings. Lee had not heard this story before, since he was raised by his widowed mother’s family and seldom spent time with his Jorgensen relatives. Over the next three decades, I worked on bits of the puzzle. Family histories confirmed that Anna Berg Jorgensen did not have the use of her left arm during the latter part of her life but did not explain why. I added searches from civil and ecclesiastical records, then branched into community histories. During World War I, Sandy, Utah, was a farm village of about two thousand residents thirteen miles south of Salt Lake City. The community histories confirmed that electricity, running water, and the telephone were available by World War I.

Sandy Third Ward records for 1919 confirmed that five members of the Jorgensen family were living in the Sandy home: the parents (Enoch and Anna) and three of their five surviving children: sixteen-year-old Henry, fifteen-year-old Ruth, and ten-year-old Juanita. Leland’s father, Enoch Jorgensen, was the first principal of

2Martha Sonntag Bradley, Sandy City: The First One Hundred Years (Sandy, Utah: Sandy City Corp., 1993), 95-96; Roxie N. Rich, “Sandy’s Early Utilities,” The History and People of Early Sandy, bound typescript history, chap. 11.

3Sandy Third Ward Records, film #027,299, Archives, Family and Church History Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter Family History Archives). The oldest son, Enoch Berg Jorgensen was married. Leland, the fourth child, born in 1896, was listed with the family even though he was already in the army. Seven children were dead. Twin daughters, born three years after Leland, lived only eleven and twelve days; triplet daughters born less than two years later died immediately after birth; and in 1901, nine-year-old Sterling Gustav and seven-year-old Fern Lucile died of diphtheria only a day apart. Sterling and Fern are buried in the Provo City Cemetery; the twins and triplets are buried in the Ephraim Pioneer Cemetery. Family group sheets and Ancestral File.
Jordan High School, and later principal of Jordan High Seminary.\(^4\) In 1919, Juanita was ten. Ruth and Henry were in high school. Already heartbroken by the death of seven children and deeply possessive of her five remaining offspring, Anna was doubly saddened by the death of her missionary brother, Henry, at about the same time.\(^5\) These deaths, a bond of shared suffering with her father, would prove significant to Leland’s story.

Leland, a tall, good-looking twenty-year-old, had been a student at the University of Utah at the time of his enlistment.\(^6\) He was partially blind in one eye, due to a childhood accident at age eleven with a bow and arrow. Thus, although he could easily have obtained a deferment because of his eye injury and because farm work was a protected occupation, he enlisted as a clarinetist in July 1917 in the 145th Field Artillery Band.

A brief family record stated that Leland had been mustard-gassed on the Argonne. Leland had sent home ghastly photographs and postcards of ruined French cities and trenches filled with skeletons of soldiers in full uniform. Lee and I have a German officer’s helmet and several souvenir brass cartridge shells engraved “Verdun,” as well as World War I army binoculars. A treasure was a tiny khaki New Testament autographed to Leland M. Jorgensen compli-

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\(^4\)His photograph appears as principal in the Jordan High yearbooks (The Jordan Courier, 1910-18), in my possession. See also Leland Howard Jorgensen, “History of Leland, Anne, and Arthur,” 1980, bound typescript, copy in LDS Family History Library, Salt Lake City. The information in this book about my husband’s father, mother, and stepfather comes from the handwritten memoirs of his mother, Anne Howard Jorgensen Gebhart, typescript in my possession. Enoch’s articles and verses appeared regularly in the Improvement Era and Juvenile Instructor. He was especially knowledgeable concerning the Fish Lake Indians of central Utah.

\(^5\)According to Jenson, LDS Biographical Encyclopedia, 1:786, Henry W. Berg died in Christiana (Oslo), Norway, 21 February 1900, after he contracted a severe cold which settled in his lungs. It was called consumption, meaning tuberculosis, but was probably pneumonia. He was the first LDS missionary to die in Norway.

\(^6\)World War I Service Records of Utahns, “War Service Questionnaire,” Utah State Historical Society, alphabetical listings, film #485,741, Family History Library. The questionnaire notes that Leland had finished one year at the University of Utah.
These two postcards show Verdun, that “self-contained slaughter house,” which had been bombed to ruins. The trenches in its fields, roads, and villages were filled with the dead from both armies, their unburied bodies decaying where they lay when Leland Jorgensen spent three days there immediately after the armistice, helping refugees.
ments of Chaplain B. H. Roberts, a member of the First Council of Seventy, dated 9 July 1917.7

But the most valuable document turned up in 1973, when Lee and I visited Aunt Ruth Jorgensen Morrell, in Honolulu. Ruth and her husband, Eldon, had both served missions in Hawaii during the 1920s, then returned to the islands as teachers. After the deaths of her parents, Ruth brought to her home family photographs and documents, including Leland’s diary, a slim book (4x2 inches) covered in brown leather. He made his first entry on 26 July 1918, the day he left Camp Kearney for France. His last entry is dated 30 April 1919. Aunt Ruth had stored it in a cedar chest and forgotten about it. When we found it, she was overjoyed to give it to Lee as a memento of the father he had never known.

The outbreak of World War I in 1914 in Europe had little effect on most Utah families since the United States maintained an almost belligerent neutrality. However, in 1914, Ole H. Berg had paid his second visit to his native Norway since his LDS baptism. A daughter remembered that when war broke out four months later, he sailed immediately for the United States, but “mines, placed in the North Sea by the Germans, caused much anxiety and turmoil during Father’s return trip. The passengers were fearful and alert until the boat reached mid-ocean.”8 German submarines were also a serious threat to shipping. The British launched a counterattack in and around the North Sea and the Atlantic Ocean, also blockading German ports.9

Ole Berg spoke soberly to his family of his growing fears about a future American conflict with the Germans, views that the teenage Leland must have listened to carefully. Most Americans were isolationists, not only a traditional U.S. policy since the days of Washington, but also a traditional Mormon position. The Church had discouraged participation in the Civil War (1861-65) and had continued

7Truman G. Madsen, Defender of the Faith: The B. H. Roberts Story (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980), 305. Chaplain Roberts gave 1,500 personally autographed khaki editions of the New Testament to all members of the 145th Artillery, paid for by the YMMIA.
this neutral position even in the Mexican Revolution (1911-12), during which Mormon Americans living in northern Mexico were robbed, killed, beaten, and expelled.\textsuperscript{10} During the intervening Spanish-American War at the turn of the century, Mormons had provided vigorous support to manifest their loyal patriotism.\textsuperscript{11}

A definite break in this policy came after the conflict had raged for almost three years in Europe when, in March 1917, German submarines sank four clearly marked American ships. According to former U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt, who had made his reputation during the Spanish-American conflict, “There is no question about going to war. Germany is already at war with us.”\textsuperscript{12}

“The world must be made safe for democracy,” U.S. President Woodrow Wilson told a joint session of Congress on 2 April 1917. “To such a task we dedicate . . . everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth. . . . God helping her she can do no other.”\textsuperscript{13} Four days later on 6 April 1917, Congress declared war, ending a long period of U.S. isolation and neutrality.

Across the continent, Mormons were assembled that day in April general conference, listening to gospel messages. Two months later, on 10 June 1917 at the last session of the annual conference of the Young Men’s and Young Women’s Mutual Improvement Association, attended by eight thousand, Charles H. Penrose, second counselor in the First Presidency, read a letter from Utah Governor Simon Bamberger calling for the young men to enlist “for the protection of human liberty.”\textsuperscript{14} B. H. Roberts later termed this meeting “The War Conference” and linked it with the creation of the Mor-

\textsuperscript{12}Bosco, \textit{World War I}, 37.
\textsuperscript{13}Quoted in Gail B. Stewart, \textit{World War I} (San Diego, Calif.: Lucent Books, 1991), 28.
mon Battalion. I believe that Ole Berg’s view of war as inevitable prepared Leland to accept military service, strongly reinforced by the religious dimension added to the governor’s appeal for volunteers.

British-born Second Counselor Charles W. Penrose spoke first. His speech was practical, urging the advantages of enlisting in Utah units:

A request has been made by the Governor of this State . . . that those of our young men who desire to enlist in sustaining the movement made by the Government of the United States for the protection of human liberty, for the establishment of freedom in place of despotism and militarism and tyranny, shall be able to see the advantages indeed of joining the National Guard of Utah in the service of the United States . . . Every young man who desires to do so . . . will see the benefit of being associated with brethren and friends, of being under the direction of officers from our own midst, men of Utah, most of them men belonging to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, of being associated with men of the same faith . . . We want to stand shoulder to shoulder with other good citizens of the United States in maintaining the principles of our Government and in defending our nation, in association with other nations that are assailed, in the maintenance of truth and liberty for the benefit of all mankind.

Anthon H. Lund, Danish-born first counselor in the First Presidency, spoke second at the conference’s final session, specifically

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15B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 6 vols. (1930; Provo, Utah: BYU Press, 1965), 6:476. Roberts identified seventeen of the young soldiers for whom he was chaplain as grandsons of the 1846-47 Mormon Battalion, arranged for his soldiers at Camp Kearney in southern California to march to the site in San Diego where the battalion had camped, helped persuade Utahns to build a monument to the battalion, and published in his history a letter to B. H. Roberts dated 10 October 1929 from General W. G. Williams, Military Department, Office of Adjutant, 10 October 1929, confirming that Utah military units are linked in unbroken continuity with the Mormon Battalion and the Nauvoo Legion by official order of the United States War Department. See Madsen, *Defender of the Faith*, 305-6; Roberts, *Comprehensive History*, 6:461-62, 465. Leland had no ancestor in the Mormon Battalion.

comparing the applicability of the pacifist people of Ammon in the Book of Mormon to this situation:

We are a people who love peace. . . . In the Book of Mormon we read of a certain people who were so disgusted with war that they made a covenant that they would not again go to war. . . . We have never thought that the time would come when this land would engage in a war in Europe, but the time has come. We have seen whole nations laid prostrate before their enemies, and have seen some people taken from their homes into slavery, their beautiful palaces destroyed, and heavy taxes laid upon them though innocent of any offense against the power that attacked them. . . . The United States cannot stand impassive and see the abuse, the oppression, the tyranny that has been inaugurated against nations that were not able to defend themselves. Now we are called upon to send our young men over to help the oppressed. . . . I know that [our young men] will not be found lacking . . . and that they will continue faithful.\(^{17}\)

When seventy-eight-year-old President Joseph F. Smith gave the closing address, he affirmed his support for Governor Bamberger’s call as a fulfillment of prophecy. He quoted Joseph Smith’s prediction that an outpouring of war would become so general that Great Britain would “call upon other nations, in order to defend themselves, and then war shall be poured out upon all nations” (D&C 87:3). He added his own prophetic interpretation: “War would come on all nations of the world, as the Prophet [Joseph Smith] has declared it would.” He continued:

This I do believe with all my heart, that the hand of God is striving with certain of the nations of the earth to preserve and protect human liberty, freedom to worship him according to the dictates of conscience, freedom, and the inalienable right of men to organize national governments in the earth, to choose for themselves their own leaders; men whom they may select as standards of honor, of virtue and truth, men of wisdom, understanding and integrity. . . . I believe that the Lord’s hand is over the nations of the world today, to bring about this rule and reign of liberty and righteousness among the nations of the earth . . .

When a Latter-day Saint . . . enlists in the army of the United States, in the National Guard, which has been recommended here by President Penrose to you, and which I confirm and emphasize, because I think the citizens of the State should be united together,

and cities and the State should stand together and should have sympathy and fellowship for each other—that when our boys are called into the army of the United States, I hope and pray that they will carry with them the Spirit of God.

Will those men who go out from Utah, from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, forget their prayers? Will they forget God? Will they forget the teachings that they have received from their parents at home? Will they forget the principles of the gospel of Jesus Christ and covenants that they have made in the waters of baptism, and in sacred places? Or will they go out as men, in every sense—pure men, high minded men, honest men, virtuous men, men of God? That is what I am anxious about.

... If you fall prey to the bullet of the enemy you will go pure as you have lived; you will be worthy of your reward; you will have proved yourself a hero... a valiant servant of the living God, worthy of his acceptance and of admission into the loving presence of the Father.¹⁸

B. H. Roberts proudly quoted the Salt Lake Tribune’s report of this conference. Despite its earlier record of being “bitterly anti-Mormon,” the paper concluded that “the people of the Mormon faith accepted it as a call to arms coming from the Almighty through the mouth of his servant.”¹⁹ Joining the army had become a way to serve the Lord. Six sons of Joseph F. Smith were among those who enlisted.²⁰

British-born B. H. Roberts, then sixty years old, successfully petitioned the governor for an appointment as chaplain of the locally recruited 145th Field Artillery Regiment, in which he was given the rank of major. Despite his strenuous lobbying, the army rejected his appeal to accompany them overseas because of his age. Undaunted, he petitioned U.S. Senator Reed Smoot, with whom he had had a long history of political difficulties: “You must get me in.” Smoot warned that he would have to accept a demotion to first lieutenant. Roberts agreed without hesitation to this condition, and the army finally gave its permission to the appointment, making Roberts the oldest chaplain to see active service in a war zone.²¹ A spellbinding

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¹⁹Quoted in B. H. Roberts, Comprehensive History, 6:474-75.
²⁰Ibid., 6:476.
²¹Madsen, Defender of the Faith, 302; Milton R. Merrill, Reed Smoot, Apostle in Politics (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1990), 109-10; Jan Shipps, “The Public Image of Reed Smoot 1902-1932,” Utah Historical
orator, he mesmerized audiences as he spoke fervently about their religious and patriotic duties. In meetings all over Utah and in personal conversations, Roberts urged hundreds of Utah boys to enlist rather than wait for the draft. 22

Leland was probably present at the “war conference” since he was then YMMIA president in Jordan Stake. Furthermore, he had easy access to the conference. The Jorgensen farmhouse was on State Street, directly across from Jordan High School. 23 Both interurban streetcar service and the train passed within a block, and the streetcar ran every half hour into downtown Salt Lake City. 24 In June 1917, Leland signed for the Utah Draft at the Murray Registration Center, Murray High School. 25 When he was rejected as unfit for combat, he successfully volunteered as a clarinetist in the 145th Field Artillery Army Band, 40th Infantry, in the Utah National Guard, and was told to report for duty at Fort Douglas in Salt Lake City on 30 June 1917. 26

His success was used as the basis of an inspiring story in a letter to the Deseret Evening News:

“If at first you don’t succeed, try try again,” was exemplified in the enlistment of Leland M. Jorgensen, son of Mr. and Mrs. Enoch Jorgensen of Sandy.... After being rejected several times by the army and navy at the outbreak of the war, owing to an injury in the eye, he slipped into the Utah National Guard. 27

Quarterly 45 (Fall 1977): 396, 384, 386.

22 Madsen, Defender of the Faith, 303. See, for example, Roberts’s address at Pioneer Stake conference, 29 April 1917, “The Great World Controversy,” Deseret Evening News, 26 May 1917, B-2, B-4.

23 Bradley, Sandy City, 60-64; Rich, The History and People of Early Sandy, 144. The current Trax line follows the original streetcar lines.


25 Utah Draft Board Registrations, Selective Service System Draft Registration, Murray Registration Center, Murray High School. #1007 “Leland M. Jorgensen,” Sandy RD #2 Utah, June 1917, 514.

26 War Service Questionnaire,” #485,741, Family History Library, gives his date of induction as a volunteer on 30 June 1917, Band Headquarters, 145 Field Artillery, 40th Division.

27 Enoch Jorgensen, Letter, Deseret Evening News, 27 December 1918, B-1. Enoch’s cover letter, accompanying Leland’s letter from Verdun (see below), was published with his.
After two months at Fort Douglas in Utah, Leland spent nine months at Camp Kearney in California. The band spent the summer of 1918 giving a series of wildly successful concerts throughout southern California, making a final tour in Utah in July. These concerts raised $15,000 for the incidental needs of the regiment. B. H. Roberts, who accompanied the tour, provided a glowing commentary:

"The Utah Band has won laurels all over California for the Utah regiment," bragged Chaplain B. H. Roberts as he brought word that the Utah regiment is excelled by no other at the coast and numerous other flattering statements which will make the fathers and the mothers of Utah soldiers proud of their sons. . . . "The 145th (Utah First) field artillery are our adopted sons," claimed the citizens of Santa Anna after a successful band tour of Southern California. Newspaper clippings confirmed that "The Utah boys came to us as strangers, you leave us as adopted sons. . . . All of these boys in khaki are our boys and from this day hence we shall watch the papers with deep interest as the first Utah goes eastward across the water and into the forefront of battle." Roberts presented public notices which added, "The boys [of the band] have been a stellar attraction at Hotel del Coronado in San Diego and Los Angeles. It is called on to play for the honored visitors at the camp besides having been a feature of the Red Cross Liberty Loan, War Saving Stamp, Food Conservation, and other patriotic efforts."28

Historian Richard C. Roberts added: "Since more than three fourths of the men were Mormon Church members, the conclusion could be drawn that a background of Mormon doctrine (which teaches obedience to a hierarchy of authority, loyalty, responsibility of the individual, and high moral standards), contributed greatly to the performance of the 145th Field Artillery Regiment."29

Although Leland had played in the California concerts, it looked as if he would be sent home when the unit prepared to depart for France. According to Enoch Jorgensen, "He stated he would not go [home] unless they forced him, and begged for something to do. At last they put him in charge of post office No. 788 and he now

28 "Band Comes to Raise Funds for Utah Regiment," Deseret Evening News, 1 July 1918, B-1.
occupies the position as one of the postmasters of headquarters company, 40th division." 30 This change of assignment came before July, so he did not play in the Utah concerts. On 17 July 1918, he sent a postcard from Camp Kearney to his sister, Ruth, in Sandy, hinting: "Things are beginning to look like a boat ride is coming soon. I think in about a month, so if you are going to send that candy, you'll have to get busy." 31

On 26 July 1918, just two days after the last Utah concert, the 40th Headquarters Division, including Leland's postal unit, was on a troop train to New York. They sailed to Liverpool, docking on 20 August 1918, crossed England by train to Southampton where they boarded another ship to Cherbourg, France, then traveled by troop train to La Guerche, a town between Chatellerault and Le Grande Pressigny on the Cruese River. Here Leland was assigned as an orderly in the adjutant's office. 32 Meanwhile, the 145th with Chaplain Roberts, docked at Liverpool on 5 September 1918, crossed the English Channel to LeHavre, France, three weeks later, and then went by rail via Rouen, Tours, Poitiers, and Grandianne near Bordeaux, to Camp De Souge, twenty-five miles southwest of Bordeaux. 33 The Enoch Jorgensen family in Sandy eventually received a formal notice that Leland had arrived safely in France. Cards, postmarked "somewhere in France" and/or "censored," began to appear regularly in the Sandy mailbox.

In November 1918, Leland's 40th Headquarters Division and the 145th Artillery Unit with Chaplain Roberts were ordered to join the battle occurring a few miles north of Verdun in the Meuse-Argonne region. On 2 November 1918, according to his diary, Leland left La Guerche, traveling with thirty-two other soldiers stuffed into a French boxcar so small the soldiers had to take turns lying down. They traveled via Bar le Duc, forty miles to the northeast which was the main artery to Verdun. Still two days away from the front, they

31Unless otherwise noted, all of Leland Maeser Jorgensen's letters, papers, and photographs are in my possession.
32Leland Maeser Jorgensen, Diary, 1918-19, 23-28 August 1918. Subsequent quotations from this diary will be identified by date in the text.
33Richard Roberts, "The Utah National Guard in the Great War," 328; Madsen, Defender of the Faith, 310.
were stopped on 4 November. After seven days of suspense, the Armistice was signed on 11 November 1918, suspending hostilities. On 9 November 1918, the 145th, still at Camp De Souge, was ordered into action and given guns and other supplies. This order was first postponed for twenty-four hours, then canceled while they were just forty miles from the front.34

Although it was a life-saving reprieve, the eager young Mormon soldiers were frustrated and chagrined. Lt. Col. E. LeRoy Bourne wrote to his wife: “You cannot feel the disappointment we all feel in not participating in the war as combatant troops. It is inadequate consolation to know we were ready to do so morally and technically.”35 Private Ralph Duvall expressed the young soldiers’ feelings more bluntly:

\[
\text{At DeSouge they made us like it,} \\
\text{We began to drill some more.} \\
\text{But it wasn’t any use at all,} \\
\text{For soon they stopped the war.} \\
\text{Now all we want to know is,} \\
\text{What the hell we soldiered for?}^36
\]

The American soldiers accomplished more than they realized. Observed one knowledgeable commentator on World War I history:

They did not see the big picture. Germany had been fighting France and England for over four years. Although German soldiers were excellent, perhaps the best in the world, the Germans were exhausted. Suddenly, fresh American troops were arriving. At first, only a few American units were on the line. However, the German generals realized there were many units like the 145th Artillery Regiment rushing to battle. The morale of these leaders fell and the Germans agreed to the Armistice. The 145th Artillery, although they never saw battle, helped defeat the enemy simply because they were trained and ready.37

34 Madsen, Defender of the Faith, 311; Richard Roberts, “The Utah National Guard in the Great War,” 328-29.
35 Quoted in Richard Roberts, “The Utah National Guard in the Great War,” 329.
36 Ibid., 329 note 32.
37 Major Leland Ronald Jorgensen, USAR, Letter to Lynne Watkins
Leland was likewise disappointed, but he was certainly thankful for peace. In a letter dated Thanksgiving, 28 November 1918, the young soldier expressed his overwhelming gratitude:

Dear Loved Ones,

I've been thinking of you all day and picturing in my mind what you have been doing. It makes my mouth water when I think of that big roast goose and all the good things that Mother makes to go with it. We had a very good dinner today—beefsteak, mashed potatoes and gravy, chopped cabbage, coffee and bread. It was very different from yours I'm sure, but I enjoyed it just the same.

The nations of the world certainly have something to be thankful for and I think from now on the day [Thanksgiving] will be celebrated to some extent all over the world. It hardly seems possible that the war is over and we'll soon be settling down to civilian life again. . . .

. . . I've certainly had a wonderful experience and have a great many things to be thankful for.

The people are beginning to move back to this territory and in some places have started to rebuild their homes. Sometimes I can hardly believe my eyes. Places that were once cities full of beautiful buildings now look like rock quarries. My candle is nearly burned out so will close. 38

Leland was ready to leave France. Still, he wanted to see the battlefield and got leave to spend three days, 30 November to 2 December 1918, examining the chaos of Verdun where a series of devastating battles had taken place over the previous three years. 39

From the first, Verdun was identified as a "self-contained slaughter house." 40 Leland was probably exposed to sights he could

Jorgensen, 1995. Major Jorgensen, an attorney and military historian, is our son. Fresh American soldiers were landing in France at the rate of 10,000 men every twenty four hours. Bosco, World War I, 97.


39Pass #190 for Pvt 1c Leland M. Jorgensen to visit Verdun and vicinity signed by command of Major H. C. Washburn, Inf. Actg. Division Adjutant, Headquarters 40th Division, American Expeditionary Forces, 30 November 1918.

not possibly have imagined. Immediately behind the battle-fields of Verdun, bombs had destroyed roads, villages, and drainage systems. Towns and churches had been set on fire, railway bridges demolished, embankments blown up and an elaborate array of booby-traps prepared.\textsuperscript{41} No-man's land was an endless tangle of rusty barbed wire. The trenches were filled with dead soldiers from both armies, the bodies decaying where they fell.\textsuperscript{42}

Leland and his buddies spent three days in and near Verdun helping refugees build fires and forage through the rubble seeking artifacts of their former lives (1 Dec. 1918). Then, on foot, the soldiers doubled back through ruined villages from Souielle, south of Verdun, to their base in Revigny, another town that had been almost completely destroyed (2 Dec. 1918).

The next day, Leland sent his sixteen-year-old brother Henry a postcard showing Revigny with an arrow pointing to the remains of a grove labeled “where I live.” The message was brief because he hadn’t slept for two days and “I am too tired to write.”

On 7 December, Leland wrote a long letter home describing the battleground. His father proudly sent this letter to the Deseret Evening News where it was published with his Thanksgiving letter:

\begin{quote}
Dear Loved Ones—I was over to Verdun Sunday and looked over the ruins of the city. There is not one house standing that has not been shelled. The first refugees returned the morning I arrived there and it certainly was a pitiful sight.

I passed through many towns that do not have one wall standing. They are nothing but large piles of rock and ruins. All the shrubbery has been cut off about knee high. This was done by machine gun fire. Pieces of shrapnel lay all over like rocks on a hill side. Large numbers of men are gathering up the clothing and guns, etc.

The hospital or first aid stations are similar to our mines. Bunks
\end{quote}

September to 11 November 1918 took place just north of Verdun during the Meuse-Argonne offensive. The Franco-American troops came from the south (as Leland’s diary verifies), the British from the north. By this date there were almost 2 million American troops in France. General John J. Pershing insisted that American troops fight as an independent army. As a compromise was reached, some U.S. soldiers, though not the 145th, fought in French units in the final offensive,


\textsuperscript{42}Stewart, World War I, 43-46.
Above: This postcard, written 23 November 1918 to Leland's younger brother, Henry, says the street is “about a block from where I am billeted.” The postcard label identifies it, ironically, as “Rue de la Paix” (Peace Street) after the bombardment of 1-12 September 1914 as part of the Battle of the Meuse.

Left: Suffering with Spanish influenza and probably an undiagnosed exposure to mustard gas, Leland spent nine days in this hospital before being transported to a hospital farther from the western front.
are built all along the sides of the tunnels. It isn't a very nice hospital but its out of the reach of the guns and, of course, that was what counted.

The barb wire entanglements are the most cruel things imaginable. The wire is fastened to spears. You can picture for yourself what it would mean for a fellow to run into this in the dark.

The roads are all camouflaged by fastening grass and weeds to wire netting. If it were not for the grass and weeds it would look like a high chicken fence or baseball protector. They put these up so the enemy could not see troops and truck trains going along the road. I sure will have some story to tell when I get home.

This was the last letter the family received from their soldier-son. He had sent about fifteen postcards from France while he was working in the postal unit, most of them to Juanita and Henry—all in October and November 1918.

The family story of mustard gas could explain this harrowing silence. No doubt many toxic materials were still seeping from the trenches of Verdun. Mustard gas, a cruelly incapacitating agent that was later outlawed by the League of Nations, was a liquid. Shot into the trenches in canisters, it volatized slowly, rising lighter than air and clinging to all it touched. It was toxic to the skin but especially to the more sensitive eyes and lungs. Mustard gas could contaminate a target area for up to several weeks.

Although definitive proof is lacking, I believe that such exposure would explain both his immediate ill health and lingering residual effects. Leland also brought home battlefront souvenirs, acquired by barter from German soldiers. Such transactions probably exposed him to additional pollutants. According to a current guidebook, the battle of Verdun "left more than 700,000 dead and

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45According to Bosco, World War I, 99, 100, as soon as the armistice was signed, "Yanks and Germans got together in the middle ground. Most left their rifles in the trenches. Active bartering sprang up. Dough boys gave the Germans cigarettes, food rations, and soap in exchange for belt buckles, bayonets, metal buttons, and German army medals." In addition to souvenirs he brought home, Leland also sold some to meet living expenses in France (19 Dec. 1918).
nine villages wiped off the map. Both sides fought with suicidal fury, yet no significant ground was gained or lost. To this day [1998] the scenes of battle are scarred by bomb craters, stunted vegetation, and thousands of unexploded mines and shells rendering the area permanently uninhabitable.46

Some symptoms showed up immediately. On 7 December he was “sick with heavy cold but worked.” The next day, he was taken to “Base Hospital #83 with Spanish Influenza.” Over the next few weeks, he was transferred to different hospitals farther from the front, possibly better equipped to handle cases of the deadly Spanish influenza, the most virulent global epidemic humanity had undergone since the Black Death (bubonic plague) of the fourteenth century.47 In ten months, 600,000 Americans lost their lives. Thirty million died around the world. There was no cure nor, despite its name, is there any indication of where or how it began. Young adults ages twenty-five to twenty-nine, traditionally the strongest and healthiest, were the most vulnerable. Victims were racked with nausea, fevers of up to 105 degrees, and fits of coughing up blood due to bronchial pneumonia. Many victims drowned in their own body fluids.48

This epidemic killed more individuals than all the wars in the twentieth century.49 Only five American soldiers from the 145th Field Artillery were killed in battle but fourteen died from influenza. More than half of the U.S. soldiers who died in Europe succumbed to the virus.50 Chaplain B. H Roberts was deeply concerned about “his boys.” One of his associates wrote:

The Chaplain almost lived in the hospital wards. Day and night I would take Brother Roberts in my motorcycle side car and go to the detention wards and hospitals to visit the men. He was unafraid of the vicious malady. He never hesitated to go into the sick rooms and

49Bosco, World War I, 104.
50Richard Roberts, “The Utah National Guard in the Great War,” 329. The five U.S. fatalities probably volunteered to fight with French units.
never seemed to worry about the risks of getting the disease himself. Many times, especially when visiting the Latter-day Saints, he would administer to them and the blessings Brother Roberts would give were tremendous and would kindle encouragement and hope [in] the men.51

Roberts forwarded the personal effects of those who died during the epidemic, Mormon or not, to their bereaved families and wrote compassionate letters.52 Gordon B. Hinckley at age eight saw his father weep for the first time he could remember in late November 1918, when Roberts's letter told them that the eldest son, Stanford, in Bordeaux, France, with the 145th, had died of influenza. It was a consolation to the family that Roberts had comforted Stanford's last hours.53

After the war's close, Roberts summarized the sacrifices of the Utah men, including the flu victims:

[They] have made just as complete a sacrifice of their lives to their country as any who have fallen or shall fall in the battle line. They have faced a condition as deadly to them as charging through bursting shells, or the patter of machine guns or rifle bullets. The miasmas of the dread disease proved for them as deadly as the poisonous German gas or waves of shells; and their restless suffering from fevered tortured bodies and congested lungs was as pitiful as any death from wounds of bayonet thrusts or shrapnel rents.

. . . The heroism of the soldier consists in the fact that he offers his life to his country, with full interest to meet whatever fate may befall him. It is not his prerogative to choose his place in the line of battle, or to say when or how or where or in what manner he will fall, if fall he must.54

After about nine days in the temporary Revigny hospital, Leland was taken by ambulance to a Red Cross train, then transported to a hospital further from the western front. He became well enough to get dressed and help “Doc with his books” (18 Dec. 1918).

51“Lieutenant Wesden,” quoted in Madsen, Defender of the Faith, 312.
52Ibid.
His best friend from home, Printess Fitzgerald, was also in that hospital. One day, without permission, Leland sold a bartered Boche officer’s helmet for 75 francs, walked with Printess to Pouilly, and rented a room in a hotel. They were enjoying steak and potatoes when some military police arrested them. The MPs confiscated their remaining money but humanely allowed them to finish supper and sleep in the hotel room (19 Dec. 1918).

The next morning, Leland and Printess were returned to the hospital and placed in the brig, but Leland, who relapsed a few hours later, ended up back in the hospital ward (19-21 Dec. 1918).

Leland was therefore not with the 145th Artillery Units and many of the 40th Division when they left France on 24 December.

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55 Printess Fitzgerald, Draper, Utah, Letter to Enoch Jorgensen, 26 August 1921, confirms that he and Leland were in the hospital together.
1918. Their troop train arrived in Ogden on 17 January 1919. Because of the influenza epidemic, officials tried to effect a compromise: the troops could march several blocks in a square that would bring them back to the station. Civilians could line the parade route but not gather at the station. Neither the soldiers nor civilians could speak and the soldiers could not break ranks. But “the jubilation of the crowd in Ogden made it difficult to keep relatives and friends from meeting the soldiers at the depot, and touching homecoming scenes were left uninterrupted,” recorded Richard Roberts. The soldiers then went to Logan, where they were mustered out.56

Newspapers up and down the state headlined their return.57 Enoch and Anna Jorgensen would certainly have followed the news stories with breathless attention, assuming that Leland would be with his unit, since he was anticipating embarkation soon.58 However, they had not heard from him since the “Verdun” letter in early December, and they were devastated when the unit returned without him. On 27 March 1919, Enoch wrote to his absent son: “We have no idea where you are and it is hardly thinkable that this [letter] will reach you, but I write just to take a chance. We have not heard from you for weeks. The papers report that the 40th Division is all in America, and no word from you.” Printess Fitzgerald’s parents had received a letter on 28 February 1919, but Leland was not with him. In the chaos of fluid movement immediately after peace, postal services were severely disrupted, and no one would have known this better than Leland, since that had been his assignment.59 Enoch’s

57See, for example, front page stories in Salt Lake Tribune, 17, 18 January 1919; Salt Lake Herald, 18 January 1919; Deseret Evening News 17, 18 January 1919.
58On 28 November 1918, he had commented: “The paper says all skeleton divisions will be among the first to return so we have some hopes of getting there soon. We received orders today to prepare to move on short order notice so we’re going somewhere. Here’s hoping it is to an embarkation port.” On 5 December 1918, he reported, “Today’s paper states that the major units of the 40th have been ordered home so I suppose the 145th will soon be there. I don’t think it will be long until we will all be through. Some of the fellows are signing up to stay over and clean up [on the German/Russian front], but me for the Rockies.”
59Bosco, World War I, 104. The division commander, Major General
The envelope was marked “return to sender” by the American Expeditionary Forces c/o Post-master, New York.

On 5 January, as Leland’s unit arrived in New York City, he was being released from the hospital in France. Without attachment to a unit, he was assigned to one of the hastily erected camps with soldiers from all units, where they suffered through the winter in tents, with inadequate fuel and blankets. Leland was assigned a departure date from Bordeaux on 5 April but allowed to do as he pleased until the time passed. He stayed in the camp no more than one night. On 6 January, he reached Paris and took a room at the YMCA.

Leland took complete advantage of his unsupervised three months in France to become a dedicated sightseer in Paris, Toulouse, and Bordeaux. He visited museums, castles, and cathedrals, attended many operas, and took lessons at the YMCA in commercial law and French, beginning in late March. As this schedule shows, whatever his physical ailments, he certainly had enough health to have written a note to his family, and it seems incredible that he would not have realized their intense anxiety. They also had no way to inform him that his grandfather, Ole H. Berg, died unexpectedly at age seventy-nine on 23 February 1919.

Frederick S. Strong, sent Leland and presumably other members of the unit, a letter of commendation, written May 1919: “I believe that the Postal service of the 40th Division was the most efficient of any in the American Expeditionary Forces during the six months preceding the Armistice.” Lieutenant S. L. Harris, who forwarded this letter to Leland, included a personal note: “Today as you are receiving your Honorable Discharge from the Army of the United States, with a record unmarred by any unworthy act, let me thank you personally for the splendid work which you have performed.”

Bosco, World War I, 104.

On 17 April 1919, Leland praised the “YMCA, Salvation Army, but best of all the true and best friend of all, the Red Cross.”

Leland’s commanding officer signed this permission slip for the YMCA director for Leland to take classes there, 17 March 1919.

Berg, then chair of the business committee of Provo’s Bonneville Ward, was “directing the floor work in the new chapel” when he caught a cold which developed into “uremic poisoning.” He was “not thought to be seriously ill” and entertained two nephews from Idaho, Hosea and Henry
Was he involved with a woman who absorbed his attention? It seems unlikely. In addition to Joseph F. Smith's cautions about remaining pure, B. H. Roberts lectured his troops in Liverpool to retain their commitment to the "sacred order of love and marriage." According to his biographer, he warned them that camp followers would try to entice them to profligacy but that their duty and their privilege was to remain pure, no matter how fierce the pressure or searing the loneliness. He assured them that Christ could bid unworthy passions to depart, and would empower them for worthy love here or beyond the grave. He made the image of such love live, not just by moral arguments but by his testimony of their filial relationship with God the Father.  

Leland's diary, even during his unsupervised travels between January and April 1919, includes no record of contacts with French girls that might reasonably be interpreted as sexual, even though he knew a French girl who hinted broadly at marriage. His papers include one letter from an Andrée LeVielle, written on 8 January 1921, over a year after he returned home. She lived in La Guerche, where Leland had spent five weeks before the Armistice and where he returned for a one-day visit after he left the hospital. Andrée's address is in his diary along with addresses of several other single women from La Guerche. He also carried her address in the leather wallet he used in France. The letter, the only one to survive, compliments his growing proficiency in French: "My congratulations, there were no mistakes, and I can see that you have made progress." She baldly suggests, "It would be nice if you would return quickly . . . and get married here" like other American soldiers. In her concluding paragraph, she sends "all my respects" to his parents and leaves him, "sending you my good friendship and good kisses, Affectionately . . . " (then in English), "I love you." Since she uses the formal pronoun (vous) rather than the intimate (tu) and signs her Berg, at his home on Sunday afternoon, After they left, he took a bath, lay down, "was immediately seized with a sinking spell and died before medical aid could be summoned." "Ole H. Berg," Deseret Evening News, 24 February 1919, B-3; Jenkins, The Biography of Ole Hendriksen Berg, 19.  
64Madsen, Defender of the Faith, 308.  
65The wallet, now in my possession, was returned to Enoch Jorgensen by the Berg Mortuary in Provo after Leland's death.
This rain-blurred view shows the U.S. Sierra leaving the docks at Bordeaux. Leland was among the returning soldiers. The journey began 5 April 1919, and Leland was discharged on 9 May.

full name, it seems unlikely that a serious courtship was involved.66 Nor did Leland seem likely to find pick-up women. In fact, this Utah boy encountering the high life sounds endearingly naive. On 6 February 1919, he “wandered around Toulouse and admired the very beautiful women.” On 20 April 1919 in New York City, he and some buddies “took a ride along Riverside Drive. Went to a girly club for supper.” His comment was an enthusiastic but unsophisticated “Oh boy! Show and China Town afterward.” Four days later, he may have returned to the same “girly club for supper. Evening went to Winter Gardens Theater playing ‘Monte Cristo Jr.’ It all hit the pocket book hard but, oh boy . . . were that I were a millionaire. What then and Oh boy!!”

On 5 April 1919, he boarded the U.S. transport Sierra for New

66Andrée LaVielle, Letter to Leland Jorgensen, 8 January 1921, translated by Milton Grover, a friend who taught French in Saratoga, California. Both the holograph and the translation are in my possession.
York City, then traveled by train to Camp Russell in Wyoming where he was discharged on 9 May 1919. He had made his last diary entry on 30 April near the Azores.\textsuperscript{67} There is no contemporary record of whether he had alerted his family to his arrival nor of the greeting that awaited him; mail service was still chaotic and unreliable.

There is evidence, however, that he was in ill health. On 31 May 1919, the family physician, Dr. S. C. B. Sorenson of Midvale, noted on an official army questionnaire that Leland “suffered from pleurisy, pain in chest, serious loss of weight and weakness.” He answered, “Yes” to the question: “In your opinion, is his disability traceable to service, or was it aggravated thereby?”\textsuperscript{68} Enoch Jorgensen spent the next few years trying to obtain some compensation for Leland. In 1921, Enoch wrote to Senator Reed Smoot:

Referring to the report of the Medical Division . . . : “Evidence in file insufficient to connect the disability (deafness) with the Service. Hypermetropia not due to service. Pleurisy, chronic, not due to service.” The report shows he has these ailments, had them in marked degree when he returned from France, yet claims the illnesses are not due to the service. Is it consistent that a partially deaf, partially blind, chronic pleuritic should be permitted to serve in the army? . . . He was physically sound, a star athlete at the U. of U. and at Camp Kearney. He came home with his sight and hearing greatly impaired and his lungs in such a condition that he has never had a well day since. . . . He was strong and well before he went into the service. Our family physician, Dr. S. C. B. Sorens[o]n . . . thinks Leland has chronic rheumatism in his chest brought on by exposure and a severe case of pneumonia superinduced by Influenza while in France."\textsuperscript{69}

\textsuperscript{67}Leland Maeser Jorgensen, Discharge information, World War I Service Records of Utah, FHL #485,741.
\textsuperscript{68}Signed Physician’s Statement, Treasury Department Bureau of War Risk insurance form, 31 May 1919.
\textsuperscript{69}Enoch Jorgensen, Letter to Reed Smoot, 14 September 1921, holograph in my possession. According to Merrill, \textit{Reed Smoot}, 202, “Smoot was a magnificent errand boy for his constituents. Any who wrote a request to him received an early answer which indicated a futile or successful effort on his part to carry out the assignment.” In response to Enoch’s letter, Smoot contacted Leon Frazer, Acting Director, United States Veterans’ Bureau, who had determined that Leland’s disability was not service related. Letters in my possession. He was apparently unable to reverse the ruling.
Affidavits from friends and civil leaders testified that they knew Jorgensen as an excellent student and athlete before he volunteered for the army and that he returned home with his health shattered.\(^{70}\)

Without a way to repair the damaged lungs, Leland’s doctors advised him to get plenty of fresh air and oxygen. He returned to the University of Utah, purchased a Ford, and worked at a series of part-time jobs to pay his college expenses.\(^{71}\) According to the 1920 federal census, enumerated in January, he was living at home, age twenty-three, a student and a salesman for the woolen mills.\(^{72}\) By autumn that year, he was working for the university’s registrar. He registered sophomore Anne Molyneau Howard, who won the

\(^{70}\)The affidavits are all addressed “To Whom It May Concern” and were all created 24–29 August 1921. Printess Fitzgerald states that he has known Leland for thirteen years, that Leland was a “Prominent athlete” in high school, and that they were together in several hospitals in France. John W. Clarke of Grantsville, who also spent a year in France, states that he has known Leland for seven years, that Leland was an athlete in high school and college, but that he has suffered from continuing illness since his military service. Elmer D. Charter of Sandy also states that he has known Leland for seven years, that he had excellent health and was a foot racer before entering the service, and that he is now ill much of the time. Sandy Mayor T. F. Brickley affirms that he has known Leland for thirteen years, that he was a healthy, robust young man, and that “he is entitled to any compensation he may apply for.” D. C. Jensen, Superintendent of the Jordan School District and the Jorgensens’ neighbor, states that he has employed Leland, and that Leland’s bodily health and vigor have been impaired. All affidavits are in my possession. The Jordan High School yearbooks (1910–16) show Leland as a member of the football and basketball teams, the school orchestra, Athletic Dramatic Club, debate club, and as business manager of the newspaper staff. Photocopies in my possession. Leland also played football as a University of Utah freshman.

\(^{71}\)Riverton Motor Company, Receipt for Leland’s payment of $586.54 for a 1922 Ford touring car, in my possession.

\(^{72}\)U.S. Census, 1920, District 51, Sandy, Salt Lake County, Utah, 28–29 January 1920, film #18,211,864, Family History Library. Leland was also listed as a census enumerator for District 52. According to Leland Howard Jorgensen, “History of Leland, Anne, and Arthur,” 33, Leland sold for the Logan Knitting and Woolen Company with Matthew Cowley, later an apostle, visiting farms and ranches in Idaho, Wyoming, and Montana.
A honeymoon snapshot of Anne Howard Jorgensen, toweling her long hair dry with her feet in the river.

“Old Fashioned Girl” beauty contest the following spring. Given credit for his French language, he spent 1919-20 as teacher and principal in a small school house near the mouth of Little Cottonwood Canyon.

In June 1922, Leland and Anne graduated from the University of Utah, married in the Salt Lake Temple on 30 August 1922, and spent their honeymoon camping in Provo Canyon. Although his illness unfitted him for strenuous labor, he followed his doctors’ advice on outdoor activities. In the fall of 1922, they each accepted a faculty position at Ricks College in Rexburg, Idaho. During summer vacations, Leland worked as a wilderness guide in Utah, Idaho, and Wyoming.

By 1924, Leland was first counselor in the Rexburg Ward bishopric and chair of the English Department. In November, Leland published an article about the college’s Leadership Week. On 1

Ibid., 105.

Leland M. Jorgensen, “Ricks College Leadership Week” Improvement Era, November 1924, 558-59. The conference was held 12-16 February 1924. The photograph includes Leland and such participants as Franklin S. Harris, Joseph F. Smith, Jr., Oscar A. Kirkham, George S.
November 1924, Leland (“Lee”) Howard Jorgensen was born. His twenty-eight-year-old father blessed him the first week in December. Leland told his wife and her mother that he had achieved his life’s mission: he had been ordained to the Melchizedek Priesthood, endowed, sealed to his wife, had a son, and was serving in a bishopric. This statement acquired new significance to them only three weeks later on 29 December 1924, when Leland accidentally snagged the trigger on his shotgun and died instantly while duck hunting. According to the local paper, his bishop, William Ovard, who was in the hunting party with his two sons, telephoned for a coroner and undertaker. The accident occurred in a moment of fatigue and inattention:

Returning from a long tramp [Leland] shot a duck in the stream and reloaded both barrels of his gun, which was a 16 gauge hammerless. . . . The boys put their guns in the back of the car. Mr. Jorgensen got into the front seat and slid over to the wheel with his feet toward the door which is on the right side. In getting in he drew his gun in after him, holding it by the barrel. He turned to the right of the car at the back. “I am all in.” Just as he finished the remark his gun discharged, the whole load entered his left cheek and lodged in his head, only a few shots striking elsewhere on his face. His head dropped forward and he remained motionless in an upright posture.

The coroner’s inquest rendered a verdict of “death through the accidental discharge of his own gun.”

Anne’s father, Robert Howard, and Enoch Jorgensen immediately hurried to Idaho. The hunting party had been riding in Leland’s Ford, which Anne refused to look at again, so Enoch cleaned it, removed the contents, and arranged for its sale. There were funerals in both Rexburg and Sandy, followed by a memorial service at Ricks when the students returned from winter break. He

Romney, Levi Edgar Young, Adam S. Bennion, Melvin J. Ballard, and Dilworth Walker.

75 My conversations with Anne Jorgensen, and her mother, Margaret Howard.


was buried on 1 January 1925 in the Provo Cemetery, with a full military ceremony under the direction of Col. Frederick Jorgensen (not a relative), former adjutant general of Utah.

Anne took her baby son and returned to her parents' home in Salt Lake City, where her grief deepened until it seemed unbearable. Then, as she later told her son, Leland appeared at her bedside. He sat on the bed causing the mattress to settle and creak. He took her hand and firmly admonished her not to grieve. He promised that she and her son would be cared for. He explained that he was where he should be and that he was happy. He added he had been called on a mission to carry the gospel to those spirits who had not had the opportunity to receive it in mortal life. According to Anne, Leland remained with her, comforting her, for a very long time. The next morning, her nineteen-year-old brother, John, told her, "Anne, Leland was with you last night, I know. I heard his voice coming from your room."  

There is no doubt that Leland's death diminished the health of his parents. Three and a half years later, on 4 June 1928, Enoch Jorgensen died alone of a heart attack in a motel in Santa Barbara, California, after a visit with his eldest son, Berg. Anna, who had taken to her bed after Leland's death, was too ill to attend her husband's funeral and died five weeks later on 19 July 1928. Daughter Ruth Jorgensen Morrell came from Hawaii to help with the family business and returned to Honolulu bringing her teenage sister Juanita and the box of documents about Leland that Lee and I later retrieved from her cedar chest.

For our family as a result of Leland's death and his visitation to Anne, Joseph F. Smith’s Vision of the Redemption of the Dead, received 3 October 1918 and now part of canonized scripture, has a tender personal meaning. Joseph F. Smith affirmed, "I have en-

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78 My husband Lee heard this story before 1930 from his mother, his grandmother, Margaret Emma Howard, and his Uncle John. His mother told me the story some years later. I recorded the information in my journal on 6 April 1976. Anne married Arthur Fletcher Gebhart of Salt Lake City on 10 July 1937. They had no children.

79 The text of this vision was accepted unanimously by the First Presidency, the Twelve, and the Patriarch as revelation on 31 October 1918, published in the Improvement Era, December 1918, 166-70, in Joseph F. Smith, Gospel Doctrine: Sermons and Writings (1939; reprinted Salt Lake City:
deavored from my youth up to be a peacemaker.” Thus, in his “war conference” talk, he spoke passionately about his sons: “I love my sons. They have grown up with me. They are mine!” Still he “would rather see them [his sons and the other young Mormon soldiers] perish in defending the cause of righteousness, a thousand times, while they are firm in the faith.” He wistfully later asked, “What does it matter to me what may happen to me? I am always ready, if I am in this frame of understanding, mind, and conduct. It doesn’t matter at all.”

In January 1918, his oldest son, twenty-nine-year-old Hyrum Mack Smith, became ill and died. An apostle, the younger Smith was not in the military. Grief-stricken, President Smith lamented: “My soul is rent asunder. My heart is broken … O my sweet son.” Over the next few months, he was confined to his home by increasing ill health but simultaneously began to feel “a particular susceptibility to the spirit.” On 3 October 1918, he declared seeing in vision that the “faithful elders of this dispensation, when they depart from mortal life, continue their labors in preaching the gospel of repentance and redemption, through the sacrifice of the Only Begotten Son of God, among those who are in darkness and under the bondage of sin in the great world of the spirits of the dead” (D&C 138:57).

The First Presidency, Twelve, and Church Patriarch unanimously accepted this vision as revelation on 31 October 1918, just as the 145th’s young Mormons were moving forward to join the fighting in the Meuse-Argonne, a movement fortuitously stopped by the armistice. The influenza epidemic had already reached Utah. Dr. T. B. Bourne, Utah state health officer, banned all gatherings, including October general conference. Thus, there was no funeral.


80Smith, Gospel Doctrine, 406.

81Smith, Juvenile Instructor 52 (August 1917), 404; “A Message to the Soldier Boys,” 826-27.

82Teachings of the Presidents of the Church: Joseph F. Smith (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1998), 408.

83Roberts, Comprehensive History, 477; Teachings of the Presidents of the Church: Joseph F. Smith, xxiii.

when President Smith died on 19 November 1918, eight days after the Armistice. Leland Maeser Jorgensen arrived home five months later, and met his death five years later, returning to comfort his wife with the message that he was among those preaching “in the great world of the spirits of the dead.”

A PERSONAL CONCLUSION

On 17 May 1976, I was reading aloud to Lee from some clippings a relative had sent us about his father. Lee commented wistfully, “I wish I could have talked to my father just once. I wish I knew what he was thinking before he died.”

I think Lee’s father was allowed to answer his son’s question. Later that evening, an old brown pamphlet between some textbooks caught my eye and I pulled it out. It was a stained and tattered copy of John A. Widtsoe’s Rational Theology (1915). I recognized it as being an item Aunt Ruth had mailed us earlier that year. Across the top was a faded signature “Enoch Jorgensen.” On the front, in Leland’s distinct handwriting, was “Leland M. Jorgensen, Mail Det. Hdqts 40th Div. A.E.F.” It was obviously a father’s gift that Leland had taken with him to France. The pages were stuck together, but I persisted and a slip of paper with a handwritten statement fell out. I took it into the family room where Lee was still reading, commenting, “I think I have found something from your father.” I pointed out a tiny single hole that pierced the pamphlet and the handwritten note completely. Was it a wormhole? Puzzled, Lee examined it carefully. Other holes pierced the edges, some going in at an angle, then coming out through the binding. Quietly Lee said, “These holes were made by shotgun pellets. This must have been in the Ford when my father died.” We think that Leland was carrying this book, with the inserted quotation, in his hunting vest pocket when he was killed.

The message on the slip of paper was also in his handwriting, seemingly an answer to Lee’s desire to know what his father was thinking:

I feel in myself the future life. I am like a forest once cut down; the new shoots are stronger than ever. I am rising, I know, toward

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86 Jorgensen, Leland, Anne, and Arthur, 49. Several gun experts, including Henry Barker of Saratoga, Utah, have verified that the holes are consistent with shotgun pellets.
the sky. The sunshine is on my head. The earth gives me its generous sap, but heaven lights me with the reflection of unknown worlds.

You say the soul is nothing but the resultant of the bodily powers. Why then is my soul more luminous when my bodily powers begin to fail? The nearer I approach the end, the plainer I hear around me the immortal symphonies of the worlds which invite me. It is marvelous yet simple. It is a fairy tale, and it is history.

When I go down to my grave I can say I have finished my day's work, but cannot say I have finished my life. My work will begin again the next morning. The tomb is not a blind alley; it is a thoroughfare. It closes on the twilight, it opens on the dawn. —Victor Hugo

87I have not located this quotation's original, although I have found excerpts from it in several locations, all identifying Victor Hugo as the author. For example, Virginia Ely, ed., I Quote (Westwood, N.J.: Fleming H. Revell, 1947), 174-75: "Winter is on my head but eternal spring is in my heart. The nearer I approach the end the plainer I hear around me, the immortal symphonies of the world which invite me. . . . When I go down to the grave I can say, like so many others, I have finished my life. My day's work will begin the next morning. My tomb is not a blind alley. It is a thoroughfare. It closes in the twilight to open in the dawn. —Victor Hugo." Whether Leland found this passage in France or in the United States, and whether it was already translated, whether he had it translated, or translated it himself with his newly acquired French, is not known.
NEW DIMENSIONS OF DEVOTION: WALTER KRAUSE

Donald Q. Cannon

GERMAN LATTER-DAY SAINT WALTER KRAUSE was a man who pursued a steady course in a quiet but unwavering commitment to living a profoundly Mormon life while some of the most significant political events in the twentieth century swirled around him.

• Born before World War I, he experienced Hitler’s regime as a young father.
• He dutifully served in the army of the Third Reich in World War II.
• He was probably the first Latter-day Saint in Germany to serve as a missionary after the war.
• President Spencer W. Kimball ordained him a patriarch, the first in Eastern Europe.
• He served in the presidency of the Dresden Mission.
• As a home teacher, he has probably logged the world’s record in miles.

His life could have been very different, but he shaped new dimensions of devotion because of his commitment to Mormonism.

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As a result, in the midst of political and economic chaos and faced with both personal and social suffering, he created an alternate reality for himself, a gospel kingdom of peace and loving service.

Walter Krause was born in Schneidemuehl, Germany, on 5 July 1909. Today Schneidemuehl, called Pila, is located in Poland where political boundaries have bounced back and forth like a ping pong ball, inflicting great uncertainty and suffering on people of the region. Walter’s parents, Richard Krause and Ida Hoeft Krause, belonged to the Lutheran Church. Walter, the only son, was the second of their four children. His father made a living by constructing wells and fountains. Because Walter’s father was not a good parent, his grandmother helped raise him.

For Walter, a life turning point came at age fifteen when he became convinced of the truthfulness of Mormonism. Determined to be baptized, he did not let the opposition of his parents deter him. When the date of his baptism came, he was sick in bed, but got up and went out into a cold February night to be baptized in a small pond where the ice had had to be cut away to allow the ordinance. His desire to fellowship with other Church members was so strong that he walked and hitchhiked 186 miles from Schneidemuehl to Berlin to attend a conference in 1928.1

What prompted such devotion? As a boy, Walter loved books.
Donal Q. Cannon/Walter Krause

An avid collector, he also read voraciously. Thus, when a German Book of Mormon came into his hands from a neighbor, Emil Wirkus, he took the time to read it, his intellectual curiosity turning to spiritual challenge. About the same time he met Gustav Weller. Weller had received aviation training in Schneidemuehl during World War I, then took up residence in the town after the war. Here he was converted by Mormon missionaries. Weller and Walter worked together in a hardware store, and frequently discussed Mormonism. The process of conversion lasted several months, and Walter did not make his decision hastily.

At the time, Germany was struggling in the aftermath of its overwhelming defeat in World War I (1914-18). Runaway inflation had made the economy chaotic. Germans also struggled with the democratic features of the Weimar Republic, imposed on them at war's end, and new to them. In this period of uncertainty, paradoxically, Church growth was unprecedented. There was a marked increase in baptisms—between a thousand and two thousand each year. The number of local missionaries grew, and Germany had one of the highest mission field populations in the entire Church—more than 11,000 members by 1928.

In the early 1930s after Walter Krause turned twenty, he was called as one of these local missionaries. He said it was a Stadtmission (lit., city-mission) or something like a contemporary stake mission.

1 Matthew Heiss and Gerry Avant, "Faith Sustains German Couple," Church News, 11 July 1992, 4-5.

2 Gustav Weller later immigrated to Utah where he founded Salt Lake City's largest independent bookstore, now Sam Weller's Books. Sam Weller, interviewed by Don Cannon, 16 March 2000, Salt Lake City. Blake Miller, interviewed by Don Cannon, 7 March 2000, Salt Lake City, is a cousin of Edith and Walter Krause; he provided information about Walter's conversion. Several LDS families from Schneidemuehl immigrated to Utah: Krause, Kindt, Weller, and Sonnenberg. Unless otherwise noted, I conducted all interviews and notes of all these are in my possession.

He continued earning his living as a carpenter, but unlike a stake missionary, he also proselyted in places beyond his home town, notably Frankfurt an der Oder and Fuerstenwalde. The mission call was issued by an American missionary, an Elder Mabey (most likely Rendell N. Mabey). He also served with American missionary companions from time to time. His formal mission lasted about a year, but he continued to visit the branches where he had worked for five or six years.4

On the eve of World War II, the American elders were evacuated from all of Europe, including Germany. Walter was saddened by the departure of the missionaries from America but was encouraged by their promise, “We must go, but we will return.”5

Through his association with Church members, Walter Krause met Margareta Leibelt, also a Latter-day Saint. They were married in 1932 and had four children: Margit, Marianne, Renate, and Helaman. Krause gave this son his Book of Mormon name purposely to prompt people to ask, “Where did that name come from?” Krause was always happy to answer the question and move quickly into a gospel discussion.6 Although devoted to his family, Krause was frequently away from home while serving as a missionary, both before and after the war. This strain only intensified during World War II when he was in the army, assigned to the Russian front. The marriage was yet another casualty of the war, and they were divorced in the early 1950s. Walter said that he did not blame Margareta and recognized that he had been away from home too much.7 On 28 December 1957 he married Edith Schade, a thirty-eight-year-old school teacher, who had never married. The two had met while Walter served as president of the Mecklenburg District (1947-57). Edith had

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4Walter Erich Krause and Ruth Lea Edith Schade Krause, Oral History, Interviewed by Matthew K. Heiss, 1991, Salt Lake City, 10, 25, 29, James Moyle Oral History Program, Archives, Family and Church History Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter LDS Church Archives). This interview was not yet available when I did the research for the original form of this paper, presented at the Mormon History Association annual meeting in 2000. This information has helped to substantially upgrade the material.

5Quoted in Heiss and Avant, “Faith Sustains German Couple,” 5.

6Miller, Interview, 7 March 2000.

7Krause, Oral History, 24-30.
also served in a number of Church positions which brought them into frequent contact. She and Walter had no children, but Edith maintained a positive and close relationship with the children, who were teenagers and young adults at the time of their marriage.8

In 1940 while thirty-one-year-old Walter, Margareta, and their children were living in Frankfurt an der Oder, he was drafted into the army. At that point, Germany had invaded France, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg. By the year’s end, the Nazis controlled all of these countries. Conscription was universal for all able-bodied German men, and Krause, though he certainly did not volunteer, did not resist being drafted. He was initially assigned to the military police, but his officer recognized Krause’s repugnance for violence and his lack of comradeship for most of the other MPs. He had Krause reassigned as a cook, an opportunity the young Mormon seized, even requesting that his wife send him a cookbook. As a result, even though he served on the Russian front, he says, “I never shed any blood.” He received a knee wound that forced him to walk with a cane for a time. When the German Army offered him the Iron Cross for his military service, he said: “I refused to accept it.” He knew that Jews were being transported and perhaps exterminated. However, he personally felt no animosity toward the Jews and rejected the notion, then popular in Germany that Christ was not a Jew. Sorrowfully, he commented that even some members of the Church became enemies of the Jews and accepted the Nazi position that they were an inferior race.9

At the war’s end, Krause was temporarily interned as a prisoner of war before being allowed to return to his family in the summer of 1945.10 Then Walter, Margareta, and their children lived in a camp provided by the Church in Cottbus, near the Polish border.

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Walter served as branch president for Church members located in or near Cottbus. Only a few months later, in November 1945, Richard Ranglack, the district president, called him to serve as a missionary. Despite the hardship to him and his family, Krause, a recently released prisoner of war, undernourished, walking with a limp, and recently united with his wife and children, responded, "If the Lord needs me I’ll go." In accepting that call, he probably became the first native German missionary called after World War II. His description of the first part of his mission reveals his willingness to sacrifice:

I prayed about it and set out on the first of December 1945, with twenty marks in my pocket, a piece of dry bread, and a bottle of tea. One brother had given me a winter coat left over from a son who had fallen in the war. Another brother, who was a shoemaker, gave me a pair of shoes. So, [with these and] with my two shirts, two handkerchiefs, and two pairs of stockings, I left on my mission.

Part of his assignment was to bring order to the Leipzig Branch, then racked by dissension among members. During one meeting with all the members, Walter recited a homely poem:

An oxen went before a wagon
Loaded with manure and full.
He complained to all and sundry,
That it was too much to pull.

Then the people all around him
Said he had no right to moan
If the load seemed double heavy,
The manure was his own.

He with patience had to bear it
When the people did recall

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11Edith Krause, e-mail, 5 November 2001.
If he made so much manure,  
Whose fault was it after all? 14

He then asked the members of the branch why they made so much manure. His tactic of handling a difficult situation with humor helped to solve the problem without alienating anyone.

Krause worked hard at gathering Saints into branches in Demmin, Wolgast, Neubrandenburg, and Prenzlau. Since few railroads had survived the war, he often walked as much as fifty miles between branches, usually without a companion because there were so few missionaries. Once, while walking from Prenzlau to Cammim, he struggled on during a blinding blizzard and came within a few inches of a large hole in the ice which had been cut for fishing. If he had slipped into the water the weight of his pack would have probably held him under. He regarded his safe passage as “a miracle.” 15

This three-year mission resulted in the conversion of many new members and the firm establishment or reestablishment of eight branches of the Church. His missionary service thus made a great contribution to the growth of the Church in post-war Germany.

Although this was the last of his full-time missions (government restrictions in East Germany did not allow proselytizing after 1949), Walter Krause considered himself to be called on a life-long mission. Cousin Blake Miller says that Walter had a very aggressive missionary approach, which could be termed the “five minute plan.” Within the first five minutes of meeting a new acquaintance, he lets them know he’s LDS. Within the next five minutes, he assesses their interest in the gospel. To implement this five-minute plan, notes Miller, one must have faith, a strong testimony, and courage. Krause has all of these qualities in great abundance. 16

As an example of his enthusiasm and direct approach, he taught Max Zander of Wolgast the gospel. Zander desired baptism but hesitated because it was winter and the baptism would occur in the Peene River, then partially frozen. Krause responded: “If you have faith the water will not harm you. And if you don’t have faith, then you won’t . . . be baptized in summer either.” 17 Zander was baptized on 14 December 1946.

14Ibid., 56.
15Ibid., 52.
16Miller, Interview, 15 November 1999.
Walter Krause also shaped new dimensions of devotion as a ward teacher (later home teacher). The mission presidency assigned him to visit hard-to-reach members and keep in touch with them. Janos Denndörfer, a Hungarian, had joined the Church in 1912, while working in Germany. He returned to his native country and was essentially cut off from the Church for over fifty years. He prayed, studied the scriptures, raised his children as Mormons, and scrupulously set his tithing aside. Krause learned about him from the mission president and made a home teaching visit to him in 1967—the second time Denndörfer received official visitors from the Church.\(^\text{18}\)

In 1973, Walter and Edith Krause received rare permission from the East German government to attend April general conference in Salt Lake City. Because of Krause's diligence as a home teacher, Percy Fetzer, who had served as mission president in Berlin (1960-63) and later as a Regional Representative, invited him to address the Regional Representatives seminar. Fetzer translated as Brother Krause explained: "The home teaching work is the leverage or the crowbar, if you please, to raise the level of performance in all areas of the gospel kingdom. The work of home teaching in our estimation is one of the greatest responsibilities. A home teacher and his home must always sustain the sunshine."\(^\text{19}\)

On this same visit, Walter Krause received another significant calling—his ordination to the office of patriarch. When they met Harold B. Lee, then Church President, Elder Thomas S. Monson, who was present, recorded in his diary, "The First Presidency was

\(^\text{17}\)Wolfgang Zander, "God's Hands in Divided Germany," in *Pioneers in Every Land*, edited by Bruce Van Orden, B. Brent Smith, and Everett Smith Jr. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1997), 150. Wolfgang is Max Zander's son.


\(^\text{19}\)Walter Krause, Address on Home Teaching, April 1973, Regional Representatives Seminar Addresses, CR 298, fd. 47, LDS Church Archives.
most impressed with the spirituality of this couple.”20 Under Lee’s
direction, Spencer W. Kimball, president of the Quorum of the
Twelve, ordained Krause a high priest and also patriarch. Krause
told Kimball, “You have just ordained a very sick man.” Kimball then
also gave him a healing blessing. When they met again with Lee, the
Church president told Walter Krause that he would live to give more
than a thousand patriarchal blessings. He submitted his 1,108th
blessing to the Church Historical Department in December 1993.21

Ordinarily, patriarchs are called to serve in a specific stake but
Kimball’s ordination specified that he would be “patriarch to all
worthy Saints behind the Iron Curtain.”22 Krause, whose health had
improved after Kimball’s blessing, set out on extensive travels that
took him throughout East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hun-
gary, Romania, and Bulgaria. He was accompanied by Edith, who
recorded and transcribed each blessing.

Krause gave his first blessing to Elfriede Pawlowski of Dresden.
In her personal account, she recalls, “The joy we had was great” when
the members in the Dresden Mission learned of Krause’s ordination.
She wondered who might be the first person to receive a patriarchal
blessing and was fairly certain that he had a long list of people who
desired a patriarchal blessing, but “I hoped in my heart that I could
be one of them.” While attending a conference in Neubrandenburg,
Walter Krause told her that she would be the first member to receive
a patriarchal blessing. On 22 June 1973, the day of the blessing, she
recalled:

It was a beautiful summer morning, and I wanted to prepare
myself spiritually so that I would be in harmony with the Spirit of the
Lord. I had fasted and prayed, and I wanted to be alone, but since
there was so much activity going on at the branch meeting place, in
connection with the work week, I went into the woods across from
the chapel. I thought about the Prophet Joseph Smith, who had also
gone into the woods to pray for a special reason. It was very quiet,
and there were no other people there. I found a suitable place to

20 Thomas S. Monson, Journal, 3 April 1973, quoted in his Faith
Rewarded: A Personal Account of Prophetic Promises to East German Saints (Salt
21 Monson, Faith Rewarded, 21-22, 152; Heiss and Avant, “Faith
Sustains German Couple,” 5; Heiss, Interviewed, 16 January 2003.
22 Heiss and Avant, “Faith Sustains German Couple,” 4-5.
kneel and poured out my heart to the Lord. I asked him for his forgiveness and prayed for worthiness to receive the patriarchal blessing.\textsuperscript{23}

She rose from her knees, her heart filled with peace, sat on a bench, and wept for joy. Even before the original time appointed, both Krause and Pawlowski were directed by the Spirit to meet and begin the blessing.\textsuperscript{24}

In the fall, Walter Krause returned to Hungary and gave Janos Denndörfer his patriarchal blessing, promising him that he would go to the temple. In 1974, at age eighty, Denndörfer was allowed to go to Switzerland. At the Swiss Temple, he was endowed and performed vicarious ordinances for 785 ancestors.\textsuperscript{25}

An example of Krause’s humility as a patriarch is a story he himself tells. When one young man came seeking a patriarchal blessing, Krause felt that he was too casually dressed and that this outward sloppiness denoted an inward lack of preparation. He ordered the boy to leave, but then prayed about his action, remembered that the boy’s father was not a very good parent, reconsidered, and invited the boy to return. When Krause welcomed him and gave him his patriarchal blessing, the young man wept and called him “Father Krause.”\textsuperscript{26} As an adult, this man served as a high councilor.

Many of Krause’s patriarchal blessings promise the recipient that they will receive temple blessings. It seemed an extravagant promise in the 1970s, since most Church members in Communist-controlled countries could not obtain permission to travel to Switzerland, then the nearest temple. But in 1985, a temple was dedicated in Freiberg, East Germany, thus allowing these promised blessings to be fulfilled. The story of obtaining permission from the East German government to build that temple, a miracle in its own right, has been recounted elsewhere.\textsuperscript{27}

\textsuperscript{24}Ibid., 77.
\textsuperscript{25}Monson, Faith Rewarded, 83.
\textsuperscript{26}Krause, Oral History, 12.
\textsuperscript{27}See Elke Schulze, “A Temple in Our Country,” Behind the Iron Curtain, 331-35; Richard O. Cowan, Temples to Dot the Earth (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1989), 194-95; Monson, Faith Rewarded, 72-73, 81, 84, 88-92, 98, 103-3.
Krause served in many Church positions. In June 1969, for example, Elder Monson called him to serve as first counselor to Henry Burkhardt, president of the Dresden Mission.28

During the many years he served as a Church leader, Krause gave numerous sermons which powerfully motivated the Saints behind the Iron Curtain, giving hope and direction to their lives. Wolfgang Zander, the son of Max Zander, was deeply impressed as a teenager with Krause’s warning: “Everyone who becomes an elder and wants to diligently serve the Lord will also feel the power of Satan, who tries in any way possible to destroy Zion.”29

Blake Miller, who visited the Krause home in Prenzlau in 1991 doing oral history interviews as a representative of the LDS Church Historical Department, recalls that Krause told him: “the only ‘ism’ worth anything is Mormonism.” Krause had experienced Nazism, Socialism, Communism, and Fascism, but only Mormonism endured and had lasting and eternal meaning.30

In 1947, Krause was called as president of the Mecklenburg District, where he served for almost a decade. The district minutes include summaries of dozens of his sermons. For example, on 23 July 1948, speaking to Church leaders and missionaries, he encouraged them to be good examples: “What must you do, you should seek counsel from Father in Heaven in all questions” in order to be a good example. In July 1947, he said, “Faith is the key to all gospel activities.” That same summer he also challenged the members to follow their righteous desires, to forgive one another, and to seek first to build the kingdom of God. He encouraged them to use the scriptures, making the Book of Mormon, Doctrine and Covenants, and Pearl of Great Price, the “red thread” that runs through all of their gospel teaching. Perhaps most frequently, he emphasized the need for love or charity. In 1950, he warned a priesthood meeting: “The brethren should not become dictators.”31

Visitors to the Krause house in Prenzlau recognize not only a humble dwelling but also a home marked by a kindly and faithful spirit of mutual service. The couple settled in Prenzlau in the 1960s,

28Heiss and Avant, “Faith Sustains German Couple,” 4. The second counselor was Gottfried Richter.
29Zander, Pioneers in Every Land, 153.
30Miller, Interview, 7 March 2000.
31Mecklenburg District, Minutes, 27 July 1948, 18 February 1950.
and Krause continued his craft as a carpenter, branching out to become a restorer of antiques and clocks. He used this skill to improve both Church meetinghouses and their own home and continued to work until he was in his eighties. Krause's loving appreciation for his wife is partly shown in his diligence in chopping and carrying in wood for their stove. She in turn sustains him as a true partner. Before they were married, he was still using his cane in the late 1940s because of his war wound. In a meeting in Dresden, she challenged him to exercise his faith and put it aside. Showing great faith, Krause has never used it since.32

When Edith was invited to speak at the BYU Women's Conference in April 1991, Walter accompanied her. She addressed the conference on the topic: "A Mormon Mother and Her Daughter in Twentieth-Century Germany." In tribute to her mother, she said, "My mother was very educated. Every month at Church, we had a special night of music, poems and sometimes dancing. I was always trying to learn more." She also bore her testimony: "The Lord is as close to us as you are to him. . . . I am happy for the time now to be able to tell others to 'Come Unto Christ.'"33 While they were on campus, Walter Krause spoke to the Religious Education faculty about the Church and the gospel being the center of his life.34

Many have asked why Walter Krause chose to remain in the German Democratic Republic, given its decades of harsh religious restrictions? As he explains, Krause, like many other Saints in East Germany, believed that God had called them to remain in their homeland to build up Zion. "For me it was clear: Stay here," he says.35 They took seriously the counsel of Ezra Taft Benson, then a member of the Quorum of the Twelve, when he visited the German Saints in 1946 on assignment from the First Presidency. Speaking in Berlin in the fall of 1946, he told the Saints to stay in Germany and "we will build up the Church again."36 This was no slight decision. Hans-

34Ibid. Daniel Oswald translated this address.
35Krause, Oral History, 12.
Joachim Maaz, the head doctor in the Psychotherapeutic Clinic in Halle, in his psychological study of the German Democratic Republic, commented: "Little by little, every citizen of this land was confronted with the question: leave or stay? There was a need for a decision that could not be reached conclusively, but rather the question had to be answered daily."37

The decision to stay in East Germany led to other tough decisions about how and to what extent a Latter-day Saint could accommodate the political realities. In 1990, Brigham Young University produced *Fortress of Faith*, a documentary about the Church in East Germany. Elder Hans Ringger of the Seventy called Krause "der Rote Patriarch" (the Red Patriarch).38 From the context, Ringger was using the term to describe Krause's assignment as patriarch to the Communist nations of Eastern Europe. But was Krause also a member of the East German Communist Party? In his oral history with the Krauses, Matthew Heiss asked the question directly. Both Edith and Walter Krause emphatically stated that it was "a sad story" and that Krause had not been a member of the Communist Party. Edith added, in explanation, that it was necessary to do business with the Communist Party and the Communist government to obtain permission to hold Church meetings, travel outside the country, etc. These contacts, however, did not mean that either of the Krauses were party members.39

Many people have recognized Walter Krause's steadfast dedication. President Thomas S. Monson, a counselor in the First Presidency, describes Walter Krause as a "stalwart in the Church" and "a man of great courage," fearless even when interrogated by government authorities or when passing through checkpoints and controls, surrounded by dogs and armed guards, as he did hundreds of times.40

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39Krause, Oral History, 45-48. Edith added that Douglas F. Tobler coined the phrase "Der Rote Walter" (Red Walter), which Ringger used and varied. Ibid., 46.
40Heiss and Avant, "Faith Sustains German Couple," 4.
Heiss points to Krause’s determination—the man who will walk fifty miles to attend a Church meeting. He also speaks appreciatively of Krause’s love of nature, his pleasure in collecting stamps and books, and a relish for practical jokes. For instance, “Walter has a mug which has a small hole in it. If you put your thumb over the hole you can drink from the mug. But, if you don’t the drink spills all over you.”

Manfred Schütze, a director of the Church Education System in East Germany, commented on how Krause had, “for many decades, . . . been an example of faith and strength to all the members. Today he is still a man of God to whom many turn for help with their problems or when they need counsel. They are certain to find understanding and to receive an inspired answer.” Wolfgang Zander describes him as unassuming and unpretentious. He also called him “one of the true and faithful pioneers” in East Germany. “He dedicated himself to the restored gospel and was a true friend and supporter of all earnest investigators of the Church.”

I became acquainted with Walter Krause as I served my mission in Berlin (1957-59). I was impressed by both his spirituality and his practicality. For example, in preparation for a district or mission conference, Krause would fast on a day during the week; but on the days of the conference itself, he would eat all his meals and thus be able to work with full energy.

Walter Krause was always eager to learn. Not only did we have many stimulating discussions about gospel principles, but he also used his visits to West Berlin to take driving instructions from me (I was mission secretary) in the mission car, with permission from our president. The driver’s education courses in East Germany, required for a driver’s license, were too expensive; but by this method, Krause eventually learned how to drive, passed the exam, and received his driver’s license, a possession that greatly eased his ecclesiastical du-

42Schütze, Behind the Iron Curtain, 54.
43Zander, “God’s Hands in Divided Germany,” in Pioneers in Every Land, 162, 150. Krause is frequently identified as a modern pioneer, but he would be the first to add that many other Saints had lent their strength to build the post-war Church.
44Donald Q. Cannon, “Recollections of Walter Krause,” typescript, September 1999, 1 page.
ties, particularly his travels throughout Eastern Europe. Eventually, Walter bought an old Mercedes which he and Edith drove through many countries.45

My missionary journal contains at least thirteen entries on my East German friend. The first entry, made soon after I mentioned him, read: “We took Br. Walter Krause from Wolgast in Mecklenburg in the Russian Zone. He is a wonderful man. We love to have him come because he brings things from the East Zone which we can buy. We enjoy taking him to a show and buying him an ice cream. During the Leipzig trade fair, he met us at the center of town: “He loves to tell about the German culture and traditions.” During the last month of my mission, I recorded my pleasure at meeting him: “He has been a good friend of mine” and, a few days later after we went to a movie: “I have learned to love and respect him very much.” He was a good example for all of us. Indeed, all of the missionaries looked up to him.46

Walter Krause, who turns ninety-four in the summer of 2003, has lived a life of meaning and purpose. In a troubled and tormented century, in a war-riven and often divided country, he has steadfastly focused on the Christian principles of peace, charity, and service. As a result, he is a man of deep peace and purpose. Profoundly spiritual but not fanatical, he has shaped a reality that has transcended his circumstances and brought strengthening hope to many.

45Krause, Oral History, 79.
SHERIFF JACOB B. BACKENSTOS: “DEFENDER OF THE SAINTS”

Omer (Greg) W. Whitman and James L. Varner

DURING THE NAUVOO PERIOD, few nonmembers rallied to the defense of the Mormon people; but Jacob Benjamin Backenstos, sheriff of Hancock County, risked his life and his family’s well-being for a people he had not heard of a few years earlier.¹

Jacob Backenstos was born in 1811 in Dauphin County, Pennsylvania. The historical record does not reveal details of his childhood except that he had one known brother, William.² On 15 December 1835 at age twenty-four, Backenstos married Sarah Lav-

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ina Lee in Sangamon County, Illinois. Born in Virginia in 1823, Sarah was the niece of Robert E. Lee. Jacob and Sarah had five children, although exact dates and places of birth are not available for all: Edwin D. (born 1842, probably in Carthage, Illinois), Mary Virginia (born 1844, probably in Carthage), James S. (born 1847, perhaps in Springfield, Illinois), Charles A. (born spring 1851 in Oregon City, Oregon), and Eugene Lee (born 31 May 1847 in Portland, Oregon).

Backenstos tried his hand at merchandising in Dauphin County but turned the business over to his brother when he moved to Illinois in approximately 1838 to set up shop as a merchant in Sangamon County, home of Springfield, the state capital.

Illinois, although a state since 1818, was still an open society presenting many business and political prospects to the hopeful entrepreneur and opportunist alike. Backenstos apparently took advantage of the political opportunities. As a staunch Democrat, he

3Mrs. Wayne Gurley et al., comps., Genealogical Material in Oregon Donation Land Claims, 5 vols. (Portland: Genealogical Forum of Portland, Oregon, 1957), 1:41. Jessee, The Papers of Joseph Smith, 2:523, reports Backenstos's marriage as 1836, but marriage information from the Genealogical Material in Oregon Donation Land Claims is probably more accurate since Backenstos would have been required to fill out the claim forms himself.

4Jessee, The Papers of Joseph Smith, 523. Sarah's father was possibly Charles Carter Lee, since he was the only brother known to have daughters. John William Jones, The Life and Letters of Robert Edward Lee: Soldier and Man (New York: Neale Publishing, 1906), 20-23.

5Portland was known as Oregon City when Charles was born there. U.S. Census, 1850, Oregon Territory, Clackamas County, no. 223, included in Priscilla Knuth, research associate at Oregon Historical Society, Letter to Edward G. Thompson, 17 May 1963, photocopy in our possession. Thompson was a graduate student at Brigham Young University, researching Backenstos. The census lists the first three children; the names and birth years of the last two were extracted from receipts in the estate of Jacob Backenstos, Oregon Historical Society Archives, Portland.


7Janath Russell Cannon, Nauvoo Panorama (Nauvoo, Ill.: Nauvoo
become a favorite of Stephen A. Douglas, Illinois Secretary of State and later Illinois Supreme Court Judge, who appointed the thirty-year-old Backenstos clerk of the court of Hancock County in about 1841. At that point, Backenstos moved to Carthage, the county seat, and certainly became acquainted with the charismatic Mormon prophet Joseph Smith, if, in fact, they were not already old acquaintances. Backenstos's political aspirations became more apparent during this period. In 1843 he became the local manager of the state Democratic Party machine, thereby gaining direct access to Governor Thomas Ford (1842-46). In August 1844, two months after the deaths of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, Backenstos was elected representative of Hancock County to the state legislature, a term ending 3 March 1845. When Minor Deming, the previous sheriff of Hancock County, died only two weeks into his new term in mid-August, Backenstos won a special election for sheriff of Hancock County, becoming simultaneously sheriff of Nauvoo.


Gregg, History of Hancock County, 450. We have not been able to determine why William Backenstos was no longer sheriff. He may have lost the election or decided to resign. In 1845, he was acting as agent near
From the information available, Jacob and William Backenstos had approved of the Mormons' industry and established cordial relationships with them. Joseph Smith's preference for the Democrats was no doubt a shared bond; and the two families were linked on 3 October 1843 when William Backenstos married Clara M. Wasson, the daughter of Emma Hale Smith's sister, from nearby Dixon in Lee County. Joseph Smith "solemnized the marriage between William and Clara in the presence of a select party" (including Jacob Backenstos) at the newly constructed Mansion House.\textsuperscript{11}

In the spring of 1841, the Backenstos brothers loaned Joseph Smith a thousand dollars. Since Smith was in debt $73,066.38 and since the brothers petitioned the Church for repayment, it is doubtful if they were ever paid.\textsuperscript{12} A year later on 13 April 1842, Jacob Nauvoo for the Voree Herald, James J. Strang's newspaper.

\textsuperscript{11}Joseph Smith, et al., \textit{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, 1978), 6:43; and Calvin N. Smith, "‘Gentile’ Champions Church Cause during Tribulations in Nauvoo," \textit{Deseret News}, 19 August 1989, 7; Susan Easton Black, \textit{Membership of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints}, 1830-1848, 50 vols. (Salt Lake City: Corporation of the President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1988), 44:956-57, notes that there is no record of Clara’s baptism, but it seems unlikely that Joseph would have performed the ceremony if both bride and groom were non-Mormons, especially when it did not occur in the bride’s home town. Clara’s brother, Lorenzo D. Wasson, was a Mormon and had served at least one mission. Susan Easton Black, \textit{Who’s Who in the Doctrine and Covenants} (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1997), 47-48. In August 1842, William became sheriff of Hancock County, according to “Municipal Court,” \textit{Times and Seasons}, 5 (15 May 1844): 536-37, which also identifies Jacob as clerk of the court that processed a lawsuit against Joseph Smith by Francis Higbee, then disaffected from the Church.

Backenstos became a first-degree Mason under the tutelage of Joseph Smith. The following spring, on 3 April 1843, Joseph Smith stayed with Backenstos on a visit to Carthage, where, according to his own history, he preached a five-hour sermon to Backenstos, Chauncey Robison, and “Esquire Backman.” Although Backman later said, “Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian,” Backenstos and Robison never joined the Church.

The next month, Joseph Smith returned to Carthage with Apostle Orson Hyde and scribe William Clayton. They were again guests at a dinner Backenstos hosted on 18 May 1843, joined by Stephen A. Douglas. During a three-hour conversation, Smith, Douglas, Backenstos, and the others discussed politics and the treatment the Mormon people had received at the hands of county, state, and federal government. Joseph Smith predicted that, if the federal government did not grant the Mormons redress for the violations of their Constitutional rights in Missouri, it would “be utterly overthrown in a few years.” He then prophesied that Douglas would aspire to the presidency of the United States but that, “if you ever turn your hand against me or the Latter-day Saints, you will feel the weight of the hand of Almighty God upon you.”

Newell and Avery calculated that in 1984 dollars the $73,066.38 debt would be over half a million. Joseph Smith’s efforts to seek relief through the new bankruptcy laws were largely ineffective, due to John C. Bennett’s success in blocking Smith’s petition.

13Jessee, The Papers of Joseph Smith, 376; and Roberts, Comprehensive History, 2:493. Two others became Masons at the same time. They were Chauncey Robison, the county recorder, and George P. Stiles, a recent (and brief) convert who acted as co-counsel with Sidney Rigdon for Joseph Smith. Ironically, he would become a hostile federal judge in Utah in the 1850s. Donna Hill, Joseph Smith, 332.

14History of the Church, 5:326. This individual was probably George Backman, a member of the Carthage militia present at the slaying of Joseph and Hyrum Smith but not in the jail. He was questioned as a witness at the trial of the accused murderers. Dallin H. Oaks and Marvin S. Hill, Carthage Conspiracy: The Trail of the Accused Assassins of Joseph Smith (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975), 121.

In July 1843, after a failed attempt to extradite Joseph Smith to Missouri, the two lawmen who had served the warrant asked Governor Ford to call out the Illinois State Militia for the arrest. Backenstos, local Democratic chief, went to Springfield to intervene on Joseph Smith’s behalf. Ford was out of town so Backenstos met with his representative, Mason Brayman, who gave him a letter dated 29 July 1843 to deliver to Joseph Smith informing him “that the Governor was influenced by no unkind feelings or improper motives” and assuring him of Ford’s fairness in any decisions about the militia. In Ford’s own account, he says that “some weeks later” he denied that he had authorized or even known about Brayman’s letter but also informed Joseph Reynolds, the sheriff who had petitioned him for militia intervention, that he would not mobilize the militia because a Nauvoo judge had legally discharged Joseph Smith from the Missouri accusations. Ford, obviously scrambling not to be perceived as taking sides, then added his opinion that the Nauvoo court “had exceeded its jurisdiction.”

This episode was part of a larger political contest between two attorneys, Democrat Joseph P. Hoge and Whig Cyrus H. Walker, who were attempting to woo the Mormon vote. The Democrat, with Hyrum Smith’s public support, won; but Ford felt that Backenstos, in delivering Brayman’s letter, caused “a total change” in the voting preferences “of the Mormon leaders.”

In attempting to negotiate on Joseph Smith’s behalf, however, Jacob Backenstos made an enemy of Thomas Ford, a man with considerable political power and potentially important to his political future. Ford had already been miffed about 1840 when Stephen A. Douglas appointed Backenstos clerk of Hancock County’s circuit courts, characterizing the relationship sourly: In Sangamon County, Mormons consider this prediction to have been fulfilled by the Civil War and the fact that Douglas in 1857, while preparing for his presidential bid, vilified Mormons as a “disgusting cancer” that should “be cut out by the roots,” and was defeated in 1860 by Abraham Lincoln.

16Hill, Joseph Smith, 330.
17Brayman, Letter to Joseph Smith, 29 July 1843, Community of Christ Library-Archives; quoted in ibid, 332.
18Ford, History of Illinois, 151, 317-18; Nauvoo Neighbor, 30 August 1843, quoted in Hill, Joseph Smith, 333.
19Ford, History of Illinois, 318.
Backenstos "became acquainted with Judge Douglas, and here commenced that indissoluble friendship between them which has continued inviolate ever since.... In due time Judge Douglas appointed him to be clerk of the circuit court and this gave him almost absolute power with that people [the Mormons] in all political contests." Writing in 1847, the governor further characterized the sheriff as a "smart-looking shrewd, cunning, plausible man of such easy manners that he was likely to have great influence." He also described him as a deadbeat who ran out on his debts in Sangamon County and used accounting tricks to transfer his goods to his brother William.20

Backenstos's whereabouts at the time of the assassinations are not known, although he was presumably attending to his court duties in June 1844 when the tensions in Nauvoo burst into flames over the destruction of the Nauvoo Expositor. Soon afterward, he sought to relieve his frustration and sorrow by supplying Brigham Young with a list of "members of the mob" who had attacked the jail. He also identified his loyalty to the Mormon cause: "I am fearful... that I will not live to see... the awful vengeance which will soon overtake the Hancock assassins... The bloodhounds [mobbers] are still determined on taking my life.... They want to hold me responsible for everything that was done."21

Seven months later in January 1845, Backenstos and Almon W. Babbitt, Mormon lawyer and fellow member of the legislature, listened to efforts to repeal the Nauvoo Charter, which authorized the existence of the Nauvoo Legion and also gave sweeping power to Nauvoo city courts. Backenstos and Babbitt introduced amendments to significantly modify the charter instead, but it was nullified anyway.22 Ford, a former justice of Illinois's Supreme Court, had been opposed to the charter since its inception, feeling that its broad judicial powers abrogated the state constitution.23 Although Backenstos and Babbitt failed to thwart the nullification, Brigham Young praised Backenstos: he "pleaded like an apostle for the rights of his constituents. Mr. Backenstos had appealed to the sense of justice,

20Ibid., 407-8.
21Jacob Backenstos, Letter to Brigham Young, 29 June 1844, in History of the Church, 7:145.
22Hill, Joseph Smith, 427; History of the Church, 7:363; and Gregg, History of Hancock County, 336.
equal rights, patriotism, and humanity possessed by the House of Representatives in vain. His colleague Mr. Babbitt and himself had done their duty." 24

As part of defending the Nauvoo Charter, Backenstos had argued that its loss would seriously limit the city's ability to maintain order. 25 Now he found himself in the unenviable position of being responsible for upholding the law as local citizens, who felt they had grievances against the Mormons, began forming vigilante groups as the Mormons petitioned for protection. 26 In early September 1845, acting on reports that outlying settlements, both Mormon and non-Mormon, were being pillaged, Backenstos hurriedly formed a *posse comitatus* of Nauvoo citizens. 27 The non-Mormons he attempted to deputize refused because they felt, according to Donna Hill, that he "had been put in office by the Mormons." 28 It is true that Backenstos had been elected sheriff by a Mormon vote and was a "Jack Mormon," which then meant a non-Mormon who sympathized with the Mormons. 29 But Brigham Young had also refused the sheriff's request for Mormons to join the posse. Only when Backenstos assured him that no one else would join such a force did Young reluctantly agree and Backenstos deputized part of the defunct Nauvoo Legion. 30

According to Thomas Gregg's county history, Backenstos and Almon W. Babbitt both argued against the repeal of the Nauvoo charter, with Backenstos "taking occasion to violently denounce the old citizens of the county. For this speech, and his otherwise vindictive and objectionable course, a demonstration was made in the spring after his return, to drive him from the county." 31

24 History of the Church, 7:363, 368.
28 Hill, Joseph Smith, 434.
29 Ibid.
30 Ibid.
On 16 September 1845, Backenstos was driving a buggy to Carthage, the town he had been run out of the day before by a mob, from Warsaw, where he had spent the night. A group of hostile men in carriages and on horseback from Warsaw gave chase, headed by Franklyn Worrell. His name had been on the list of those attacking Carthage Jail that Backenstos had given Brigham Young. As the fleeing sheriff topped a slight rise, he surprised two Mormons watering their horses at Jacob Baum’s farm. Recognizing them as Return Jackson Redden and Orrin Porter Rockwell, Backenstos immediately asked for help, essentially deputizing them. He later wrote that he “summoned them as a posse to aid me,” then ordered Worrell to stop. At this point, the historical record gives at least two versions. According to Rockwell’s biographer, Harold Schindler, Worrell raised his gun to fire on the sheriff, but Rockwell fired his “fifteen-shooter” rifle, hitting Worrell in the lower chest and knocking him from his saddle. He died on the way to Warsaw.

That night, Backenstos and his Mormon posse rode into Carthage to quell acts of violence and rescue his own family, then consisting of Sarah and their two children, ages three and one. The

31Gregg, History of Hancock County, 336.
32Harold Schindler, Orrin Porter Rockwell: Man of God, Son of Thunder (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1966), 138. Schindler notes that Backenstos, fearing for his life in Carthage, had spent the night in Warsaw.
33Sheriff Jacob Backenstos, Proclamation No. 2, quoted in Dean C. Jessee, “The John Taylor Nauvoo Journal, January 1845-September 1845,” BYU Studies 23 (Summer 1983): 95. History of the Church 7:446, calls Rockwell’s companion “John Redding,” but Redden was a known associate of Rockwell’s.
34Hill, Joseph Smith, 434; Schindler, Orrin Porter Rockwell, 145-46; and Earnest Taves, This Is the Place (Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books, 1991), 44.
35Schindler, Orrin Porter Rockwell, 138-40, note 21; Gregg, History of Hancock County, 340-41. George Miller Correspondence, 22 June 1855, typescript copy, Hugh F. O’Neil Collection, Mormon File, Box 1, fd. 1, p. 27, Huntington Library, San Marino, California, includes an account similar in details. Rockwell’s rifle was probably the newly introduced lever-action rifle that used brass cartridges. More experienced with the “cap and ball” muzzle-loader, Rockwell seemed suprised when Worrell was struck in the chest and later commented: “I aimed for his belt buckle.” Schindler, Orrin Porter Rockwell, 140.
scene they met was chaotic. According to B. H. Roberts, “Persons were seen running about the streets with firebrands [torches].” The sheriff, rightly concerned that his Mormon posse would be blamed if the town burned, quickly announced that he would order the death of anyone who torched a building. Backenstos sent his wife and children to Nauvoo under guard, while he and the posse tried to control the civic disorder.36

Anson Call, a member of the posse and future colonizer and judge in Utah, later recalled that, after about three weeks of the mob’s rampage, a total of about two hundred houses had been burned, mostly in the southern county. On 17 September 1845, then the posse

took up our line of march for Carthage. The first 50 was commanded by the sheriff [Backenstos] and the second by George Miller. When we arrived at Carthage, we learned that the burners had all left that section and had embodied themselves at Colonel William’s [sic]. We learned they were about 300 in number and that they were still burning and plundering. We took up our line of march for the burning regions the next morning from Carthage. After traveling about 15 miles, we discovered the smoke of buildings. They called a halt. I then informed the sheriff that my father and brother’s houses were burning. They were about 6 miles from us. We then took a quick march toward the rising smoke. After traveling about half way, we discovered a fresh smoke at our left, within half a mile of us, on the opposite side of a large cornfield. One company went to the right and one to the left of the cornfield. The house belonged to Brother Wilkins. We were ordered [by Sheriff Backenstos] to put our horses under a fast run and for every man to do his best and to order the marauders to stand and if they did not, to shoot them down. As we turned the corner of the field, we saw them sitting upon a woodpile, eating melons. They mounted their horses and ran for life and we pursued them for about 2 miles. We killed one [McBratney] within 1 mile from where we started. The rest leapt from their horses, into a cornfield. One was killed while going over the fence; some one or two other[s] [were] (reported) wounded. . . . We then took our backtrack [and] picked up some pistols and guns that had been dropt in the race. We found the man that was shot [and] killed. The man that was killed touched the firebrand to my father’s house the same morning.

36Roberts, Comprehensive History, 2:494; Miller, Correspondence, 29.
He was a blacksmith from Warsaw. They were 12 in number, headed by Lawyer Stevens from Warsaw.\footnote{Ethan and Christine Shaffer Call, eds., *The Journal of Anson Call* (Afton, Wyo.: Ethan and Christine Shaffer Call Publishers, 1986), 33-34. This publication has photographs of the holograph journal with a transcription on the verso. It also includes copies of other documents, receipts, genealogy, and temple ordinances. Another copy is in the Bancroft Library. The original journal is in the LDS Church Archives. A typescript copy submitted by Justin B. Call in 1963, is in the Mormon File, Huntington Library, San Marino, California. See also Duane D. Call, *Anson Call and His Contributions Toward Latter-day Saint Colonization* (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1956), in which Schuyler Call, recalled in 1954 seeing Anson’s first wife, Mary Flint Call, acting as his grandfather’s scribe (8). See also Ford, *History of Illinois*, 409-10. The date of this foray is from Backenstos’s record, the day after he took his family to Nauvoo for safety. Roberts, *Comprehensive History of the Church*, 2:494. According to B. H. Roberts, Williams headed a militia unit surrounding Nauvoo during this siege and was also one of the accused assassins of Joseph and Hyrum Smith. “Brother Wilkins” was probably John G. Wilkins, an acquaintance of Anson Call who, like him, had submitted a petition for redress of injuries in Missouri. Backenstos refers to this same individual as “M’Braty.” “Lawyer Stevens” could have been Henry Stevens, who organized anti-Mormon corresponding committees in Carthage or Charles C. Stevens, also of Carthage, who put forth a motion to have Joseph Smith arrested and bound over to Missouri law officers. *Comprehensive History of the Church*, 2:409-10, 309, 500; *History of the Church*, 6:4, 7-8.}
mons,” and set up a system of passes required for entering and leaving the city.38

Unfortunately for the sheriff, his actions in Carthage resulted in an accusation that he was a Mormon mobber himself, and that he had led his Mormon posse in various skirmishes and house-burnings.39 Local newspapers called for revenge and an end to “Napoleon Backenstos.”40 Ford, accusing Backenstos in 1847 of taking revenge on his political enemies, said he was “regarded as the political leader of the Mormons, [and] was hated with a sincere and thorough hatred by the opposite party.”41

John M. Ferris, an attorney in Quincy, Illinois, wrote to his brother, Hiram, then in the U.S. Army and Backenstos’s former deputy. John told Hiram that he had sneered at three militia colonels whom he identified as Williams, McCauley, and Geddes: “Yes it was well you left, for Back [Backenstos] could have driven you with 50 men [Mormons] to Missouri. . . . You are all a damned cowardly set and [would] rather run then [sic] fight.”42 It is a telling indication of Backenstos’s reputation in the community. Hiram may well have shared this opinion of Backenstos, for he certainly had no high regard for Ford: “Oh! What a dummy Tom Ford (the Gov) is! What a perfect combination of inefficiency for a State Executive, to see an insurrection progress for weeks and remain perfectly, or almost, passive, in relation to the matter.”43

On 20 September 1845, the sheriff issued the fourth of five

39“The Record of Norton Jacob,” 15; Schindler, Orrin Porter Rockwell, 146; Ford, History of Illinois, 408; and Miller, Correspondence, 27-29. We have not been able to document any instances of houseburnings by the Mormon posse. Miller was one of Backenstos’s “captains” in the Mormon posse.
40Record of Norton Jacob, 15.
41Ford, History of Illinois, 408.
proclamations declaring that “peace and quiet, law and order, have been restored in Hancock county,” explaining what he had done to establish peace. In his edict, Backenstos called the mobbers “the most lawless, disgraceful, and inhuman banditti that ever infested our state.” At this point, Backenstos continued, the mob had also threatened two non-Mormons, Chauncey Robison, Carthage postmaster and county recorder, and a Captain Rose, county treasurer and assessor, had both fled with their families “that their lives might be spared.”

Within the week Ford, citing Backenstos’s “high hand” and command over a large force of armed Mormons, “sent a detachment of 400 militia into Hancock County under the command of General John J. Harden and declared the county under martial law.” The next day, 30 September, Backenstos, who had been in Carthage, met in Nauvoo with Stephen A. Douglas and Apostle John Taylor. These three and other Church officials met Hardin. Backenstos protested the imposition of martial law. He made his case to Ford that “I had sufficient power within the limits of the county to suppress any further riots, and prevent any more burning.”

Hardin rejected this protest and “read us his orders from the governor to come here and keep the peace if he had to keep the

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44 Quoted in Roberts, Comprehensive History, 2:499.
45 Quoted in Roberts, Comprehensive History, 2:493-94. Backenstos misspelled the first man’s name as Robinson. Robison, a farmer and accountant from New York, settled in Carthage in 1829, clerked in a dry goods store, was postmaster and county recorder (1839-47), was driven out by a mob but returned and, in 1847, moved to Nauvoo where he became mayor (1849-50). He died in Topeka, Kansas. Jessee, The Papers of Joseph Smith, 2:586-87. According to Roberts, (first name unknown) Rose’s “standing and character is [sic] proof against all base men.” Comprehensive History of the Church, 2:503. Edward A. Bedell, another non-Mormon, was also threatened by the mobs and forced to flee with “but half a minute’s time to prepare to go.” He was Warsaw postmaster and a justice of the peace. Roberts characterized Bedell and Robison as “favourably known . . . and are amongst our very best citizens in Hancock, and (if there be any merit in it) they rank among the oldest settlers of this county.” Ibid., 2:494.
46 Berrett, The Restored Church, 215.
47 History of the Church, 7:144.
county under martial law.” He and his men then launched a search for the bodies of two supposedly murdered men. Accompanied by Backenstos’s former state legislative partner, Almon Babbitt, Hardin’s men searched the temple, Nauvoo House, and the Masonic Hall, lingering over forty barrels of wine stored in the Masonic Hall, and growing insistent about finding the graves of Joseph and Hyrum Smith. While the exasperated Babbitt watched them search a stable attached to the Mansion House, he “grumbled, ‘You must think we are fools to bury dead men in a stable when it is so easy to throw them into the Mississippi a few rods away.’” The search turned up no bodies or evidence of a murder. Bullock’s record, much of it based on rumors, documents that, with each passing week, the lawlessness of the anti-Mormons grew, as did the paranoia and disorganization of the Saints. After the uneasy peace imposed by the militia takeover of Nauvoo and Brigham Young’s promise that the Saints would leave Illinois in the spring, new violence erupted in June 1846. Bullock’s journal ends before the Battle of Nauvoo in September 1846 but still communicates the tumult and fear that transformed Nauvoo from a peaceful sanctuary to a lawless frontier town.

Ford had Backenstos arrested for Worrell’s murder and released on a $3,000 bond. Dubious of getting a fair trial at Carthage, he achieved a change of venue to Peoria, Illinois, where he was tried and “acquitted honorably” on 10 December 1845, but two of his accusers were jailed for perjury. Simultaneously, the Twelve were praying in the Temple “to liberate Sheriff Backenstos . . . from [his] bonds.” Backenstos went immediately to Springfield and appealed unsuccessfully to Ford to withdraw the troops from Nauvoo.

It was during this turbulent fall that Backenstos seems to have come the closest to joining the Church. Heber C. Kimball’s diary contains an entry on 15 October 1845, a month after Worrell’s shoot-
ing, that Backenstos asked to meet him in his room at the Mansion House. "He then and there gave me his mind and views concerning the religion we professed to believe, he firmly and positively believed it to be the truth, and he intended to embrace it by going forward in the waters of baptism soon, and he would go with us the whole extent to the expense of his life, and all he possessed." 52 Heber's daughter, Helen Mar, who was then in her teens, remembers dancing with the sheriff at a ball the next month at which he was the guest of honor. He told her about "a wonderful night dream, or vision he called it," the details of which she had not wanted to listen to, preferring to dance. Commenting on this incident in 1883, she commented sadly, "Sheriff Backenstoss was a friend (no doubt) raised up by the Lord to favor His people at that critical time. His resolutions, which he expressed to my father, even if they were made in good faith, were spoken too loudly as he did not hold long to them." 53

The Mormons were committed to leaving their city. Thousands of them poured through the temple, especially in December 1845 and January 1846. The Twelve left the city in February, precipitating the often ill-prepared flight of their followers and leaving Backenstos in an increasingly tenuous position. Still charged with keeping the peace, he had to deal simultaneously with his own isolation as a "Mormon-lover," the dwindling pool of Mormon men on whom he could call as a posse, and the intensifying attacks of the Hancock County citizens determined to drive them out. Furthermore, he had been receiving threats of violence toward himself and his family for over a year. 54 It was the opinion of George N. Belknap, a playwright

53 Ibid., 279-80.
54 Jacob Backenstos, Letter to Joseph McCubbin, Nauvoo, Illinois, 26 June 1846, typescript copy transcribed from original by J. C. McCubbin, grandson of Joseph McCubbin, with holograph notes by J. C. McCubbin dated 11 May 1933, Glendale, California, Archives, Family and Church History Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter LDS Church Archives). See also History of the Church 7:475-80; Hallwas and Launius, Cultures in Conflict, 303-4; 317-22; Jessee,
who based a character on Backenstos, that his "political career in Hancock County, Illinois was wrecked by his defense of the Mormons."

He therefore resigned as sheriff during the month of May 1846. At this point, the flight of Mormon families from Nauvoo had left only about 100 able-bodied men to defend it against the armed mob gathering outside the city limits. Babbitt, who wanted to run for political office in August, was panicked to see his Mormon voting bloc dwindling so rapidly. He held a meeting in the Nauvoo Temple to convince those still in residence to stay, but the meeting did not go well, and he resorted to threats and obstructionist tactics.

Revealing of the irreconcilable conflicts in the county is the fact that one of Backenstos’s last actions as a lawman was to arrest Orrin Porter Rockwell on 7 May 1846. Rockwell had been harassing one of Joseph Smith’s old enemies, Chauncey Higbee, while he conducted business in Nauvoo by firing his pistols over Higbee’s head in the public street and issuing public death threats. Backenstos, in Carthage when he received the news, took deputy Hiram Gano Ferris with him and drove in a buggy up to Nauvoo, possibly accompanied by five other deputies. Entering the Mansion House where Rockwell was living, they searched two floors and were ascending to the third when Rockwell appeared, gun drawn. “I will kill you, Backenstos, if you come any further,” he warned. Backenstos calmly replied: “I have a duty to serve a warrant on you and arrest you and will do so.” He then told Ferris, who was standing immediately behind him on the stairs, “When he shoots me, kill him.” Faced with Backenstos’s willingness to die doing his duty, Rockwell conceded: “I will go with you.”

While Rockwell was in jail for threatening Higbee, the court also charged him with murdering Worrell, in response to an outstanding reward and warrant on Rockwell. Additional charges were filed for making and passing counterfeit money. According to the


56Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery, Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1984), 235.


58Warsaw Signal 6 May 1846, quoted in Schindler, Orrin Porter
Quincy Whig. Mormon leaders helped Rockwell obtain a change of venue to Galena, approximately 210 miles to the north. At the trial on 7 July 1846, Backenstos testified on behalf of Rockwell, exonerating him of Worrell’s murder, on the grounds that Rockwell had been deputized at the time. Backenstos’s acquittal of the same crime in 1845 undoubtedly bolstered Rockwell’s defense.

Backenstos had already launched his next career. By summer, he had written to a friend, Joseph McCubbin: “I presume that you have heard ere this, that I have been appointed to a position in the United States Army, and expect to be called very soon into the field.” He was commissioned a captain in the 2nd Infantry Brigade attached to the Mounted Rifle Regiment on 27 May 1846, most likely
in Springfield, Illinois, to see service in the Mexican War, which had been declared on 13 May 1846.\(^\text{62}\)

A nearby Whig newspaper reported Backenstos's commission, noting waspishly that his pay as captain started on the day of his appointment but that he would also be sheriff, and presumably drawing a second paycheck, until his resignation took effect on 4 July 1846. The editor then villified Backenstos:

Query, Will honorable men, Officers in the Army, be willing to have this Captain Backenstos thrust into their society, by this appointment, and be compelled to treat him as an equal?—a person, too, who, we were informed by a gentleman of Menard County, was so well known in that region that 1,000 respectable persons could there be found, who would make oath that, according to the best of their knowledge and belief, he, (Backenstos) is the most unprincipled rascal in the U. States? Again we ask who recommended this appointment?\(^\text{63}\)

In an exquisite historical irony, the Mexican War, driven by the doctrine of Manifest Destiny, placed both the Mormons and Backenstos in situations from which they had tried to escape. The Mormons, who migrated to the Salt Lake Valley to escape conflicts in the United States, were reintegrated under federal control; and Backenstos, who thought Hancock County was too hot to hold him, fought in three major battles.

Backenstos's regiment, created by Congress on 19 May 1846, had originally been slated for duty on the Oregon frontier but was reassigned to Mexico for the duration of the war.\(^\text{64}\) After he partici-

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\(^{63}\)Untitled notice, *Pike County Free Press* (Pittsfield, Pike County, Ill.) 4 June 1846, 2.

\(^{64}\)Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Oregon*, 2 vols. (San Francisco: History Publishing Company, 1888), 2:81. We think he left his wife and children at Galena because, according to Gregg, *History of Hancock County*, 336, he obtained “an appointment through Congressman [Joseph] Hoge, to an office in the lead mines” at Galena before his commission; and his mentor and friend, Joseph Lane, later governor of Oregon, had earlier been elected a general of militia to quell an Indian uprising near Galena. Hoge, born in Ohio, moved to Illinois where he served as U.S. Representative.
pated in the battles of Contreras and Churubusco, Backenstos was breveted to the rank of major on 20 August 1847 for “gallant and meritorious conduct.” On 13 September, he was wounded during the fierce fighting at the Battle of Chapultepec, promoted to lieutenant colonel on 13 September 1847 and made commander of the 2nd Rifle Brigade.\textsuperscript{65}

In the spring of 1849, after the war, this unit was again ordered to report to its original duty station in Oregon. Renamed the Oregon Mounted Rifle Regiment and commanded by one-armed Colonel William Wing Loring, the regiment formed at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, and set out on 10 May.\textsuperscript{66} Backenstos received command of the third division at Fort Kearny on 3 June 1849.\textsuperscript{67} Reportedly, Backenstos brought Sarah and their three children (James had been born in 1847) on this arduous journey, which was plagued by cholera, torrential rains, forest fires, and desertion.\textsuperscript{68} The regimental quartermaster complained that most of the soldiers “had no knowledge of their duties and were anxious only to reach [the gold in] California.”\textsuperscript{69}

Also en route, Backenstos had his last known contact with the Mormons. John D. Lee noted in his diary on 17 August 1849: “At Green River lay 3 divisions of U.S. Troops, Some of which were to be Stationed at Ft. Hall. J. B. Backenstos headed one division, late sheriff of Hancock County, IIs. Many of their Troops had deserted them.”\textsuperscript{70} On the last leg of the journey, so many horses gave out that

\textsuperscript{65}Hamersly, Complete Regular Army Register of the United States, 272.
\textsuperscript{66}Raymond W. Settle, ed., The March of the Mounted Riflemen: First United States Military Expedition to Travel the Full Length of the Oregon Trail from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Vancouver, May to October, 1849 (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1940), 16-20, 331. Loring lost an arm in the Battle of Chapultepec.
\textsuperscript{67}Ibid., 330.
\textsuperscript{68}Herbert O. Lang, History of the Willamette Valley (Portland, Ore.: Himes and Lang, 1885), 700.
\textsuperscript{69}Osborne Cross, quoted in Bancroft, History of Oregon, 2:81-83 note 37.
\textsuperscript{70}Robert Glass Cleland and Juanita Brooks, eds., A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee, 1848-1876, 2 vols. (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington
some of the troops entered Oregon on foot. Worse, due the lack of stores, some of them were barefoot. Near Mount St. Helens, a Lieutenant Frost complained that Backenstos had usurped authority by assuming “command of the ENTIRE TRAIN AND ALL CONNECTED WITH IT” and ordering that some of the wagons and their loads be abandoned. The resolution of this charge has not been recorded, but Backenstos was apparently not reprimanded.

Since accommodations had not been prepared for their arrival, the tattered troops were billeted temporarily in Oregon City in the Willamette Valley. Soon complaints arose from the local residents about the soldiers’ low morals and depredations: “The material from which companies had been recruited [was] below the usual standard of enlisted men.” To have command of such men was extremely aggravating to Backenstos who was known to have been scrupulous in his attention to duty, military or otherwise.

The Mounted Rifle Regiment was sent to Oregon to strengthen existing forces in their effort to quell “Indian outrages,” as Native American resistance to the seizure of their tribal lands was termed. It took its most extreme form when members of the Cayuse Tribe massacred all members of Marcus Whitman’s Presbyterian mission in 1847 at Wailatpu in the Walla Walla Valley, now in Washington, on 29 November 1847. The American settlers responded by declaring war on all Indians in the Oregon Territory, and hostilities were still high when Backenstos arrived in 1849.

Consequently, the Oregon settlers had eagerly anticipated the regiment’s arrival. Territorial Governor Joseph Lane ordered them to arrest the Cayuse Indians who had murdered the Whitmans; but

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71Bancroft, History of Oregon, 2:81-83 notes 37, 40. He is citing the Oregon Spectator, 18 October 1849, and Rifle Regiment MS, Oregon Historical Society.


73Alden H. Steele, possibly the company surgeon, quoted in Bancroft, History of Oregon, 2:81-83 note 37.

74Jacob Backenstos, Letter to Joseph Lane, Portland, Oregon, 12 December 1853, Oregon Historical Society, Portland, Oregon. Lane was territorial governor (1849-50).

75T. J. Edmonds, comp., Oregon: End of the Trail (Portland, Ore.: Binsfords and Mort, 1940), 46-47; and Bancroft, History of Oregon, 2:74.
disappointingly, Loring used his regiment to track down the 120 deserters who were heading for California. They succeeded in retrieving over half of them.\footnote{Bancroft, History of Oregon, 2:81-88, 95.}

In November 1849, a little over a month after the regiment’s arrival, courts martial began, with Backenstos appointed as presiding officer of one trial, which began on a Friday. Backenstos reacted angrily when a member or members of the court proposed an adjournment for the weekend other than the time appointed. Backenstos “did violently assert that he only had authority to order the adjournment, . . . and did boisterously leave the Court in defiance of its expressed will, [and] . . . being cited to return, he did refuse.” The action continued with the other two military officers, who ignored the adjournment and ordered Backenstos’s arrest for disorderly conduct and contempt. Still, he was not apparently arrested. On Monday morning, Backenstos entered the courtroom at his customary time and attempted to take his seat as presiding officer. According to the minutes of the court-martial, Backenstos was sentenced to be “expelled from the Court, and to be cashiered,” for “Positive, wilful and repeated contempt of Court.” In specification whereof, the record states that Bvt. Lt. Col. Backenstos did refuse to put a motion for the adjournment of the Court, did violently assert that he only had authority to order the adjournment, did arbitrarily declare the Court adjourned, and did boisterously leave the Court in defiance of its expressed will; that being cited to return, he did refuse; that, being then ordered unto arrest by the Court, he did, on the next day of the session, attempt to take his seat as presiding officer—and did remain in the Court after it was ordered to be cleared, and did disturb the proceedings till peremptorily ordered to retire.\footnote{Court-martial minutes, War Department, Adjutant General’s Office, General Orders No. 14, Washington, 12 April 1850, photocopy in Oregon Historical Society.}

Although the sentence was cashiering (or being expelled from the army), he was only suspended from duty until December 1849.\footnote{Ibid.} The War Department, which reviewed the case on 12 April 1850, issued an official statement that his conduct “was irregular, and is disapproved. He seems to have acted under a misconception of
the powers of his official station in the Court Martial." Still, "this Department directs that no further steps be taken in his case."79

When Backenstos returned to duty in December, he was assigned to be Officer of the Day and was also assigned as duty officer, in charge of all daily (and nightly) orders for the post for periods lasting from twelve to twenty-four hours. Apparently he objected to this assignment on the grounds that he should not be on duty and simultaneously Officer of the Day. Loring had him arrested and confined to quarters.80 There is no record of how this second flare-up was resolved; but he later wrote to Governor Lane that he had been "most unjustly persecuted by some of the 'Rifle' officers."81 His obituary also mentions unnamed "charges . . . growing out of a rancounter [sic] he had with an army surgeon.82 Apparently these difficulties did not cause a permanent breach, however, for Backenstos was appointed temporary commander of Fort Vancouver, probably in 1849 or 1850, while other parts of his regiment were on duty elsewhere, presumably attempting to quell other Indian uprisings.83

In January 1851 Backenstos was still in the army when he encountered legal difficulties from another direction. He had hired a professional carpenter and joiner, Arthur Fahie, to build a house in Oregon City.84 After making considerable progress, Fahie stopped, claiming that Backenstos was slow in acquiring lumber and other building materials. Backenstos tried to dismiss him, but Fahie would not leave the work site until he had been paid for the work already done. Backenstos filed an injunction claiming that Fahie was "wasting lumber, cooking meals near the house, and sleeping in it." When Backenstos and the local sheriff came to the site to serve the injunc-

79Ibid.
81Backenstos, Letter to Lane, 12 December 1853.
82"Suicide," Oregon Statesman, 6 October 1857, 2. The surgeon was probably Alden Steele.
83"Obituary: Backenstos Rites Set," Oregon (Portland) Journal, 3 March 1967, 8. This is the obituary of James, Jacob's second child. It contains the information that his father was "an early day commander of Ft. Vancouver, Wash."
84Lang, History of the Willamette Valley, 700. Backenstos homesteaded a plot in the center of town, possibly the location for this house.
tion, Fahie insulted Judge Orville Pratt, a friend of Backenstos's in whose court the matter would be heard. Angered, Backenstos drew a gun on Fahie, who responded in kind. The sheriff intervened and arrested Fahie; Judge Pratt sentenced him for contempt. A rumor later arose that Backenstos and Fahie had fought a duel.

On 30 June 1851, Backenstos resigned his commission. He had engaged in land speculation and farming when he first arrived in Oregon and continued to pursue these interests, but he also clearly experienced a revival of his political aspirations. The next year he was in Portland where he wrote seven letters to “my old friend,” Joseph Lane, former territorial governor and now territorial representative to Congress. Both men were staunch Democrats. The first of these letters was written in November 1852 and the last on 26 May 1854; and in four of them, Backenstos asked Lane to secure his appointment as either federal marshal of Oregon Territory or, preferably, Superintendent of Indian Affairs.

Lane responded, but his answers have apparently not survived. Perhaps Lane did not feel that Backenstos was a sufficiently stable candidate; and it is true that the former sheriff tells two different stories about resigning his commission. In December 1853, he complained: “I was most unjustly persecuted by some of the ‘Rifle’ officers, and driven to resign my commission which I value highly.” A few months later, he told a different story: “When the Rifle Regiment was ordered from Oregon to the states in the spring of 1851, the ill health of my family and particularly the State and delicate situation of my wife precluded the possibility of accompanying me with the Regiment, And the act of leaving them behind thousands of miles,

86Knuth, Letter to Thompson.
89Jacob Backenstos, Letters to Joseph Lane, Portland, Oregon, 27 November, 3 December 1852, and 20 December 1852, and 5 January 1853, Oregon Historical Society. He addresses Lane as “my old friend” in the second letter.
90Backenstos, Letter to Lane, 12 December 1853.
in a strang & new Country would have been unnatural, if not cruel on my part And which forced me to resign my Commission.” Backenstos changed his tune again in early 1854, petitioned Lane to get his commission as brevet lieutenant colonel reinstated, and described himself as “like a fish out of water ever since my resignation in 1851.” He would be willing to accept a lower rank, but major “would be the lowest grade I could accept.” Backenstos also asked Lane to enlist Stephen A. Douglas’s aid. Again, there is no record that either man took any action.

In February and March 1852, an anti-Democrat satire appeared in serial installments, then was published in booklet form. Written by William Lysander Adams, it featured a character based on Backenstos. Oregon was then embroiled in a bitter fight between the Whigs and the Democrats over the location of the new capital. The Whigs wanted it to stay in Oregon City (later renamed Portland), while the Democrats wanted it moved to Salem. *Treason, Stratagems, and Spoils* was written in blank verse and crudely illustrated by Adams himself. Adams accused Orville Pratt and his cronies, including

91 Ibid., 26 May 1854. Backenstos meant that his wife was pregnant. She gave birth to their fifth child in the spring of 1851.
92 Ibid., 28 February and 26 May 1854.
93 Ibid., 12 December 1853.
94 According to Belknap, *Treason, Stratagems, and Spoils*, 1, 32-42, Adams was born in Painesville, Ohio, in 1821 and attended Knox College in Galesburg, Illinois, in 1841 when the Mormons were rising to power seventy miles northeast in Nauvoo. Democrats prevailed with the Mormon vote, which, most likely soured Adams against them. He studied for the ministry at Bethany College, Virginia, whose president was Alexander Campbell. In 1844, he returned to Illinois and married Frances Goodell, who had earlier been courted by Daniel H. Wells, a future counselor to Brigham Young. In March 1848, he moved to Oregon with his wife and two daughters where he taught school, mined gold, farmed, began to write satirical articles and verse for the *Whig Oregonian* in 1851, and then published a paper (1855-59). He was appointed Oregon’s collector of customs (1861-67), then became a doctor. He died at his farm near the Hood River in 1906. Although *Treason, Stratagems, and Spoils* appeared under the pseudonym “Breakspear,” the author’s identity was “an open secret.”
95 Ibid., 102 note 31.
Backenstos, not only of using political influence to move the capital, but also of treason and sedition. He portrayed them as plotting to overthrow the territorial government and create, strangely enough, a Mormon state which would then declare war on the United States and seize California. 96

The play portrayed the treasonous leaders, including Backenstos, as “hateful ‘gnawing worms,’” able to gull only “an ignorant stupid set” of Oregon’s citizens, “rear’d up on corn and bacon . . . suckers and pukes . . . who in the main do not understand the first principles of . . . civilization; people who place the most implicit confidence in all their leaders—religious and political.” Black, the character representing Backenstos, was introduced as the “one Democrat in Oregon with Mormon associations and firsthand knowledge of the sect” who spied for Pratt and delivered to him a copy of a pamphlet supporting Joseph Smith’s 1844 bid for the U.S. presidency. This pamphlet recommended the abolition of prisons in favor of training convicts in useful professions, and Black announced to the judge: “Here are the only ‘views’ that harmonize with mine on criminal discipline.”98 The editor of Adams’s play reported that he included Backenstos as much for his religious associations as for his political ties with Pratt. 99 Backenstos’s reaction to this play is not known.

In 1853, Backenstos served as delegate to the Oregon Territorial Democratic Party convention and also sought unsuccessfully for a militia appointment with a colonel’s rank. 100 A letter to Lane mentions various land speculations. 101 Because title applications were

96Ibid., 4-16, 22, 29. In August 1852, five months after the play’s publication, Apostle Orson Pratt would publicly announce the practice of polygamy at a conference in Salt Lake City.
97Ibid., 70 note 9 and 90-91.
99Belknap, Treason, Stratagems, and Spoils, 154 notes 32 and 34.
101Backenstos, Letter to Lane, 26 May 1854.
being submitted in the thousands, delays in registration made it possible to sell tracts more than once. Backenstos told Lane, however, that he had already sold his interests back to the original owners, before the commissioner of the general land office could involve him in a dispute. However, an unnamed reporter for the Oregon Statesman, writing Backenstos’s obituary, said he purchased “claims” on land in and around Portland, loaned money, and reportedly “emassed [sic] considerable wealth.” As a result of his “business transactions, . . . there was much feeling existing against him . . . [which] had rendered him exceeding odious.” They also generated “several law suits.”

The obituary also reports that, in the spring of 1857 in an altercation over a land deal, Backenstos “snapped a revolver several times” at an unnamed neighbor, but it misfired each time. Meanwhile, the neighbor was “pursuing him with an axe and nearly sever[ed] his thumb.” In mid-September 1857, a grand jury indicted Backenstos for “assault with intent to kill.” He petitioned successfully for a change of venue to Clackamas County, claiming “that the people of Multoomah [sic] were too much prejudiced against him to give him a fair trial.” While awaiting trial, Backenstos gloomily watched prisoners being escorted past his house to the penitentiary and remarked to an acquaintance that “his chance to go there for eight to ten years was very good, . . . that there was a great deal of prejudice against him, and he did not think he could get a fair trial, but that he would never go to the penitentiary—he would die first.”

His case was supposed to come to trial during the last week of September; but on Friday night, 25 September 1857, Jacob Backenstos committed suicide by throwing himself into the Willamette River near its powerful waterfalls. Confirming the probability of

103“Suicide,” 2. We thank Calvin Smith, Charleston, Illinois, for drawing this source to our attention.
104Ibid.
suicide is that he reportedly told Sarah that he “might drowned himself,” had given her all his scrip issued by the army worth $10,000 to $30,000, told her the location of his watch, and “settled up all his business.” Thus, at age forty-six, a man who was a loyal friend to the Mormons during a few crucial years, ended his life.

Sarah Backenstos, as she administered Jacob’s estate, quickly discovered that Jacob’s affairs were in considerable disarray. On 11 August 1860, she married a minister, Moses Clampit, in Portland, but died herself on 3 November 1863, leaving the estate’s problems and the four younger children in the care of her eldest son, twenty-one-year-old Edwin. Edwin, an insurance agent and future Portland city treasurer and deputy collector of taxes, dealt competently with the legal problems, sent his siblings to good boarding schools, and saw them all grow to become upright citizens in Portland, Oregon.

It is one of the frustrating elements of history, as Carl Becker points out, “Left to themselves [historical facts] do not speak. . . . The least the historian can do with any historical fact is to select and affirm it.” Why did Backenstos, a non-Mormon, endanger himself

2, reports the date as Saturday, 26 September 1857; 25 September is correct. J. C. McCubbin, grandson of Joseph McCubbin, a friend of Backenstos’s, wrote that his grandfather believed that Backenstos “was accidently drowned in a lake.” J. C. McCubbin, Notes written on extract of letter from Jacob Backenstos to Hiram G. Ferris, in Portland, Oregon, 4 November 1856, typescript copy, LDS Church Archives. Given the strong documentation that Backenstos intended to commit suicide, this notation is probably wishful thinking on McCubbin’s part.


and his family by defending those whom so many others thought were worthy of persecution and expulsion? Did he have an exaggerated sense of duty? Was Ford right in seeing him as merely “shrewd” and “cunning,” trying to obligate the Mormon voting bloc? Was he motivated by admiration or sympathy for the Mormons and their cause? Or loyalty to his brother’s wife? Obviously a brave man, he also appeared to thrive on conflict. Did he sometimes seek it out?

According to B. H. Roberts, Backenstos “told the people of Hancock County that ‘The Mormon community had acted with more than ordinary forbearance, remaining perfectly quiet, and offering no resistance when their dwellings, their buildings, stacks of grain, etc., were set on fire in their presence. They had forborne until forbearance was no longer a virtue.” Here Backenstos expresses admiration for the Mormons’ manifestation of Christian patience and felt that he was duty bound, both by his office and as a fellow Christian, to assist them.

Although Jacob Backenstos did not feel drawn to the tenets of Mormonism, some Mormons have left a record of appreciation for his quick and decisive actions, which undoubtedly saved many lives of both Saints and non-Mormons in and around Nauvoo. Hosea Stout, Nauvoo’s chief of police, recalled that Brigham Young complimented Jacob Backenstos as “the only man that has ever stood up for equal rights” for Mormons and non-Mormons alike, “& if he goes right we will make a great man of him yet awhile.” Benjamin F. Johnson in his autobiography called Backenstos a man of “sterling integrity for law and order.” B. H. Roberts passed historical judgment on Backenstos as doing “all in his power to arrest the spread of violence” in and around Nauvoo. Orson Spencer, speaking

110Quoted in Roberts, Comprehensive History, 2:477.
111Brooks, The Diary of Hosea Stout, 1:74. This statement suggests that Young saw him as a potential Church leader if he would convert.
113Comprehensive History of the Church, 2:477.
"with sanction of President Young and his council," termed Backenstos a "noble-hearted patriot" and a "noble right arm of the law."\textsuperscript{114}

True, a local Illinois paper compared him to the "dictator" Napoleon and another in Oregon said he gained an "exceedingly odious" reputation. Still, to remember him as one who also embodied fine human qualities seems fitting for a man who risked so much in the performance of what he considered his duty.

\textsuperscript{114}History of the Church, 7:503.
MISSIONARY COUPLES
IN COMMUNIST EUROPE

Kahlile Mehr

The pattern for missionary work in the twentieth-century LDS Church was to spread the gospel through temporary companionships of young single missionaries. Church authorities altered this pattern at the end of the century by calling married partners to undertake not only the traditional chore of proselytizing but also an expanded role of representing the Church in leadership and political roles. This development was pivotal in the Church's expansion into eastern Europe in the 1980s.

President Joseph Fielding Smith made an unprecedented statement in October 1970 general conference when he said, "We now have many and can use many more stable and mature couples in this great missionary cause, and we hope that those who are worthy and qualified will set their affairs in order and respond to calls to preach the gospel and perform their obligations acceptably."¹ While missionary service had been available to couples prior to 1970, it had

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not been promoted in general conferences by Church authorities. Indeed, in the April 1949 general conference, David O. McKay observed: "[Elderly couples] seem strong, capable to do work here at home, but when they get in the field under different circumstances, not a small number of them fail to meet the vicissitudes and responsibilities of the mission."²

Behind this new direction in missionary work was the evolution in technologically advanced countries of a new social class—the retired. During the twentieth century, more and more people left the labor force with the means to sustain themselves comfortably. From 1950 to 1990, the number of men over sixty-five in the U.S. labor force dropped from 50 to 20 percent. At the same time, more workers were enrolled in private pension plans, increasing their retirement income. This circumstance differed markedly from that at the turn of the century when workers had little or no retirement savings or assured income in later life. Concurrently, medical technology improved the health of the elderly population throughout the twentieth century, adding many healthy years to the average lifespan.³ As the century progressed, senior citizens in general and LDS couples in particular became better able to be productively engaged after retirement without requiring compensation.

The result was a reservoir of healthy, financially independent, experienced, retired citizens, available to render volunteer service without financial recompense. While the option for senior service in the mission field has always been available, it is only since 1970 that the Church has actively encouraged its seniors to devote their time and energies to full-time missionary work, usually for eighteen months.

In the early 1970s, senior service emphasis was on a welfare rather than a proselytizing role. In 1971, for instance, "health missionaries" began teaching the basics of nutrition, sanitation, and disease prevention, especially in developing countries.⁴ This focus

⁴James B. Allen and Richard O. Cowan, "History of the Church:
reflected the fact that many senior couples had skills acquired during their professional lives that could be used to provide temporal assistance. The Church organized the Welfare Services Department in 1973 to correlate health services, social services, and welfare. In 1974 and 1975 conference talks, Vaughn J. Featherstone, then a counselor in the Presiding Bishopric, and Marion G. Romney, second counselor in the First Presidency, discussed couples' service in an exclusive context of welfare missions.\(^5\)

In October 1977 general conference, Elder A. Theodore Tuttle, a member of the Presidency of the First Quorum of Seventy, announced a new direction for senior service. He devoted an entire address to the subject of missionary couples serving in leadership roles. Stressing the need for mature couples with a background of Church service to train those serving as leaders who were youthful in Church experience, he asked those with sufficient funds, in good health, and without dependent children still at home: "Would you like to serve? Such a call will delay your retirement, take you off the golf course, and take you away from your mobile home. . . . The emphasis now is for experienced couples to teach leadership principles (which you already know) to inexperienced leaders."\(^6\) In the October Ensign issued just prior to the conference, Elder Thomas S. Monson, then chair of the Missionary Committee, responded to the question "What about couple missionaries—does the Church want or need more?," with the emphatic answer: "We have a great need for missionary couples—and by that we mean retired couples. . . . Our greatest need is often in areas where the Church is just emerging. . . . These areas need and yearn for someone who has been in the Church, has served in positions, and can help new Saints see how everything really functions."\(^7\)

In retrospect, 1977 was a watershed year that presaged a con-

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certed and continuous effort in general conferences, the Church’s highest public forum, to encourage the missionary service of mature Church couples and expand their perception of the many missionary roles in which they might serve. Occurring during the administration of President Spencer W. Kimball, this thrust reflects his well-known disposition to expand and diversify the missionary effort. This theme was readdressed by Seventies Vaughan J. Featherstone and Jacob de Jager in 1978, then by Apostle David B. Haight in April 1979. Haight commented: “Some generally think that full-time missionary service is only for younger, unmarried men and women. However, a new social pattern is emerging. The number of men and women retiring from active employment or from professions is continually increasing, at what President Kimball or Elder LeGrand Richards would consider a very early age.”

General Authorities returned to this theme fourteen times in general conferences during the 1980s. Ezra Taft Benson mentioned it in passing five times, first as an apostle and then as Church president, and David B. Haight devoted two additional complete addresses to the subject in 1987 and 1988.

The response was not overwhelming. From 1979 to 1994 the total number of missionary couples serving increased from 785 to 1,706. This trend represents an increase from 5 to 7 percent of the total missionary force. Yet numbers give an inadequate glimpse of the total picture. The missionary service of only a few senior couples greatly assisted in parting the curtain that veiled the then-Communist world from Church influence.

**SENIOR COUPLES IN EASTERN EUROPE**

In 1977, the Church sent its first missionary couple into the Communist world, where missions did not formally exist, to perform missionary service. Twenty-four additional couples were sent to the same locale during the next decade, testing the resolve of Communist authorities to keep the peoples of the eastern bloc isolated from Western influences. Taking up temporary residence in the border

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countries of Poland, Yugoslavia, and Hungary, these couples were not commissioned to proselytize as much as to represent the Church in ways less threatening to Communist regimes. Missionary couples were the primary missionary force in the eastern bloc from 1977 to 1987 when the Church established the Austria Vienna East Mission and began to send in young missionaries. During this period, senior couples established the foundation of the Church in Communist-controlled Europe when Communism was still a potent political force. Senior couples continued to serve after 1987 but less independently than previously.

As with most missionaries, senior couples encouraged members and taught nonmembers, although in Communist countries they were limited to responding to questions from those who sought them out rather than initiating the contact. Most important in the eastern bloc, senior couples presented a living example of a church that was little known to civil leaders and officials. Thus, they assumed a political role in building trust between the Church and state. At the same time, they also helped on request in making contacts with lawyers and government officials as part of seeking the legal recognition that would allow the Church to operate freely. Senior couples in this role gave the Church a point of contact in these countries, not just a whirlwind visit from a General Authority. Government leaders got a long-term look at members in person and could judge the Church accordingly.

This role partly resulted from the fact that in central and eastern Europe couples operated outside the bounds of regularly constituted missions. At first, they were loosely supervised from a great distance by the International Mission, whose mission presidency was headquartered in Salt Lake City. With the creation of the East European Mission in 1981, they were supervised more closely from Vienna. The same arrangement continued through this mission's successors: the Europe Central districts in 1982, and the Austria Vienna East Mission from 1987. When missions began to be established in the various countries in the 1990s, couples continued to serve in them but not in the same prominent role they had had earlier when, in essence, they were the Church leadership in those countries. They

\footnote{Yugoslavia is an exception. Young missionaries served there 1978-81 and returned in 1986. Only in 1987 did young missionaries begin to enter other countries.}
were on their own, not only in representing the Church, but also in devising and implementing the program they deemed best for accomplishing their purpose. In general, they were told to make friends and then pursue whatever developed from that. Missionaries without missions, they explored uncharted shores of senior missionary service.

**The International Mission**

William Grant Bangerter of the Seventy and president of the International Mission in cooperation with David M. Kennedy, the special representative of the Church’s First Presidency, conceived the plan to send senior couples into areas without missions. In late 1977, Bangerter called Matthew and Marion Ciembronowicz from Rockford, Illinois, to serve in Poland. Kennedy knew them from his service in the Chicago Stake presidency (1947-63). The Polish government had granted legal recognition to the Church in August of that year. The first Communist nation to even consider such an act, Poland was then the most openly dissident member of the eastern bloc.

The calling was one of several in which Bangerter sent missionaries to far-flung locations without missions, including Mauritius and Sri Lanka. The decision probably evolved from the latitude President Kimball gave Kennedy to operate outside the Church hierarchy to get the Church into more countries, and Bangerter’s own experience working outside regular channels as the president of an unannounced mission in Portugal in 1974-75.

**Couple Missionaries in Poland**

Matthew and Marian Ciembronowicz served a leadership role with respect to the members, as first announced by Elder Tuttle, but also performed proselytizing and political tasks. Though they entered on tourist visas, the authorities knew they were more than

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12 Dennis B. Neuenschwander, interviewed by Kahlile Mehr, 17 February 2000, Salt Lake City. Unless otherwise identified, I conducted all interviews, notes of which are in my possession.

13 W. Grant Bangerter, statement to Kahlile Mehr, 21 January 2000.

tourists and permitted Matthew not only to sustain, instruct, and
direct a handful of members but also to baptize converts. Indeed,
the authorities even dictated where the baptisms would be per-
formed. In a political capacity, Matthew inquired whether govern-
ment officials would permit the Church to bring in young mission-
aries. He accompanied Elder James E. Faust, successor to Bangerter
as president of the International Mission, on visits to government
authorities in August 1978. Faust explained how the Church would
strengthen families and that members would obey the laws of the
land.  

Matthew had an important skill not always shared by other
missionary couples who served in Communist Europe. He spoke the
native tongue. In fact, he had interpreted for David Kennedy twice
on earlier visits to Poland before his mission call. Having learned the
language as a child, he spoke without an accent. On his first visit, he
was accompanied by Marian and their son Adam. After six months
in the country, the family returned to Chicago for two weeks; then
Matthew returned alone in March 1978. For a total of two years,
sometimes alone and sometimes with Marian, he continued to visit
Poland, usually for ninety days (the time permitted on a tourist visa),
returning to Chicago between visits.  

Providing leadership to the small but growing handful of Polish
members was complicated by the fact that the government would
not permit a foreigner to preside over a church in Poland. To satisfy
this requirement, President Kimball had called Fryderyk Czerwinski,
an older man with little Church experience, baptized in Dresden,
East Germany, but living in Szczecin (close to the German border in
western Poland), as the Church’s leader in Poland. Having never
been trained in principles of Church leadership, Czerwinski acted
as if he were the final authority in Poland rather than working co-
operatively with Matthew and others. Matthew wrote home in April

15Matthew Ciembronowicz, Letter to Marian Ciembronowicz, 14
April 1979; 7 August 1978; 22 August 1978, Matthew Henry
Ciembronowicz, Letters, March 1978-April 1979, Archives, Family and
Church History Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,
Salt Lake City (hereafter LDS Church Archives).

16Matthew Ciembronowicz, telephone-interviewed by Kahlile Mehr,
4 December 1996; Walter Whipple, telephone-interviewed by Kahlile Mehr,
25 November 1996.
1978 that Czerwinski argued with his counselor and spoke negatively of others. In March 1979 Matthew lamented to his wife, “The Church in Poland is hanging by a thread” because the members were demoralized by the “antics of Bro. Czerwinski.” Kennedy released Czerwinski later that year and he lapsed into inactivity.17

For several months during 1978, Matthew was assisted by another couple, Teofilo and Dalila Rebicki from Curitiba, Brazil. They worked with members in Szczecin after Czerwinski’s release until November 1978 when they were transferred to finish their mission in Portugal.18 After the Ciembronowiczs completed their mission in 1980, Wilford and Helene Jelinek from Salt Lake City served there briefly during the same year before departing because of the civil unrest caused by the Solidarity Movement.19 After a four-year hiatus, other missionary couples returned to Poland, beginning in 1984. (See below.)

**COUPLE MISSIONARIES IN HUNGARY**

In 1978, the International Mission called Joseph and Kathleen Bentley of Provo, Utah, to serve in Hungary. Joseph Bentley, a retired administrator from Brigham Young University had no Hungarian expertise but extensive Church experience, including service in the presidency of the Provo Temple, situated just across the street from his home. As in Poland, the Bentleys had a political role with respect to the government authorities and a leadership role with respect to the members. However, because the Church was not yet recognized, their proselytizing role was more restrained than in Poland. Joseph Bentley identified their purpose in his journal: “to make friends and prepare the way for regular missionaries.” They traveled from Salt Lake City to Hungary in April 1978 with lists of members, contacts, friends, and relatives of members in the United States.20

As Church leaders, the Bentleys sought to support the members. Hungary had no formal Church organization. In Budapest and its environs, they established contact with a few members who had been baptized in 1976 by Gustav Salik, president of the Austria Vienna Mission, in a failed attempt to establish a branch in Hungary. These isolated members had had virtually no experience within the Church and only two visited the Bentleys infrequently during their stay in Budapest. Most other members feared government reprisal and avoided the Bentleys.

However, in the community of Debrecen, 150 miles east of Budapest, they visited Janos Denndörfer and Margit Toth, both of whom had been baptized years earlier in other countries and had thereafter remained faithful despite isolation. In Sopron 150 miles west of Budapest, they visited another faithful member, Anna Poor. They also visited nonmembers on their list of contacts. Kenneth Myers, president of the Austria Vienna Mission, accompanied them on some of their visits. One of the nonmembers expressed an interest in being baptized if the Church was recognized in Hungary.21

As part of their political assignment, the Bentleys consulted an attorney to investigate the requirements for obtaining legal recognition for the Church. They coordinated their work with David Farnsworth, the Church's legal representative in Frankfurt, who visited several times. In April 1979, David M. Kennedy came to Hungary to visit Imre Miklos, the minister of religious affairs. The Bentleys did not accompany him on this visit; however, they met separately with Kennedy and also made many contacts with professors, museum directors, and other educators and professionals. He also commissioned Hungarian poet Sandor Weores to translate selected Church hymns.22 Although recognition was a decade distant, the Bentleys had represented a religion in the Communist world without reprisal.

Theodore Verhaaren, a German professor, and his wife, Nita, of Palo Alto, California, replaced the Bentleys in late 1979. They also were instructed not to proselytize but primarily to maintain contact with members. Apparently they were not given a political assign-
ment, because when David Kennedy visited them in 1980, they did not know who he was. Theodore took him on a streetcar to the U.S. embassy. The streetcar lurched, and Kennedy nearly fell in the lap of an older Hungarian lady, who cursed him roundly. Theodore was amazed when the embassy extended honors to their unexpected visitor. The duo then visited Imre Miklos, minister of religious affairs, who told them that the Church could be registered only if the government approved its leadership selections, a circumstance that had caused problems in Poland and probably one Kennedy wished to avoid again. Kennedy interviewed the Verhaarens extensively about the situation they faced and concluded to deal with the Hungarian situation later, hopefully after the political climate changed. The Verhaarens were transferred to Mauritius where they completed their mission.23

A VIENNA COUPLE

In late 1980 the future looked dim for senior couples in the Communist bloc. No missionaries served in-country in either Poland or Hungary, although Glen and Mildred Warner of Glenwood, Utah, a senior couple in the International Mission operating out of Vienna, continued to maintain contact with Church members in both countries from November 1979 to December 1980. When they visited Hungarian Janos Denndörfer in Debrecen, he gave them his tithing money. The Warners spent the money in Hungary, then reimbursed the tithing account in Vienna with Austrian money. In Poland, they worked with convert Lona Czerwinska to establish an information center on Nowy Swiat, a boulevard in central Warsaw, stocking it with Church literature that they carried in their car trunk under a rug. At the Czech border, the guard was about to inspect their vehicle when a coworker called him over and he waved them through. They passed through inspection without a problem at the Polish border.

In Yugoslavia, a few elders had been allowed to enter the country in 1978. The Warners visited members and also worked with these dozen young missionaries. Glen Warner jokingly referred to them as the “dirty dozen,” after a war movie of the same name.24

24Everett Smith, interviewed by Kahlile Mehr, 22 June 1995,
The Warners passed through but did not visit members in Czechoslovakia where contact with members was being maintained by former missionaries to that country. The Warners reported directly to Carlos E. Asay, executive director of the Missionary Department in Salt Lake City. He had replaced Elder Faust as president of the International Mission. They also coordinated their work with Bryant Smith, president of the Austria Vienna Mission.\(^{25}\)

**EUROPE CENTRAL DISTRICTS**

The Warners' solo operation lasted for a year. In January 1981, the Church established the unpublicized East European Mission with Edwin B. Morrell, a political science professor from Brigham Young University, as president. He was appointed to work out of Vienna, replacing the long-distance supervision of the International Mission. After a year and a half, Morrell was called as president of the Austria Vienna Mission in July 1982; and the East European Mission was subsumed as an additional responsibility of that office. The ephemeral East European Mission was renamed as the Europe Central districts of Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Greece, and Czechoslovakia.\(^{26}\) In 1984, Spencer J. Condie, a professor of ancient scripture from BYU, replaced him, serving until 1987.

During the Morrell period, eight senior couples served in the five districts: five couples living in Yugoslavia, one living in Poland, and two living in Vienna and visiting Hungary and Yugoslavia. Because of political circumstances, couple missionaries did not serve in Czechoslovakia, but Morrell, a former Czech missionary, visited and supported the members there. Eleven additional couples as noted later on served in Yugoslavia, Poland, and Hungary under Condie.\(^{27}\) When the Austria Vienna East Mission was created in July

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\(^{25}\)Mildred Warner, telephone-interviewed by Kahlile Mehr, 3 December 1996.

\(^{26}\)Edwin Morrell, interviewed by Kahlile Mehr, 7 July 1990, Provo, Utah.

\(^{27}\)The total of eleven does not include another four who served in Greece, a country not covered in this article. In addition to those named in the rest of the article, these missionaries included George and Norma Demetras, Nicolus and Georgia Mavromatis, Arthur and Leah Arvanitas, and Alonzo and Renae Plumb.
1987, the Europe Central Districts were dissolved. Counting the six couples already described who served prior the creation of the districts, twenty-five couples served in eastern Europe from 1977 to 1987.

**COUPLE MISSIONARIES IN YUGOSLAVIA**

The initial effort to establish a mission in Yugoslavia occurred in 1975 when the Church appointed Gustav Salik from Brazil to attempt the task. Though he tried assiduously for a year, the Yugoslav government refused to issue the needed visa. Finally in 1978, the Church began to send in young missionaries, mostly on tourist visas, a system employed for three years. Just prior to Morrell's arrival in January 1981, Yugoslavia had begun to expel missionaries.

Despite this setback, Yugoslavia in the 1980s seemed to have a great potential for missionary success due to the presence of Kresimir Cosić, a national basketball hero, and an outspoken advocate for the Church. Converted while playing basketball at Brigham Young University, he fearlessly represented the Church in his native land. He would appear on national television and declare, "Well, yes, I guess I am the number one star of the game, but that's because I don't drink or smoke, I take care of my body, and I'm a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Saints." 28

In September 1980, Gordon B. Hinckley, newly appointed as a counselor in Spencer W. Kimball's First Presidency, visited Zagreb. After reviewing the dismal circumstances that hindered the efforts of the young missionaries, he decided to remove them and send in senior couples. 29 In June 1981 the first missionary couple to serve in Yugoslavia, Vaughn and Ester Stosich of Idaho Falls, Idaho, arrived in Zagreb, Croatia. Vaughn's father was native Croatian, but Vaughn did not speak the language and the couple attended school to study the language. Their student status also provided an ostensible reason for their presence in the country. Vaughn baptized Ivan

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Valek, who later fulfilled a principal role as a Church leader in Yugoslavia. Over the next six years, a succession of couples sustained a handful of members and baptized a few converts in Croatia and Serbia.

The experience of Ralph and Elaine Gibbons in Zagreb, Croatia, illustrates the work of these missionary couples in Yugoslavia. At first, they lived on the third story of an apartment building without an elevator. They heated the apartment with a portable electric radiator, but one day out of four there was no electricity. Their bed was a queen-sized mattress on the floor.

In their leadership role, the Gibbons conducted Church services in their apartment, but they met under tense circumstances. The law required that no more than five people could meet without written permission from the authorities. Inasmuch as the law was intended to stop subversion, LDS members who met to worship felt justified in skirting the law. To remain inconspicuous, they came to the Gibbons apartment one or two at a time and left the same way.

Although it was illegal to proselytize, the Gibbonses answered the questions of the curious. When they heard anyone speak English, they would introduce themselves and give the other person an opportunity for a conversation. Many were curious about why an American couple was in Yugoslavia, and this question would sometimes lead to a gospel discussion. The authorities never interfered. On one occasion the Gibbonses unknowingly had such a conversa-

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30Ester Stosich, telephone-interviewed by Kahlile Mehr, 21 February 1996.
31The couples serving in Croatia were John and Arlene Irwin of Morgan, Utah; Ralph and Elaine Gibbons of Mesa, Arizona; William and Barbara Williams of St. George, Utah; Fred and Marguerite Glowa of Carmengay, Alberta; and Owen and Ila Cluff of Lake Point, Utah. Those serving in Serbia were Lee and Marilyn Manwill of Salt Lake City, Joseph and Melba Padovich of Mesa, Arizona; William and JoAnn Wilson of Kailua, Hawaii, and Blaine and Thelma McKinley of Orem, Utah.
32I use them as an example only because their history is the best source currently available to me as of this writing. It is not meant to diminish the significant contributions of the other couples who served in Croatia and Serbia.
34Ibid., 9.
tion with a Communist youth leader but did not experience any adverse consequences. 35

Like most missionary couples who served in Yugoslavia, even those with Yugoslav heritage, they had little or no facility with Serbo-Croatian. They faithfully studied the language, as did other couples, but this deficiency limited the range of their contacts and their effectiveness as teachers. For instance, the Stosichs taught discussions primarily by giving contacts the discussion to read. 36

Ralph and Elaine Gibbons achieved their political purpose in a novel manner. Ralph helped in renovating an apartment to serve as a meeting place, coordinating the work of the Church architect in Vienna, the on-site architect who handled the subcontractors, and a local member who obtained permits from the various government agencies. 37 According to David Farnsworth, the eventual approval of the meeting place by the authorities constituted legal recognition for the Church in Yugoslavia.

THE 1984 MISSIONARY CONFERENCE

At the same time Spencer J. Condie arrived to preside over the Austria Vienna Mission (July 1984), the First Presidency also instituted the area presidency system. Elder Joseph B. Wirthlin, then a member of the First Quorum of Seventy, was called as first president of the Europe Area. Many decisions previously made in Salt Lake City were now made in Frankfurt, Germany, and other area offices. Condie suggested to Wirthlin that the senior couples from the Europe Central districts come to Vienna because it was not advisable for the area presidency to highlight their presence by visiting them in-country. This conference, the first for senior missionaries in Europe, was held on 4 September 1984. The apostolic advisor for the area, Thomas S. Monson, was present. The couples had suffered from isolation and discouragement; but bringing them together "warmed the spiritual coals," unified them, and gave them a new sense of mission. 38 Other conferences continued to be held thereafter.

35Ibid., 5.
38Spencer Condie, interviewed by James B. Allen, 15-22 March 1989,
SUCCESSOR COUPLE MISSIONARIES, 1982-87

While the greatest number of couples from 1982 to 1987 served in Yugoslavia, others served elsewhere in central and eastern Europe. Eldon and Virginia Hunt of Salt Lake City, operating out of Vienna like the Warners, visited Hungary from March 1982 through June 1983, to see members and interested persons. They spent two weeks at a time in-country with a six-week hiatus between each visit. They also visited the couples serving in Yugoslavia. 39 Donald and Marcia Merkley of Corvallis, Montana, succeeded them in 1983-84 and visited Hungary three or four times a year. The Merkleys also served a second mission in Hungary, 1989-90. 40

Albert and Marjorie Swensen of Provo, Utah, served in Vienna from September 1984 to April 1986 but went into Hungary only once, driven in by the Hunts, who, visiting in Europe after their mission, took them in by car. Margit Toth in Debrecen cooked them a meal, and they held a sacrament meeting in her home, attended by her husband and some of her children. Some of them later joined the Church. 41

In June 1984, Stanley and Gwendolyn Mazur of Fredonia, Arizona, became the first couple missionaries in Poland since Wilford and Helene Jelinek left in 1980. Stanley, a native Pole, could speak German, Czech, Serbo-Croatian, Yiddish, and Russian, as well as Polish. They had joined the Church six years earlier in Carson City, Nevada. 42 Their missionary success behind the Iron Curtain was unprecedented. By September 1985, they had baptized thirty-six and established four branches. 43 Juliusz and Dorothy Fussek of Salt Lake

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39 Eldon Hunt, telephone-interviewed by Kahlile Mehr, 2 December 1996.
40 Don Merkley, telephone-interviewed by Kahlile Mehr, 5 January 1991; Condie, interviewed by James B. Allen.
41 Marjorie H. Swensen, telephone-interviewed by Kahlile Mehr, 30 November 1996.
43 Kahlile Mehr, Journal, 13 November 1985, comments on talk given by Mazurs after their return to the United States; Condie, interviewed by James B. Allen.
City, replaced the Mazurs in September 1985. Like Stanley Mazur, Juliusz had native language skill. He immigrated from Poland to England after World War II where he met and married Dorothy, an Englishwoman. They joined the Church there before moving to Salt Lake City where he worked as a printer. The Fusseks' mission call intended for two years, lasted for five. Their extended service provided important continuity during a formative period.

The description of a Sabbath service by a visitor from Utah manifests Fussek's leadership and proselytizing role: "A young native branch presidency took charge and brought dignity and order to the meetings; I was surprised at how well they already seemed to know what their responsibilities were. Still, they relied on the Fusseks from time to time, not only to teach some of the classes, but also to explain to them the way various things were done." Teaching a group of investigators after the meeting, the visitor noted that, "Brother Fussek's personalized explanation seemed to illuminate and satisfy the listeners." In addition to these roles, the Fusseks became good friends with public officials. During the visit of several General Authorities in May 1986, Adam Kopotka, the head of the Religious Affairs Ministry, said, "You may build your buildings, you may send your missionaries. You are welcome in Poland. This man," pointing to Juliusz Fussek, "has served your Church well. You can be grateful for his example and his work."

Three more missionary couples entered Poland in 1987, among them, Neil and Leotha Slagowski of Centerville, Utah. The first night in their assigned city of Krakow, Leotha stared out the apartment window into darkness and wondered how they would fare with a poor knowledge of the language, isolated by hundreds of miles from other missionaries, and without any known members to help. She wept but took courage when the thought gently came to her that, with her husband there, "The Priesthood is in Krakow."

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45 Ibid.
47 Leotha Slagowski to family, 1 April 1987, 3, in Leotha Wade Slagowski, Missionary Correspondence, April 1987-May 1988, LDS Church Archives.
They soon discovered a member in the city, baptized in England three and a half years earlier. They spent seven and a half months there being friends and handing out Books of Mormon.

To improve their Polish they attended a course at the Jagellonian University. The director cautioned them that the course was designed for young students who could study hard. Undaunted, they graduated at the top of the class, and when they received their diplomas, the young students stood up, clapped, yelled, whistled and stamped their feet in appreciation for their achievement.

Not only struggling with the language, they found it was difficult to proselytize without a support system of a place to meet and a congregation. As was normally the case for these early missionary couples, the only evidence of a Church was their testimony for there were no congregations to welcome new members and they had no building in which to meet. Circumscribed by the rule in most countries that they could not contact but only answer questions, they carefully avoided overstepping their bounds. They made little apparent progress against the centuries-old Catholic religious tradition of Poland. For instance, it was reported to the Slagowskies that a local Catholic priest simply told his parishioners that if they read the Book of Mormon, he would curse their homes and they would go to hell. However, finishing up their mission in the city of Sopot, on the Baltic shore of northern Poland, they finally experienced a baptismal success as two women joined.

Along with the Slagowskis and Fusseks, Don and Joanne Schultz of Highland, Utah, served in Zielona Gora and Sopot; Hyrum and Ruth Cieslak of South Jordan, Utah, in Wroclaw. One missionary summed up their contribution in his journal, “Their example and spirit have left a lasting impression upon hundreds, I’m sure, if not thousands. Because of their faithfulness and humbleness...”

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50Leotha Slagowski to family, May 20, 1988, 8.
52L. Slagowski to family, May 20, 1988, 2.
53Ibid., 5, 8.
and courage, the doors to this country are opening and great strides are in the making.”

**POST-1987 COUPLES**

The proselytizing success in Poland presaged success elsewhere in central Europe as well as the introduction of young missionaries into countries other than Yugoslavia. In April 1987, elders entered Hungary concurrently with a new couple, Wayne and Linnea Johnson of Midvale, Utah; and in January 1988, elders joined four missionary couples in Poland. Young missionaries and couples had already served jointly in Yugoslavia since 1986 but with less success than in Hungary and Poland after 1987.

The Johnsons entered Hungary with ninety-six referrals whom they sought to contact in fulfilling their proselytizing role. The Johnsons were happy to find that many spoke some English. They were not permitted to baptize in Hungary but investigators who could afford it went to Vienna to receive the ordinance. They were joined by Alan and Ruth MacFarlane of Salt Lake City, in September 1987. Alan had been a physician before he retired which gave him common ground with some of the early Hungarian members who were also physicians. They were told by President Dennis Neuenschwander to develop a circle of friends and they described their service to those at home as a “fellowshipping mission.” They did this energetically, making numerous contacts as they moved about on Church business, often finding people who could speak English. They had the young missionaries as a backup for situations that required teaching in the Hungarian language.

The couples also had political and leadership roles. According to Johnson, they were also to assist in getting the Church recognized, to find reviewers for the Hungarian translation of the Book of Mormon, and to obtain a meeting place. The actual negotiations for recognition were conducted by General Authorities, but the couples

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were an important point of contact. Hungary granted the desired recognition in June 1988. The Ministry of Religion notified the media of the event and they publicized the event widely. Interested Hungarians did not know where to find the Church and some called to the Ministry of Religion, who referred them to the couples.  

In a pre-service letter, President Condie told the Johnsons they would be on the "cutting edge of a miracle." Recognition dramatically changed the work. The elders taught from "eight in the morning until ten at night." People would come to the missionary apartment asking if they had found the "Mormon Church."  

From the perspective of the tentative efforts of the Bentleys a decade earlier, a "miracle" had occurred.

The Church was able to purchase a Rothschild mansion as the first Church-owned meetinghouse in Hungary. Don Merkley, serving a second mission in eastern Europe with his wife Marcia, was an unpretentious farmer. He revived the rose garden at the mansion and made it blossom. Even so had the missionary couples helped the Church blossom in the Communist world.  

In November 1989 the Berlin Wall was breached, as communism waned, and officially sponsored atheism gave way to the regeneration of open religious activity in central and eastern Europe. In quick succession missionaries entered the states and satellites of the Soviet Union as it faded into oblivion. As has happened further to the west, couples pioneered the missionary cause in Russia as couples from Finland. In late 1989, President Mecham called five couples who knew Russian, on a part-time basis to fellowship new Russian converts and answer the questions of prospective members. In January 1990 he appointed Jussi Kemppainen, his counselor in the Finland Helsinki Mission, to preside over these couples. They served for six months and worked along with the full-time missionaries in both Finland and Russia.  

In July 1990, four new missions were carved from the territory formerly covered by the Austria Vienna East Mission: Hungary Bu-

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57Johnson interview.
58Ibid.
59Neuenschwander interview.
The Journal of Mormon History
dapest, Poland Warsaw, Czechoslovakia Prague, and Finland Helsinki East. Couples continued to assist in the work. During the next three years, approximately twenty-five couples staffed mission offices, fulfilled leadership and proselytizing responsibilities, and also engaged in welfare service, not previously the case in central and eastern Europe. The mission presidencies assumed complete responsibility for political negotiations role. The lone vigil of the senior couples had ended.

STRENGTHS AND DEFICIENCIES

The Soviet Union and its Communist program lingered until December 1991 when the union was dissolved and Communism slipped into history as a failure. By that date, the Church had established missions over most of central and eastern Europe. Young missionaries had begun to proselytize there much as in any other nation of the world. The record of their service is much better known than that their predecessors, who operated in intentional obscurity before the regular program of the Church could be established.

The senior couples had limitations. Some couples in Poland had native language skill and a few couples serving elsewhere communicated in German, but a majority of the senior couples spoke only English. Some assiduously studied the local language and developed limited proficiency. Still, the lack of native language skill often limited their circle of contacts. Another problem was functioning outside well-defined channels of authority. With limited guidance and in isolation most of the time, senior couples serving in the same area did not always agree on how to proceed and were not always able to resolve their differences without interpersonal conflict.

Nevertheless, their overall impact was substantial and positive. Acting as Church leaders, the senior couples sustained members through trials similar to those experienced by the Church in the 1830s when newly baptized members had little precedent on what their membership meant. In their political role, the missionaries represented the Church to government leaders and influential others who grew in their appreciation for the Church and its program. In their proselytizing role, the couples taught and baptized much like other missionaries except where the initiative was in the hands of the contact because of political and legal constraints.

Dennis Neuenschwander, former mission president who was
called to the Second Quorum of Seventy in 1991 (and to the First Quorum in 1994) oversaw much of what happened in central and eastern Europe from 1977 to 1996. He wrote in 1998:

None of the great work the Church has done in Eastern Europe could have been accomplished without the work of missionary couples. They gained friends and experience that became invaluable in later years. . . . The couples were teachers, and where they could, they taught by precept the principles of the gospel. More often they provided valuable lessons in Church leadership to new and inexperienced Church members. But the most teaching the couples did was by example. Their confidence in the future was contagious, and their love for each other provided an enduring example for members of the Church to emulate.61

RIDING ON THE EAGLE'S WINGS: THE JAPANESE MISSION UNDER AMERICAN OCCUPATION, 1948-52

Shinji Takagi

This article will review major ecclesiastical developments in the Japanese Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints from its establishment in March 1948 until the San Francisco Peace Treaty took effect in April 1952. During these four years, Japan was occupied by the Allied (virtually all American) forces, and the Church and its missionaries enjoyed special status as representatives of the occupying powers. My purpose is to trace the Japanese Mission's beginnings in occupied Japan within the broader historical context and to present analyses of why things happened the way they did when they did.

With Japan's defeat in August 1945, American troops under General Douglas MacArthur began landing to occupy the war-weary country.1 The advancing troops met virtually no resistance. With the

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1 MacArthur, commander of the U.S. Armed Forces in the Pacific (AFPAC), subsequently became Supreme Commander for the Allied
shattering of the old militaristic and totalitarian regime, the people were generally open to new ideas and new ways of doing things. Rarely in the history of humankind has a conquered nation so openly and willingly accepted and cooperated with the will of a conquering nation.

The Americans quickly set up an apparatus of occupation to execute the terms of the Potsdam Declaration, namely, to restore and strengthen democracy and human rights in Japan. MacArthur established his headquarters (GHQ/SCAP) in Tokyo, with dual military and civil functions, and launched an ambitious program of reforms through the structure of the largely intact Japanese government. In religious matters, the important reforms included the SCAP directives of October and December 1945, forbidding discrimination against anyone for “his failure to profess and believe in or participate in any practice, rite, ceremony, or observance of” any religion, and establishing “such fundamental human rights as the freedom of assembly, speech, and religion.” An ordinance issued in December 1945 allowed for a religious organization to be incorporated simply upon notifying the authorities and filing the registration with a local court. As a culmination of these and other developments, the new Constitution of Japan was promulgated on 3 November 1946, upholding the principles of democracy, the dignity of the individual, and all basic human rights.

The LDS Church did not respond quickly to this changed religious climate in Japan. The Japan Mission, closed in 1924 for lack of success, remained closed. No official contact was attempted with

Powers (SCAP). After the first sixty-seven months of the occupation, General Matthew B. Ridgway succeeded him for the remaining sixteen months of the occupation.


4 The Japan Mission, which functioned in Japan (1901-24), should not be confused with the Japanese Mission, which functioned in Hawaii from February 1937 to May 1945, when it was renamed the Central Pacific Mission, or the newly formed Japanese Mission, which technically came into existence on 22 October 1947 to initiate work in Japan.
the few dozen Japanese converts from the prewar era who still identified themselves with the Church. American Mormon servicemen, self-motivated and often unauthorized, launched the work of the Church in Japan. The conversion of Tatsui Sato and his family in Narumi (just outside of Nagoya) and the initiation of Sunday meetings for Japanese members in Tokyo by prewar convert Fujiya Nara were among the achievements of these men and women in military uniform. (See “The Eagle and the Scattered Flock.”)

In the spring of 1947, almost two years after the war’s end, the General Authorities made their first move to reestablish the Church in Japan by assigning Melvyn Weenig, president of the Honolulu-based Central Pacific Mission (CPM) to visit Japan, accompanied by Edward L. Clissold. Because the Church had not “carried on missionary work” during “the years immediately preceding the war,” occupation officials allowed only one “representative missionary” to enter the country and did not grant clearance for nearly ten months. As a result, the Church decided to create a separate Japanese Mission and to appoint Clissold, formerly a U.S. naval officer in occupied Japan, as the president; George Albert Smith set him apart on 22 October 1947.

**THE JAPANESE MISSION BEGINS WORK**

Almost three years after the war’s end, Clissold finally obtained clearance to enter Japan. On 13 January 1948, he sent a letter, typed in Japanese, from the mission office in Honolulu to Church members in Japan, announcing:

> Our Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints will reopen a mission in Japan. I have been appointed as Japanese Mission President and will be in charge of setting up the mission and organizing branches. I am scheduled to leave in mid-February, when entry permit will be granted by the authorities. At present, it is planned that the headquarters will be established in either Tokyo or Yokohama. As soon as suitable facilities are found after my arrival, a notice will be placed in newspapers, informing you of the location.

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5Quoted in Tomigoro Takagi, “Hikari wo Futatabi Uketa Koro” (When We Received the Light Again), *Seito no Michi*, January, February, and March 1961, 23-26, 62-65, 126-127. Tomigoro received the letter on 3 February 1948. The translation is mine.
Clissold's departure was delayed, and he arrived in Yokohama on Saturday, 6 March 1948. The next day, Tokyo military group leader William Paul Merrill brought him to Fujiya Nara’s Japanese Sunday meeting in Gotanda, where more than forty people welcomed him.

Edward Lavaun Clissold, born 11 April 1898 in Salt Lake City, was ideally suited for his assignment. As a successful banker in Hawaii, he had vast experience in Church leadership, having served as a counselor in the Oahu Stake presidency (1935-44), president of the Hawaiian Temple (1936-38, 1942-44), and president of the Hawaii-based Japanese Mission (1942-44). Despite his limited skill in Japanese, he was closely associated with Mormons of Japanese ancestry. His previous experience in occupied Japan as a U.S. Naval officer attached to the GHQ/SCAP’s Civil Information and Education Section (CIE), which was charged with responsibility for religious matters, was also relevant. Clissold’s term, however, was brief, lasting only to August 1949. Because of many years of absence from his business affairs, Clissold accepted the calling with the understanding that he would be released as soon as the mission was established and running smoothly.\(^6\)

The first full-term president of the Japanese Mission was Vinal G. Mauss, who succeeded Clissold in August 1949 and served for four years in office until October 1953, about eighteen months beyond the end of the occupation in April 1952. Mauss, born in Murray, Utah, on 16 October 1900, had served as a missionary in the prewar Japan Mission from 1922 until it closed in 1924. In 1931, he moved to California and worked as a broker in real estate and insurance. He was serving as a bishop in the Oakland area when he was called and set apart by President George Albert Smith on 2 August 1949. He arrived in Yokohama on 20 August, accompanied by his wife, Ethel Louise, and their three children.

When the mission was established in March 1948, its first order of business was to find a mission home in the bombed-out city of Tokyo, not least because Clissold's legal status, probationary for sixty days, was contingent upon success in finding an adequate facility to

\(^6\)Edward L. Clissold, “Personal Experiences in the Life of Edward L. Clissold,” n.d., photocopy of typescript. Original in the possession of Richard L. Clissold, who kindly made available to me his father’s personal papers cited in this section, unless otherwise noted.
accommodate himself.\(^7\) After “several days of continuous driving all over Tokyo in search of a house for rent or sale, all to no avail,” he explained, “I went for rest and relaxation to visit my former acquaintances.”\(^8\) His friend was absent, but the family introduced Clissold to a Mr. Kawasoe, the business advisor of Prince Takamatsu. Through this contact, on 20 March Clissold was driven to see “the skeleton of a once palatial residence in a very good neighborhood opposite a park” in the Azabu district. Clissold liked the site, which was for sale for 2,000,000 yen (or $10,000 at the prevailing, though overvalued, exchange rate). A week later, Clissold arranged for architects and engineers from Kajima-Construction Company (one of Japan’s largest) plus Church members with the U.S. Army Engineers to go over the structure. Despite “three direct bomb hits,” they “all pronounced the skeleton in good condition and the house very well constructed” (1-2).

Because of foreign exchange controls, however, the Church could not send this sum into the country to purchase the property. Upon learning that the building belonged to a businessman named Hachiro Shimizu, Clissold decided to see the man.\(^9\) Clissold reported: “I liked Mr. Shimizu right away and was sure we could do business with him. In fact, after much praying over this matter I felt we would eventually get the property no matter what the obstacles” (6).

After exploring different options to get around the problem

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\(^8\) Edward L. Clissold, “Acquiring a Mission Home in Japan,” 5 December 1948, typescript, 1, Archives, Family and Church History Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter LDS Church Archives). Additional quotations from this document are cited by page number in the text.

\(^9\) Hachiro Shimizu was president of Taiyo Engyo, Ltd., a company which took over the management of Mitsui’s salt manufacturing operations in Niigata prefecture in December 1947. Jinji Koshinsho, Zennihon Shinshiroku (Who’s Who in Japan) (Tokyo: Jinji Koshinsho, 1950). According to Clissold, Shimizu also owned a foreign automobile dealership. According to Tokyo Legal Affairs Bureau, Ministry of Justice, Shimizu had purchased the property in October 1947 from Shinzo Mihashi, a prominent businessman affiliated with Mitsui.
posed by the exchange controls, Shimizu agreed to "deed the property to the church free of encumbrances and that the Church would give him a letter agreeing to pay him $10,000 or the then equivalent in yen when the law permitted." However, Clissold and Shimizu learned that no sum in foreign money could be mentioned in a commercial transaction. They solved this problem by agreeing that "the sale price of the property would be mutually determined at a future date." Undaunted, Shimizu told Clissold that "he had decided to let us have the property and that the word of the Church through me was security enough for him" (6-7).

On 19 April, in accordance with the requirement of the Religious Corporation Ordinance of 28 December 1945, Clissold filed a notification of the incorporation for the "Japanese Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints" in its English form with the Ministry of Education. On 20 April, Clissold signed the deed with Shimizu in exchange for a "deposit slip showing $10,000 credited to a special account in the National City Bank of New York and my word that the money would be held there by the Church subject to his order." Clissold summarized his feelings: "We left his office with all the signed papers and I marvelled at the trust and kindness of the man. Mr. Yamamoto, a lawyer, remarked he had never seen anything like this piece of business in all his experience!" (7-8).

On 24 April, Clissold signed a contract with Kajima Construction Company to refurbish the building for 2,700,000 yen. Work began on 1 May and concluded on Thanksgiving Day, 25 November 1948. In keeping with Japanese customs, on 19 May, an inauguration ceremony was held in which Kajima’s vice president spoke, followed by Shimizu. Clissold offered a prayer in Japanese. To give weight to the occasion, the Church was represented by Chojiro Kuriyama, a prewar convert who was then serving in the House of Representatives. In the meantime on 11 August 1948, the mission gave

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10 On 21 April, Clissold registered the mission property with a local court. Tokyo Legal Affairs Bureau, Ministry of Justice.


12 Chojiro Kuriyama (1896-1971), a journalist educated at the University of Utah and Harvard, held executive positions at the Mainichi Shinbun, a major daily newspaper, was elected to the House of Representatives from the Tokyo Second District on a Japan Liberal Party
Shimizu a check for 2,915,000 yen, “paying him in full for the mission home property.” Because Shimizu had had to wait four months because of exchange controls, he made an exchange gain of 915,000 yen. The building’s restoration proved to be more expensive than contracted—6,220,000 yen—and Kajima was paid in full on 23 December 1948. Clissold summed up his experience in acquiring the mission home: “Through [the CIE’s] help and the channels which I understood through military government training I was able to purchase land, obtain materials, and labor, and establish the mission ready to receive my wife and five missionaries who arrived five [sic] months later.”

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The Arrival of Missionaries

At the time of Clissold’s call, two missionaries had already been called to assist him and were temporarily assigned to the CPM under Weenig’s supervision. The First Presidency instructed Weenig: “Brother Clissold feels that after he has been in Japan for a while he will be able to make necessary arrangements for these two Elders and others to join him” and requested that Weenig “go over your list of missionaries, and be in a position to make recommendations to appoint some of them to Japan as soon as the mission headquarters has been established and conditions warrant their going.”

But before occupation authorities would allow missionaries to enter Japan, Clissold needed evidence of logistical support.

This help came from Shigenori Yajima, whom Clissold met on 19 March 1948 through a mutual acquaintance named Nagai. Yajima, born in 1909, had served in the Japanese Imperial Army in Shanghai and Manchuria during World War II. In November 1945, he established the Clover Beikaiwa Gakuin (Clover American Conversation Institute) in Ogikubo, a western suburb of Tokyo, to teach English conversation. As the enrollment grew, American soldiers began to teach as volunteers. The relative had a large factory—perhaps deemed large enough to support Church activities. By securing the address of Yajima’s relative by the name of Tomokazu Iwata, Clissold immediately filed an application on 25 March with the occupation authorities to allow the entry of Paul C. Andrus, Wayne McDaniel, Harrison Theodore Price, and Raymond Price.

14 First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Letter to Melvyn A. Weenig, 22 October 1947, LDS Church Archives.

15 Later, Mormon missionaries also helped with the teaching. Both Yajima and his wife joined the Church (6 May 1949 and 6 November 1948, respectively) and participated in its activities for some time. Shigenori Yajima, Letter to Shinji Takagi, 31 December 1995; and Shigenori Yajima, interviewed by Takagi, Tokyo, 19 September 1996. Unless otherwise noted, all correspondence to me and notes of interviews I conducted are in my possession.

16 Tomokazu Iwata operated a large rubber factory in Saitama prefecture. Apparently this large factory served as the evidence that adequate facilities existed to accommodate the missionaries. Yajima, interviewed by Takagi. Clissold erroneously spelled Tomokazu’s name as Tomoichi.
continued to file applications for more missionaries, including his wife Irene, daughter Carol, and Kooji Okauchi on 11 May, for Kenji Akagi, Kojin Goya, Jeune Iwaasa, Kimiaki Sakata, and Kiyoshi Yoshii on 25 August, for Bessie Yukiko Okimoto and Tomiko Shiorota on 30 August, and for Paul S. Carter, Daniel E. Nelson and Murray L. Nichols on 29 October.\(^\text{17}\)

While the entry of foreigners into Japan was in principle strictly controlled by the occupation authorities and “the provisions relating to missionaries regularly admitted” did not apply to the Church for one year (because of its failure to carry out missionary work during the years immediately preceding the war), it appears that clearance for additional missionaries was liberally granted. This may have been a special favor extended to Clissold by his former colleagues at the CIE, a relaxation of the entry restrictions after the summer of 1947,\(^\text{18}\) or perhaps the general sympathy of the occupation officials to Christian activity. While MacArthur’s desire to Christianize Japan ran into CIE resistance on the grounds of separation of church and state, the idea of importing Western influence generally may have played a role in the Church’s favor.\(^\text{19}\)

Missionaries began to arrive in Japan at steady intervals. The first group of four, joined at that point by a fifth—Kooji Okauchi—arrived on 26 June 1948. McDaniel and Ted Price had been proselytizing in the CPM since early December of 1947, while awaiting their entry permits. Andrus had reached the CPM in February, while Ray Price and Okauchi had begun their missionary service in May, only a few weeks before they were allowed to enter Japan. Until the mission home was completed, Andrus and Ray Price lived with the Merrills in Yokohama, while McDaniel, Okauchi, and Ted Price lived

\(^{17}\)In all subsequent applications, however, the address of the newly acquired mission home in Azabu was used. From late 1951, the mission was no longer required to file an affidavit certifying the missionaries’ support with the occupation authorities. See Vinal G. Mauss, Letter to Ernest A. Nelson, 3 January 1952, LDS Church Archives.

\(^{18}\)On 15 August 1947, as many as four hundred trade representatives were invited from various countries to reside indefinitely in Japan, provided that their visit was deemed to contribute to the goals of the occupation. Shiro Haga, *Nihon Kanri no Kiko to Seisaku* (The Apparatus and Policies of Occupation Government in Japan) (Tokyo: Yuhikaku, 1951), 197-98.

with the family of an Air Force officer, Spencer R. Savage, in western Tokyo.\textsuperscript{20} The missionaries had come by boat; but Irene Clissold flew to Japan on 4 September. The second group of seven missionaries (Akagi, Iwaasa, Goya, Okimoto, Sakata, Shirota, and Yoshii) arrived on 21 October. They were all Nisei, and all but Iwaasa came from Hawaii. A Canadian, Iwaasa had been scheduled to come with the first five but had been delayed by immigration complications until he missed the ship that brought the others from Honolulu.\textsuperscript{21} On 28 December, Carter, Nelson, and Nichols also arrived. From June 1948 to April 1952, a total of 105 American and Canadian missionaries arrived in the mission home to serve under two mission presidents, including three locally called Americans.

The earliest missionaries found a particularly receptive welcome, given the post-war soul searching and openness to things American. In April 1949, for example, over eleven hundred people reportedly attended various Church meetings in Tokyo alone.\textsuperscript{22} Apostle Matthew Cowley, who visited the mission during the summer of 1949, reported at October conference: “In Japan we have one of the greatest opportunities for missionary service I have ever heard of or read of in the history of this Church. While I was there, ...[twenty-one hundred people]... were coming to the missionaries; the missionaries were not seeking them out as we do in other missions of the Church.”\textsuperscript{23}

Things quickly began to change, however. Only five months later in March 1950, a newly arrived missionary wrote in his diary: “The Japanese Mission is quite a bit different than I was led to believe. ... I was told back in the U.S. that the people were seeking out the L.D.S. missionaries and the people were ready for the Gospel. ... [But] they don’t come looking for the Elders nor do they seem ... particularly interested in the Gospel.”\textsuperscript{24}

\textsuperscript{20}Harrison Theodore Price, Letter to Takagi, December 1995.
\textsuperscript{21}He thus also began his missionary service in the Central Pacific Mission. Jeane Iwaasa, Letter to Takagi, 16 January 1995.
\textsuperscript{24}Dennis H. Atkin, Journal, 11 March 1950, typescript in my possession courtesy of Atkin.
This sudden change in religious climate may have reflected the profound economic and political changes taking place in Japanese society, largely attributable to the "reverse course" in U.S. occupation policy. 25 With the escalation of the Cold War in 1947, United States policy makers saw the need for Japan to become a prosperous ally. The emphasis shifted from demilitarization and democratization to economic recovery and independence. With the increasing chance of communist victory in China, this shift became even more pronounced in early 1949. 26 Moreover, the outbreak of the Korean War in June 1950 increased the urgency to conclude a peace treaty with Japan.

In December 1948, to place the Japanese economy firmly on rehabilitation by stabilizing inflation, then running at an annual rate of over 100 percent, the U.S. government dispatched Detroit banker Joseph Dodge as special advisor to the GHP/SCAP. The Dodge plan, consisting of an austerity budget, the unification of multiple exchange rates, rationalization of administered prices, and gradual relaxation of economic controls, was implemented in April 1949. The Dodge plan initially exerted deflationary pressure. However, with price stability and market mechanism largely in place, the Japanese economy began to recover, and the pace of recovery became strong and steady after the outbreak of the Korean War. This marked improvement in economic conditions was also accompanied by an increased prospect of regaining political sovereignty. To exclude the Soviet Union from the peace treaty process, President Harry S. Truman and Secretary of State Dean G. Acheson appointed John Foster Dulles to conduct bilateral negotiations with potential signatory nations, and the agreed Treaty of Peace was signed by Japan and forty-eight other countries in San Francisco on 8 September 1951, to become effective 28 April 1952.

No doubt, the apparently increasing religious apathy of the people in the early 1950s was related to these economic and political developments. Mauss noted this negative correlation between temporal improvements and religious inclination in his 1951 annual report: "With the expected peace treaty coming into effect it is generally felt there will naturally be considerable adjusting and a period

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26 Haga, Nihon Kanri no Kiko to Seisaku, 46.
of levelling off which may bring some difficulties. The past year has been a prosperous year for Japan as a whole and we have noticed it in the attitude of the people. There has developed the spirit of indifference which always seems to come when there is an abundance of material things. Thus, the occupation began with intense curiosity about things American that benefited the Mormon missionaries; but overall, it was a period of declining religious interest, ending with a general apathy toward religion, an apathy that has continued in the succeeding years of relative economic prosperity.

CLYSSOLD COMPLETES HIS MISSION

Clissold initially confined his activities to the Tokyo area. On 28 March 1948, to accommodate a greater number of participants, he moved the Japanese Sunday meeting from a private home in Gotanda to Yajima’s Clover Institute in Ogikubo, where he formally instituted a Sunday School structure on 22 August, with Fujiya Nara as superintendent and Genkichi Shiraishi and Koshi Nakagawa as assistants. On 6 April, he baptized Nara’s wife, Motoko, and Miyoshi Sato, an investigator who had been active with the Nara Sunday group. After the first group of missionaries arrived in June, Clissold made a systematic effort to locate prewar members. On 20 July 1948, he wrote to the known members: “As soon as the mission home is completed, I would immediately like to visit the members outside Tokyo... [By the end of the year], the missionaries will begin to labor in the different areas where you members live. So please be patient for a little while. We intend to make up for our absence since the closing of the mission.” In the same letter, he asked help in updating the membership records. As a result of these and other efforts, both in Tokyo and later in other areas, about fifty of the 184 individuals baptized in Japan through 1939 had been found by April 1949.

29Quoted in Takagi, “Hikari wo Futatabi Uketa Koro. Translation mine.”
30Quoted from Clissold’s report by McKay, Conference Report, April 1949, 179. Of the 184, 174 had been baptized in the Japan Mission through
In the summer of 1948, the work spread beyond Tokyo. Clissold visited all the places where known members resided, including Narumi (1 August 1948), Takasaki (27 October), Osaka (19–21 November), Sapporo (9–10 March 1949), and Kofu (26 April). Clissold met such old-timers as Tsuruichi Katsura, Susumu Hisada, and Ichitaro Ohashi in Osaka; Muraji Yoneyama and his son Morizo in Kofu; and Tamano Kumagai, Kenji Ono, and Masaichiro Soman in Sapporo. In Narumi, Clissold met Tatsui Sato and called him as mission translator. In Takasaki, a hundred miles north of Tokyo, he met member Morisaburo Sato, who had spent the war years in China.

1924, two by Takeo Fujiwara (who succeeded Fujiya Nara as presiding elder) in 1935, and eight by Hilton Robertson in 1939. Ten had been excommunicated prior to the closing of the Japan Mission. See Takagi and McIntyre, *Nihon Matsujitsu Seito Shi*, 141, 150–51, 161–68.

31 Only Tokyo, Osaka, Sapporo, and Kofu had been viable centers of missionary activities in the prewar Japan Mission. Missionaries worked in Sapporo from October 1905 until the closing of the mission, Kofu from February 1907 until January 1922, and Osaka from September 1911 until the closing of the mission.
During June and July 1949, Clissold accompanied Apostle Matthew Cowley, president of the Pacific Mission of the Church, on a tour of Japan, reporting his mission and familiarizing Cowley with local conditions. Cowley and his wife, Elva Eleanor Taylor Cowley, arrived in Japan on 11 June 1949 by plane from Honolulu. Immediately, Cowley left with Clissold by train to Nagoya where, on the following day, he ordained Tatsui Sato an elder and, as Elder Ted Price, who was present, recalled, set him apart as an interpreter and translator for the people of Japan “for the rest of your life.” Cowley combined both business and pleasure on his tour, visiting such places as Karuizawa, Takasaki, Kobe, Nara, Okayama, Hiroshima, Kashikojima (in Mie prefecture), Kyoto, Osaka, Kamakura, and Tenno. During 2-16 July, he was in Hong Kong, where he installed a mission presidency.

Clissold’s most significant accomplishment during his tenure was the purchase and refurbishing of the mission home. It was thus fitting that the closing weeks of his mission climaxed with a special conference to dedicate the structure. On Sunday, 17 July 1949, a general session was held at one o’clock in the auditorium of Junshin Girls’ High School in Hiroo, a few blocks away. Those in attendance included Kumagai from Sapporo, Katsura from Osaka, Morisaburo Sato from Takasaki, and Tatsui Sato from Nagoya (Narumi). After the general session, a group of members and missionaries attended a dedicatory service at 5:00 P.M. at the mission home. Clissold spoke and Cowley, after a few remarks, offered the dedicatory prayer, consectrating the building for divine purposes. Quoting from his journal entry on 17 July 1949, Ted Price reported to the Church Historian: “In this inspired and inspiring prayer Elder Cowley gave thanks for the countless blessings in the Lord’s work here to date, and went on to prophesy . . . ‘THERE WILL SOME DAY BE MANY CHURCH BUILDINGS—AND EVEN TEMPLES BUILT IN THIS LAND.’ I was sitting on the first row in this gathering and clearly heard these words. As was my practice I wrote these important things

32 The Pacific Mission structure of the Church (as an umbrella organization over individual missions) was discontinued in November 1949, and any General Authority could be assigned to visit any of the various Pacific missions.
34 Takagi, “Hikari wo Futatabi Uketa Koro,” 65.
in my journal that same evening while they were still fresh in my mind."35

**GEOGRAPHICAL EXPANSION UNDER CLISSOLD AND MAUSS**

The sequence in which new areas outside Tokyo were opened for missionary work might appear perplexing to an outside observer, particularly regarding the early openings of such seemingly insignificant places as Hirao, Tenno and Shibata, and Komatsu. To understand these puzzling decisions, one must recognize that decisions were sometimes made in response to the whims of circumstances. As these and other places would turn out to be too small to sustain missionary activity, some of them would subsequently be closed down. With the benefit of hindsight, the limited number of missionaries may well have been better deployed with more proactive planning.

The first five areas opened outside Tokyo were logical enough, keyed as they were to the presence of prewar members. (See Appendix.) The first was Narumi, just outside of Nagoya, where Tatsui Sato and his family lived, opened on 22 October 1948 by Kojin Goya and Ted Price. Goya, a member of the second group of missionaries, had arrived only the day before, indicating that Clissold had planned this move as soon his missionary force increased from five to twelve. When the third group arrived on 28 December 1948, Clissold sent two elders to Osaka (population about two million in 1950) and another pair to Takasaki in early January 1949.36 The fourth group

35Harrison Theodore Price, Letter to the Church Historian, 31 December 1956; capitalization his. In October 1980, Cowley's prophecy was partially fulfilled when the Tokyo Temple was dedicated on the very site formerly occupied by the mission home and was completed by the dedication of the Fukuoka Temple in June 2000. It was ironic, however, that the beautiful building dedicated in 1949 was sacrificed for the temple dedicated three decades later.

36At a mission conference on 6-7 January 1949, Clissold announced these assignments: (1) Ted Price and Goya to Narumi (Nagoya); (2) Nichols and Yoshii to Osaka; (3) Ray Price and Okauchi to Takasaki; (4) Akagi and Carter to Denenchofu in Tokyo; (5) Sakata and Nelson to Takanawa in Tokyo, (6) Shirotta and Okimoto to the mission office and the Azabu vicinity; (7) McDaniel and Iwaasa to Ogikubo in Tokyo; and (8) Andrus as Tokyo district president or, effectively, assistant to the mission president.
arrived on 29 April 1949; the next day missionaries were sent to Sapporo (with a population of over 300,000) and to Kofu on 9 May. Thus, these five cities with known members, each of whom Clissold had visited, received the first allotments of missionaries.

On the significant date of 24 July 1949, two cities were opened simultaneously, neither with known members: Sendai (population about 350,000) by Lynn Oldham and Kenji Akagi, and Tenno (or Tenno-Shinden) by Wayne McDaniel and Samuel Kalama. (See discussion below.) Sendai had twice had missionaries—from July 1905 to October 1907, and from July 1922 to the mission's closing in July 1924. Two men, Shizuo Kikuchi and Hiroo Yamauchi, had been baptized on 16 April and 30 June 1924 respectively. Oldham and Akagi spent their first day unsuccessfully “attempting to locate old members.” Sendai, a principal city in the Tohoku region, would have been a logical locale for missionary work in any case.

Tenno-Shinden, opened the same day, was a less logical choice. It and nearby Shibata were located in the rice-producing region of Niigata prefecture. Although the larger city of Niigata would have seemed a more promising locale, the early opening of Tenno and Shibata was related to the offer of land to the Church made by Noriatsu Ichishima, a wealthy landholder, in connection with the agricultural land reforms of 1946-49. Perhaps fearing that the land might be appropriated, his associate, Seigo Mogi, who had once lived among the industrious Mormon farmers in northern Mexico, had suggested donating it (or its use) to the Church. Clissold paid a first visit to Tenno-Shinden on 9 June 1949, accompanied by Church members Fujiya Nara, Tomigoro Takagi, and Morisaburo Sato. He returned on 30 June accompanied by Apostle Cowley.

Speaking a few weeks later in general conference, Cowley reported that Ichishima had “made a formal offer of his seventeen hundred acres, which surrounded his home, to the Church. . . . [He also] said: ‘Well, send missionaries immediately, not next month, not next year, but immediately.’” The next week on 24 July, Elders Wayne McDaniel and Samuel Kalama, accompanied by Mr. Doi, Ichishima's agent, took up residence at the Ichishima home.

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37 Their arrival was delayed three months by a shipping strike. H. Lynn Oldham, telephone interview with Takagi, 13 January 1996.
38 Japanese Mission, “Historical Reports,” and “Historical Records and Minutes.”
Ichishima, in addition to playing the organ for services, also turned over a Buddhist chapel to them which they used after, according to Cowley, “board[ing] off the figure of the Buddha.”39 The first Sunday School was held at the Ichishima home on 31 July with 220 in attendance, about 25 percent of whom were adults.

After another visit from Clissold on 3 August and at the mayor’s request, sister missionaries Frances Parker and Katherine Takeuchi arrived on 9 August, accompanied by Mrs. Mogi, the wife of Ichishima’s associate. The mayor arranged for them to use a large assembly room in a bank building in Shibata “until we have a chapel in the city,” Cowley reported.

The Church was definitely interested in acquiring the property, possibly as a site for an agricultural school, and Clissold made a point of bringing Vinal Mauss to Tenno-Shinden on 27 August, during the

transition period. Ichishima, however, had changed his mind for unspecified reasons. As late as 22 August 1951, Mauss visited the estate, accompanied by Hilton A. Robertson of the Chinese Mission (then headquartered in San Francisco) to clear up "the mess concerning the property." Mission records corroborate that Robertson had been "sent by the First Presidency to assist in the final disposition of the property under Tenno, Niigata Prefecture which had been offered to the Church by Mr. Ichishima." Ichishima was absent and the discussion with his agent "was fruitless, disgusting to say the least." At that point, mysteriously, the offer "had been withdrawn." The elders had already moved out of the Ichishima

40Gideon Stanford Jarvis, Journal, 22 and 23 August 1951. Jarvis was living at the Ichishima home. Photocopy of journal in my possession by his courtesy.


42Jarvis, Journal, 22 and 23 August 1951. [form, location, form in which you saw it, courtesy of whom? It's GREAT to have these primary sources!]
home two days before Robertson's visit but continued to hold meetings there until November 1951, when missionaries from Shibata assumed responsibility for Tenno.43

The next city to be opened to missionary work was Komatsu, on the Sea of Japan, again in puzzling preference to the larger regional center of Kanazawa (population about 250,000). The decision to open Komatsu was made in apparent response to the request of a widow named Yukiko Nojima, who had likely learned of the Church through Shigeo Masukawa, a relative and recent convert in Tokyo. On 18 August, William Akau and Gerald Okabe were sent to Komatsu and began to live at her home as they proselyted. However, over the next several months, Kanazawa proved to be a more fruitful locale, and the Komatsu branch was closed in 1957.

Komatsu then was followed by the opening of Hirao (population under 6,000) and the adjoining town of Yanai on the Inland Sea coast of Yamaguchi prefecture, on 27 February 1950. In sending sister missionaries Bessie Okimoto and Sarah Pule to Hirao, Vinal Mauss was apparently responding to the plea of Clissold's close acquaintance from Hawaii, Koichi Takeuchi.44 Takeuchi, born in Hirao in 1889, had immigrated to Hawaii at age fifteen in 1904, worked on a sugar plantation on the Big Island, and had become a construction contractor in Honolulu. Ever since joining the Church in 1936, Takeuchi had desired to see the Church established in his hometown and offered missionary assistance to the Church. He came from Hawaii to personally meet the two missionaries at Hirao and give them his assistance. Only a few days later, Mauss sent Kojin Goya and William Oppie to Hirao to provide essential priesthood services. As the town was too small to support four missionaries, however, the elders relocated in nearby Hiroshima (population about 300,000) on 6 March, commuting for Sunday meetings and

43“Proselyting Area Histories” under “Tenno” records a special sacrament meeting on 14 October 1951 with weekly MIA meetings in November. The section on Tenno ends with an entry on 23 November.

44The major economic activities of Hirao were farming, fishing, and salt making. In 1955, Hirao absorbed the smaller adjoining communities to increase its population to sixteen thousand. Hirao-cho Shi (History of the Township of Hirao) (Hirao, Japan: Township of Hirao, 1978), 898-903, 970-73, 1017-18, 1336-37.
as otherwise required.\textsuperscript{45} The opening of Hiroshima was thus an accidental, not planned, event. Later, meetings began to be held concurrently in the slightly larger town of Yanai, which absorbed the smaller Hirao operation in 1954.

**ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS**

*Translations and Publications*

Along with the geographical expansion of missionary work, Mauss initiated a program of translation and publication. On 22 August 1949, during the transition period while Clissold was still in Japan, Mauss organized an eight-member Translation Committee, consisting of Mauss himself as chairman, Andrus as vice-chairman, and Tatsui Sato, Genkichi Shiraiishi, Mitsue Fujiwara, Fujiya Nara, Kotoe Kodama, and Tomigoro Takagi as members. Since June, Tatsui Sato had been spending half of each month in Tokyo on translating work. In January 1950, he moved his family to Tokyo where they lived in a detached house on the mission grounds. The committee's priorities, carried out principally by Sato himself, were to retranslate the sacrament prayers and Articles of Faith,\textsuperscript{46} to translate the Doctrine and Covenants and the Pearl of Great Price, to make a new translation of the Book of Mormon, and to publish proselytizing tracts in Japanese.

To strengthen member and missionary communication, Mauss instituted a monthly newsletter, the *LDS Messenger*, which first appeared in late December 1949. The newsletter contained much useful information, including Sunday School lessons, doctrinal expositions, and conference announcements and reports. During 1950, reprints of major prewar translations, Edward H. Anderson's *Brief History of the Church* (1907),\textsuperscript{47} the Book of Mormon (1909), and James E. Talmage's *Articles of Faith* (1915) appeared in October, June, and November, respectively. However, except for tracts, manuals, and

\textsuperscript{45}William H. Oppie, interviewed by Takagi, Kobe, 18 December 1995.

\textsuperscript{46}Takagi, "Hikari wo Futatabi Uketa Koro," 126. After a lengthy process of approval by the First Presidency, the new translation of the Articles of Faith and sacrament prayers were published in the April 1953 issue of the *LDS Messenger*.

\textsuperscript{47}A special appendix on polygamy, written by Alma O. Taylor for the 1907 edition of *Brief History*, was deleted from the 1950 reprint.
excerpts published in the *LDS Messenger*, no major translation was published during the occupation period.

**Further Organizational Developments**

On 6 November 1949, Mauss announced that three of the informally organized congregations in Tokyo (Yukigaya, Ogikubo, and Aoyama) would receive branch status, each to be presided over by a Japanese elder. At the same time, to better reach the northern portion of Tokyo, he created a separate unit out of the Aoyama Branch in Ikebukuro in early 1950. He called Fujiya Nara to preside over Yukigaya, Genkichi Shiraishi over Ogikubo, and Tomigoro Takagi over Ikebukuro, which came into being at the beginning of 1950.\(^{48}\) In March 1950, the Yukigaya Branch was relocated to a building in Meguro and renamed the Meguro Branch. On 7 October 1951, Ikebukuro and Ogikubo were consolidated into Tokyo First Branch (presided over by Takagi), while Meguro and Aoyama formed Tokyo Second Branch, presided over by Nara. One missionary recorded that this action was taken to "get as perfect an organization as possible."\(^{49}\)

On 13 April 1952, a mission presidency was organized for the first time in the history of the Church in Japan, with Peter Nelson Hansen as first counselor and Dwayne N. Andersen as second counselor. They were both older men who had "answered the call of the Church to return to the mission field" in light of the declining number of young American elders, who were being siphoned into the Korean War.\(^{50}\)

\(^{48}\)Genkichi Shiraishi (born 1890) had been ordained an elder 6 November 1948, while Tomigoro Takagi (born 1894) was ordained an elder 8 November 1949. Japanese Mission, "List of Ordained Elders," n.d., LDS Church Archives.

\(^{49}\)Atkin, Journal, 8 October 1951. According to Japanese Mission, "Historical Records and Minutes," 10 September 1951, however, this action was prompted by the "decreasing number of missionaries being called." This reason, recorded retroactively by the mission historian during 1952, is somewhat puzzling, since Japanese members staffed almost all branch positions.

\(^{50}\)Japanese Mission, "Historical Records and Minutes," 13 April 1952.
Experimental “Division” Structure, 1950-52

During the occupation portion of the Mauss presidency, there were necessarily frequent changes in the geographical and organizational set-up of the Church in Japan. Of particular interest was an experimental structure, tried for sixteen months (30 September 1950-7 February 1952), in which Mauss divided the mission into “divisions,” each headed by a supervising elder. A division was made up of several districts, which in turn were made up of one or more branches. Seemingly superfluous and duplicative, this structure was designed, as Mauss explained it, “to facilitate the work and give more help to the various districts and branches.” Initially, four of the first five missionaries were called to supervise the divisions: Ray Price over the Hokkaido Division; McDaniel, Northern; Andrus (released as the Tokyo District president) Central; and Ted Price, Southern.51

Perhaps the division structure was intended as a vehicle of opening new areas, by allowing a seasoned and experienced elder to travel freely throughout his assigned area; these new areas could then be easily incorporated into one of the existing districts. In support of this hypothesis, Ted Price opened Fukuoka for missionary work in November 1950. In a 1951 report, Andrus proposed that the “city of Shizuoka with a population of 225,000 could be opened up with good success just as soon as missionaries are available” while “the larger cities on the Chiba [sic] Peninsula have not yet been investigated but looks [sic] very well.”52 In early February 1951, shortly before his release, McDaniel visited Fukushima, Koriyama, Kitakata, Morioka, Sakata, and Yokote—all in his Northern Division.53 Of these cities, Morioka was opened in October 1951.54

51Mauss announced this organizational experiment at a special leadership meeting in Tokyo on 30 September with a follow-up letter to all of the missionaries on 2 October. Initially, the Hokkaido Division consisted of the Sapporo, Otaru, Muroran, and Asahikawa Districts. The Northern Division consisted of the Gunma, Niigata, and Miyagi Districts. The Central Division consisted of the Tokyo, Kanagawa, Yamanashi, and Nagano Districts. The Southern Division consisted of the Aichi, Ishikawa, Osaka, and Hiroshima Districts. Japanese Mission, “Proselyting Area Histories, 1945-1952,” LDS Church Archives.


53Atkin, Journal, 28 January-9 February 1951. Atkin was McDaniel's
For this system to function well, it required both a constant in-flow of additional missionaries to open new areas and the availability of older and seasoned missionaries who could be entrusted with a relatively large geographical responsibility. Unfortunately, it soon became clear that these conditions would not be met. First, the number of missionaries in the mission peaked at eighty-two in early 1951 and had declined to about seventy by April 1952, even though elders called to Japan served for three years.55 Second, with the release of the earlier groups of missionaries who were almost all World War II veterans in their late twenties, the average age of the remaining cohorts of missionaries declined. To supervise a division may have been a task beyond the ability of most of these remaining younger elders. For these and possibly other reasons, Mauss terminated the division experiment when two of the three supervising elders (Follett and Oldham) were released in February 1952.56

In addition to the lack of missionaries, the general lack of geographical expansion in the early 1950s may also have reflected the seemingly rising religious apathy of the Japanese people. Average attendance at all meetings (presumably with double counting) companion.

54By then, Lynn Oldham was the supervising elder for the Northern Division (which incorporated the Hokkaido Division). The first missionaries, Gene C. Millward and Herbert Sproat (previously Oldham’s companion), arrived in Morioka on 26 October 1951, accompanied by Oldham, Amy Igarashi, and Zona Walker, who were on their way to Hokkaido to help implement a new Sunday School program. Morioka may have seemed promising because missionaries had worked there from 1907 to 1911; however, missionaries were withdrawn barely a year later on 30 November 1952. Gene C. Millward, Journal, 24 October-17 December 1951. I express appreciation to his wife, Grace B. Millward, who photocopied portions of this journal for me.

55Worthy American elders regularly served two years in English-speaking missions and two and a half years in areas where they had to learn another language. The term for Japan was reduced to two and a half years in 1959.

56Earlier, on 19 June 1951, the four divisions were reduced to three, and many of the districts were combined together to form larger districts, “in the face of a decreasing number of workers being called due to the present world conditions.”
throughout Japan declined from 2,046 in 1951 to 1,414 in 1952. A typical branch meeting probably had the attendance of no more than forty persons.\(^{57}\) Baptisms declined from 214 in 1951 to 162 in 1952. As a result, the experimental period yielded only Fukuoka (November 1950) and Morioka (October 1951) as new areas for proselytizing work. Thus, this short-lived use of the division structure provides important insights into the aspirations, constraints, and realities under which the Church was operating during the very last part of the occupation era.

**CONCLUSION**

This article has reviewed major ecclesiastical developments in the Japanese Mission between its establishment in March 1948 and the end of the American occupation in April 1952. During this period, the Church rode on the eagle’s wings—benefitting from the U.S. military presence. The mission opening and acquisition of the mission home were supported by military resources made available on a reimbursement basis. Missionaries stayed temporarily with members in the military and at military installations, rode on military trains, received medical treatment at military facilities, and were accorded special status as citizens of the occupying powers.

While Mormonism received an extraordinary level of attention at the very beginning of the Japanese Mission, religious apathy among the people increased as economic conditions improved and political independence approached. This apathy was reflected in declining attendance and dwindling interest in the gospel message. Even so, almost six hundred individuals joined the Church during the occupation period—more than three times the prewar figure. Although Japanese cultural affinity toward things American remained strong beyond the occupation period, the Church failed to capitalize on that favorable socio-cultural climate, because of its shrinking missionary force. The success that came with a larger missionary force during the early 1960s seems to support such a conjecture.

Ironically, the U.S. military presence in Japan became more permanent and official after the occupation ended. While Japan regained its sovereignty in April 1952 under the terms of the peace treaty, the new Japan-United States Mutual Security Assistance Pact

\(^{57}\)Based on unidentified attendance in my possession.
The Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security of 1960 took effect, authorizing permanent U.S. military installations. American Mormon servicemen on these bases became a parallel Church with a separate organization and little or no interaction with the local members and units. This parallel organization continues to this very day. Units for expatriate Mormons coexist side by side with local units in the same neighborhoods. This dual structure contrasts sharply with the symbiotic relationship that existed between North American and Japanese members during the occupation period.

This contemporary scene, however, should not distract us from recognizing the singular contribution of American servicemen and missionaries of the occupation era to the establishment of the Church in Japan. It was they who kept the Church alive before the mission was established and then initiated the process of institution building for the Church. Following the occupation period, there were only a few changes in the geographical scope of the Church in Japan,58 and the Mormon landscape remained essentially unchanged until the latter half of the 1960s. After all is said and done, the groundwork for the Church’s ministry during the first twenty years of postwar Japan was laid by those men and women who had come riding on the eagle’s wings.

**APPENDIX**

**FIRST PROSELYTIZING EFFORTS BY DISTRICT**

*Source:* Unless noted otherwise, this information comes from Japanese Mission, “Proselyting Area Histories, 1945-1952,” “Historical Records and Minutes,” and “Missionary District Journal, November 1948-December 1949,” LDS Church Archives. The areas are organized by district, as of early 1953 when the organizational structure stabilized. In addition to the areas covered here, missionary work was conducted briefly in Morioka (26 October 1951-30 November 1952) and the Togura District (near Lake Towada) of Akita prefecture (12 May-2 August 1952) in the post-occupation period.

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58The only major area to be opened after the occupation period was Okayama (population about 200,000) in 1955. The beginning of missionary work in Okinawa and Korea in 1956, however, represented a territorial expansion of the mission.
Hokkaido District

1. Sapporo was the fourth area to receive missionaries outside the Tokyo area. On 9-10 March 1949, Clissold visited Sapporo and met with prewar members Tamano Kumagai, Kenji Ono, and Masaichiro Soman. Paul Andrus and Jeanne Iwaasa arrived in Sapporo 30 April. Kumagai met them and took them to a first-class Japanese inn called Yamagataya, later informing the Hokkaido Shinbun, the newspaper for which she worked, about the “big news” of their arrival. An article on 1 May featured Andrus as an American soldier who had returned to Japan as a missionary. On 15 May, the missionaries held a meeting on a nearby U.S. military base. On 16 May they visited the family of the late Takeo Fujiwara, the second and last presiding elder for Japan during the post-1924 period when the mission was closed. The first Sunday School was held at Sapporo Keizai High School, 14th Street South, on 12 June with fifty-two present.

2. Preparation was made to open Otaru for missionary work on 3 April 1950 by Dennis Atkin and Jeanne Iwaasa, then in Sapporo. On 11 April all Sapporo missionaries and two members held a cottage meeting in Otaru with more than fifty investigators.

3. On 10 July 1950, Iwaasa and Atkin visited Muroran, accompanied by a Mr. Itoi, to check into the possibility of opening the area. On 19 August 1950, Hideo Kanetsuna and Ray Price arrived in Muroran at 5:30 P.M. and found temporary lodging with Norimitsu Kuribayashi at 135 Tokiwa-cho. On 21 August they found living quarters in the suburb of Bokai. Price returned to Sapporo and sent Keith Munk to be Kanetsuna’s companion.

4. Asahikawa was opened for missionary work by Daniel Nelson and Milton Shaum on 31 October 1950. During the first week, they lived at the Hokuetsu Hotel. They then secured a room in the home of Kotaro Bando at 6 jo-dori 2-chome.

Northern District

1. Niigata (including Tenno, Shibata, Niitsu, and Sanjo). Work in Niigata prefecture began not in the principal city of Niigata, but in the smaller communities about fifteen miles southeast of the city: the agri-based city of Shibata and the adjoining farmland of Tenno (or Tenno-Shinden) in the village of Nakaura. The place-name Tenno essentially referred to Noriatsu Ichishima’s estate and residence, which also gave its name to the train station. As explained in the text, the decision to send missionaries to this sparsely populated rural district resulted from the family’s offer of land to

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1Paul C. Andrus, Letter to Takagi, 10 January 1996.
2Dennis Atkin, Journal, 11 April 1950.
3Ibid., 10 July 1950.
4After the divestiture of Ichishima’s agricultural land holdings, on 1
the Church in the early summer of 1949, in connection with the GHQ/SCAP-directed program of agricultural land reform.

The first visit to inspect the land was made on 9 June 1949 by Clissold and three Church members, Nara, Takagi, and Morisaburo Sato. Another visit was made on 30 June by Clissold and Cowley. On the basis of the arrangement made, on 25 July 1949, the first missionaries, Wayne McDaniel and Samuel Kalama, arrived at Tenno-Shinden, and the first Sunday School was held at the Ichishima home on 31 July with 220 people in attendance, about 25 percent of whom were adults. On 9 August, a set of sister missionaries, Frances Parker and Katherine Takenchi, arrived at Tenno-Shinden, and was assigned to live in the city of Shibata, just a few miles east of Tenno. The first MIA meeting was held in Shibata on 18 August. From this time on, Church meetings were held both at the Ichishima home in Tenno and in Shibata. The last recorded meetings at Tenno were in November 1951.

The missionaries at Tenno and Shibata extended their proselytizing to the adjoining communities of Suibara, Niitsu, Sanjo, and Niigata. Niitsu was opened for missionary work on 24 February 1950 by Ralph Sperry and Samuel Kalama, assisted by a Mr. Akira Doi, a "prominent resident" of Shibata. On 3 March, after eight days of searching, they rented a room in a private residence. Sanjo was opened in early 1951. The city of Niigata was officially opened by Darrel Hadley and Robert Boyack on 30 June 1951, when they moved into a home within the city, although it was closed 22 May 1952. After Shibata and Sanjo were closed in the fall of 1957, the reopened Niigata Branch became the only Church unit in the prefecture.

2. Sendai was the sixth place to be opened for missionary work outside the Tokyo area. On 11-12 March 1949, Clissold visited Sendai and met with members in the armed forces. On 24 July, the first missionaries, Kenji Akagi and Lynn Oldham, arrived, searched for prewar members, and lived with "Brother and Sister Versluis," who were with the occupation forces. The first Sunday School was held in September. The first convert, Masao Watabe, was baptized 6 November 1949. The mission purchased a large house 16 December 1952—the second Church-owned meetinghouse in Japan.

3. Yamagata (population about 100,000) was opened 19 September 1950 by Dennis Atkin and Kooji Okauchi, who commuted from Sendai, a three-hour train trip. On 12 October 1950, Howard Gorringe and Max Christensen were assigned to Yamagata on a permanent basis.

September 1950, the name of the station was changed from Tenno-Shinden to Tsukioka. Keishikai, "Ichishima-ke no Kankei Shiryo (Documents Related to the Ichishima Family)," August 1991.

5Lynn Oldham, telephone interview, 13 January 1996.

Central District

1. Tokyo. On 22 August 1948, the Ogikubo Sunday School meeting at the Clover American Conversation Institute was fully organized, with Fujiya Nara as superintendent, Genkichi Shiraishi as first assistant, Koshi Nakagawa, as second assistant, and Motoko Nara as secretary. A second Sunday School was opened in Denenchofu on 31 October 1948, and in Takanawa on 28 November 1948. On 29 May 1949, Nara was sustained as the superintendent of the Denenchofu Sunday School; Shiraishi took over Nara's position at the Ogikubo Sunday School.

On 6 November 1949, Mauss announced that the Sunday Schools at Yukigaya (changed from Denenchofu), Ogikubo, and Aoyama (changed from Takanawa in June 1949) would become branches, each headed by a native Japanese elder. He also announced plans to create Ikebukuro Branch from the Aoyama Branch in northern Tokyo, effective in January 1950. In March 1950, the Yukigaya Branch was moved to Meguro and renamed the Meguro Branch. Apparently, the Aoyama Branch remained in central Tokyo, attended by the mission staff, including the Sato family.

In October 1951, Ikebukuro and Ogikubo were consolidated into Tokyo First Branch, and Meguro and Aoyama were consolidated into Tokyo Second Branch. Both began meeting in a large Japanese house, purchased in the Namikibashi section of Shibuya on 10 April 1958. It was the third Church-owned meetinghouse in Japan.

2. Yokohama, a port city thirty miles south of Tokyo, is part of Tokyo's metropolitan area. Here Clissold landed on 6 March 1948 and spent the first few days at the home of William Paul Merrill, an American civilian employee of the occupation forces. Two of the first five missionaries, Paul Andrus and Ray Price, proselytized in Yokohama and lived with the Merrills pending the completion of the mission home. Tokyo-based missionaries continued some work in Yokohama until July 1949 when Kenji Akagi was transferred to Sendai. On 28 November 1949, Marvin Follett and Wayne Herlin were assigned to Yokohama on a permanent basis.

3. Takasaki. On 27 October 1948, Clissold visited Takasaki and met Morisaburo Sato, a prewar convert, as well as the mayor and some members of the city council. A Mr. Nakahara offered to let missionaries live at his house. On 5 January 1949, Ray Price and Kooji Okauchi spent the day at Takasaki, making plans for opening the area. On 10 January, they took up temporary residence with Mr. Nakahara.

Morisaburo Sato had spent the war in China where he engaged in

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7Morisaburo Sato later became the custodian of the Takasaki building. Toshiko Yanagida, telephone interview with Takagi, 11 January 1996.
trading and petroleum sales. At April 1949 general conference, David O. McKay quoted from Clissold's report: “One of the faithful members of the former mission and a man of considerable influence in Takasaki, a city ninety miles north of Tokyo, has been of great assistance to the missionaries assigned to that district. He helps them with a large Sunday School and several weekly meetings, including an MIA gathering of over four hundred young people.”

On 2 April 1949, Toshio Murakami became the first person baptized in Takasaki. On 28 May, Yotaro Yoshino, also from Takasaki, was baptized. Both were later ordained elders and set apart for full-time missions on 30 December 1951, thus becoming the first native missionaries. Clissold visited the city on 5 May 1949 and authorized Elders Howard Gorringe and Kooji Okauchi, who were living in Takasaki, to open a Sunday School in nearby Tomioka on 15 May 1949.

On 29 October 1951, the Church purchased a large Japanese-style house in Takasaki—the first Church-owned property in Japan beside the mission home and the only one acquired during the occupation period. The property was registered to Corporation of the Presiding Bishop of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 47 East South Temple Street, Salt Lake City, Utah, U.S.A. In 1958, Takasaki absorbed Maebashi (see below) and was renamed the Gunma Branch.

4. Kofu was the fifth place to be opened for missionary work outside the Tokyo area. Clissold, accompanied by Shigenori Yajima, visited the city on 26 April 1949. Their search for prewar members was fruitless until, “having exhausted every possible resource, President Clissold offered a silent prayer as he walked along the crowded street asking the Lord to direct him to someone who knew something about the people he was seeking. A few moments later he was in the Military Government Office and felt impressed to ask the corps of translators for any information they might have. As the Military Government Office had closed, all the interpreters had left for the day with the exception of one. He remembered seeing a Book of Mormon in someone’s house and although the incident occurred over twenty-five years ago, he finally associated the book with the name of Yoneyama, which was the name of one of the members whom President Clissold was seeking. In the course of a few minutes he had Brother Yoneyama on the phone... [He] and his father arrived at the station one-half hour before

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9David O. McKay, Conference Report, April 1949, 178-79.
10Takasaki branch office, Maebashi Legal Affairs Bureau, Ministry of Justice.
the train left and gave President Clissold some valuable information about Kofu and the saints who were still living in the area.\footnote{Japanese Mission, “Historical Records and Minutes,” 26 April 1949.}

In consequence, Ray Price and Hideo Kanetsuna were sent to Kofu where they spent the day of 6 May 1949, returned to Tokyo at night, and then moved to Kofu on 9 May. The first Sunday School was held 29 May.

5. Maebashi. On 22 April 1950, Ray Price and William Sproat, who had been living in Takasaki but laboring in Maebashi, moved to Maebashi. Maebashi was consolidated with Takasaki in 1958.

6. Matsumoto. The Nagano district was opened for missionary work on 22 June 1950 by Kenji Akagi and Dallas Peterson, who began their work in Higashi Minowa, twenty miles south of Matsumoto in the Japan Alps. On 2 July 1950, Akagi and Peterson visited Matsumoto and found it a “very nice city, quite clean, with about 85 thousand people living there.”\footnote{Ibid., 2 July 1950.} They moved from Higashi Minowa to Matsumoto on 1 September 1950.

South Central District

1. Narumi. Clissold came to Narumi on 1 August 1948 where a large number of Sunday School children greeted him at the Tatsui Sato home. On 29 August, Paul Andrus and Ray Price, accompanied by Tomigoro Takagi, also visited.\footnote{Tatsui Sato, Letter to Reed Davis, 25 September 1948, photocopy in my possession courtesy of Reed Davis.} On 22 October Ted Price and Goya opened Narumi for missionary work and, on 8 November began regular meetings there. Clissold visited again on 22 November. Narumi was closed in March 1956.

2. Nagoya. When Clissold and his missionaries came to Narumi, on the outskirts of Nagoya, in 1948, they stayed in Nagoya with an American “Major Bock” and his wife Comfort. It appears that work in Nagoya officially began on 29 April 1949 when Lynn Oldham and Kimiaki Sakata were called to work in Narumi, allowing another team (Daniel Nelson and Ted Price) to labor in Nagoya. The Nagoya Branch was organized in 1950, and the Narumi Branch was consolidated with it in March 1956.

3. Osaka. On the evening of 19 November 1948, Clissold arrived in Osaka. Tsuruichi Katsura was waiting to meet him at the station, but they were on different platforms and missed each other. Clissold stayed at the Naniwa Hotel. The next day, he met Katsura and, later Susumu Hisada and Ichitaro Ohashi, at the Katsura home.

On 7 January 1949, Murray Nichols and Kiyoshi Yoshii were assigned to labor in the Osaka and Kyoto areas. They arrived five days later at Sannomiya station in Kobe, where they stayed with William Paul Merrill,
who had moved from Yokohama in early December. They visited Osaka on
14 January, looking for living quarters and meeting places in Kobe, Osaka,
and Ashiya. They settled in the Ishibashi area, north of Osaka. On Sunday,
30 January, they held a morning meeting in Kyoto at the home of an
American member, Sister Kundrick, and at the Katsura home in Osaka in
the evening.

The first public meeting was held on Sunday, 13 February, at the
“Japan Democratic Hall” in Osaka, with about thirty in attendance. The
next week, they used an “upstairs room” in the same building since “the
auditorium [was] in use” and “only few” were present. It is not clear what
building this was, as American soldiers used different names for buildings
than the Japanese. However, Tomigoro Takagi recalls that Eiko Nagao (a
prewar member then living in Osaka) said she had attended Sunday School
at the “Osaka Kokaido,” (evidently the “auditorium”), but that it was too
large for Church meetings. Most likely, the building was the “Chuo
Kokaido” located in Nakanoshima, the heart of Osaka.

Later, Katsura and other members located a more suitable meeting
place at Yodogawa High School (renamed Yodogawa Girls’ High School in
1953) in Juso, close to a commuter train junction linking Kobe, Takarazuka,
and Kyoto. The school principal, Toshio Hirata, generously gave the
Church use of the facilities free of charge, including utilities. The first
Sunday School in this building was held 8 May 1949, with about 140 in
attendance, including Nagao, Katsura, and Mamoru Iga. In the summer of
1950, Abeno Branch opened in southern Osaka.

4. Kobe, a port city twenty miles west of Osaka, is located on the
western end of the Hanshin metropolitan area. William Paul Merrill who
had moved to Kobe from Yokohama in early December 1948, housed the
first missionaries to the Osaka area, Murray Nichols and Kiyoshi Yoshii,
from 12 January 1949 until late February. It was not until October 1957,
however, that the Sannomiya Branch, the city’s first permanent unit, was
organized.

5. Kyoto is an ancient capital of Japan located some forty miles north-
east of Osaka. Clissold visited Kyoto on 19 November 1948 and attended
a servicemen’s meeting there two days later. The territory of the first mis-
sionaries sent to Osaka, Murray Nichols and Kiyoshi Yoshii, also included
Kyoto, possibly because an American “Sister Kundrick” was living there.
The missionaries held a meeting at her home on Sunday, 30 January. The

14 Neither Mamoru Iga nor Murray Nichols remembered the
building’s location. Mamoru Iga, Letter to Takagi, 15 June 1997; Murray
15 Tomigoro Takagi, “Nihon Dendobu no Kaiko (A Reflection on the
city received its first permanent team of missionaries in February 1950 (Yoshii and Hal Furguson). They stayed about two months with Uzuru Hotta. The city's first convert, Tomio Katayama, was baptized 11 June 1950.16

6. Komatsu. Clissold first visited this city on Wednesday, 12 August 1949, shortly before his release. On Thursday, 18 August, William Akau and Gerald Okabe arrived in Komatsu. Shigeo Masukawa, a recent convert in Tokyo, was to meet the missionaries at the station but failed to do so because of some misunderstanding. After a short search, they located the home of Yukiko Nojima, where Clissold had earlier made arrangements for them to stay.17 The next day, the "assistant mayor" suggested that the missionaries call the airport commanding officer, who turned out to be "a Mormon also from Utah, by the name of Lt. Law. He offered the missionaries every possible aid in true Mormon tradition."18

The missionaries arranged to teach English classes at Rojo Middle School and held the first Sunday School at the Zenrinkan Hall at 10:00 A.M. on 28 August with thirty-nine people present. "Brother Masukawa first gave a short introductory talk and Elder Okabe conducted the meeting from then on."19 The first convert, Kan Watanabe, was baptized on 22 April 1950. For a time, Komatsu missionaries also proselyted in the neighboring town of Daishoji. In September 1957, the Komatsu Branch was closed and members were requested to attend the Kanazawa Branch, more than an hour away by public transportation. Komatsu was reopened in May 1970.

7. Kanazawa (population about 250,000 in 1950) is the principal city of the Hokuriku region, lying twenty miles northeast of Komatsu. On 1 June 1950, Murray Nichols and William Akau, who were living in Komatsu, began proselytizing in Kanazawa. They commuted daily until 24 July 1950 when they relocated to Kanazawa.

Southern District

1. Hirao-Yanai. In the late afternoon of 27 February 1950, Bessie Okimoto and Sarah Pule arrived in Yanai in Yamaguchi prefecture, where Koichi Takeuchi met and took them to their living quarters in Hirao. On

16 Tomio Katayama, interviewed by Takagi, Kobe, 31 December 1995.
17 Yukiko Nojima soon joined the Church and was an exemplary member of the Church until her death from cancer. Atkin, Journal, 11 October 1952, called her "a wonderful lady whose only and greatest concern is the welfare of the missionaries."
19 Ibid., 28 August 1949.
Monday, 6 March 1950, Mauss called Kojin Goya, a mission recorder at the time, into his office, told him of a telephone call received from the sister missionaries, and asked him to go provide assistance. As a result of this "sudden decision," on Friday morning, 10 March, Goya caught a train to Nagoya, picked up his companion, William Oppie, reached Yanai on Saturday and took a taxi to Hirao. Meetings began in Yanai in 1950. In February 1954, the Hirao operation was consolidated into the Yanai Branch.

2. Hiroshima. On 16 March 1950 after several days in Hirao, the missionaries decided to establish their headquarters in Hiroshima. Three days later in Hiroshima, Goya ran into Mr. Yarita, an acquaintance from Tokyo, to whom he explained their need for housing. "In answer to the prayer and desire," Yarita agreed to help them and made arrangements to meet them again. On Monday, 20 March, the missionaries came by train from Hirao, spent "the whole day looking for homes in and around Hiroshima" with Yarita, then moved their belongings from Hirao to the temporary quarters they had found. A few days later, Miyoko Komotani visited the elders, said she had dreamed of two angels, and insisted that the missionaries live with her family for a nominal rent. She and her daughter Michiko were baptized on 1 October 1950.

3. Fukuoka (population about 400,000 in 1950) is the principal city on the island of Kyushu. Ted Price, supervising elder of the Southern Division, arrived in Fukuoka on 14 November 1950 to arrange to open the area for missionary work. Ten days later, Murray Nichols and Robert Swenson took up residence with Sumiko Fukuda, the widowed younger sister of Masako Fukuda, then a Japan Socialist member of the National Diet. The first Sunday meeting was held on 26 November at Sumiyoshi Women's Hall. Two women, Yuki Sato and Kyoko An, became the first baptisms on 13 April 1952.

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21William H. Oppie, interviewed by Takagi, Kobe, 18 December 1995.
REVIEW ESSAY

TELLING THE RESTORATION STORY:
GERALD N. LUND'S THE WORK
AND THE GLORYSaga

Richard H. Cracroft

GERALD N. LUND'S THE WORK AND THE GLORY series (1990-98) has been phenomenal in the history of Mormon fiction.¹ The series

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has sold nearly 3 million copies for Bookcraft (now merged with Deseret Book), making it the all-time best-seller in Mormon country.\(^2\) The Association for Mormon Letters has honored two volumes in the series as the best LDS novels of the year (1991, 1993), and the series has also won both the Frankie and John K. Orton Award for LDS Literature (1994) and the LDS Independent Booksellers’ Book of the Year Award (1994).

The overwhelming success of THE WORK AND THE GLORY presents no head-scratching enigma to Latter-day Saint readers and literary critics. The landmark series is the impressive result of choosing the right: the right author, the right story, the right time, the right audience, and, I mean to suggest in this study, the right genre. Lund comes fitly framed and well-disciplined to the staggering task of rekindling the fire in the Mormon bosom through dusting-off, rediscovering, relighting, and rechronicling the astounding story of those first twenty-five glory years of the Restoration for a constituency at a long remove from the life and times of Joseph Smith Jr. Driven by a strong personal faith and a profound need to teach the restored gospel to the rising generation, Lund has taught the youth of Zion for more than thirty years as an LDS seminary and institute teacher, written CES curriculum, and authored three gospel treatises, including *Jesus Christ: Key to the Plan of Salvation* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1991); and by the time he began writing THE WORK AND THE GLORY, he was already the seasoned author of four novels: *One in Thine Hand* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1982); *The Alliance* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1983); with Roger Hendrix, *Leverage Point* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1985); *The Freedom Factor* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1987).

Since completing THE WORK AND THE GLORY, Lund has written a tenth Mormon historical novel which I also discuss in this paper, *The Fire of the Covenant* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1999), dealing with the Willie and Martin handcart tragedies of 1856. In addition, he has completed another three-volume series of historical novels, THE KINGDOM AND THE CROWN, which retells the life of Christ: Volume 1: *Fishers of Men* (2000), Volume 2: *Come Unto Me* (2001), and

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Volume 3: *Behold the Man* (2002), which appeared only a few weeks after he was called to the Second Quorum of the Seventy in April 2002. Presumably Lund’s ecclesiastical duties will not allow him to maintain the steady and prolific rate of production that he has shown heretofore and may, in fact, require him to postpone further literary endeavors until after he achieves emeritus status at age seventy in 2010. Meanwhile, LDS readers must honor a remarkable and unprecedented literary career.

Amid the general acclaim for *The Work and the Glory*, some familiar questions seem to have arisen among the LDS literati as they begin to pay merited critical attention to this popular and spiritually refreshing literary phenomenon. After discovering that *The Work and the Glory* is not the Polyannaish “maudlin Mormon mush” (AML-List 12/1/95) that some anticipated, but sound history, well-researched and well-balanced; and good literature, well-paced, well-imagined, and well-told, LDS critics have begun to register the same kinds of criticisms which arise in respect to other historical novels, from such towering works as William Makepeace Thackeray’s *Vanity Fair* (1848) and Leo Tolstoy’s *War and Peace* (1869), which have safely outlasted the onus long attached to the historical novel, to Margaret Mitchell’s *Gone with the Wind* (1936), Irving Stone’s *The Agony and the Ecstasy* (1961), and any book by James Michener, all of which still hover outside the canon of literary respectability.

lovingly sympathetic fictional history of Joseph Smith and his plural wife Diana Kirkham in Nauvoo (New York: Tor, 1984), the LDS novel began afresh. But Lund’s WORK AND THE GLORY has allowed the Latter-day Saints to lay hold on the historical novel as the fictional genre (if there has to be fiction portraying religious events) most suitable to retelling the Mormon story. Since Lund, for example, Marilyn Brown has published Statehood (Murray: Aspen Books, 1995), Wine-Dark Sea of Grass (Springville: Salt Press, 2002) about the Mountain Meadow Massacre; and Ghost of the Oquirrhs (Springville: Salt Press, 2002), about the Tintic mines; Judith Freeman has written another Mountain Meadows Massacre novel, Red Water (New York: Pantheon, 2001); Dean Hughes has published two best-selling historical novel series, CHILDREN OF THE PROMISE, five volumes (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1997-2000), about Latter-day Saints in World War II, and his ongoing HEARTS OF THE CHILDREN series (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2000, 2002), about Latter-day Saints in the turbulent 1960s; Ron Carter has written a seven-volume PRELUDE TO GLORY series (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1998-2003), an LDS view of the American Revolutionary War; David G. Woolley is currently publishing his well-received PROMISED LAND historical novel series (American Fork: Covenant Communications, 2000, 2002) about the Book of Mormon; N. C. Allen is publishing a projected three-volume LDS Civil War saga, FAITH OF OUR FATHERS, also published by Covenant Communications; and Robert Marcum is in process of publishing a multi-volume HOUSE OF ISRAEL series (American Fork: 2002). Each of these historical novels, to which we now add the nine volumes in THE WORK AND THE GLORY series, eventually raises the old generic questions, “Is it sound history?” and “Is it art?”

Lund encounters these dismissive questions with some regularity. He observed in a recent letter that “some people feel like they have to confront me with the fact that they are above reading” historical novels, and described a recent confrontation with a faculty member at “a northerly Utah university” who went out of his way to point out to Lund that

he did not read historical fiction because it was inaccurate and untrustworthy and that one is better off getting it from the original sources. I told him that I was really quite capable of handling the fact that some people did not want to read my books but found it a little surprising that he had come to his conclusions about the series
without ever having cracked the cover. Obviously irritated, he walked away and didn’t say anything more.\(^3\)

Although I will leave to historians the first question ("Is it history?"), since my expertise lies with the second ("Is it art?")\(^3\), a summary of the historical scope of Lund’s ten volumes may provide a shared foundation upon which the discussion can center.

**LUND’S EPIC SAGA OF THE RESTORATION**

**THE WORK AND THE GLORY** saga is, first and foremost, purposeful history rendered as fiction. In his preface to the first volume, *Pillar of Light, A Historical Novel* (1990), Lund writes:

*Pillar of Light* is a fictional work. The medium of fiction was chosen so that the personal dimension—the individual impact of the Restoration on people—could be explored. But in another sense, it is not fictional. It tells, as accurately as possible, the story of Joseph Smith and the rise of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. . . . When it comes to the events, every effort has been made to portray the historical setting and circumstances as accurately as possible. . . . Sometimes there is simply not enough detail given in the historical sources to sustain the story line of a novel. Here some embellishment was required, but again, maintaining harmony with the historical records has been a compelling concern. (ix)

Lund recounts the events of the Restoration as experienced by the immediate members of Benjamin Steed and Mary Ann Morgan Steed’s family, including the wayward and rebellious Joshua, Nathan, the stalwart believer and often the principal point of view, and Melissa, Rebecca, Matthew, and other non-Steeds, all of whom have occasion to take stage center as the focal points of view as the saga unfolds. Lydia McBride, Nathan’s fiancée and eventually his wife, must also struggle, as does each character, all of whom represent the variety of timeless possible stances toward Joseph Smith and the restoration, to find faith and the courage to defy her parents, Josiah McBride and Hanna Lovina Hurlburt McBride. Additional characters, such as Jessica Roundy, who marries and divorces Joshua after bearing him a daughter, and the spouses and children of the Steed family, must also be gathered to the Mormon fold from throughout the world, bringing with them their personal stories and struggles with the new faith. Although they are what we will discuss

later as "bystanding characters," each of them becomes a vital and important participant in the story of nascent Mormonism, and provides the "spoonful of sugar" to tincture the straight history of the restoration of the gospel.

**MORMON HISTORY IN THE WORK AND THE GLORY**

The events of the restoration fix and focus each of the nine volumes of *The Work and the Glory*:

*Volume 1: Pillar of Light (1990): 1827-30.* In the 1820s, paralleling the experience of the family of Joseph Smith Sr. and Lucy Mack Smith in the search for better farmland, the Benjamin Steed family moves from Vermont to open a farm adjacent to Martin Harris's property in Palmyra Township in upstate New York. Benjamin hires young Joseph Smith to help clear some acreage, and the Steeds are soon caught up in the conflict and controversy surrounding Joseph. Joseph shares his remarkable story with young Nathan Steed, who repeats it to his family. He and his mother are soon converted to the new faith. Benjamin and his oldest son, Joshua, strongly disbelieve in Joseph's claims, while Lydia McBride is torn between her love for Nathan and his new beliefs and her loyalty to her parents, who forbid both. In this volume Joseph recounts his First Vision to Nathan, in a dialogue. Oliver Cowdery tells Nathan about the Book of Mormon. Most of the Steed family are inadvertently caught up in protecting the plates from would-be thieves, and several of the Steeds—excepting Benjamin and Joshua—and, finally, Lydia come to testimony. *Pillar of Light* concludes with a close account of the publication of the Book of Mormon and details the organization of the Church and the first baptisms.

In *Pillar of Light* Lund introduces his technique of having primary historical figures relate an event of the restoration to members of the Steed family. Thus Joseph Smith tells Nathan the story of the First Vision (the 1838 version, verbatim) and the visitations of Moroni; Oliver Cowdery recalls the translation of the plates and the restoration of the Aaronic Priesthood; Martin Harris tells Benjamin the story of his visit to Professor Charles Anthon at Columbia University and how he (Martin) allowed his wife to see the manuscript of the translation of the plates; Joseph Knight tells Nathan of Joseph's courtship of Emma and of the buried treasure interlude; and Martin Harris tells the Steeds of the visitations of the angel to the Three and Eight Witnesses. The technique enables the reader to
listen to Joseph and others tell Nathan and his family how it was, and enables Nathan and the other Steeds to respond to the account, ask questions, and register their reactions. For example, here Joseph tells Nathan the story of Moroni’s first visit:

“Not only was his robe of this incredible whiteness, but his very person was glorious beyond any description. His countenance was like lightning. That’s the only thing which comes close to describing it. This was what made the whole room brighter than daylight.”

“What did you do?”

Joseph laughed softly. “To be honest, at first I was frightened. I mean, suddenly here is this glorious being by my bedside, so brilliant he fills the whole room with light. But the fear quickly left me. He called me by name. He told me that his name was Moroni, and—”

“More-ohn-eye?” Nathan repeated the name slowly. (178)

Later in Pillar of Light, Lund introduces the reader to the contents of the Book of Mormon while it is still in manuscript by having Joseph Smith read aloud from its pages to a group of friends. Mary Ann Steed, one of the group, is silently praying, “O Lord, if this be thy word, help me to know it without question. Open my heart to thy feelings, Heavenly Father, I pray in Jesus’ name” (327). Selecting a few pages from the manuscript stacked before him, Joseph announces, “The part I would like to read this evening takes place in the Americas shortly after the time of the Savior’s crucifixion and resurrection.” Then, looking directly at Mary Ann, he says, “Of all the Book of Mormon, I particularly love this part,” and reads of the signs which would accompany the Savior’s death, including the earthquake and three days and nights of darkness:

Joseph stopped for a moment, and Oliver [Cowdery] spoke quietly, “Listen carefully,” he said. “I wept when we were translating this part.”

Nodding, Joseph went on, reading more slowly now. The darkness lifted, the earth was finally still. A group of disciples, those who had believed and looked forward to the promised signs, gathered at a temple in a land they called Bountiful. While they were conversing one with another about the great and marvelous things which had transpired, they suddenly heard a voice, coming from the heavens.

Mary Ann felt a sudden thrill course through her body. She leaned forward, her eyes fixed on Joseph’s face as he read. (328)

Then the Savior appears to the Nephite-Lamanite remnant, and “Mary Ann felt a hand slip into hers and turned to see Nathan looking at her. She suddenly realized she was crying. She squeezed
his hand back. ‘It’s all right,’ she murmured. ‘It’s all right’” (329). Joseph’s voice “had dropped now but was still filled with a quiet power,” as he reads of Jesus Christ’s appearance at the temple at Bountiful, where he shows the multitude the prints of the nails in his hands and in his feet; then Joseph concludes his reading with, “And it came to pass that when they had all gone forth, and had witnessed for themselves, they did cry out with one accord, saying: Hosanna! Blessed be the name of the Most High God! And they did fall down at the feet of Jesus, and did worship him.” As Joseph reads these words,

so now did [Mary Ann’s] own heart cry out. It was enough. This was the anchor she had been seeking.

She was jerked out of her thoughts when she realized that Joseph had come to stand before her and was looking down at her, smiling softly. “Well, Sister Steed,” he said, “did you get it?”

“Did I get what?”

“The answer for which you were seeking.”

She rocked back a little, stunned that he would know.

He laughed and held out his hands. She took both of them, tears suddenly welling up again.

“Yes,” she smiled through them. “Yes, Joseph, I did.” (329)

This pattern of interaction between historical and fictional characters continues through all nine volumes of the series, and in Fire of the Covenant as well.

Volume 2: Like a Fire Is Burning (1991): 1830-36. In Like a Fire Is Burning the infant Church outgrows Palmyra, New York, and moves to Kirtland, Ohio, and Missouri. Joseph is tried in court at South Bainbridge and Colesville; Lucy Mack Smith (and Nathan and Lydia) experience the miracle of the ice break-up in the harbor at Buffalo, New York; Joseph receives numerous revelations; the Saints begin to build the Kirtland Temple; the Church gains many new converts as the missionary effort widens; miraculously, a needed sum of money appears in a fish; western Missouri sees settlement and mounting persecution; Zion’s Camp goes to the rescue; and the Kirtland Temple is dedicated. In this volume Lund begins to provide, as in all subsequent volumes, detailed chapter end notes documenting historical events and clarifying his fictional interpolations. This device helps clarify that all-important relationship between history and fiction.

spirit of apostasy afflicts Kirtland, many recent converts, including several important leaders, become disillusioned and leave the Church, especially after the collapse of the Kirtland Safety Society Anti-Banking Company. From the high point of Jesus Christ’s appearance in the Kirtland Temple, the Mormons are driven from Kirtland into northern Missouri. But simultaneously, missionary work in Upper Canada and the Twelve’s mission to Great Britain flourish, even as tensions mount in Missouri.

Volume 4: Thy Gold to Refine (1993): July 1838-March 1839. The Church meets tribulation in Missouri. This volume documents the gathering storm of the election-day battle at Gallatin, the siege of DeWitt, the Battle of Crooked River, Governor Boggs’s extermination order, the Haun’s Mill massacre, the fall of Far West, the incarceration of the Prophet Joseph, and the Saints’ expulsion at gunpoint from Missouri.

Volume 5: A Season of Joy (1994): 1839-41. The Saints find refuge from the Missouri ordeal in Nauvoo, Illinois, where the gathering gains momentum. Tender moments include Joseph’s miracle of healing the Saints on the riverbank and the harvest of souls in Great Britain, including the remarkable ministry of Wilford Woodruff. This period of relative peace and prosperity in Nauvoo and abroad is a fleeting “season of joy.”

Volume 6: Praise to the Man (1995): 1841-44. Storm clouds continue to gather over the Saints. Although Nauvoo becomes well-established, the Relief Society is founded, the endowment is initiated, and Joseph presents himself as a candidate for president of the United States, other forces are also at work. A test of faith comes as he teaches a select circle of leaders to practice the doctrine of plural marriage, and public outrage over this unusual form of marriage leads to the assassination of Joseph and his brother Hyrum on 27 June 1844. Lund recreates the scenes of despair as the Saints realize they have lost their beloved leader.

Volume 7: No Unhallowed Hand (1996): June 1844-February 1846. In the aftermath of the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum, the Church struggles with the problem of succession in the First Presidency. Brigham Young and the Twelve assert the quorum’s leadership, confirmed by the miracle of “the mantle of Joseph” falling on Brother Brigham. Converts continue to flock to Nauvoo from England and Europe; but after a season of uneasy peace, the persecution resumes and intensifies. The Nauvoo Charter is revoked; mobs com-
bine—once again “the torch, the night rider, powder and ball, murder” (x). The Saints agree to leave the state since the alternative is forcible expulsion and extermination. Turning their faces to the West, they prepare to depart.

Volume 8: So Great a Cause (1997): February-May 1846. “Westward, ho!” is the cry in this penultimate volume of the series. The Saints begin their difficult journey across Iowa toward the Rocky Mountains. Other members of the Steed family sail on the Brooklyn, which rounds the cape of South America and travels up the coast to California. Still others accompany the ill-fated Donner-Reed party into the Far West, and some Steeds remain temporarily behind in Nauvoo, where they face great danger during the final battle for the city in September 1846.

Volume 9: All Is Well (1998): June 1846-October 1847. In the final volume of THE WORK AND THE GLORY, the vanguard company of pioneers journeys from the banks of the Missouri to the Salt Lake Valley. The Brooklyn nears the end of its voyage. One Steed couple continue on with the doomed Donner-Reed party. Still other Steeds remain in peril at Nauvoo and at Winter Quarters, Nebraska. Five hundred Mormon volunteers answer the call to form the Mormon Battalion and undertake the longest infantry march in history. As additional companies of pioneers stream across the plains, other members of the Steed family enter the valley and find a haven, “far away, in the West.” And, at last, “All is well.”

Fire of the Covenant: A Novel of the Willie and Martin Handcart Companies (1999): January-November 1856. Lund’s Fire of the Covenant, a historical novel reprising the ordeal in the late fall of 1856 of the Willie and Martin handcart companies, while not a part of THE WORK AND THE GLORY series, is at once a coda to Phase 1 and the symbolic beginning of Phase 2 of the story of the restoration—the transition to the new Zion in the tops of the mountains. This story is evidence that, in the words of Brigham Young, “the fire of the covenant” was still burning “like flame unquenchable” in the hearts of the Latter-day Saints (xv). Lund does not feature members of the Steed family in Fire of the Covenant but intertwines the fates of the fictional McKensie family of Scotland, the Pederson family of Norway, and the Granger family of Great Salt Lake City with historical Jackson, James, Jaques, Loader, and Nielson families. Lund recounts the terrible ordeal of the two ill-fated companies, caught on the plains of Wyoming in early winter storms, and describes the valiant
efforts of the rescue company who heeded Brigham Young’s general conference call, “Go and bring in those people.”

These ten volumes, excepting Lund’s KINGDOM AND THE CROWN series, constitute Lund’s Mormon historical fiction. I leave to others better qualified than I to appraise the extent to which these volumes succeed as history, but I will make a beginning attempt to assess Lund’s major contribution to Mormon letters and, in particular, to the Mormon historical novel, in THE WORK AND THE GLORY. To do so requires first some background in the historical novel genre.

THE HISTORICAL NOVEL GENRE

Owen Wister, in his preface to the classic cowboy novel, The Virginian (1902), asserts: “Any [fictional] narrative which presents faithfully a day and a generation is of necessity historical.”4 Storytellers have combined fiction and history since Lucifer first dissembled to Eve in Eden, but it took a new, long view of history and Sir Walter Scott to establish the conditions and the criteria for the historical novel, which would rule Britannia (and Americana) for a half-century after Scott’s death in 1832.5

Since Scott published Waverley (1814) and Ivanhoe (1819), the historical novel has consistently gone about re-creating, historically and imaginatively, an age when two cultures, one nascent and one dying, are undergoing rapid change and come into conflict. The historical novel presents the history of the ascendant tribe and recollects the origins of the people, the nation, or institution. In chronicling a tribal history, the novelist must, as literary critic Richard M. Eastman points out, “exhibit a theory or at least a pattern of history”(81) and take a clear and unambiguous stance toward his subject as interpreter of and mediator between the storied past and his contemporary reading public.6

In retelling history, the historical novelist is of necessity bounded and limited by historical fact, a condition that yields a

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historical tyranny that insists, both to author and reader, “This far, and no further!” In an attempt to move with imaginative freedom within these historical boundaries, the historical novelist takes up the story in medias res—not at the very beginning—and spares no time or space in spinning his or her tale. Thus, there is no such thing as a short historical novel. It requires room for the reconstruction of the milieu, for re-creating a sense of place, for enabling history to accrue, for finding its slower rhythm of inevitability, and for allowing its characters to ripen before facing the crucial historical moment.

The historical novelist, whose primary desire is to teach and inform and, second, to delight, also compensates for the demands of historical fact by creating fictional characters with whom the reader may identify, characters who, according to C. Hugh Holman and William Harmon, “participate in actual historical events and move among actual personages from history; these fictional characters undergo and give expression to the impact of the historical events on people living through them, with the result that a picture of a bygone age is given in personal and immediate terms.”

Although the historical novelist may reprise the actions of a Napoleon, Michelangelo, or Joseph Smith, famous characters whom readers will already know, he enhances and refocuses familiar historical events by seeing them through the imagined points of view of anonymous, ordinary, and unknown participants who may be, like Kilroy, Forrest Gump, or Nathan Steed, fellow patriots, believers, companions, or crowd-swelling groundlings who, vicariously representing the reader, happen to be on stage, or in the wings, for the Great Event.

Georg Lukács, the incisive Hungarian and Marxist critic, points out in his defining study, The Historical Romance (1954), that Scott’s nonreflexive heroes and the many bystanding, choral characters in historical novels since Scott, are necessarily “mediocre,” “passive,” and “wavering.” Though such characters may be ineffectual in dramatizing the conflicting historical forces, Lukács sees Scott’s, or Tolstoy’s, or Bulwer-Lytton’s ordinary characters (and would doubt-

less see Lund’s Steed family likewise) as necessarily passive assets to the historical novelist. Unable to control the actions of his historic heroes, the novelist may turn every thought and act of his created characters to the service of what Lukács terms “the realistic representation of historical reality.” The bystanding characters are written into the story, not to draw attention to themselves, but to keep the reader’s eyes single to the novelist’s real story and fixed on those grand gestures and dramatic acts which will affect the fate of the tribe.

For this cause, the bystanding characters in most historical novels are devoid of inwardness, though they are inward. In other words, readers may see the characters’ inward thoughts as they report and respond to the historic events occurring around them, but they are themselves without individualistic inwardness. But there’s the rub: Such outward-focused characterization discomfits schooled contemporary readers and earns the disdain of modern critics—not only because many of the characters of the historical novel à la Scott seem to be two-dimensional anachronisms from an era when psychological realism was subordinate to the demands of external realism, but also because the focus of the classical historical novel since the late nineteenth century continues to require, at the turn of the twenty-first century, the bystanding characters’ relative and psychologically unacceptable simplicity to advance the demands and hold the focus of the unfolding epic.

It was 1885, or thereabouts, when the literary tide turned against the long-standing données of the historical novel. Literary critics, favoring realism over romanticism, and the self-centered complexities of individual human psychology over the panoramic sweep of tribes and nations, blamed Scott and faulted the genre for what they saw and continue to see as inherent literary problems. These faults have been pointed out in the work of virtually any historical novelist, for, in critical eyes, “All have sinned, yea, everyone,” beginning with James Fenimore Cooper and continuing with Alessandro Manzoni, Conrad Ferdinand Meyer, William Makepeace Thackeray, Alexander Dumas, Victor Hugo, Leo Tolstoy, Henry Bulwer-Lytton, and Charles Reade, and still continuing, with a twist, into the twentieth century with Hervey Allen, Kenneth Roberts, A. B. 

9Ibid.
Guthrie Jr., Robert Graves, Margaret Mitchell, Irving Stone, Leon Uris, James Michener, Norman Mailer, Thomas Berger, Bodie Thoene, Gore Vidal, John Barth, John Fowles, Erica Jong, or, in Mormon letters, the aforementioned Fisher, Whipple, Sorensen, Taylor, Woolley, Hughes, Freeman, Card, Brown, and now, Gerald N. Lund, to name only a few.

Each of these authors has written important historical novels; and in the advanced age of realism qualified by minimalist and post-structuralism, each has encountered the criticism that attaches to the much-abused yet much-read historical novel. Each has also, with modifications, continued to shape his or her historical fictions according to Scott’s time-honored but time-eclipsed pattern.

Although it is still too early for critical response to THE WORK AND THE GLORY to have focused, such criticism, when it comes, will deal not only with the central problem of LDS literature, which is how to give credible human and literary expression to spiritual and intuitive impulses, but also with those familiar questions, “But is it history?” and “But is it art?” which dog the historical novel. For it remains a persistent and culturally embedded attitude in Western criticism that the historical novel is a not altogether respectable genre situated somewhere upscale from the cowboy and the detective novel, and just ahead and to the right of science fiction.

This uneasiness with the historical novel’s pretensions to be at once history and art arose in the nineteenth century with the new science, the beginnings of modern psychology, and the art of modern fiction. After blowing away the smoke of battle, there remain three main faults that seem to adhere to any historical novel:

1. Critics fault the historical novel for its broad sweeps through history which achieve movement at the cost of shallow and uncomplicated characters who become representative types instead of individuals, and, as types, purveyors of a specious and stereotypical morality.

2. Critics question the confused purpose of the historical novelist’s attempting, on one hand, to retrieve and replicate the external realities of an age, while, on the other hand, presuming to imagine fictively the consciousness and inner life of the ancients—a situation that makes inevitable what Lukács calls “a necessary anachronism.”

10Georg Lukács, Der Historische Roman (Berlin: Aufbau Verlag, 1955), 59-60, translation mine.
Henry James states bluntly his disdain for such anachronisms in a letter (5 Oct. 1901) to Sarah Ornejewett, herself a local color historical novelist. Writes James:

The "historic" novel is, for me, condemned, even in cases of labour as delicate as yours, to a fatal cheapness, for the simple reason that the difficulty of the job is inordinate. . . . You may multiply the little facts that can be got from pictures and documents, relics and prints as much as you like—the real thing is almost impossible to do and in its essence the whole effect is as nought. I mean the invention, the representation of the old CONSCIOUSNESS, the soul, the sense, the horizon, the vision of individuals in whose minds half the things that make ours, that make the modern world, were non-existent. You have to think with your modern apparatus a man, a woman—or rather fifty—whose own thinking was intensely otherwise conditioned, you have to simplify back by an amazing tour de force—and even then it's all humbug.11

3. As early as 1850, Alessandro Manzoni, author of The Betrothed (I promissi sposi, 1827), itself a classic historical novel, concluded in his remarkable study, "On the Historical Novel, and, in General, on Works Mixing History and Invention," that the historical novel is "deficient both as historiography and as poetry" because it wrongly attempts to mix fictional truth and the factual, an impossible combination.12 The historical novel fails as history, he argues, because it fuses historical facts and imaginary invention in such a manner than one cannot always differentiate between the two and thus corrupts historical knowledge and evokes uncertainty in the reader. The venerable historian Pierre Bayle, in 1701 advised novelists who cannot resist meddling with history to "annotate themselves in such a manner that the invented arts could be clearly distinguished from the historical ones."13 Lund deals squarely with this same problem by unknowingly adopting Bayle's solution. Responding to the inquiries of readers who found it impossible to differentiate between fact and fiction in Pillar of Light, the first book in the series, Lund

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13Quoted in Wesseling, Writing History as a Prophet, 34-35.
supplied endnotes for Volumes 2 and 3, and chapter notes for Volumes 4-9 and for *Fire of the Covenant*.\(^{14}\)

And the historical novel fails as art, insists Manzoni, when the novelist attempts to prevent the corruption of historical knowledge by somehow marking, setting off, and thus differentiating the fictional passages from the historical passages (as Lund has done with elucidating notes). The narrative is then in danger of failing as a unified, organic, literary work of art, concludes Manzoni, because the historical novel "does not have a logical purpose of its own; [instead,] it counterfeits two various and often contradictory purposes," those of literary art and history.\(^{15}\)

**THE WORK AND THE GLORY AS HISTORICAL FICTION**

In coming to terms with these merits and demerits of the historical novel, allow me to offer some tentative comments about Lund's success in *The Work and the Glory*.

Lund's purpose, consonant with the purposes of the classical historical novelist, is to reify, recall, and revivify the events of the restoration of the gospel for a believing but beleaguered constituency remote in time and thinking from those "marvelous-work-and-a-wonder" events clustered at the beginning of the Restoration. Lund's guiding, dramatic question, as he states it in the preface to *Pillar of Light*, is to tell the Mormon story so completely that each reader can answer the questions: "If I had been living back then, how would I have reacted? What would I have done? Would I have believed?" *Pillar of Light*, writes Lund, "is an attempt to help [readers] explore those questions in their hearts" (viii). This ongoing exploration unifies the series, as does the gradual unfolding of Mormonism's genesis story, already familiar to most readers.

Writing in another context, cultural critic Neil Postman points out the importance of the shared story, in this case, the foundational Mormon story, to the spiritual and communal well-being of the Mormon people: "Human beings require stories to give meaning to the facts of their existence. . . . A story provides a structure for our perceptions; only through stories do facts assume any meaning what-

\(^{14}\)David G. Woolley in his *Promised Land* series on the Book of Mormon follows Lund in appending endnotes about the history.

\(^{15}\)Manzoni, *On the Historical Novel*, 76.
sover. . . . Nations need stories, just as people do, to provide themselves with a sense of continuity, or identity.”

In retelling the Restoration story, Lund reassembles and recounts the origins of his Mormon tribe, a story sacred to the Latter-day Saints and shared at least to the Nauvoo period by the Community of Christ and other forms of Mormonism. Lund assumes that his audience traces in the history of their beginnings the moving finger of the Lord, seeing it as a sacred myth, a burning bush that must be approached with shoes removed. The historical novel genre, as rendered by a trusted fellow-believer, enables a luminescence less likely with other forms and earns the confidence of the believing Latter-day Saint reader. Other more psychologically realistic fictional techniques are off-putting to those Latter-day Saints who feel, regardless of the author’s literary skill, that their sacred story has been manhandled and violated, and thus profaned.

Beginning the story of the Restoration in medias res, as befits a historical novel, seven years after Joseph Smith’s First Vision, Lund takes the time and space to provide the detail necessary to allow events to develop their own authenticity and density, find their own rhythm, fill in the blank spaces of the familiar, and allow the reader to claim a personal sense of place amid the Saint-making and Saint-shaking events of a robust, thriving, still-innocent, pre-Civil War, pre-Darwinian, pre-Freudian, religiously enthusiastic, expectantly capitalistic, westering, and Manifest Destinarian America—and in a brand-new church.

Lund mitigates some of the standard weaknesses of the historic novel simply by introducing to the average Mormon reader dozens of new, unfamiliar, and even rare stories. Consider this random selection of little-known but intriguing accounts: Lucy Smith’s miraculous parting of the ice in Buffalo harbor (2:172); Mary Elsa Whitmer’s being shown the gold plates by Moroni (2:75-77); Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner’s account of the providential finding of three coins in the fish’s stomach (2:387-88); the moving account of the death of David W. Patten (4:240); the misfiring of five pistols aimed at the Prophet Joseph by Missouri irregulars (4:370); the financial miracle of Brigham Young’s and Heber C. Kimball’s journey—they spent $87 but originally had only $13.50 between them.

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(5:253); Wilford Woodruff’s healing of the possessed madwoman (5:524); Joseph’s prescience in instructing Israel Barlow to get a buggy-whip immediately, thus saving his life a few hours later (6:332); the Nauvoo plot to assassinate Joseph Smith (6:425-27); and an angel appearing thrice to Joseph Smith, commanding him to initiate plural marriage or be slain at once (6:478-79). And so forth.

In the interest of grounding his story in both historical fact and fiction in contexts of a realistic nineteenth-century American frontier background, Lund “multiplies[ies] the little facts,” as Henry James called the process, through occasionally introducing into his narrative chunk-style cameos of Americana, which science fiction criticism calls “data dumps.” In organically ladling these “data dumps” into his work, Lund is as good as or better than Vardis Fisher in *Children of God*, but less successful, perhaps, than Orson Scott Card in *Saints* or Maurine Whipple in *The Giant Joshua*, thus recalling Lukács’s comments on the historical novelist’s difficulty in introducing factual information into fiction. Lund sets the pattern early in Volume 1 by introducing interesting sketches about the Erie Canal, which runs through Palmyra. The pattern established, he then inserts occasional sidebars about soap-making, quern handmills, ice-cutting and ice-storage, Cyrus H. McCormack’s harvesting machine, McGuffey’s Readers, sailing aboard the S.S. Rochester, the “Penny Black” postage stamp, the daguerreotype, and—what may be his best-treated and best-integrated cameo—the Mormon logging industry in the Wisconsin pineries. All nine volumes of the saga are replete with such historical and cultural vignettes.

The major key to the unity and success of *The Work and the Glory* saga is Lund’s creation of the bystanding Steed family. While the demands of history naturally command the boundaries of Lund’s main plot, the interpolation into the series of the Steeds and, eventually, their spouses, children, and grandchildren, enables Lund to do what he does so well—write fiction. He crafts an exciting parallel story of the Steed family’s various responses to Mormonism, creating scenes and characters that dramatize the immediate and personal impact of the events of the Restoration and early Mormon history on ordinary men and women who are at stage center or in the wings during the major events, yet remain “bystanding” characters at a remove from Joseph and Emma Smith and other key figures of the Restoration whom Lund and the reader wish to keep at a respectful and non-leveling distance, for, as Thomas Campbell observes, “Tis
distance lends enchantment to the view.” Such fictional distancing of the Steed family from the Smith clan enables the reader to identify with the Steeds as they confront, variously and collectively, the implications of the Restoration in their lives.

At the same time, Lukács’s “necessary anachronism” enables the reader to understand, from the perspective of some 170 years, the larger currents and forces at work in nascent Mormonism. Furthermore, following the life and times of members of the Steed family keeps vividly present the reader’s question: “How will Lund get the character out of this dilemma and back to Kirtland or Missouri or Nauvoo in time for the next Grand Event?”

The most important role of the Steeds as ordinary Latter-day Saints and bystanding characters is their mirroring the events and concerns of the main plot. As the historical novel demands of its ordinary bystanders, when the first converts are baptized, the Steeds undergo the dynamics of conversion and some of them are baptized. When the temple at Kirtland or Nauvoo is built, the Steeds sweat on the construction site. When there is dying to be done at Haun’s Mill, the Steeds’ quasi-son-in-law John Griffith is among the martyred. And when Joseph Smith’s personal guard escorts him to Carthage, Nathan Steed is on hand. The Steeds are the Greek chorus of the Restoration. Through the family’s individual waxings and wanings, all of which center in the events of the Restoration and the nascent church, Lund subtly prods the reader to confront the series’ overriding dramatic question, “If I had been living back then, how would I have reacted?”—and formulate his or her answer.

It is amid the Steed family’s comings and goings that Lund threads the answer he hopes to evoke in every reader. As a historical novelist, Lund takes a stand and points the path to belief and conversion, rejecting the objective heresy which rules modern literature—that is, the sophic insistence on physical reality and denial of any spiritual, mantic reality, Lund shows that all but a few members of the extended Steed clan share with him the belief in the divinity of every part of the Restoration and have faith in the divine mission of the Prophet Joseph. As Nathan tells Joseph after he and Lydia

have passed their Abrahamic test over the doctrine of plural marriage, "I have a hundred questions, but I have no doubts" (6:465). They thus stand as proxies for Lund’s ideal reader who, hovering Walt-Whitman-like over the scene, nods in agreement.

With few exceptions, Lund’s integration of historical fact and fictional narrative reveals an artistry that makes the reader question Henry James’s assertion that “the real thing is impossible to do.” So clearly does Lund advance his players toward their inevitable goals and so clearly does the reader come to understand that God is directing the play, that readers willingly suspend their desire for the Steed family’s inwardness and complex psychology to play their roles in God’s plan to get the plates translated, the temple dedicated, the mob turned, the conversion of the English effected, the Saints tested, the lame healed, polygamy undertaken, and the Prophet and Hyrum martyred, and the Saints safe at last in the Rocky Mountains. The unrolling of divine history makes “the real thing” possible, as the higher reality of God’s wonder-working providence eclipses James’s earth-bound psychological realism.

Lund avoids as much as possible the necessary anachronism of presentism—or judging according to present-day standards, values, and attitudes. Instead, he leaves to his readers the task of drawing parallels between themselves and their counterparts in the early Church. Only occasionally, for the sake of clarity—and then primarily in Volume 6—does Lund drop from the fictional into the historical mode to bridge major events or intrude anachronistically to correct the record in light of contemporary Latter-day Saint interpretations. In Volume 6, Praise to the Man, for example, Lund explains that Joseph Smith’s use of the word ordain, in organizing the Relief Society, is currently understood as “set apart” and is not a conferring of priesthood (6:289). At another point, Lund explains in a chapter note and with a 1933 First Presidency statement, that “celestial marriage,” but not “plural marriage is required for exaltation” (6:447).

Lund’s literary marriage of historical fact and imaginative fiction is, I believe, a happy one. For the most part, Lund seems to me to have overridden or obviated the literary problems posed by the historical novel by finding and rendering in inspired prose the remarkable unity and purpose of the Mormon people and the compelling story of the Restoration. Indeed, the historical novel, with its lofty aims and broad canvas, while admittedly at cross-purposes with contemporary art and criticism, seems to me, after all, to be an
effective vehicle for conveying the epic of Mormonism. Perhaps it is time to take a cue from critic Jane Tompkins, who, seeing that literary criticism had long excluded the sentimental novel and the domestic novel from the discussion, formulated a set of critical guidelines that would include such works as *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in the conversation. ¹⁹ Perhaps, someday, the Latter-day Saints will have achieved the confidence and maturity to free themselves from dependency on critical modes which are not congenial to Mormonism and its worldview.

In the meantime, Lund, in *THE WORK AND THE GLORY*, has accomplished the "O-that-I-were-an-angel" dream of every institute, seminary, and born-again gospel doctrine teacher. With enormous personal effort and with the evident inspiration of the Holy Spirit, Lund has moved thousands of his people to press the spiritual re-set button and find in their Latter-day Saint faith renewed cohesion, purpose, direction, and inspiration.

Other ways and means of re-storying the Restoration will be forthcoming. Until the Second Coming downgrades the Restoration to old news, each generation will need to reassess, redefine, and renew its relationship with those stunning events. As new, imaginative works of art celebrate Mormonism's beginnings, however, each will be indebted to Gerald N. Lund and his landmark accomplishment in bringing to pass *THE WORK AND THE GLORY*.

Selected Collections is an achievement of such significance that no praise, no matter how effusive, seems sufficiently laudatory. Its contribution to the future of Mormon studies, Utah studies, and even U.S. studies more than compares to the writing in the nineteenth century of Joseph Smith’s and Brigham Young’s manuscript histories, to the compilation in the early twentieth century of the multi-volume Journal History of the Church, and to the callings in the early 1970s of Leonard J. Arrington as LDS Church Historian and of James B. Allen and Davis Bitton as Assistant Church Historians. The production and publication of Selected Collections is a watershed event whose impact will be felt for decades to come. Students and readers of Mormon history owe the leaders of the LDS Church and everyone associated with this monumental project our deepest thanks for making such indispensable material more readily available.

The scope of Selected Collections is truly staggering. The more than 400,000 manuscript pages, the majority of which have been scanned in full color, fill a total of seventy-four DVDs grouped into two volumes. They are:

**VOLUME 1**

**DVDs 1-16**  The History of the Church (commonly known as Joseph Smith’s and later as Brigham Young’s manuscript history).

**DVD 17**  The Church Historian’s office journal, 1844-79.

**DVD 18**  General Church minutes, 1839-77.
Salt Lake Temple architectural drawings.
William Weeks’s Nauvoo architectural drawings.

Kirtland High Council minutes, 1832-37.
Pottawattamie High Priests Quorum minutes, 1848-51.
Pottawattamie High Council conference minutes, 1848-51.
(Note: These are conference minutes, not the deliberations of the high council, although such minutes do exist.)
Nauvoo Stake High Council court papers, 1839-44.
Winter Quarters Municipal High Council records, 1846-48.
Winter Quarters Municipal High Council correspondence, 1847-48.
Relief Society minutes, March 1842-March 1844.
Revelations collection, ca. 1831-76.

DVD 20  Joseph Smith collection, 1827-44 (including a supplement).
(This collection does not include Joseph Smith's "Scriptory Book" or Joseph Smith's journal entries from the "Book of the Law of the Lord," both of which are available in volume 2 of Dean Jessee's The Papers of Joseph Smith.)

DVDs 21-25  Brigham Young's letterpress copybooks (and Edyth J. Romney's transcriptions), 1844-79.

DVD 26  Joseph F. Smith's journal, 1856-81, 1883, 1909, and 1912.

DVDs 27-28  Joseph F. Smith's incoming correspondence, 1853-1918.

DVDs 29-30  Joseph F. Smith's letterpress copybooks, 1875-1917.

DVD 31  Lorenzo Snow's journal and letterbook, 1836-45 and 1872.
Erastus Snow's journal, 1835-51 and 1856-57.
Willard Richards's papers, 1821-54 (diary, correspondence, etc.).
Orson Pratt's autobiography and journal, 1833-47.

DVDs 32-33  George A. Smith's papers, 1834-75.

DVDs 34-35  Franklin D. Richards's journal, 1844-54 and 1866-99.

DVD 36  Charles C. Rich collection, 1832-1908 (diary, correspondence, etc.).

DVD 37  Amasa Lyman collection, 1832-77 (diary, correspondence, etc.).

DVD 38  J. Golden Kimball's journal, 1883-87 and 1895-1908.

VOLUME 2

DVDs 1-36  The Journal History of the Church, through 31 December 1923.

Naturally, it would have been most interesting to know why these and not other collections were chosen for inclusion.

For anyone who has had to work with these materials on microfilm, having ready access to high-quality photographic images (which may surpass the originals in some instances) is nothing less than a godsend. A readable copy of the Journal History alone is worth the price of both volumes, although one wishes that the card-catalog index to the Journal History had also been included. The only drawback—no doubt unavoidable, given the nature of the scanned images—is that none of these collections is word-searchable. As editor Richard E. Turley points out in the introduction: "Each user must read through the collections page by page, just as he or she would in going through the originals" (2).

Turley also addresses forthrightly the important issue of deletions. Such "sensitive" material falls into three broad categories: confidential (for
example, the records of Church courts), private (for example, admissions, usually but not always, of a sexual nature), and sacred (for example, descriptions of temple rituals). The number of deletions, Turley reports, comprises less than 1 percent of the total amount of documentary materials in both volumes. Deletions appear on the scanned images as blacked-out words, paragraphs, or pages; the original documents have not been altered. Those collections published here in their entirety are: the “History of the Church”; the Salt Lake Temple drawings; the Nauvoo architectural drawings; the teachers quorum minutes; the Kirtland High Council minutes; the Pottawattamie High Priests quorum minutes; the Pottawattamie High Council conference minutes; the Winter Quarters Municipal High Council correspondence; the Relief Society minutes; the revelations collection; the Joseph Smith collection; Brigham Young’s letterpress copybooks (originals and typescripts); Lorenzo Snow’s journal and letterbook; Erastus Snow’s journal; Willard Richards’s papers; and Orson Pratt’s autobiography and journal.

Those collections containing deleted material are: the Church Historian’s office journal (“all or part of four brief entries . . . [out] of some eight thousand pages”); the general church minutes (“all or part of the minutes of twenty-eight meetings . . . [out] of more than four thousand pages”); James Bleak’s “Annals of the Southern Utah Mission” (“eighteen paragraphs” out of “2,217 handwritten pages of text”); the Nauvoo Stake High Council court papers (“names of persons and other information that would identify the individuals associated with seventeen cases” out of “nearly sixty cases”); the Winter Quarters Municipal High Council records (“the documents associated with five [out] of the sixty-one cases”); Joseph F. Smith’s journal (“parts of forty-eight journal entries . . . [out] of five thousand pages”); Joseph F. Smith’s incoming correspondence (“all or part of seventy-one letters . . . [out] of nineteen thousand pages”); Joseph F. Smith’s letterpress copybooks (“all or part of sixty-eight letters . . . [out] of seven thousand pages”); George A. Smith’s papers (“all or part of fifteen letters received by Smith . . . [out] of more than thirteen thousand pages”); Franklin D. Richards’s journal (“all or part of forty-five journal entries or supplementary documents . . . [out] of some ten thousand pages”); Charles C. Rich’s collection (“all or part of nine journal entries or letters . . . [out] of three [thousand] pages”); Amasa Lyman’s collection (“all or part of ten journal entries . . . [out] of more than six thousand pages”); J. Golden Kimball’s journals (“parts of seven journal entries . . . [out] of nearly five thousand pages”); and the Journal History of the Church (“two entries and part of another . . . [out] of some 175,000 pages”). These quotations are from the introductions to each of these separate collections.

Not knowing what these relatively few deletions cover, or why they were made, makes it difficult to agree (or disagree) with the decision to withhold this material from public view. For example, the names of some of the individuals deleted from the Nauvoo Stake High Council court records were publicized by the LDS Church in the nineteenth century in the Nauvoo
Neighbor and in the History of Joseph Smith serialized in the Deseret News and Millennial Star, and in at least one instance appear unaltered in the Journal History section published in volume 2 of Selected Collections. In addition, while some of the twenty-eight meetings in “General Church Minutes” containing deletions no doubt detail Church disciplinary courts, others do not. For example, the meeting of 30 April 1846, which is completely blacked out, reports the dedication proceedings of the Nauvoo Temple. The meetings of 16 November, 30 November, and 5 December 1847, also completely or partially blacked out, report the deliberations of the Council of the Twelve Apostles regarding the reorganization of the First Presidency. (Transcripts of these meetings may be found in Leonard Arrington’s papers at Utah State University, in D. Michael Quinn’s papers at Yale University, and in chapter 3 of my Conflict in the Quorum: Orson Pratt, Brigham Young, Joseph Smith). I do not doubt that the “committee of senior [LDS Church] archivists” acted judiciously in determining which material should be deleted. Still, I would have appreciated knowing, if only generally, why committee members ruled the way they did in each instance. That said, most of the deletions seem prompted primarily by concerns about invasions of privacy. While I personally believe that such expectations end at death, I realize that others may feel differently.

Besides a genuine interest in making these materials widely available, an additional motivation was to extend copyright protection to some of the Church’s historical manuscripts. Since much of the Church’s previously unpublished manuscript holdings entered the public domain on 1 January 2003, one hopes that extending copyright protection was at most a secondary reason. Turley states this claim to copyright explicitly in his introduction:

The materials in this set continue to enjoy legal protection under both United States and international copyright law. They may not, as a consequence, be exploited in violation of that law. On the other hand, since copyright protects expression and not ideas, publication of this set facilitates the free flow of the ideas contained in these records. The fair use provisions of copyright law also make it possible to borrow a limited amount of expression, without the permission of the copyright owner, for such purposes as scholarly research and teaching. This balance of protecting expression while promoting intellectual discourse should satisfy the research and publication needs of most users. (3)

To discourage republication of the images, each scan contains the faintly printed words “The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Archives” running vertically. Only rarely does this underlying image hinder readability.

1The same introduction appears in its entirety on printed pages at the beginning of both Volume 1 and 2 along with a printed table of contents for both volumes.
While not wanting to embark on a lengthy discussion of copyright issues, I think it is worth noting that for one to claim copyright to someone else’s work (not in the public domain), he must demonstrate that the individual legally transferred to him, not just the document(s), but the literary rights as well. (For more, see my “Copyright and Fair Use for Mormon Historians,” *Journal of Mormon History* 28 [Spring 2002]: 52-66, and the accompanying article, “A Bundle of Rights” by attorney Morris A. Thurston, pp. 67-80.) Consequently, and while emphasizing that I could be wrong, I would suggest that the following documents/collections entered the public domain on 1 January 2003, despite their inclusion in *Selected Collections*, since their authors’ descendants never legally surrendered their copyrights to a second party: James Bleak’s “Annals of the Southern Utah Mission”; large portions (if not all) of Joseph Smith’s collection; Joseph F. Smith’s journal, incoming correspondence, and letterpress copybooks; Lorenzo Snow’s journal and letterbook; Erastus Snow’s journal; Willard Richards’s papers; Orson Pratt’s autobiography and journal; George A. Smith’s papers; Franklin D. Richards’s journal; Charles C. Rich’s collection; and Amasa Lyman’s collection. In addition, large portions (if not all) of the histories of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young, as well as of the *Journal History*, either entered the public domain long ago or contain documents to which the Church itself would probably agree it never possessed the copyright—for example, newspaper/magazine articles, letters, reports, etc.

My comments regarding deletions and copyright should not be read as complaints. I raise them merely as topics for discussion, not as criticisms. The many challenges facing the editor(s) of *Selected Collections* must have been enormous, and I am grateful I was not asked to help resolve the complex editorial, legal, and political issues with which they dealt. I have nothing but the highest praise for the entire project and its participants.

As for suggestions (at the risk of being overly presumptuous): the informative introductions and tables of contents which preface each of the collections should probably be reproofed. For example, on the contents page to the Joseph Smith Collection, “15 July 1843-29 February 1844 (folder 7),” the years given for pages 240 to the end should all read “1844”; and I believe Pottawattamie is misspelled on some of the tables of contents. I think it would also be helpful if brief, individualized tables of contents could be printed on each disk, informing users what each disk contains. Finally, if updates are contemplated, may I urge the following as candidates for inclusion: early newspapers such as *Warsaw Signal, Nauvoo Neighbor*, *The Wasp*, *The Prophet*, and *Frontier Guardian*; the manuscripts of Lucy Mack Smith’s history of Joseph Smith; Joseph Smith’s “Scriptory Book” and diary entries from the Book of the Law of the Lord; Brigham Young’s personal diaries, office journals, and secretary’s journals; the original manuscripts of Brigham Young’s sermons; William Clayton’s Nauvoo diaries; Heber C. Kimball’s diaries; Wilford Woodruff’s diaries, daybooks, and correspondence; the patriarchal blessings books (vols. 1-8, at least); the Nauvoo City Council minutes; the Nauvoo Municipal Court minutes and records; the
Nauvoo Legion minutes and records; the Nauvoo Stake High Council minutes; the Council of Fifty minutes and records; the School of the Prophets minutes; John Taylor's correspondence; George Q. Cannon's diaries; Brigham Young Jr.'s diaries and correspondence; Marriner Wood Merrill's diaries; the remainder of Joseph F. Smith's diaries; Francis M. Lyman's diaries; John Henry Smith's diaries; Anthon H. Lund's diaries; Heber J. Grant's diaries; and the First Presidency's letterpress books, at least up to 1923. Some of these may require access to the holdings of other Church departments, but the result would be, I believe, a worthy successor in every way to the stunning first edition of Selected Collections.

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Reviewed by Henry Wolfinger

Force of a Feather effectively combines history and genealogy with personal narrative. DeEtta Demaratus's focus is a habeas corpus proceeding that took place in a Los Angeles courtroom in 1856. In a week-long series of hearings, a state judge decided that a Mormon family residing near the colony of San Bernardino could not remove two African-American women and their children—members of their household and formerly their slaves—from California to Texas. The historical chapters discuss the trial, provide an account of the personal journeys that brought the parties to the case together, and outline the course of the five participants' later lives.

Interspersed throughout the historical account are chapters about DeEtta Demaratus's personal experiences in researching this historical episode and dealing with issues of race. These contemporary chapters constitute about a third of the book. In recounting incidents connected to her research, she subtly reveals that her search for information about her subjects became a journey that broadened her understanding of herself and race relations in contemporary America.

Precisely identifying the number of children at this point in the narrative is difficult and may confuse the reader. Biddy had two children when acquired by Smith and his wife (sometime between 1844 and the spring of 1848, while living in Mississippi). Hannah had three or four children when acquired by the Smiths (sometime between the fall of 1846 and the fall of 1847). As both Biddy and Hannah bore further children while residing with
the Smiths, these five or six children at the beginning of the narrative are nowhere near the number of children (eleven) at issue in the habeas corpus proceeding.

About a third of the book is devoted to the author’s account of her research and personal experiences. Demaratus’s research into local probate records resulted in her uncovering a will that required the executors of an estate to divide its slave households into nine parcels of roughly equal value for distribution to heirs. Among the households was one of the African American families that she was tracing. Demaratus comments: “I could not imagine being owned—that sensation was too far from my experience to be real; freedom was as natural and necessary to me as breathing. . . . But I could imagine—because I am the mother of a child—how I would feel if she were taken from me, taken for the sole and ridiculous reason of making a column on a slip of paper match a column on another paper. The bottom line, that was what this—slavery—was about: money!” (104-5).

The story is compelling. The personal journeys of the parties whose lives intersected in that Los Angeles courtroom illustrate the mobility of nineteenth-century Americans anxious to better themselves economically. The case itself illuminates the crucial issues of slavery and race in pre-Civil War America. The defendants in the case, Robert Mays Smith and his wife Rebecca, were born and raised in South Carolina. They emigrated to southwestern Mississippi after marrying in 1829 or 1830 and later obtained two slave women, Hannah and Biddy, and their children.

In the 1840s the Smiths were among a group of Mississippi converts to Mormonism who migrated to Winter Quarters after the death of Joseph Smith and journeyed across the plains to Utah with their households, containing both black and white members. In 1851 they were among the expedition that founded the colony of San Bernardino under the direction of Apostles Charles Rich and Amasa Lyman. Robert Mays Smith originally enjoyed high standing in the community, being chosen counselor to the bishop for the newly established branch. But disputes over property led to his 1855 decision to separate from the community and move his household to Texas, where he might continue ranching.

Before Smith could depart, however, a habeas corpus petition was filed in behalf of Hannah, Biddy, and their children, and they were taken into custody by the court. There is no indication of who filed it. The sheriffs of Los Angeles and San Bernardino counties conducted a preliminary investigation and presented the writ to Judge Benjamin Hayes, who conducted the proceedings. A number of persons later claimed to have alerted the sheriffs to the situation, including African Americans acquainted with the families; but given the ban on black testimony against whites in California courts, the writ would most likely have been filed by a white person.

Judge Hayes was himself a Southerner and former slaveholder, an Irish Catholic from Baltimore but considered a friendly non-Mormon. The judge sought to determine whether Hannah and Biddy, as members of the Smith
household, were leaving voluntarily for Texas, a slave state where they might be reenslaved.

Although Hannah indicated that she was leaving voluntarily, even at the possible cost of losing custody of her children, the judge did not believe her. He would later write, "The evidence, on the trial, does not tell precisely what influences have been brought to bear upon [Hannah]. Some things point to actual duress; and, if a little bent by persuasion, the force of a feather might seal her lips" (120). After several days of contentious hearings, he ruled against the Smiths, declaring Hannah, Biddy, and their children "entitled to their freedom and free forever." Moreover, as these members of the household were illiterate, ignorant of laws and their rights, and unduly influenced by Smith, he determined that they had been "in duress and not in possession and exercise of their free will so as to give a binding consent to any engagement or arrangement with him [Smith]" (212, 213).

After an abortive effort to persuade (or threaten) some of the African-Americans into rejoining his household, Smith escaped further judicial censure by fleeing with his family to Texas. Hannah and Biddy remained in southern California with their children. Although Hannah disappears from the historical record in the late 1860s, Biddy (later known as Biddy Mason) amassed a small fortune through investments in downtown Los Angeles real estate. Judge Hayes, an amateur historian, also remained in California, eventually donating his substantial collection of early California documents to Hubert Howe Bancroft for inclusion in what became the Bancroft Library.

The book is engagingly written, and the author captures the drama of the trial. The nature of the relationships between the African American and white members of Smith's household remains admittedly speculative, given the lack of direct evidence from the parties involved. Demaratus's account of her personal experiences with race provides a helpful perspective for understanding the purpose and direction of her research. Her personal journey helps demonstrate that historical research often can often prove much more than a simple effort to reconstruct the past. It can result in the researcher's critically rethinking his or her own assumptions and personal experiences. After completing her research, Demaratus spoke to a gathering of Smith's descendants and offered the following comment on his relationship with Hannah, Biddy, and their children: "I believe that Robert Mays Smith believed that these women of color and their children were part of his family, that it was a bond, rather than bondage, between them. But the women and children may have felt another way. There is a white truth and a black truth and a greater truth that encompasses us all. Only now, after all these years, it may be possible to seek that greater truth" (204).

Unfortunately, the study promises more than it delivers in terms of broader analysis. The author in her preface says the trial became a "public spectacle" locally and "attracted national notice" (ix). But she does not discuss any national reaction and touches on local reaction only incidentally. As a result, the account provides no analysis of what the trial may reveal
about contemporary attitudes towards African-Americans and slavery. She also terms the case “conspicuous and incendiary” (ix) in comparison to other California emancipation trials, but the failure to identify or describe any similar trials provides no basis for comparison.

Although the study is based on extensive research in primary and secondary sources, the author’s command of the larger historical picture is occasionally shaky. She states, for example, that the Mormon Church in Utah took a “hands-off attitude toward slavery” (39); yet the Utah legislature in the 1852 enacted a slave code for the territory. She also refers to the Book of Mormon as “the church’s central doctrinal text” (91), suggesting that she was unaware of the Doctrine and Covenants. Finally, the study might have benefited from reference to Edward Leo Lyman’s history, San Bernardino: The Rise and Fall of a California Community (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996), which briefly discusses race relations in the community.

The book is well designed. The front cover of the book jacket personalizes the story by artfully combining illustrations of artifacts relating to the case. A number of photographs of persons, places, and documents connected to the story are effectively integrated into the text. Given the geographical mobility of parties to the case, a map siting their places of residence would have been helpful. Given the large size of the Smith household, an abbreviated family tree providing names, birthdates and birthplaces for its African-American and white members would have been a useful addition.

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Reviewed by Maxine Hanks

This beautiful photobiography is an intimate look at Mormonism’s most recognized leader. Richard Neitzel Holzapfel’s collection of uncommon and classic photographs, immaculately reproduced, manages to humanize Brigham Young’s stern visage, which is no small feat. The main virtue of the book is its thoroughness, although its beauty and its organization are equally impressive. Holzapfel’s goal was “to bring together all the known paintings and photographic images” resulting in “the most complete visual record of Brigham Young to date” (1, 5).

More than a collection of photos, this book is a thorough discussion
about the images of Brigham Young. The introduction discusses the book’s approach and scope, the challenges of collecting and identifying historic photos, the search for missing images, research questions and answers, and details about format and contents.

The contents are smartly organized into ten chapters with an attractive layout and design. The chapters include a brief biography of “Brigham Young’s life from 1801 to 1848” for those who need an orientation. Additionally interesting is a fifty-two-page chapter, “Now We See But a Poor Reflection,” made up of “word images” or descriptions of Young gleaned from fellow Mormons, publications, and visitors to Utah including Howard Stansbury and Ulysses S. Grant. The images themselves, ranging from 1840 to 1877, are grouped into five chronological chapters entitled “1840s,” “1850s,” “1860s,” “1870s,” and “Death and Beyond.” The conclusion ends with, “A Picture Is Worth a Thousand Words.”

The bulk of the book, about 230 pages, is devoted to the visual images of Brigham, including 141 black and whites and a special sixteen-page section of twenty-eight color prints. Media include photographs, portraits, sketches, and graphic depictions including cartoons.

What immediately struck me about the first four images of Young (1841-50) was their resemblance to the Prophet Joseph Smith. Young’s first two portraits, painted in 1841 and 1845 seem to imitate the Prophet Joseph’s pose, style, manner and clothing. This is even more noticeable in the first daguerreotype of Young (1846) which almost impersonates Joseph’s classic pose in profile with cane and waistcoat depicted in Sutcliffe Maudsley’s paintings. Holzapfel notes that some historians question whether this is an image of Young because “it does not look like him” (91). (To me, it looks like Young, trying to look like Smith.) Brigham’s next image (1850) purposely imitates General Joseph Smith of the Nauvoo Legion, with Young wearing a borrowed legion uniform complete with a sword and posing in a manner similar to Joseph’s well-known military portrait. Although the similarities between Brigham’s first four portraits and those of Joseph Smith may be partly due to a coincidence of style, it seems possible that Young was making an effort to stress a resemblance to Joseph Smith. However, after 1850, when the transition to Utah was complete, all subsequent images of Brigham Young are full face—showing his wide-faced and square-jawed with a characteristic tight-lipped look.

My favorite photo was taken in 1851-52. In it Brigham Young is seated, leaning on his right elbow, wearing a dark jacket, white shirt, and flowered scarf tied under his collar. It is a very appealing Brigham, and the author also features it on the book’s cover. He radiates a lean, youthful energy, in contrast to later, more passive, even weary images after he has gained more girth. In this portrait, Brigham has long, almost shoulder-length, hair, in contrast to the earlobe-length style typical of later, sterner portraits.

From the cowlick on the back of Brigham’s head to the shrewd side glance of his standard gaze, to the peaceful demeanor of his death mask, these images capture many sides of the iron-fisted western colonizer. This
collection of views greatly personalizes the man, lessening his intimidation factor; one comes away realizing that Brigham was only human after all. The wealth of images is accompanied and enhanced by detailed explanations, historic quotations, and excerpts from newspapers, magazines, diaries and letters. Holzapfel even included details on Brigham’s weight and health.

Holzapfel sums up, “Although it is true that no photograph can truly capture someone’s likeness, photography does allow us to see a moment in time. It was the most realistic medium of the period. In fact, the camera was not always kind to early sitters and they were sometimes shocked by the honesty of their ‘likeness’ preserved on a polished metal plate. Scars, wrinkles, and other imperfections could not simply be brushed away as in an oil painting. . . . The camera brought a new way of seeing the past . . . because it revealed human imperfections. . . . When comparing the photographs of Brigham over several decades, we can see the changes brought about by life’s experience. . . . All in all, this visual record does much to help us see Brigham Young more clearly than before” (71-73).

This book delivers all it promises within a stunning presentation of gorgeous reproductions on high-quality paper with a superb design. The book is a bargain and a “must have” for any Mormon library.

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Reviewed by Kathryn M. Daynes

Sex and power are always a heady combination. In this well-researched book, Jeffrey Nichols skillfully interweaves these themes as he explores how the Mormon-Gentile conflict over polygamy shaped Salt Lake City’s policy toward prostitution and how the end of that strife resulted in a combined Mormon/Gentile reforming effort to abate prostitution in the 1910s. While the city’s policy toward prostitution “mirrored” (178) that of other American cities, the conflict over plural marriage made the political battles over prostitution in Salt Lake unique.

Although the subtitle gives 1847 as the starting date, the narrative really begins in the 1870s with the large influx of non-Mormons into Utah and concentrates on the late 1880s to 1918. Nichols asserts, “The regulation of prostitution in Salt Lake City began under all-Mormon rule” in the 1870s (6). This is a surprising statement until one realizes that Nichols uses the
term “regulation” to mean periodic or regular fines of prostitutes for a criminal activity and not, as in general usage, to mean state licensing of prostitutes, as was the case in Europe at the time.

The story Nichols tells is intriguing. Salt Lake City had few prostitutes before the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869, but by 1872 Kate Flint and Cora Conway had established brothels on Commercial Street, just two blocks from Temple Square. When the all-Mormon police arrested the women and demolished their furnishings, the two madams sued in the Third District court before Judge James B. McKean, a federally appointed magistrate, who awarded the women several thousand dollars in damages. (Although jurisdictional disputes were central to the Mormon-Gentile conflict, Nichols recounts but does not emphasize them.) With prostitutes successfully exploiting the Mormon-Gentile conflict to stay in business, city authorities simply arrested them periodically, fined them, and let them continue to ply their trade—“regulation” in Nichols’ parlance.

As Nichols’s narrative continues, the Liberal (anti-Mormon) Party victory in the 1890 municipal elections “strengthened regulation” (98); but Gentile reformers, fresh from their victory over plural marriage with the Woodruff Manifesto that year, demanded stricter enforcement of laws against prostitution. Erstwhile enemies—antipolygamists and Mormons—soon joined to support a rescue home for prostitutes, although renewed conflict over plural marriage with the controversies surrounding B. H. Roberts and then Reed Smoot disrupted the rapprochement. In the shadow of the Smoot hearings, the American Party, a local anti-Mormon party promising to free people from apostolic rule, won control of Salt Lake City. Under Mayor John Bransford, in 1908 the city arranged with Dora Topham to build the Stockade on the west side to house all prostitutes. Prostitution was not legalized, but city police virtually ceased arresting prostitutes in the Stockade until 1911. The county sheriff did arrest forty of the women, but few were brought to trial.

Municipal sponsorship, albeit unofficial, of the Stockade outraged Mormons and Gentile reformers, who joined together to oust the American Party and to pass stronger state legislation, Nichols writes as he concludes the story. When Topham was convicted of pandering in 1911, the Stockade closed permanently. The incoming new mayor, Samuel R. Park, and his chief of police, Brigham F. Grant (half-brother of Heber J. Grant), suppressed all houses of prostitution, overturning the long-standing policy of “regulation.” Not satisfied, reformers wanted suppression of all houses of resort, such as questionable rooming houses, cafés, and public dance halls—places frequented by the young and the working-class. “Morality did not cease to be contested in the early twentieth century,” Nichols writes, “but divisions tended to be along generational and class rather than religious lines” as they had been earlier (3).

This is a well-told story of politicians, police, Mormons, Gentiles, reformers, and prostitutes. Especially of prostitutes. Using a wide variety of sources—including newspapers, fire insurance maps, and censuses, as well
as police, court, and land records—Nichols brings to life notorious prostitutes and madams whose stories were heretofore little known. For example, the feisty and irrepressible Kate Flint, according to an unverified story, bought "Brigham Young's carriage and horses at auction after his death so that she could parade the streets and outrage the Saints" (30).

Despite the title, polygamy figures in the book mainly as a source of conflict between Mormons and Gentiles as each group struggled for power. Nichols's discussion of polygamy itself is cursory, simplistic, and negative. Nevertheless, in the context of this book his pairing of prostitution and polygamy is appropriate because many nineteenth-century middle-class Americans used prostitute for any woman who had a sexual relationship with a man not legally her husband. This definition potentially encompassed plural wives because most Victorians believed that it was lawful for men to have only one wife, any others being unlawful and thus prostitutes. In addition, "some Gentile women activists defined prostitution and polygamy as two aspects of the same phenomenon: the exploitation of women by a patriarchal gender system" (5).

Nichols probably agrees with the activists, although he avers that prostitutes "were not simply passive recipients or victims" (5). The leading reason women resorted to prostitution, he claims, was from financial necessity. Turn-of-the-century America had too few jobs for women that paid decent wages and provided steady work. Another reason comes from the Tribune, which "claimed that a Mormon upbringing, which exposed a girl to the immoralities of polygamy while offering her more opportunities to be in public, specially suited her to prostitution" (50). It is unclear whether Nichols gives credence to this claim or cites it as an example of anti-Mormon rhetoric.

Nevertheless, he discounts the theological underpinnings of polygamy. Mormon defenders, he states, "emphasized the religious nature of plural marriage at least partly to claim protection for the practice under the establishment of religion clause in the First Amendment" (13).

Nichols is more sympathetic to prostitutes than polygamists. Prostitutes, he argues, "contributed to the economic, political, and social life of the community and in a very real sense, the 'Americanization' of Salt Lake City" (214). They also played a role in "closing the Mormon-gentile gap" during the early twentieth century (217). In telling the story of prostitutes' role in the political power struggles in Salt Lake, Nichols has made an important contribution to the political history of Salt Lake City and to studies of political reform during the Progressive Era. He has also rescued these prostitutes, although only from oblivion.

KATHRYN M. DAYNES is an associate professor of history at Brigham Young University and author of More Wives Than One: Transformation of the Mormon Marriage System, 1840-1910 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), which was given Best Book of the Year awards by both the Mormon History Association and the Utah State Historical Society.
BOOK NOTICES

The Journal of Mormon History invites contributions to this department, particularly of privately published family histories, local histories, biographies, historical fiction, publications of limited circulation, or those in which historical Mormonism is dealt with as a part or minor theme.


This volume, although it contains much historical material, is best considered as a doctrinal argument. In it, the author, a monogamous and active Latter-day Saint (vii), expounds his belief that plural marriage "is a true and pure principle that will once again be practiced among the Saints as part of the restoration of the fullness of the gospel and in preparation of the Savior's Second Coming" after the necessary change in U.S. law and a new revelation to the prophet re-instituting the practice (viii, 184-85).

Part 1 consists of five chapters: an introduction; "The Revelation" (describing the Nauvoo milieu in which plural marriage was first preached and practiced); and three chapters of historical accounts, memoirs, quotations from letters, and other personal histories by participants in plural marriage or their children. These accounts range from the well-known (e.g., Lucy Walker Smith Kimball) to the less familiar and are grouped into chapters.

1While this was true at the time of the book's writing and publication as a joint project with his wife, Rhonda, in early December 2002, Shane Whelan disclosed that he had been excommunicated in August. He was reported in the press as saying "church officials thought his book was an embarrassment. They requested that he take down billboard advertisements and dissolve his business. Whelan refused, though he still believes in the tenets of the Mormon faith." The billboards announced: "Plural Marriage: A Sacred Pioneer Heritage," and gave the book's title. According to Jim Carlton, "Mormon Author Faces Expulsion for Skepticism," *Wall Street Journal*, 9 December 2002, Internet version downloaded 10 December, Rhonda "filed for divorce days after agreeing to a church demand that she both recant the tome and avoid 'evil influences,' including her husband." Even though she also "apologized for any harm the book may have done to the church and renounced her involvement in the book and Zion Publishers," she was disfellowshipped. Geoffrey Fattah, "'More Than One' Writer Cut from LDS Church," *Deseret News*, 12 December 2002, on-line version.
describing the decision to accept plural marriage, the “joys and blessings” of living the principle, and accounts by children of polygamists. Sources of the accounts are given in notes with editorial explanations such as “minor spelling corrections; paragraphing added,” etc., where appropriate. No historical context—such as family background, conversion information, dates, places, marital history, etc.—is provided unless it appears in the account itself, even though the social context for plural marriage during the secretive period of Nauvoo was very different from the comparatively open 1860s or the pressures of the federal “Raid” during the 1860s. Furthermore, the accounts take the uniform position that plural marriage is a “joy and a blessing.” Struggles with adjustment are always resolved successfully. A typical statement is Margaret McNeill Ballard’s testimony when her husband also married her younger sister: “Although I loved my sister dearly, and we knew it was a commandment of God that we should live in celestial marriage, it was a great trial and sacrifice to me. But the Lord blessed and comforted me and we lived happily in this principle of the Gospel” (62).

Part 2 consists of four chapters and a conclusion. It also contains historical accounts; but its main purpose is to lay out Whelan’s argument that plural marriage would enable greater obedience to the commandment of “providing earthly tabernacles for spirit children” (159), to reverse destructive trends attacking the family—e.g., divorce, teen pregnancy, abortion, youth suicide, gay relationships, single parenthood, a declining birthrate, and the “silent force of single sisters... who have been passed by in society’s perception of the beautiful, popular or elite” (182). He encourages readers to “pray that someday this great principle will be restored” and sketches possible scenarios for how it could be administered used computer technology and a system of mission-like “calls” (189, 184-85).

The three appendices, reproduced without commentary, are Doctrine and Covenants 132, Orson Pratt’s “The Rules of Plural Marriage” from The Seer (1853), and “The Family: A Proclamation to the World.”


Paul Edwards, a former president of the Mormon History Association and a genial contributor to the good relationships developed within this group between LDS and RLDS (now Community of Christ) members, turned to a life of crime with suspicious haste after retiring as head of Temple School. This murder mystery takes place within the Community of Christ Temple precincts in Independence, and features a bearded, coffee-drinking, philosopher-bureaucrat named Toom Taggart. However, Edwards begins by warning the reader: “While there is such a place as Independence, Missouri, containing various buildings that may seem familiar to the reader, any resemblance to persons, procedures, pieces of paper, policies, and plots, living or dead, is purely coincidental—especially the character of Toom Taggart” (5).

He arrives at work one morning to find the Church archivist being
wheeled out in a body bag, the victim of what must have been an unfortunate accident with a poisonous cleaning substance while he was working late the night before. However, the document apparently engaging his attention was Frederick M. Smith's "supreme directional control," about which there was virtually nothing left to study. Furthermore, the archivist did not have a key to the lab where his body was found. And the First Presidency's fix-it man, Louis T. Cannon (who is never nicknamed "Loose"), becomes singularly pressing in urging Taggart to stop asking questions about it, even as Taggart is adding more names, motives, means, and opportunities to his matrix for murder. He is also simultaneously not writing a book on angels, a topic assigned by the Presiding Bishop, an engaging subplot that reveals more of the labyrinthine ways of official bureaucracies.

MHA members will be relieved to know that Ron Romig, the real Community of Christ Archivist, is alive and well and working away as usual. The larger cast of characters includes a lapsed RLDS detective, a smart and pretty woman attorney for the Church, Taggart's equally smart and efficient secretary, Myrmida (an in-joke; Myrmida is Edwards's mother's middle name), a raging liberal historian from Graceland University (who bears no resemblance whatsoever to another former MHA president, Bill Bussell), a gangly waiter who refuses to collaborate in Taggart's corruption by pouring him a cup of coffee, a strangely agitated Church Historian (definitely not Mark Scherer), and a picture-perfect church spokeswoman.

The plot unfurls from an 1829 forgery (fictional) of a Book of Mormon section being planned by Palmyra ne'er-do-wells, one of whom is based very loosely on Abner Cole. The perpetrator dies in an accident after hiding the document in a hidden drawer in a pie safe, whence it makes its way to Nauvoo, Inc. Here, the RLDS Church Historian accidentally discovers it after a scene that wittily reconstructs the intense but subterranean competition between the guides in the two churches:

Hastings [the Church Historian] had returned on Friday from Nauvoo, where he was picking up five interns who were helping with an archaeological dig and learning to be guides at the RLDS sites. They were awestruck and cocky at the same time, sure that they and they alone understood the intricacies of the early Mormon community. They were exceedingly cordial to the studiously sweet Utah missionaries with whom they ran the cooperative project, but they secretly harbored ecumenical issues, and Hastings would consider it a divine dispensation if he could get them out of town before there was trouble.

... He blended in with a group of camera-bedecked Bountifulites from Utah. Mason Macomb, one of the LDS guides at the LDS Heber C. Kimball house, was beaming avuncularly as two of the interns held forth. By mutual consent, both sets of guides avoided the dread subject of polygamy, even in the very house of the much-married Kimball. Cordiality was all but oozing from the walls.

As the gushing group wafted up the stairs with Macomb where another RLDS intern awaited, Ralph lingered to nod approvingly to Betty Myers. She had just delivered a charming lecture on cooking in the 1840s and had unleashed a firestorm of flashbulbs from the Bountifulites. She had told them in hushed tones that the cherrywood pie safe dated from the time of Joseph Smith and was actually
from Palmyra. The pie safe could not have been more liberally photographed if it had been made with wood from the Sacred Grove. (14-15)


The cover photograph for this anthology of reprinted essays is the evocative portrait of Amanda and Samuel D. Chambers, Alabama-born slaves who converted to Mormonism and moved to Utah in 1870. The essays sample the African American experience west of the 100th meridian from the Compromise of 1850 under which “much of the West was first organized” and 1912, “the year the last of the western territories attained statehood” (3). It is intended to fill two gaps in the literature: the omission of “western blacks . . . from textbooks used in college courses on the American West” and a parallel omission of “the American West from texts on African American history” (2-3). The seventeen states included are North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Idaho, Nevada, Washington, Oregon, and California.

Two essays focus on Utah. The first, “The Mormons and Slavery—A Closer Look” by Newell G. Bringhurst, examines the 1852 legalization of slavery in Utah Territory, a law that stood until Congress abolished slavery in all federal territories. Among the reasons Bringhurst lists are: (1) to protect the property interests of “twelve Mormon slaveholders who brought sixty to seventy slaves into the Great Basin with them”; (2) a “desire to win converts” among southerners; (3) to strengthen what Mormons saw as a “natural” alliance with southern states’ rights advocates in Congress; and (4) to “control the slave owners” by specifying their obligation to provide decent treatment and education on threat of forfeiting title to their “servants” (28-30). Bringhurst argues that the provisions of this law were designed to restrict the importation of slaves into the territory and notes, in fact, that by 1860 the number of slaves in Utah Territory had dropped to “only twenty-nine” (29). He also distinguishes between the general Mormon aversion to slavery as a practice and widespread Mormon racism: “[Brigham] Young and most Mormons looked upon blacks as inherently inferior and therefore fit subjects for involuntary servitude. Like other nineteenth-century biblical literalists, Mormons traced the inferiority of black people to their alleged descent from Ham and Canaan. . . . Young found additional support for black servitude in an alleged relationship among blacks, Cain, and the Devil” (31-32).

The second essay, “Improbable Ambassadors: Black Soldiers at Fort Douglas, Utah, 1896-1899,” by Michael J. Clark, reconstructs the experience of about six hundred black infantrymen and their families who were assigned to Fort Douglas. Salt Lake City citizens reacted with considerable apprehension, and the Mormon-owned Salt Lake Herald editorialized that black soldiers on streetcars would undoubtedly insult white women. Sena-
tor Frank Cannon asked the secretary of war to assign another regiment to Fort Douglas; the secretary, though sympathetic, declined. The regiment, however, was on its best behavior. The band played for almost weekly public dances, participated in sports, clubs, and lodges, and maintained an extensive series of lectures. As a result, the Herald “printed what amounted to an apology” a year later; and after nineteen months of residence when the regiment went off to Cuba to fight in the Spanish-American War, an estimated fifteen to twenty thousand citizens thronged the depot to bid them farewell and were equally welcoming when the regiment returned (77, 86). The unit, which had been hard-hit by yellow fever, was increased with new soldiers who were less well disciplined, although infractions were handled rigorously. Interestingly, “scandalous conduct in the presence of ladies . . . which probably meant the use of distasteful language on a streetcar” was punished with “two months at hard labor” while a soldier who assaulted another soldier received the lesser punishment of a “fine and twenty days” (88).


A useful appendix drawing on census data enumerates the number of African Americans in the West (Dakota Territory, South Dakota, and North Dakota are enumerated separately) for each decade between 1850 and 1910. Utah’s figures are: 1850, 50; 1860, 59; 1870, 118; 1880, 232; 1890, 588; 1900, 672; and 1910, 1,144 (259).


Although this book is more properly doctrinal rather than historical, the author uses dozens of biographical experiences and anecdotes, some well known and others less familiar, in developing his points. To observe the proprieties, Horne relies primarily on public sources such as “general conference, firesides, devotionals, books, symposia, published history, journal and talks, family histories, etc.” (2-3). He adds a few personal or family experiences as well (5-6, 66, 106, 111).
The book is organized in eleven chapters and deals with such subjects as foreordination, revelatory foreknowledge of callings, common experiences preceding callings, revelations to Church leaders about whom to call, the commitment required, the standards required to qualify someone to be called, the duties of callings, callings after this life, aspiring to positions, declining callings, and making one's calling and election sure.

Among the examples of individuals who received revelatory foreknowledge of their callings, Horne cites Franklin D. Richards, son George F. Richards, and grandson LeGrand Richards, all three apostles. To each man, this knowledge came in a dream. Franklin D. Richards, who was ordained an apostle in 1849, recorded a dream on 13 August 1847 of being in the Nauvoo Temple with Brigham Young:

"We sat opposite each other, with our feet in a clear, lively pool of water, and we conversed together. He asked, 'Brother Franklin, would you accept it if I should appoint you one of the Quorum?' I replied, 'Brother Brigham, I have always accepted, and as far as I could, have obeyed every appointment that has been given me, and I always intend to.'" (41-42)

George F. Richards recorded two preparatory dreams. In 1900, he dreamed that Lorenzo Snow ordained him an apostle. On 22 March 1906, "I dreamed of seeing the Savior and embracing him. The feeling I cannot describe, but I think it was a touch of Heaven. I never expect anything better hereafter. The love of man for woman cannot compare with it." When he was ordained an apostle by Joseph F. Smith (not Lorenzo Snow) about two weeks later, he commented that his dream of the Savior had "prepared me, in a measure, for this call" (42).

LeGrand Richards, ordained an apostle in 1952, recorded a dream in 1937 when he was president of the Southern States Mission of encountering President Heber J. Grant on the street in Salt Lake City and accompanying him to his office where Grant gave him "a special blessing." He could not remember it when he woke but the emotion lingered. The next year, Grant set Richards apart as Presiding Bishop. "I realized that this was the special blessing I had dreamed he had for me, but it would not have been proper for me to be able to remember what it was until it actually found its fulfillment" (43).

An interesting historical experiment occurred during Heber J. Grant's presidency with the idea of, as Bryant S. Hinckley put it, "a cabinet to assist the First Presidency." Immediately after Hinckley's return from presiding over the Northern States Mission (July 1939), Grant assigned him to become "the Secretary of Education" with a desk in Grant's office in the Church Administration Building. He would be answerable to Grant and not to the Church Commissioner of Education. Although nothing came of this appointment, Hinckley believed that this idea was the genesis of the "assistants to the Twelve" (120).

This novel is structured around three “sons” born during the 1930s in Bear Lake, a harsh but idyllic valley north of Utah’s Cache Valley and settled by many of the same pioneers. The first is Peter Grossberg, whose non-Mormon father settles down reluctantly to farming mostly because ranching is no longer an option. The second is Everett Junior, son of his staunchly Mormon wife by her first husband, and the third is Alan, the son they have together.

All three sons leave Round Valley (a small community in the Bear Lake County) for the larger world. Peter joins the army, goes to Austria, and ends up living in Atlanta, Georgia, with his Austrian wife. The second son serves a mission in New York state, then becomes an engineer in Chicago. The third son, pursuing a graduate degree in philosophy, goes farthest afield, and his experiences studying with a Buddhist monk at a monastery in Tibet and working on an Israeli kibbutz provide colorful adventures.

However, it is Round Valley that seems most fully realized as a locale. Author Douglas D. Alder is described on the cover copy as living “one-quarter of a century residing in Salt Lake City, another on the northern border in Logan, Utah, as a professor of history at Utah State University, and nearly twenty years at the southern border in St. George” where he was president of Dixie College. Thus, he never lived in Bear Lake, a high mountain valley spanning the Utah-Idaho border, that comes vividly and lovingly to life in this novel.

It is a compendium of recreated geography, folklore, and community characters: the grave of “Old Ephraim,” the last grizzly bear in Utah; a memorable stake conference speech by J. Golden Kimball who had cowboyyed in Round Valley himself (this event seems to be misdated. Peter, born in 1931 or 1932, is fourteen at the time; but Kimball was killed in a car accident in 1938); the cisco run in Bear Lake, the “great swim” of elk from the populated side of the lake to the hills on the other side; the colorful high school math teacher who had abandoned a career at Thiokol because he wanted to “do something positive instead of making weapons” (131), writes problems with both hands, and hotwires at least one student’s chair per year; helping neighbors in need; the genuine miracles called forth by faith; and enjoying the community rituals surrounding marriages, funerals, and missionary farewells. The descriptions of the harsh winters, storms blowing up over the lake, pristine air and sky, and wealth of alpine plant and animal life are striking.

Peter, who lies about his age and runs away to join the army, speaks one evening in counterpoint to a Los Angeles friend, each trying to describe the society they grew up in:

“You can’t buy a car.... There was fifty kids in my whole high school. I faced the same six teachers for three years...”

Alex laid his head back down on the pillow. He sighed. “Our teachers didn’t last a semester. They couldn’t dodge the switchblades.”

... “In Bear Lake it’s a mortal sin to smoke a cigarette. You’ve got to go to church three times a week and sit in Sunday School classes taught by numbskulls. We’ve never heard of drugs—don’t even know their names.”
. . . "In our school every third locker was a drug store. You could buy what you wanted, even pass it in class, and we had a funeral every month—overdose, suicide, knifing."
. . . "If we did anything, even smoke, the bishop knew the next day. People are so petty they can tell who sings off key before they walk in church."
. . . "The man next door to us died in his bathtub and no one found him for two weeks. We didn't even know his name when the cops came to ask us questions."

"My folks make a virtue out of poverty. They are working land that thaws out only for three months. . . ."

"I've carried a million dollars of greenbacks in my briefcase and wondered how many funerals it took to bring them together—and how many more were coming—including mine—each time the bundle changed hands." (115-16)

Alder, a former president of the Mormon History Association, also alludes to Alan's encounter with volumes of "the New Mormon History" at his graduate school (201), although this term, which did not come into use until Robert B. Flanders coined it ("Writing on the Mormon Past," Dialogue 1 [Autumn 1966]: 49-61) is anachronistically applied to the late 1950s.


Thomas Gates was born in 1833 on the family farm on the Grand River in Ontario, Canada, where his grandparents had settled in Mohawk territory in 1791. Thomas was the fourth of six children born to Hiram Gates and Sarah Mariah Sayles Gates. His grandmother, Mary Burtch Gates, was converted by the preaching of Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, and Freeman Nickerson when they visited Mount Pleasant in October 1833 and was baptized by Joseph Smith, the only member of the family to accept the gospel until Thomas's mother was baptized later in the decade. The family reached Nauvoo in April 1844 where Hiram was baptized in October, three months after the martyrdom, and married a plural wife. An entrepreneur, Hiram opened a dancing school at Council Bluffs and, after reaching Utah in September 1848, left the next April for California, taking with him his third wife, seventeen-year-old Emily, daughter of Orrin Porter Rockwell. Rockwell swore out a warrant against him for kidnapping his daughter, but apparently made no attempt to catch up with Gates, either then or in California. Hiram's first wife died in Salt Lake City four months later. Gates apparently made no effort to bring his second wife, mother of two young daughters, to California, even after he made a modest strike and struck it rich, dying within a few months. Destitute and disinherited, she gave the two children away.

Although it is not clear when fifteen-year-old Thomas and his younger brother, Solomon, reached California, they were there by Hiram's death in
the summer of 1850. Leaving Utah also signaled the end of their involvement in Mormonism. Although Solomon (from whom the author descended) settled down near Paso Robles to farm, Thomas had an exciting life as a miner, rancher, saloon owner, and even "gunslinger" (he carried two English derringers) in California, Arizona, and Nevada (106). He married Maria Emilie Thomasa Prudhomme, daughter of a French-Spanish family in Los Angeles, in 1870. She was fifteen years his junior and, although they had no children before her death, apparently of tuberculosis, in 1879, the union was apparently a very happy one and he described her as "one of God's own angels" (118). Thomas never remarried.

Among his achievements is helping to found the Arizona Pioneer Historical Society (1884) and building up Arizona's Democratic Party ("he is such a charming opponent to the Republicans," wrote one newspaper account, "and meets them so fairly and squarely that they all respect and admire him," 169).

He was appointed superintendent of Yuma Prison in Arizona Territory twice, 1886-88 and 1893-96. (The book's title is a play on the nickname for this prison, "Hellhole," now a state park.) Gates had progressive views on rehabilitation, affirming: "It is and has ever been my object to elevate rather than depress the men who have been thrown under my supervision, to inspire them with renewed hope and to revive tottering principles of true manhood" (i). He implemented a program of spiritual uplift, education, and vocational training that allowed the inmates to sell handicrafts. Although some Mormons served terms for unlawful cohabitation under his jurisdiction, he apparently never acknowledged his own earlier affiliation.

Seriously injured in an attempted prison break, he never recovered his health and apparently committed suicide in 1896. At the prisoners' request, they were allowed to view the body and some also served as pallbearers (268).

Although Carole Gates Sorensen occasionally allows her imagination to range farther than the documents ("The first time Thomas saw Emilie, she literally stole his heart," 118) she has conducted impressive research in primary documents, at one point correcting Bancroft's history on a person's vital dates (62).


First in a series of books collecting favorite readings from the *Utah Historical Quarterly*, this anthology presents fourteen considerations of some aspect of lawlessness in Utah history. Originally published between 1972 and 1998, the articles range widely, from murders and robberies to prostitution and penal reform. In an introduction, Layton expresses his elation at the opportunity to revisit favorite articles from the *Quarterly*, most of them published during his twenty-seven-year tenure as managing editor.

Contents include "'Mountain Common Law': The Extralegal Punishment of Seducers in Early Utah," by Kenneth L. Cannon II; "Arthur Pratt,

Of particular interest to Journal readers is the description of how Mormons used “mountain common law” to punish seducers and acquit those who avenged the seduced. Mormons not only countenanced such extralegal measures but publicized them widely, at least in the two cases from 1851 described by Cannon, who speculates that the Church wished to advertise its position that “while gentile society condoned extramarital encounters, Mormons limited their sexual relationships to the marriage state, albeit one man might have several wives” (8).

John H. Smith’s intriguing article tells the story of a Mormon-led crusade against cigarette smoking, which culminated in passage of a 1921 law that prohibited selling cigarettes, smoking them in enclosed public places, and advertising their availability. Perhaps simply premature, in light of current legal restrictions, the law fell victim to a concerted campaign for its repeal after prominent citizens Ernest Bamberger, Edgar L. Newhouse, A. N. McKay, and John C. Lynch were arrested “for smoking an after-dinner cigar” in the Vienna Cafe in Salt Lake City (166).

The book contains one illustration for each article, an index, and notes on authors.
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INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND
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April 2003

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E. RICHARD HART
FOREWORD BY T. J. FERGUSON
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