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

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WHAT THE MORMON CULTURAL LANDSCAPE CAN TEACH US

Dell Upton

Ever since the Latter-Day Saints first arrived in the Great Basin, Mormons and visitors alike have scanned the landscape for clues to this distinctive group's lifeways and mores. With the publication of Lowry Nelson's classic study The Mormon Village in 1952, scholars joined the ranks of those fascinated by the Mormon material world. Geographers, historians, folklorists, and architectural historians have all turned their attention to the buildings and cultural landscapes of the Great Basin, hoping to answer in systematic fashion some of the questions posed informally by earlier observers.

Neither amateur nor professional inquirers have doubted that there is a Mormon landscape. They make a key assumption that has

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2 Among the most significant scholarly works on the Great Basin land-
characterized Western culture for centuries: that some indelible bond links the visible, tangible world of bodies and things and the invisible, intangible world of thought, belief, mind, and social relationships. That assumption informed an early visitor’s claim that the long line of gables on Brigham Young’s Lion House “is explained upon the ground of the abundance of wives of our modern Turk of the Valley.”

It informs modern Utahns’ confident assertions that the number of Lion House gables corresponds to the number of Young’s wives or that the number of chimneys on an ordinary Utah


house indicates the number of wives the male resident maintained. It has even prompted one of the most perceptive contemporary scholars of the Mormon landscape to report that the number of doors in a Mormon house and the number of gates in its surrounding fence revealed the number of wives residing there.\(^4\) In fact, there was no correlation in any of these cases but the tenacity with which such interpretations survive testifies to a strong popular belief in the ability of the material world to reveal immaterial truths. Indeed, if we did not believe something like this, there would be no point in studying artifacts. Hence, the eminent scholars of the Mormon landscape all assume that, since Latter-day Saints are distinctive, their landscape must be equally distinctive. However, the nature of the connection and the best ways to interpret it are key points of contention that engage scholars of the material world and for which there is no single or universally accepted answer.

Although I am neither a Mormon nor a historian of Mormonism, I have looked at the Mormon landscape with interest off and on for twenty years from the point of view of a scholar of the built environment. From that perspective, I want to use this essay to explore this basic assumption of artifactual studies by asking how things can serve as historical sources. Then I will turn to the Great Basin landscape to suggest questions the landscape raises about the Mormon experience that might repay further study.

**Objects as Historical Evidence**

Here it is appropriate to introduce a term that may not be familiar to those who are not academics: *material culture*. It is one of three specialized terms—none difficult—that I will use repeatedly. *Material culture*, a term derived from anthropology and archaeology, embraces the entire human-made world. Those aspects of our selves and our surroundings that we shape or modify as we have learned to do from others are material culture. These include familiar kinds of artifacts—houses, tools, clothing, cars—that we can touch and see, as well as less obvious modifications of the physical world such as those we make to our bodies. As we are born into the world our bodies are natural objects; but when we modify them through such learned practices as dress, embellishment ranging from hair styles to jewelry to tattoos, speech, gesture, or posture, they are drawn into the realm of material

\(^4\) Leone, "Archaeology as the Science of Technology," 198.
culture. In other societies, people do all of these things differently from the ways that we learn to do; and within our own society, various subgroups—defined by ethnicity, social class, religious beliefs, gender, age, even personality—also learn to modify their bodies somewhat differently from one another. The world of material culture is thus rich with potential clues to the values and lifeways of its makers and users.  

Of the vast universe of material culture, I am most interested in the subset known as the *cultural landscape*, my second term. The phrase was coined by geographers to refer to the entire physical envi-

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environment as humans have shaped and furnished it. Everything from the smallest personal items to the buildings that contain them, to the yards that encircle the buildings, to the fields, streets, and cities that surround the yards, all the way up to largest human divisions—nations, perhaps—is a component of the cultural landscape. The concept refers as much to the ways we think about our environment as it does to the physical modifications we make to our surroundings. When we name topographical features such as streams, mountains, or continents, we transform them into cultural products—landmarks of our mental universe—even though we might not otherwise alter them in any way. Think of the constellations. Humans didn’t make or arrange the stars; but by associating them with one another as representations of mythological figures, we give the night sky an order that derives entirely from our cultural imagination. Similarly, by naming topographical features and by telling stories associating them with sacred events, the Navajo transform the Four Corners region into a Navajo cultural landscape, Dinétah, and define its relationship to Navajo history and daily life. In the same vein, by naming the Great Basin Desert and incorporating it into the Mormon concept of “Zion,” the early Latter-day Saints transformed it into a distinctively Mormon space before they lifted a finger to work it. These names helped to specify the proper attitudes toward the land, suggested its potential and proper use, and guided Saints in working and occupying it.

A major portion of the cultural landscape consists of vernacular architecture, the last of the specialized terms. Put simply, vernacular architecture is a term of convenience applied to the kind of architecture most common in a given time or place. It is ordinary architecture, just as vernacular speech is the language most of us use most of the time. Thus, vernacular architecture is a relative term. What is “vernacular” in one place or one context is not so in another. A small one- or

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8 For Mormon attitudes toward the landscape, see Steven L. Olsen, “The Mormon Ideology of Place: Cosmic Symbolism of the City of Zion, 1830–1845” (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1985).
two-room adobe house would be common, and therefore vernacular, in nineteenth-century Salt Lake City, but not in twenty-first-century Salt Lake City, where transformations of society, economy, and building practice have left such buildings as rare survivors in a very different landscape. Similarly, ranch houses are as common as children in the urban peripheries of the United States. They are the vernacular architecture of twentieth-first-century American suburbs, but a ranch house built in a Tibetan village would be very exceptional—alien to the vernacular architecture of that place.

As it is customarily used, the term vernacular architecture has been applied to architecture characteristic of residents of a particular region (such as the Great Basin), members of a particular ethnic group (such as the distinctive architectures built by Norwegians or Basques in the Great Basin), or practitioners of a particular craft or occupation (such as the highly specialized structures that house textile mills, blacksmith shops, or general stores). In each case, the group’s peculiar needs and values required distinctive buildings.

For the researcher, “vernacular” architecture differs from “high-style” architecture—the Chartres cathedrals and Empire State Buildings of the world—principally in the relative availability of ancillary documentary or visual information. Students of buildings such as Monticello or Versailles can consult drawings and other design documents, photographs or other visual images that might provide evidence of change over time, and architects’, critics’, clients’, residents’, users’, and visitors’ comments. Students of vernacular architecture must rely on the direct observation of many examples with the goal of discovering patterns that might be explained by correlation with local, national, or international populations, ideas, events, or cultural values. Did the appearance of a certain kind of architectural decoration, a certain way of arranging rooms, or a particular way of using space coincide with a major economic event such as a dramatic change in the price of some key crop or commodity, a general depression, or the introduction of a new industry? Can we associate the new...

architectural forms with the popularity of a new political or religious idea or the arrival of new people in an area?

Consider the houses that survive in rural Utah built in the first half century of Mormon occupation. Although few are exactly alike, most share a common visual pattern. I don’t mean style in the conventional, decorative sense, but something more general and profound: the organization of their facades in a [window]-[window-door-window]-window] pattern. The folklorist Henry Glassie calls this “bilateral tripartite symmetry,” meaning that we could divide each house’s front both into three parts (window-door-window) and into two (by drawing a line down the center).10

Western Europeans of many nations began to adopt this symmetrical pattern in the late sixteenth century. It now organizes so much of our material world that we scarcely notice it except when it is absent, nor do we stop to think that it is a relatively recent innovation in our culture. So we have made a connection based on a pattern—a very general pattern, to be sure, but a beginning in our quest to place nineteenth-century Mormon life in a historical and cultural context.

At the same time, the limitations of the sources available to scholars of the cultural landscape limit what one can say about it. Our necessary reliance on patterns and correlations leaves scholars at a loss to interpret unique attributes or artifacts. Suppose we were to find a photograph of a classroom full of students. All are wearing white shirts except one person who is wearing a red shirt. Is the red-shirted student the harbinger of a new fashion or the last, clueless adherent of an outdated one? We have no way of knowing. If several students were wearing white shirts and several red shirts, then we could begin to look for commonalities. Are the red-shirted students men and the white-shirted ones women? Do the two groups of students seem to be of different ages or ethnicities? Are the students wearing any other items that might offer clues to the meaning of the shirts?

Once I begin to find patterns, then I can begin to sort them into what students of the cultural landscape, borrowing another term from archaeologists, call types, in the sense of “typical.” A type is a summary description of the most common choices people make, a

way of summing up a pattern. Technically, we define a type as a clustering of at least two independent variables whose conjunction is significant. Types are defined according to the questions the scholar asks. To return to the example of the shirts, I might sort the shirts by color if I were interested in their aesthetic qualities. If my questions were about the economics of dress, I might sort them by the costliness of their materials or the names of their manufacturers, regardless of color. If I were interested in gender, I might sort them by the differences I perceived between men’s and women’s shirts. Every typology would be different, yet all would apply to the same group of shirts.

Students of vernacular architecture sometimes type buildings by appearance, materials of construction, or structural systems, but most commonly according to their spatial organization, or floor plans. In organizing the interiors of buildings, especially houses, builders must balance the needs of individual occupants with those of the occupants as a group, practical activities with social rituals and expectations, and idiosyncratic desires with others widely shared with neighbors. For example, in our houses today bathrooms and bed-

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rooms rarely open directly off living rooms. Similarly, we don’t usually hold dinner parties in our bedrooms. There is no reason not to do either of these things other than our culturally defined notions of propriety. Eighteenth-century Anglo-Americans did entertain and sometimes dine in their bedrooms. But our culture teaches us that, in some often unspecified way, it would not be “right” to do so.

Because it is extremely difficult to balance all the many practical, social, ritual, economic, and structural demands in designing a building, builders tend to seek stereotyped or standardized solutions that are acceptable, if not perfect, and hang on to them until they become intolerable. As Henry Glassie observed, “The skins of houses are shallow things that people are willing to change, but people are most conservative about the spaces they must utilize and in which they must exist.”

The study of the cultural landscape, like any other kind of history, is ultimately a study of people. By looking at artifacts, we ask, as traditional historians do, about the things people knew in the past; about the ways they made their livings, enjoyed themselves, and related to one another; about the skills they possessed, the values they embraced, the beliefs they professed, and the modes of reasoning that guided them. While it is true that those of us who study material culture often lack the kinds of written documents on which traditional historians rely, this does not mean that there are no documents—only that there are different ones, requiring different (but not abstruse) skills to interpret them. This difference is our burden, but it is also our opportunity to gain insights into the past that might not be available from traditional kinds of historic documents. The lack of records for many buildings and sites means that their makers and users are probably largely mute in the written record as well. By looking sensitively at the landscape, we can begin to restore the voices of those who are not heard in documents.

The landscape does not tell a unitary story any more than written documents do. Documentary historians read with a critical eye, playing one account off against another, accepting no one at his or her word alone. Their goal is not to discover historical Truth, for they know that there is no such thing. Every historical actor had his or her own version of the truth, and historians try to understand how each

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person’s truth meshed with that of others. So the student of material
culture must view the landscape critically. Artifacts as much as writ-
ten documents are self-conscious creations. Just as every writer pres-
cents himself or herself in the way that he or she wishes to be seen, so
every building offers an interpretation of its occupants’ position in so-
 ciety, their sense of self, and their aspirations—an interpretation with
which not all of the neighbors might agree.

It is also important to remember that the cultural landscape we
study is not the cultural landscape of 1800 or 1900 or even of 2000,
but a severely edited fragment of them. It is a landscape of winners.
The surviving elements of the historic landscape tend to be the larg-
est, the best built, the most expensive, or those most congenial to the
present. Those that were too small, too poorly built, too unfashion-
able, too uncomfortable or “inconvenient,” or even too ugly by pres-
ent-day standards have been abandoned, demolished, or altered, even
though they may originally have comprised a major portion of the
landscape.

THE FOLK LANDSCAPE

What, then, are some of the stories the Great Basin landscape
might tell if one turns on them the modes of thinking I have outlined,
within the limits I have suggested? In nineteenth-century Utah, “folk”
or “traditional” vernacular houses dominated the Mormon landscape
before 1890.\textsuperscript{13} These types ranged widely, from the one-room houses
that have accommodated the majority of people in nearly every cor-
ner of world throughout history, to double-cell houses (houses with
two equal-sized rooms that often sported two front doors), through
the gamut of two-to-four-room house types familiar throughout most
of the Anglo-American United States by the middle of the nineteenth
century. In addition, one can find folk-house types common to other
European ethnic groups who converted in large numbers to Mor-
monism, notably the “pair house,” which Thomas Carter has shown
to be a modernized version of a much older Scandinavian house type,
the \textit{parsväg}, of which there are also a few examples in Utah.\textsuperscript{14}

To the student of the cultural landscape who also knows some-
thing about the historiography of early Mormonism, this range of

\textsuperscript{13} For a summary of the common house types of early Utah, see Carter
and Goss, \textit{Utah’s Historic Architecture}.

\textsuperscript{14} Ibid., 10–13, 18–20, 24–25. A \textit{parsväg} is a house with two main
house types raises interesting questions. Clearly these Mormon farmers were free to build the kinds of houses they found most comfortable, rather than having to accept preexisting houses provided by a landlord, as most farmers in California did during the same decades. But why did they draw on such a variety of regional and ethnic traditions? In a village such as Spring City, one finds several types of Scandinavian traditional houses, several Anglo-American types, and a few popular-culture types. It is an old (but insufficiently examined) premise of cultural-landscape studies that the vernacular environment embodies common values. In this view, the builders of a traditional community build similar houses, for example, because they share similar ideas about domestic life and equally importantly because they want to demonstrate solidarity with their neighbors or (negatively) not to stand out from them. Conversely, if a community is knit by a strong, all-encompassing ethos or commonality of interests or activities, one would expect its architecture to be relatively homogeneous. The dwelling houses and other buildings of the Shakers, for example, varied little within or among settlements, while the Rappites or Harmonists of Pennsylvania and Indiana issued believers standardized houses to fit the new kinds of families they imagined. To a lesser extent, one finds the same kind of similarity in many pre-industrial European or North American farm villages.

Our image of early Mormonism includes a strong communitarian and, at times, egalitarian ethos, which might lead us to expect the same kind of uniformity in the Mormon landscape. What might it mean, then, that there is so little unity evident in the housing of communities whose religious ideals stressed cultural and communal

rooms separated by a narrower central space that is often divided into two parts, an entry and a small cooking room. Sometimes the house is set with its narrow end to the street, and an entry door in that end leads directly into the largest room. In the pair house, the central space is enlarged to become the main room of the house. A pair house is always set long side to the street and entered through a central door into the main room.

A classic statement is Amos Rapoport, *House Form and Culture* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1969), 47: “The house, the village, and the town express the fact that societies share certain generally accepted goals and life values. The forms of primitive and vernacular buildings are less the result of individual desires than of the aims and desires of the unified group for an ideal environment.”
closeness and adherence to a new vision of family life.\textsuperscript{16}

This is an open question for students of the Mormon landscape, and one to which there can be no simple answer. But it is important, first of all, to frame the question properly. As archaeologist Mark Le- one, one of the most skilled interpreters of the Mormon landscape, has noted, there is no point in asking what the cultural landscape tells us about Mormonism—how it "reflects" Mormonism per se. The Mormon religion is amply documented in theological, historical, and even sociological literature, so the material record is not likely to add much to the story. Instead, we should ask how the houses and other landscape elements with which Mormons chose to build Zion facilitated or transformed religious goals.\textsuperscript{17} Our question therefore becomes, What was it like to be a Mormon in this landscape? This question requires us to examine both the landscape elements that seemed to promote a communal ethos and those that seem to contradict it.

\textbf{INVENTING A MORMON LANDSCAPE}

From Joseph Smith’s Plat of the City of Zion (1835), which envisioned the Saints’ living in closely settled, highly organized communities, to the open-field farming of the early years in Utah, the various attempts at economic centralization or redistribution, ranging from the Kirtland Safety Society Bank to the United Order at Orderville, and the bishops’ storehouses of the early twentieth century, one repeatedly encounters attempts to offset the social and economic individualism of the small, isolated farm.\textsuperscript{18} These experiments were not unique to Mormonism. As the example of the Shakers and the Harmonists illustrates, it was not uncommon for newly formed religious

\textsuperscript{16}While earlier scholars did believe that Mormon domestic architecture was relatively homogeneous, Thomas Carter’s careful field research has documented its homogeneity, even within individual towns. Leon S. Pitman, “A Survey of Nineteenth-Century Folk Housing in the Mormon Culture Region” (Ph.D. diss., Louisiana State University, 1973); Thomas R. Carter, “Building Zion: Folk Architecture in the Mormon Settlements of Utah’s Sanpete Valley, 1849–1890” (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1984).

\textsuperscript{17}Leone, “Archaeology as the Science of Technology,” 194–95.

groups, particularly those who drew many of their followers from the lower classes, to institute some form of egalitarian living arrangement or communal economic order on theological or disciplinary grounds or simply to avoid starvation. Nevertheless, the particular forms and intentions of Mormon communitarianism were distinctive.

In the Plat of the City of Zion, Smith gave the plan for a closely knit town centered around an elaborate, widely distributed priesthood and an equally elaborate set of public buildings that would occupy central spaces analogous to those in non-Mormon towns that accommodated churches or civic buildings. Smith’s vision, as inscribed around the edges of the map itself, encompassed not only religious but agricultural activities. Farmyards were to be excluded from the individual lots (a prohibition not followed in the towns Mormons eventually built in Utah), but the town would be surrounded by its agricultural fields. Each lot was to contain only one house, and each house was to be built of brick or stone and aligned to a common twenty-five-foot setback line with a “grove” in front and gardens surrounding it. Although the city of Zion was to be relatively large—at fifteen to twenty thousand people, it would have competed in population with many cities of the second rank throughout the United States—Smith did not mention commercial or industrial facilities.¹⁰

The Plat of the City of Zion echoed longstanding Euro-American ideas of “civility,” or social order, in which agriculturists were gathered into a village setting under the eyes of a centrally located religious and civic authorities, with fields within walking distance of the town. In its key features, the Plat of the City of Zion echoed the form and principles of the bastides, colonial agricultural-garrison towns established by the English in Wales and France during the middle ages; the Laws of the Indies, a set of programmatic instructions for colonial towns issued by Philip II of Spain in 1579; and even William Penn’s “greene Country towne” for his new colony of Pennsylvania. Both the bastides and the Laws of the Indies decreed that farmers would live in villages surrounded by their fields, but under the watchful eye of centrally located church and state institutions, while Penn’s instructions for his town called for a row of houses to be set back to a

(¹⁰Smith’s description of the city of Zion is reproduced in Hamilton, Nineteenth-Century Mormon Architecture and Town Planning, 15–16.)
common line on a row of strip lots along the Delaware River, so as to
form a settlement "wch will never be burnt, and always be
wholsome."

It is not that Joseph Smith imitated any of these prece-
dents. He probably did not know of any of them. Rather, the Plat of
the City of Zion emerged from the same deeply seated European and
American cultural assumptions about urban living that produced the
bastides, the Spanish colonial towns, Penn's plan, and many other
variants on this urban form.

At the same time, there was something about the City of Zion
and its Great Basin cousins that differed from these earlier models: a
view of town life as a positive good rather than an unfortunate neces-
sity, as something that benefitted the residents, not merely the state
or the economy. In important respects, early Mormonism was an ur-
ban religion founded by rural people. Mormon leaders from Joseph
Smith on stressed the importance of towns as civilizing agents that of-
fered Saints "advantages of a social and civic character."

In the cover letter accompanying the Plat of the City of Zion, Joseph Smith
pointed out that, in towns, "the farmer and his family . . . will enjoy all
the advantages of schools, public lectures and other meetings. His
home will no longer be isolated, and his family denied the benefits of
society, which has been, and always will be, the great educator of the
human race; but they will enjoy the same privileges of society, and can
surround their homes with the same intellectual life, the same social
refinement as will be found in the home of the merchant or banker or

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20 William Penn, "Instructions Given by Me William Penn Proprietor
and Governor of Pennsylvania to My Trusty and Loving Friends, William
Crispin John Bezar and Nathaniel Allen," Sept. 30, 1681, in The Papers of
William Penn, edited by Richard S. Dunn and Mary Maples Dunn, 5 vols.
(Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), 2:121. See also
James E. Vance Jr., The Continuing City: Urban Morphology in Western Civiliza-
tion (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), 173-205;
Hannah Benner Roach, "The Planting of Philadelphia: A Seventeenth-Cen-
tury Real Estate Development," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biogra-
phy 92 (January 1968): 3-47, and (April 1968): 143-94. As Roach points out
(p. 5), Penn's famous green country town was not the gridded urban Phila-
delphia that we know, but a semi-rural township.

21 First Presidency, Letter to Fremont Stake, Utah, quoted in Leone,
"Archaeology as the Science of Technology," 195.
Plan of Escalante, Utah, 1950, showing the division of lots into four quarters, with subsequent subdivision of some lots. Lowry Nelson, The Mormon Village: A Pattern and Technique of Land Settlement (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1952), fig. 9, p. 121.

professional man.  

Urbanism and urbanity took root. According to one early visitor to Salt Lake City, "The people here are social, gay and like every thing [they] like parties." Like other American moral leaders, though, Mormon leaders were convinced that city life needed to be tempered

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23Sylvester Mowry, letter to "My Dear Bicknell," September 17, 1854, in Among the Mormons, 274.
by small-scale, face-to-face institutions that would anchor townspeople in a stable moral order. Thus, they argued that town living would allow Saints to “retain their ecclesiastical organizations, have regular meetings of the quorums of the priesthood and establish and maintain Sunday schools, Improvement Associations, and Relief Societies.” The goal was clear: Mormon settlements would combine urban cultivation with small-town moral stability.24

With this in mind, one turns to a renowned feature of the Plat of the City of Zion: the perpendicular orientation of its house lots. Joseph Smith’s notes on the plat’s borders point out “that the lots are laid off alternate in the squares in one square running from the south and North to the line through the middle of the square and the next the lots runs from the east and west to the middle line . . . so that no one street will be built on inturly [sic] through the street but one square the houses stand on one street and on the next or another.”25 Many historians interpret this arrangement as a device to insure householders’ privacy. Each household would have “physical and visual territory unimpeded by other residences.”26

But the Prophet’s words suggest another consideration more in keeping with early-nineteenth-century urban ideas: a desire that the landscape of the City of Zion should be uniform throughout, with every street equally important, every lot equally accessible along the street grid (and, in the West, along irrigation canals), rather than differentiated into major and minor streets, more and less important districts. The City of Zion would be a sacralized version of the republican city of equal access that political and social leaders in the East envisioned for New York, Philadelphia, and other large American cities, a utopian version of a more widespread vision that was itself

24First Presidency Letter to Fremont Stake, 195; Paul Boyer, Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820–1860 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978), 1–2, 54–64. During the years when the Plat of the City of Zion was drawn and the first Mormon towns were created, as Boyer, Urban Masses, 2, put it: America’s urban reformers sought to “re-create[e] in the cities the moral order of the village.”


26Jackson, “Mormon Village,” 234. For a similar view, see Leone, “Archaeology as the Science of Technology,” 197.
utopian.27

Few Mormon towns followed the Plat of the City of Zion closely. Most scholars strain to find any similarity between its ideal and the Mormon built environment other than the grid plan and the simple fact of living in compact agricultural villages rather than on scattered farmsteads. In the Great Basin, the injunction against constructing farm buildings in town was forgotten, and each house lot became a miniature farmstead. As a consequence, there were fewer lots to the block and the Mormon agricultural village was more compact but less dense than the city of Zion would have been. Often houses on corner lots faced the flanks of those across the street, leading some historians to see in this an echo of the perpendicular lots of the Plat of the City of Zion, but this “separation” is undercut by the common practice of making exterior doors in both fronts, so that houses in fact faced both neighbors, rather than turning away from them. This undercut any argument that the arrangement of houses was meant to create a sense of privacy in the Mormon city or town. Rather, the common town plan in Utah seems to have made it difficult to isolate oneself.28

This intimacy leads us think of the utopian ambitions of the Mormon town in another light. Mormonism was founded during the Second Great Awakening in the so-called Burned-Over District of western New York State.29 Evangelicals wanted more than intellectual or behavioral change in their converts; they wanted to create new or reborn men and women worthy of the restored Christian church. A


29On the connection and the divergences, see Gordon S. Wood, “Evangelical America and Early Mormonism,” New York History 51 (Octo-
principal tool was the camp meeting, sometimes called a “protracted meeting,” held in a prepared space carefully arranged to create an intense atmosphere of personal, moral, and spiritual transformation over an extended period of time.\(^3\) A camp meeting was a small version of a city, with a meeting place or tabernacle in a central square and lodgings—originally tents—arranged along “streets” surrounding it. People lived together with little privacy. They were besieged day and night, not simply by pulpit preachers, who often sought to stimulate conversions using the “New Measures” (psychologically sophisticated rhetorical techniques that the evangelist Charles Grandison Finney characterized as “right use of the constituted means”) but also by side “exhorters” and by small groups that met for prayer and exhortations that often lasted through the night in individual tents.\(^3\) The heat of the summer, the example of others who had already been converted, and the intense scrutiny directed toward those seekers who filled the “mourners’” or “anxious” bench (an enclosure at the front of the congregation just beneath the pulpit) all added to the psychological pressure. The poet Langston Hughes recalled a revival he attended in 1914 when he was twelve at which everyone on the mourner’s bench had been saved except him. The preacher and Hughes’s aunt pleaded, “Why don’t you come? Why don’t you come and be saved?” and Hughes “began to be ashamed of myself, holding everything up so long.” He decided to pretend salvation to end the agony and “the whole room broke into a sea of shouting as they saw me rise.”\(^3\)

Like other Second Great Awakening movements, Mormonism placed great emphasis on techniques of conversion and combined persuasive words with carefully designed physical settings, so we

\(^{3}\)Joseph Smith’s brother William, “Grace Abounding and Religious Revival,” in Among the Mormons, 25, recorded the Smith family’s attendance at revival meetings in Palmyra, New York, in the early 1820s.


might usefully compare the evangelical camp meetings of the Second Great Awakening with early Mormon sacred and everyday spaces. In the Mormon town, believers encountered one another constantly in a variety of religious, economic, and social settings. In the early years, both church meetings and social gatherings often took place in boweries whose construction and purpose recalled the “brush arbors” at the centers of early evangelical camp meetings and whose form resembled the more substantial structures that continue to occupy the centers of permanently established camp meetings down to the present.33

Where the occupants of the camp-meeting mourners’ bench were watched by the entire congregation and sat directly under the gaze of the preacher, for example, worshippers in the House of the Lord (1833–36) in Kirtland, Ohio, sat under the gaze of the members of the priesthood at both ends of the upper and lower courts. Something of the emotional intensity of the camp meeting can be read in the accounts of the dedication ceremonies of the Kirtland Temple on March 30–31, 1836, when Joseph Smith instructed the worshippers to “tarry all night” and the congregation continued “to prophecy and speak in tongues adding shouts of Hosannas to God and the Lamb with Amen and Amen.”34 From that point, the trajectory of Mormon temple design can be read as one that emphasized increasing involvement on the part of worshippers, moving away from the relatively passive congregational observation that characterizes most Christian worship.

Mormonism, though, was much more radical than evangelical Protestantism. It aimed not merely to revitalize the spiritual lives of believers but to reorient their everyday lives in ways that few evangelicals imagined. In that respect, it was more like the radical nineteenth-century communal social experiments. All nineteenth-century communal societies, religious and secular—the Shakers, the Harmonists, the Fourierists, the Oneidans—attempted to reconstruct society

33 Hamilton, Nineteenth-Century Mormon Architecture and Town Planning, 129. The modern camp-meeting tabernacles are still called “arbors” in memory of their improvised predecessors, just as the more permanent cabins in which participants live are still called “tents.”

by reconstructing its basic unit, the family. All placed great reliance on material culture to effect their goals. Every-thing from clothing to bodily movement to architecture was a tool for making new men and women and ultimately a new society. Mormons shared this desire to reconstitute society, although they wished to do so as a way to constitute millennial society rather than simply to await its arrival as the Shakers did. They, too, looked to a reimagined family as the building block of their new society, and they relied on material surroundings as a medium of transformation—but with a critical difference. Where other communal societies radically reshaped inherited cultural-landscape elements to form new kinds of houses, new kinds of communal spaces, and new kinds of work spaces, the Latter-day Saints preferred to tweak familiar vernacular forms rather than to rethink them radically. When Mormons began to design permanent buildings for religious rituals, for example, their choices were based on familiar and analogous architectures from their home regions. As many scholars have pointed out, the evolution of Mormon temples and meetinghouses reveals a gradual modification of the familiar New England-derived forms that were carried across upstate New York into the Western Reserve of Ohio by post-revolutionary out-migrants. Ordinary gatherings took place in “meetinghouses” that were only slightly different from the Calvinist meetinghouses of New England and the Western Reserve of Ohio.

The more exceptional temples gradually moved away from familiar models but still created new forms by combining common reli-

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35 For accounts of several of the most important efforts to transform the family, see Louis J. Kern, An Ordered Love: Sex Roles and Sexuality in Victorian Utopias—the Shakers, the Mormons, and the Oneida Community (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981); and Lawrence Foster, Women, Family, and Utopia: Communal Experiments of the Shakers, the Oneida Community, and the Mormons (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1991).

36 Hayden, Seven American Utopias, 43–45, 69, 71, 81.

37 Shipps, Mormonism, 116.

gious typologies with widespread domestic imagery and ritual spaces. The first step was to create a spatial order. The double-ended “courts” of the Kirtland Temple multiplied the traditional pulpits of Protestant meeting houses and added the curtains or “veils” that separated each one and that allowed the lower hall to be subdivided into smaller rooms. At Nauvoo, the interior was more drastically rethought, borrowing from Masonic ritual spaces for a number of special-purpose rooms designed to accommodate the developing Mormon temple ritual, while the exterior continued to resemble a nineteenth-century New England meeting house. Even the great pilastered portico at Nauvoo recalls the meetinghouse design published in Asher Benjamin’s _American Builder’s Companion_, which was based on his own Old West Church (1806) and inspired the builder of the Unitarian meetinghouse (1816) at Bedford, Massachusetts. At Nauvoo, as well, William Weeks and LDS Church leaders began to fashion a decorative symbolism distinctive to Mormonism, but it was only in Utah that Church architects Truman O. Angell Sr. and William H. Folsom finally created a distinctive exterior form to match the temples’ interiors. In the Salt Lake Temple, Mormon architecture is at its grandest and most distinctive. Ironically, in this final phase, Angell and Folsom adapted some of their interior architectural language from the domestic sphere.

So Mormon religious buildings were designed to stimulate and reinforce a commitment to a new religious identity. The Church’s official landscape was meant to promote sociability, communal feeling, a kind of egalitarianism among believers, and, in the definition of new building and spatial types, a sense of distinctiveness. Is that what the actual (as opposed to the ideal) landscape records? This is where we return to the question of the “traditional” houses. Here the pro-

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39 Robison, _First Mormon Temple_, 85.
cess of adaptation of familiar forms seems to have been much less thorough than in explicitly religious structures, even though the reconstruction of domestic life was at least as radical as that of religious ritual.

If we were to walk through a Mormon town ignorant of the institution of plural marriage, we would never know it had been there, despite the persistent attempt to read polygamy in chimneys, gables, and gates. Mormon towns were comprised of “single-family” houses of a kind that one might find in any number of non-Mormon American and even European settlements. These houses were structured spatially on the assumption that they would be occupied by a male head of household, his spouse, children, and perhaps servants. However, one polygamous family might be scattered among a number of these houses or, in the years of active federal prosecution of polygamy, among several towns, states, and even across national boundaries. Their homes would be difficult to distinguish from those of their monogamous neighbors. And despite the official injunction that plural wives be provided with “equal comforts,” there were discrepancies in the distribution of housing and other support Mormon men provided for their various wives. 42 Without access to other (usually documentary) information about plural marriage, it would be impossible to know this, for in the domestic realm the radicalism of the nineteenth-century Mormon social vision never found a distinctive architectural expression or even a distinctive way of modifying standard house forms, as theological Mormonism did in religious buildings. Thus, while official pronouncements cannot really tell us what it meant to live as a Mormon in a Great Basin town in the nineteenth century, the limitations of the evidence of landscape that I mentioned in the first part of this paper deprive us of easy answers from that source.

James A. and Elizabeth Allred House plan, Spring City. Thomas Carter and Julie Osborne, eds. A Way of Seeing: Discovering the Art of Building in Spring City, Utah (Salt Lake City: Graduate School of Architecture, University of Utah, 1994), 14.
Lived Mormonism in the Great Basin Landscape

Did the Mormon landscape of the Great Basin help make new men and women? Despite the ambiguity, this absence of systematic differences among polygamous and monogamous houses may nevertheless be a significant clue to answering our initial question about the ways Mormonism was lived in the nineteenth-century Great Basin. The French anthropologist Pierre Bourdieu offers a way to think about this issue. In common with most anthropologists, Bourdieu used the concept of culture to refer to the habits of mind, ways of seeing, and predispositions to act in certain ways that we learn from others in our society, but he also pointed out that everyday life forces us constantly to modify these learned habits. Although culture teaches us generally how to respond to common life situations—how to read another person’s intent, how to think about unexpected misfortunes, how to act when we are introduced to someone much older or much younger than we are—it is only a general guide. Most life situations are similar to those we have encountered before, but none is exactly like any other one. A certain degree of improvisation is necessary. We must make little adjustments and many little adjustments create drift.
We find that we end up doing things very differently from the ways we began doing them.\footnote{Pierre Bourdieu, \textit{The Logic of Practice} (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1990), 52--65.}

One of Bourdieu’s key insights was that much of culture is carried in our muscles. He described social life as a kind of playing field in which we develop an improvisatory “feel for the game” without having to think every move through consciously.\footnote{Ibid., 66--68.} For example, in learning to play baseball, we are taught generally how to throw a ball or to hit one or to catch one, but every individual instance of throwing, hitting, or catching demands a unique, specific action that will not succeed if we must stop to think about our original instruction on every play. Rather, what we know becomes encoded as part of our muscle memory. Similarly, many of the most important, most central, culturally significant aspects of our lives are carried out without much explicit reflection, in settings that are too familiar to require thought or to be analyzed explicitly.

This is the importance of cultural landscape: it offers cues, which we often barely notice, about the ways we should “play the game.” Because by definition our most mundane spaces are the ones in which we live most of our lives, they are the most significant in shaping our actions.\footnote{Dell Upton, “Architecture in Everyday Life,” \textit{New Literary History} 33 (Autumn 2002): 715--21.} As the archaeologist Matthew Johnson notes in his study of traditional houses in one region of England, “Material things . . . become important through their very ordinariness. They stand for the vast underside of cultural action, for values and aspects of their personality and world-view which men and women could not or would not express in words. Material things may therefore be very important pieces of evidence, on the general principle derived from cultural anthropology and folk-life studies that that which is not spoken by members of a cultural group is often the most vital thing the researcher needs to know.”\footnote{Matthew Johnson, \textit{Housing Culture: Traditional Architecture in an English Landscape} (London: UCL Press, 1993), xi.}
have seen, the builders of the nineteenth-century Mormon cultural landscape blurred the line between the familiar and the novel by tweaking the familiar rather than by trying to invent a completely new everyday landscape as the Shakers, the Oneidans, and other communitarians did. The degree to which the Mormon built environment could promote the development of new men and women may have depended upon the convert’s starting point and thus on the degree to which the Great Basin setting was novel. To people such as James and Elizabeth Allred, who moved from Tennessee and Kentucky, respectively, the Mormon-town experience may have seemed new and intense. The upland South was an area of primarily rural, scattered settlement. To live in a small, closely knitted agricultural village where nearly all the occupants shared a devotion to a newly adopted religious creed and where authorities encouraged frequent and varied contact with neighbors would have been very different from their accustomed way of life. In the simple course of going about their daily lives, they would always be reminded of the choice they had made—and perhaps be made a little uncomfortable with its implications. “Cut off... from the old forms of order and routine,” as historian Michael Walzer says the seventeenth-century English Puritans were, the Allreds may have been particularly open to new possibilities, but also a little frightened by them. This may be one reason that they chose to include a buffering central passage in their Spring City house (ca. 1870).47

Would this have been equally true of someone such as Olaf Larsen, who came to Ephraim, Utah, from Drammen, Norway, in 1861 and built himself an old-fashioned Scandinavian farstuga house in 1869–70? Larsen may have been accustomed to living in a closely settled agricultural village where farstuga houses ran along the street cheek by jowl, a pattern common to much of central Europe from Scandinavia to the Balkans.

For Larsen and others of similar background, however sincere they were in their new beliefs, their everyday surroundings could not have been as vivid a reminder of their new lives as it was for the Allreds. There was little to force a revision of the old “feel for the

47Michael Walzer, “Puritanism as a Revolutionary Ideology,” History and Theory 8 (1968–69): 82; Thomas Carter and Julie Osborne, eds., A Way of Seeing: Discovering the Art of Building in Spring City, Utah (Salt Lake City: Graduate School of Architecture, University of Utah, 1994), 14.
game." This hypothesis is reinforced by a look at the Ephraim Pioneer Cemetery, the burial place of men and women who had traveled thousands of miles to their new intermountain homes. The juxtaposition of Mormon beeives and traditional Christian crosses, some on the same gravestones, suggests that the transition from the old life to the new was not as radical or as complete as one might expect.

If setting is important in understanding the shaping of new men and women, the act of creating the new setting is equally important. The long process of designing, working out details, and building temples and other landmarks of Zion was as important as finished landscape itself in shaping Saints’ consciousness. We might ask whether it was a coincidence that the beginnings of the so-called “Americanization” of Mormondom coincided with the completion of the first four temples. “Americanization” is usually attributed to political pressures to conform to mainstream American practices as the price of statehood for Utah. But we might also think of it in terms of Walzer’s analysis of the Puritans. Fear of “declension” from the lofty standards and fervor of their Puritan fathers haunted the writings of English and American Calvinists after the late seventeenth century. Walzer argues that the decline in fervor was inevitable. Puritanism was a revolutionary ideology created in a period of extraordinary disruption and uncertainty. Once the revolution had accomplished its goals, then the intense fervor and extraordinary measures required to bring it about were no longer needed. Similarly, the Manifesto seemed to some Mormons at the time, as it still does to historians, a time of surrender, when Saints ceased to live in “sacred space and sacred time.” But Puritan “sainthood was only a temporary role,” Walzer notes. “For men always seek and find not some tense and demanding discipline, but some new routine.” Nevertheless, nostalgia for original fervor led to the experience of normalization as a “decline.”

The Mormon pioneer landscape was first of all a vernacular landscape, one that can be connected in all of its details—its individual buildings and ways of ordering them spatially—to a number of widespread European and Euro-American folk and popular currents. None is remarkable in itself, but as an ensemble, a cultural landscape, it is distinctive. This itself is a characteristic Mormon pattern: a novel

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49Ibid., 126.
50Walzer, “Puritanism as a Revolutionary Ideology,” 87.
ensemble is created by playing with, and on, widespread vernacular architectural and settlement patterns.

Still, it would be a mistake to see the Mormon cultural landscape in terms of a "tension" or "contradiction" between ideals and so-called realities. The landscape holds no unified "message" about early Mormonism. In asking our initial question about the ways the landscape shaped living as a Mormon, we would do better to see the landscape as the product of a process of working out—not completely, not consistently, not uniformly—what it meant to live in Zion day by day.
"Out of the Mists of Memory": Remembering Joseph Smith in Vermont

Keith A. Erekson

On Saturday, December 28, 1905, hundreds of people gathered near the rise of a small hill in Vermont to witness the dedication and unveiling of a monument to the memory of Joseph Smith. One hundred years earlier, Smith had been born into a poor farming family in Sharon, Windsor County, Vermont. In the intervening century, the church he had organized grew and spread across the country. Now in 1905 his followers from Utah returned to the place of his birth to erect an impressive fifty-foot-tall granite obelisk.

Mormons and Vermonters of the time, and since, have recognized that one story of the Joseph Smith Birthplace Memorial Monument is that of a miraculous physical engineering feat carried out...
against all odds by quarrying granite blocks, transporting them by rail and horse power; shoring up sagging bridges, crossing frozen mud holes, and beating winter storms. Yet in her report on the monument’s dedication to LDS readers of the Improvement Era, Susa Young Gates also commented on the symbolic nature of the monument’s construction: “Out of the mists of memory rises that exquisite shaft; it cleaves the sky, the flawless surface bearing a clear-toned, divine message to the darkened world of superstition and unbelief.”

Thus, in addition to hewing out granite blocks and polishing them into monumental shapes, the monument’s designer also drew from the reservoirs of personal and collective memories of Joseph Smith and translated their meanings into symbolic visual form in a new century.

Throughout the nineteenth century, Latter-day Saints remembered Joseph Smith as a prophet, teacher, martyr, and Vermont schoolboy. As the monument took shape, the meanings of the memo-

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Memories of Joseph Smith were engaged and defined by a variety of individuals—the monument’s designer, Junius F. Wells, Joseph F. Smith and the LDS First Presidency, Frederick M. Smith and the RLDS First Presidency, a handful of Vermont members of the Congregational Church’s Woman’s Home Missionary Union, and Charles P. Tarbell, a Vermont lawyer. Their contrasting, and at times diametrically opposed, motivations in distinct but overlapping worlds drew them together at this time. Personal and institutional attempts to solidify the memories into a monument at Joseph Smith’s birthplace provoked religious, national, and regional reactions that were synthesized in two dedications, publicized in dozens of sources, and registered in the memories of hundreds of people.

Memories and their meanings are elusive; indeed, Gates could not have chosen a more apt word than “mists” to characterize them. In recent years, historians have begun to examine memories—and the contests over their meanings—as evidence for reconstructing the past. This methodological perspective has been applied, albeit somewhat unevenly, to the study of Mormon history. This study proceeds on the conscientious assumptions that memories are real and influential, that they arise and develop through a long process of remembering and shaping, that they are most clearly understood when linked to specific individuals, and that they ultimately tell us much more about the rememberers than the remembered. Stated negatively, this study

assumes that memories are not so frivolous as to be dismissible, they are not simply invented ad hoc by powerful individuals who can impose or erase them at whim, they are not the patrimony of an intangible collectivity, and they provide much less historical evidence about their referent past (in this case, the life of Joseph Smith) than they do about the people (in the twentieth century) who look to that past for meaning.

The mistiness and multiplicity of the memories of Joseph Smith make this story rich and engaging. Reaching out as it did across denominational, state, and cultural boundaries the story of the monument’s symbolic construction captures the contours of Mormonism in the time of transition into American culture in the early twentieth century. Though not the first monument proposed to Joseph Smith, the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument in Vermont was the first monument completed. Thus, it became the first monument erected by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in what became a century of commemoration and celebration of Mormon heritage.

"Mists of Memory"

Mormons of the early twentieth century drew on memories of Joseph Smith recalled from more than half a century by the scores of

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4These assumptions are, of course, contestable and constitute much of the grist for the cottage industry that cranks out dozens of books on memory each year. Unfortunately, few of the books speak to each other; and for that reason, a preliminary discussion in the introduction and carried along in the notes is essential to lay down acceptable avenues of inquiry, else the morass of memory studies will simply merge with the swamp of Mormon history.

5Thomas G. Alexander has aptly labeled the period as a time of transition, though he did not discuss the monument: Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890–1930 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986).

6The story of twentieth-century Latter-day Saint commemoration needs to be told. The century opened with statues to Brigham Young and Joseph and Hyrum Smith in Salt Lake City and concluded with temples dedicated at Winter Quarters, Palmyra, and Nauvoo. Along the way, monuments were erected, anniversaries celebrated, buildings reconstructed, and treks reenacted as living history merged with proselytizing in an effort unparalleled by a religious organization in the United States.
people who came to know him while working, serving, preaching, and living with him. Smith was a memorable man—tall, handsome, and charismatic. In his thirty-eight-and-a-half years of life he translated the Book of Mormon, established the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, founded the city of Nauvoo on the Mississippi River in northern Illinois, commanded the Nauvoo militia, and aspired to the presidency of the United States. People who knew him held onto a variety of individual memories; and through the course of the nineteenth century, they shared their memories through reminiscences, poetry, hymns, and commemorations, merging them into collectively held memories of Joseph Smith as prophet, teacher, martyr, and Vermont schoolboy.

Acceptance of Joseph Smith as a prophet drew nineteenth-century Americans into the Mormon fold, and his role as a prophet became the most common memory of Smith after his death. Throughout their lives, early Latter-day Saints commonly recalled and recounted the appearance or activities of Joseph Smith upon their first meeting with him: Brigham Young recalled that Smith was chopping wood when they first met, while Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner re-

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membered “how blue his eyes were” and felt as though he could read her thoughts. John M. Chidester remembered, “My impression on beholding the Prophet and shaking hands with him was that I stood face to face with the greatest man on earth.” Joel H. Johnson exulted in his 1831 meeting with Joseph Smith by writing a hymn, “To Joseph Whom I Love.”¹⁰

As evidence of Smith’s prophetic role, Latter-day Saints often recalled his religious power. Luke S. Johnson remembered that Smith healed his mother. Newell Knight, Levi Hancock, and Zebedee Coltrin all bore witness that Smith cast “devils” and “evil spirits” out of them. Artemus Millet recollected that, after Joseph Smith Sr. and John Smith administered to his cholera “without effect,” the Prophet laid hands on his head and he “began to mend from that very moment.”¹¹

Nineteenth-century Mormons also remembered Smith as a teacher. Lydia Knight described the unforgettable transparency of his face while speaking under inspiration as a “white and shining glow.” Angus M. Cannon recounted, “I never heard [Joseph Smith] speak when it did not electrify my whole soul.” Joseph F. Smith, nephew of the Prophet, was only a small boy in Nauvoo, though he remembered throughout his life (1838-1918) the visual image of Joseph Smith preaching while “standing in a wagon in the grove near the temple site in Nauvoo.”¹²

Most indicative of their memory of Joseph Smith as a prophet-teacher, Mormons remembered his prophecies. Mary Eliza-


¹¹Andrus and Andrus, They Knew the Prophet, 33, 12–13, 19–24, 30; Artemus Millet, “Reminiscences [1855],” holograph, 6–7, Archives, Family and Church History Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter LDS Church Archives).

beth Rollins Lightner remembered that Smith prophesied that her husband would not join the Church; and although Adam Lightner lived for fifty-two years after the prophecy and immigrated to Utah, he never did. Heber C. Kimball affirmed that Smith’s prophecy about the pending misfortunes of disobedient members came true. Anson Call and Claudius V. Spencer overheard Smith announce that the Mormons would move to the Rocky Mountains, and Edward Rushton recalled the prophecy as directed personally to him: “In 1843 the Prophet told me that I should come here to the Rocky Mountains.” George Q. Cannon eloquently articulated the memory of Joseph Smith as prophet in Life of Joseph Smith the Prophet, a biography prepared over several years and published in 1888.13

While countless experiences throughout Joseph Smith’s life formed the foundation for his memory as prophet, his sudden and violent death evoked his memory as martyr. For the rest of their lives, Saints remembered the moment of first hearing the tragic news—the shock pressed indelibly into memory whether they were walking down the street, sitting at home, or standing in their fields. Others remembered the distress and the weeping. Some who were away on missions, such as Erastus Snow, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Parley P. Pratt, did not hear the news immediately but recalled inexplicable feelings of sorrow, grief, and depression on June 27 that they understood only later. Poems and songs—such as “Praise to the Man,” “The Seer,” and “O Give Me Back My Prophet Dear”—soon circulated, some continuing to be sung in the twenty-first century.14

After the martyrdom, believers made an effort to acquire tangi-

13Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner, Heber K. Kimball, Anson Call, Claudius V. Spencer, and Edward Rushton in Andrus and Andrus, They Knew the Prophet, 29, 41, 120–21, 35, 34. George Q. Cannon (with the unacknowledged assistance of his son, Frank Cannon), Life of Joseph Smith the Prophet (1888; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1986); see also Nephi Lowell Morris, Prophecies of Joseph Smith and their Fulfillment (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1920).

14Bitton, The Martyrdom Remembered, 3–31. William W. Phelps wrote “Praise to the Man” in 1844, John Taylor wrote both “The Seer” and “O Give Me Back My Prophet Dear” in 1845. Some memories of Joseph Smith as martyr took more extravagant forms, such as the claim that a shaft of heavenly light prevented the decapitation of the dead prophet, or tales of the murderers’ miserable fates. See Bitton, The Martyrdom Remembered,
ble mementos of the martyred prophet. John Taylor saved his pocket watch, damaged during the fracas and stopped at the moment of martyrdom. Emma Smith gave Wilford Woodruff a pair of gloves and a cotton handkerchief that had belonged to her husband. The rough-hewn wooden boxes used to transport the bodies of Joseph and Hyrum from Carthage to Nauvoo were cut up, fashioned into "Canes of the Martyrdom," and distributed to several of the Prophet's closest friends—including Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Wilford Woodruff, Willard Richards, and Dimick Huntington. Locks of the martyrs' hair were preserved and placed in the heads of the canes or woven into artwork.15

While memories of Joseph Smith as prophet and martyr sprang immediately out of the experiences of his life and death, Mormons also remembered Joseph Smith as a Vermont schoolboy. Throughout his lifetime, Joseph Smith considered himself a Vermont-born Yankee and customarily began his life sketches with emphasis on the "indigent circumstances" of his childhood that "deprived me of the benefit of an education."16 Smith asserted that his Vermont childhood shaped his character: "It is a love of liberty which inspires my soul—civil and religious liberty to the whole of the human race. Love of liberty was diffused into my soul by my grandfathers while they


dandelier me on their knees.

His followers remembered Smith as both a patriotic Vermonter and as an uneducated schoolboy who could not have written the Book of Mormon on his own.

During the 1870s and 1880s, in a process Davis Bitton desig-

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19 Remembering Joseph Smith as uneducated carried the added benefit of serving as circumstantial evidence for the Book of Mormon. Orson and Parley Pratt, John Taylor, Andrew Jenson, B. H. Roberts, James E. Talmage, and Orson F. Whitney invoked this memory in a claim of Book of Mormon authenticity that was most succinctly expressed by Franklin S. Harris Jr.: "No Vermont Schoolboy wrote this." Harris, The Book of Mormon: Messages and evidences (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1953), 200. See also Orson Pratt, A full and interesting account of several remarkable visions, and of the late discovery of ancient American records... (Edinburgh, Scotland: Author, 1840), 3; Parley P. Pratt, Key to the Science of Theology (1855; Grantville,
nated as the “ritualization of Mormon history” and that James B. Allen emphasized for its doctrinal and institutional significance, the personal and individual memories of Joseph Smith were shared, published, and interpreted in art and music. Reminiscences of Smith appeared in the Woman’s Exponent, the Young Woman’s Journal, and the Juvenile Instructor. Danish-born convert C. C. A. Christensen registered the range of memories of Joseph Smith in his panorama of Mormon history. In 1880, portions of Joseph Smith’s history were canonized. In 1882, the Deseret Sunday School Union published a catechism on Joseph Smith’s life and mission which, when recited repeatedly by children, indelibly impressed Joseph Smith as a storied figure on the minds of Mormon children.


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


24 Questions and Answers on the Life and Mission of the Prophet Joseph Smith (Salt Lake City: Deseret Sunday School Union, 1882), 9. On this catechism’s impact forty years later, see Howard R. Driggs, “A Place of Worship in the Green Mountains,” Juvenile Instructor 57 (October 1922): 540-43.
Memories into Monument

If, like mists, the memories of Joseph Smith in the nineteenth century were thick and ever-present, they were also evanescent. As the century drew to a close, personal and localized sentiment—not global or national events—moved Latter-day Saints to commemorate his birthday and propose more enduring memorials. Most compelling was the fact that those who had known Joseph Smith in life began to follow him to the grave. Heber C. Kimball died in 1868, Brigham...

25Memories come into the clearest focus when viewed in relation to specific individuals. Broad international comparisons can provide contrast and insight but ultimately force the historian to treat contexts over memory in a cursory manner that results in a barrage of brief accounts with minimal analysis. See, for example, David Lowenthal, The Past Is a Foreign Country (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Michael Kammen, Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991); Diane Barthel, Historic Preservation: Collective Memory and Historical Identity (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1996). National contexts set memories into overarching timelines that suggest broader influences but can also force memories into constricted periods defined by wars and national political events. See, for example, Kammen, Mystic Chords of Memory; Robert W. Rydell, All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876–1916 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984); John Bodnar grants the dominant influence on periodization and commemoration in Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1992); Gillis, Commemorations: Zeilinsky, Nation into State.

Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen, The Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), have shown that most people do not use national narratives to frame their view of the past, employing instead personal, local, or family-based narratives. This personal approach is especially relevant to Mormon memories. Paul L. Anderson, "Heroic Nostalgia: Enshrining the Mormon Past," Sunstone 5 (July/August 1980): 48, has observed that, during the nineteenth century, "Latter-day Saint memorialization centered on people more than places." In the specific case of Joseph Smith, for many years it was common practice in LDS testimony meetings for those who had known him personally to have the privilege of speaking first. T. Edgar Lyon, "Recollections of 'Old Nauvooers': Memories from Oral History," BYU Studies 18 (Winter 1978): 143–50. A personal approach also helps resist the temptation in
Young in 1877, and Eliza R. Snow and John Taylor in 1887. On December 23, 1894, a gathering was held in the Sixteenth Ward Meeting House in Salt Lake City to which were invited all still alive who had known or seen Joseph Smith. Only twenty-eight such links with the past attended.26

This 1894 gathering is significant because it seems to be the place where Joseph F. Smith, nephew of the Prophet and then a counselor in the First Presidency, perceived the need to remember the Prophet in more enduring ways. Smith commented on this occasion that, in the half century since the Prophet’s martyrdom, the Saints “never had to my knowledge more than a small private gathering occasionally.” The lack of attention was unfortunate, and Smith, observing that his family relation might be the cause of a little bias, declared that “the next birthday celebration to that of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ should be that of Joseph Smith.” He proposed a solution: “I should like to see introduced among the Latter-day Saints, even at the risk of introducing another general holiday, the practice of celebrating or commemorating the birthday of the Prophet Joseph Smith.” 27

Over the next few years, such celebrations occurred occasionally. In 1897, the Ogden Third Ward Sunday School hosted a special program, including music and reminiscences, but those present hoped “that the time is near at hand when a more general celebration of this

Mormon history to apply a “hierarchy” shortcut to historical explanation—concluding that the actions and memories of individual Saints are commanded or willed by Church presidents. Flake, Politics of Religious Identity, 114–45, for example, applies the hierarchy shortcut to the Joseph Smith Monument.

26 The twenty-three people who had known Joseph Smith included two wives, Joseph F. Smith, two people baptized by Joseph Smith, one man who had been ordained by him to the priesthood. Five people attended who had only seen him. Collected Discourses, 5:26–35.

important birthday will be observed."$28$

There was a down side to such public reminiscence, however. By the end of the century, the majority of living people acquainted with the Prophet had been only children when they "knew" him. The experiences of children with Smith were less often about his preaching, healing, and prophesying and more often about the trivial things children remembered from childhood: that Smith broke up a fistfight, gave someone a ride on his horse, disciplined a rowdy child, told stories, or played with the children on the ice.$29$ At the December 1894 gathering, Joseph F. Smith cautioned the speakers that "it is sometimes the ludicrous things and drastic things which occur that impress themselves with greater vigor upon the mind, and we remember them more distinctly than we do other things of far greater importance and which are far more worthy to be recollected." He reminded those in attendance that "if somebody tells us about Joseph being fond of wrestling, fond of running a foot race, fond of having a good scuffle, with some lusty neighbor or friend...it need not detract one iota from the great and glorious principles which were revealed through him to the world."$30$ Clearly, there was a need for a more durable form in which to remember the Prophet.

If Joseph F. Smith had any hopes for a monument to Joseph Smith, the mid-1890s was not the time for the Church to undertake the project, as it was still throttled by debt and driven by the quest for statehood.$31$ Shortly after Utah was admitted to the Union in 1896, Church President Wilford Woodruff proposed the idea of a monument to Joseph Smith to the Twelve and First Presidency, either on the southeast corner of Temple Square or, more ambitiously, as a memorial building across the street.$32$ Not all of the Church leaders, however, believed that a monument was the most appropriate way to remember the past. George Q. Cannon of the First Presidency later said

$28$"Joseph Smith's Birthday," *Juvenile Instructor* 33 (June 1898): 76.

$29$These stories were all told in the early twentieth century; Lyon, "Recollections of 'Old Nauwoosers.'"


that he was "not much of a believer in monuments, for I think that men and their good deeds should live in memory."\textsuperscript{32} The idea was tabled.

The twentieth century brought changes. By 1901, Utah had enjoyed statehood for five years. The Church was moving out of debt, and the new century brought a new sense of place for the Church in the nation. Also in 1901, the deaths of George Q. Cannon (in April) and Church President Lorenzo Snow (in October) precipitated the organization of a new First Presidency composed of three men with strong interest in the Church's history—Church President Joseph F. Smith, the son of Hyrum Smith and nephew of Joseph Smith, John R. Winder, and Anthon H. Lund. Smith in particular cherished memories of both his father and uncle, recalling with poignant emotion the day of their martyrdom.\textsuperscript{34} He wasted no time implementing his 1894 suggestion; and the new First Presidency called on "all the cities and settlements of Zion" to celebrate the birth of Joseph Smith by hosting "special commemorative services, held in all the wards on Sunday, December 22\textsuperscript{nd}."\textsuperscript{35} The following year leaders continued to encourage that "his birthday should be appropriately celebrated in the con-


\textsuperscript{33}Cannon was responding to the dedication of the Brigham Young Monument in 1900.\textit{ Deseret Evening News}, July 24, 1900, quoted in Hunter, "The Monument to Brigham Young," 340.


\textsuperscript{35}Joseph Smith, the Prophet,"\textit{ Improvement Era} 5 (January 1902):
gregations of the Saints. In 1903, the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers sponsored a commemorative service in which Joseph F. Smith and Senator William H. King gave addresses; and the following year, President Smith again encouraged local leaders to host similar services in their congregations.

In 1903, the Church's first tangible move in the direction of monumental commemoration came when it purchased Carthage Jail; the following year the Church purchased property in Missouri. At the April 1904 conference, Winder proposed action closer to home: "I would like to see something erected to these martyrs that would be an object lesson to our children and our children's children throughout all generations, and also to the thousands of people who visit us, that they too may have something of this kind to look at." The congregation "adopted unanimously" Winder's resolution to build a monument or building, and Joseph F. Smith appointed a committee to oversee the project. The official institutional response to Winder's resolution came two months later on June 27, 1904, when Church authorities selected a site on Temple Square. The project was finally completed in June 1911, when statues of the Prophet and Patriarch were dedicated.

In the meantime, Winder's specific charge and the general institutional interest in monuments and historic commemoration elicited a noninstitutional response from a second-generation Mormon raised on the memories of Joseph Smith. Daniel H. Wells lived in Illinois during the 1830s and 1840s and knew Joseph Smith personally, though he did not join the Church until after the Prophet's death. While leaving Nauvoo for Carthage, the Prophet admonished Wells to "cherish my memory," and Wells did his best to raise his children—three of whom he named Joseph, Brigham, and Heber—on the stories of the Saints who had walked and talked with the Prophet.

232–33.


37Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (chronological scrapbook of typed entries and newspaper clippings, 1830–present), October 8, 1904, 2; December 20, 1904, 2, LDS Church Archives.

38Bryant S. Hinckley, Daniel H. and Events of His Time (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1942); Smith, History of the Church, 6:554.
Junius Free Wells, his son by Hannah C. Free, was signally successful in fulfilling this mandate. Born in Utah in 1854, Junius attended the University of Deseret, clerked at ZCMI, served two missions, and organized the Young Men’s Mutual Improvement Association (YMMIA) under the direction of Brigham Young. He also dabbled in mining and other business ventures.\(^3\) In August 1894, Wells visited the site of Joseph Smith’s birth in Vermont and reported that the only remains of the Smith home were some crumbling cellar walls overgrown with small shrubs.\(^4\)

Ten years later on March 28, 1905, Wells traveled to Boston to meet with a monument contractor, Riley C. Bowers of Montpelier, Vermont, to inquire about granite for a monument to his father. In the course of their meeting, Wells mentioned the idea of a monument to Joseph Smith in Sharon to commemorate the upcoming centennial of the Prophet’s birth. Bowers thought it a workable idea and recommended Barre granite because “of its fine quality and of its proximity to [Sharon].” He also “volunteered to assist” Wells.\(^4\) After making arrangements for his father’s monument, an excited Wells returned to Salt Lake City to share his idea with the First Presidency.

This letter, dated April 1, 1905, has apparently not survived; but Wells likely reported that a Vermont contractor felt that the land could be purchased and a monument erected. Wells offered to supervise the project and took the liberty of proposing a monument for the site, recommending dimensions and inscriptions, and even included a sketch of the proposal. The First Presidency, more cautious, instructed that he first verify the location, then attempt to purchase it. If he was successful, they would consider his proposal for a


\(^4\)Junius F. Wells in [[Joseph Fielding Smith, comp.], *Proceedings at the Dedication of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument* (Salt Lake City: n.pub., [1906]), 10; (hereafter *Proceedings*).
monument. In May, Wells returned to Vermont and, with Bowers's assistance, identified the birthplace, secured testimonies from local witnesses, and purchased the property.

Returning to Salt Lake City with the title deed, Wells's first objective was to dedicate the monument of Vermont granite to his father. (Daniel H. Wells had died in 1891.) On the afternoon of May 29, 1905, the family gathered in the Salt Lake City Cemetery. Junius Wells offered a tribute; Winder and Land spoke by invitation, and Joseph F. Smith offered the dedicatory prayer. The fifteen-foot monument, built by the R. C. Bowers Granite Company of Montpelier, Vermont, was quickly recognized as "one of the most imposing in the state [Utah]." The monument featured a polished Vermont granite shaft and sphere resting on a square base of Utah granite. The size of the cubical base, height and largest circumference of the column, and circumference of the sphere were "exactly equal in feet and inches" to the height of Daniel H. Wells. In the base, the family placed a copper box containing a copy of the family genealogy, family photographs, and engraved portraits of some of Daniel's friends and associates. This family commemoration provided a chance for the First Presidency to see first hand the quality of Vermont granite and the simple elegance of Wells's design. Most important, it was an opportunity for the leaders to see Junius F. Wells and R. C. Bowers in action, as they had planned, built, shipped, and dedicated the monument in only two months.

During the first week of June 1905, Wells prepared a detailed re-

43 Wells, "Report on Joseph Smith's Birthplace," 1; No headline, Randolph (Vermont) Herald and Times, May 18, 1905, 7. The paper's name was later changed to the White River Valley Herald, under which it is most frequently catalogued. On Wells's effort to verify the birthplace's location, see Erekson, "American Prophet, New England Town," 62-70. Wells purchased sixty acres in 1905 but made three more adjacent purchases in 1906 and 1907. The transfer of an acre in 1906 gave the site its current size of 284 acres. Erekson, "American Prophet, New England Town," 317.
45 "Memorial Services and Dedication of Monument at the Grave of Daniel H. Wells," LDS Church History Library.
port of his recent activities in Vermont. The final product, a twenty-six-page letter with nine attachments, meticulously described his work of tracing land records, surveying property lines, and recording oral testimony that culminated in the purchase of the site of Joseph Smith's birth. Before concluding his report, Wells again mentioned "the proposition to erect a suitable monument at this place to commemorate the one hundredth anniversary of the Prophet's birth." He again included an illustration of his proposal but this time with a sample of dark bluish gray Barre granite—"the finest granite of Vermont." The design was the same that he had proposed in April, and Wells took the liberty of quoting from his original letter to re-propose a thirty-eight-and-one-half-foot polished obelisk—"a foot for each year of the Prophet's life"—resting on a cube-shaped inscription die, two bases, and a concrete foundation.46

On the eastern face of the inscription die, Wells proposed an inscribed tribute giving the dates of the Prophet's birth and martyrdom.47 On the western face would appear a list of the Prophet's accomplishments, penned by Wells and titled "Testimony of Joseph Smith":

In the spring of the year of our Lord, 1820, The Father and The Son appeared to him in a glorious vision, called him by name and instructed him.

Thereafter heavenly angels visited him and revealed the ordinances of the Gospel, restored the authority of the Holy Priesthood, and the organization of the Church of Jesus Christ in its fulness and perfection.

The engraved plates of the Book of Mormon were given him by the angel Moroni. These he translated by the gift and power of God.

He organized the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saint on the sixth day of April, 1830, with six members.

He devoted his life to the establishment of this Church, and sealed his testimony with his blood.

In his ministry he was constantly supported by his brother Hyrum Smith, who suffered martyrdom with him.

Over a million converts to this testimony have been made.

throughout the world; and this monument has been erected in his honor, to commemorate the one hundredth anniversary of his birth, by members of the Church which he organized.

They love and revere him as a Prophet of God, and call his name blessed forever and ever, Amen.\footnote{Ibid., 25.}

The other two (north and south) faces of the inscription die would contain bronze oval-shaped medallions with the individual profiles of Joseph and Hyrum Smith in bas-relief. Running around all four sides, immediately under the molding, would be the text of James 1:5, the scripture that inspired young Joseph to pray for guidance.\footnote{Ibid.}

Unfortunately, Wells left no written description of the design process, though a reading of the monument as record indicates that Wells negotiated a composite of nineteenth-century memories of Joseph Smith from a personal position. The monument’s design is simple and, except for the small molding described by Wells as “plain but ornate,” it is composed almost entirely of straight lines. The flat surfaces and right angles are “highly polished from base to pinnacle.” Though simple, both the content of the inscriptions and the form of the monument reveal significant insights about Wells’s intentions for the monument’s meaning.

Wells’s inscriptions fuse the full range of nineteenth-century Latter-day Saint memories of Joseph Smith. There are references to visions and angels, James 1:5 and the Book of Mormon, the priesthood and the Church’s organization—all manifestations of the memory (and canonized doctrine) of Joseph Smith as prophet. The brief inscription mentions, and the longer one expands, that the prophet was also a martyr who “sealed his testimony with his blood.” Perhaps in fulfillment of Winder’s recent injunction, one sentence in the longer inscription is devoted to Hyrum and, combined with the two medallions, seems to extend John Taylor’s tribute to the martyrs: “In life they were not divided, and in death they were not separated!”—and in commemoration they are not forgotten (LDS D&C 135:3). Joseph Smith’s Vermont birth is mentioned on the shorter inscription, although that memory is obviously more emphasized by the monument’s placement at his birthplace and by its composition of Vermont granite. It is also worth emphasizing that, in Wells’s design, the longer
inscription is not a summary or a biography but a "testimony" of Joseph Smith expressed on behalf of "over a million converts" who "love and revere him as a Prophet of God." At the monument's dedication, Wells emphasized that he saw the monument as commemorating "the faith of our people in Joseph Smith the Prophet." Wells clearly felt that the monument was as much an expression of his times as it was a memory of previous times.

The dominant visual physical feature of the monument is its shape—the highly symbolic obelisk. In turn-of-the-century monument making, obelisks had become passé. Civil War commemorators preferred equestrian generals, standing soldiers, or kneeling slaves. Those currents of human statuary representation certainly must have influenced the decisions to erect statues of Brigham Young in downtown Salt Lake City and of Joseph and Hyrum on Temple Square. Yet for some other reason—perhaps expediency, as he had only six months to complete the project—Wells chose an obelisk. In the American national context, obelisks were linked strongly with the Revolutionary War: the Bunker Hill monument in Boston and the Washington Monument in the nation's capital being the most renowned examples. In the case of the monument to his own father, Wells chose physical proportions with symbolic dimensions. On the day of the Jo-

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50 More than a decade later, Wells produced a miniature of the monument, dedicated to Hyrum Smith and placed in the Salt Lake Cemetery. While the longer inscription on this monument refers to Hyrum's being witness to the Book of Mormon, organizer of the Church, and martyr with his brother, it is designated "Biographical" rather than "testimony." "The Hyrum Smith Monument," Improvement Era 21 (August 1918): 851.

51 Wells, Proceedings, 9–10.


53 In the early Republic, equestrian statues carried monarchical connotations, while the obelisk symbolized equality and common effort. The grave sites of seven of the first sixteen U.S. presidents feature obelisks (Lincoln being the last), and Vermont residents erected a three-hundred-foot obelisk at the site of the Revolutionary War Battle of Bennington in 1891. Pichler, Remembering War the American Way, 71; Brian Lamb, Who's Buried in Grant's Tomb?: A Tour of Presidential Gravesites (Baltimore, Md.: Johns
Joseph Smith monument's dedication, Wells commented that he desired "a perfect shaft" that would be "typical of a perfect man"—an expression of the "Testimony" of the Saints "that Joseph Smith came to be as nearly a perfect man as ever lived."54

In his June 1905 letter to the First Presidency, Wells projected that the monument could be ready by the end of October, before winter closed in. He provided cost estimates for the monument, and its preparation, transportation, and supervision. He also recommended the construction of a small "house of entertainment" and closed his report by imploring: "I earnestly hope that you will authorize this further undertaking. Timely publication concerning it; the energetic presentation of it to public spirited members and organizations of the Church, I feel sure would result in a sufficient subscription of means to carry it out. The few that I have already approached are enthusiastic; and it only remains for you to say 'go ahead' and it will be done."55

Wells submitted his report to the First Presidency on June 10, 1905, and waited while the leading councils deliberated for the rest of the month. While no record of their discussion is available, the monument attests that they made only two changes. They substituted the word "principles" for "ordinances" as the object of the angels' revelations in the longer inscription and decided against the medallions bearing the profiles of Joseph and Hyrum on the sides. While the former change was likely motivated by doctrinal concerns, the latter is


54Wells, Proceedings, 10. Perhaps the choice has reference to a statement the Prophet made about himself in 1843: "I am like a huge, rough stone rolling down from a high mountain; and the only polishing I get is when some corner gets rubbed off by coming in contact with something else... Thus I will become a smooth and polished shaft in the quiver of the Almighty." History of the Church, 5:401; see a similar statement on 423. Both instances are likely paraphrasing Isaiah's prophecy of Jesus: "In the shadow of His hand hath he hid me, and made me a polished shaft; in His quiver hath he hid me" (Isa. 49:2), a passage also quoted in the Book of Mormon (1 Ne. 21:2). Wells described the monument as "the largest polished shaft that we know anything of in America, and perhaps the world." Proceedings, 15. Late twentieth-century tourist signs advertised the monument as "the world's largest polished shaft." However, phallic interpretations of the monument's design are anachronistic.

significant in this study of memory. Though subtle, this change suggests a diminished emphasis on the two martyrs' memory; and while plans were in process to memorialize that dual memory at Carthage, on Temple Square, and later by means of a miniature replica of the Vermont monument dedicated exclusively to Hyrum in Salt Lake City, the martyr memory remains slightly less emphasized at the Vermont site.\textsuperscript{56}

In July, the First Presidency gave Wells a "carte blanche order" to carry out the project.\textsuperscript{57} Wells never made public emphasis of the

\textsuperscript{56} "The Hyrum Smith Monument," 846–64. The dual martyr memory has found its most recent expression in the statue erected in Nauvoo of the two brothers on horseback looking west across the river.

\textsuperscript{57} Wells, Proceedings, 10. On July 6, 1905, Joseph F. Smith wrote a statement giving Wells full power of attorney to carry out the project on his behalf. Wells responded the next day with a signed note of his intentions that named the longest hill on the property "Patriarch" after Hyrum, "Register of Visitors to Joseph Smith's Birthplace," 12, LDS Church Archives. There were no budget restrictions. Wells estimated the cost of the project at $15,000, and final figures roughly confirm this estimate. Several complications impede giving a definitive price tag. Wells was known for his generosity with money. George Albert Smith, a co-worker with Wells in the YMMIA, observed, "There was no difference to Junius F. Wells in a dollar and a thousand dollars. He said to me many times when I tried to restrain him about something that required money to be expended, 'Oh well, money is not good for anything unless you spend it. I cannot make very much, but I do know how to spend it if you will just help me.'" Funeral Services for Junius Free Wells, April 20, 1959, 19–20, LDS Historical Department Library. Additionally, in an attempt to avoid alarm over Mormon presence in Vermont in early 1905, Wells did not distinguish between personal and Church expenses on the project, and he made most of his payments in cash without obtaining documentation. Finally, the financial records of the Church were in only the early stages of systematization at this time. Alexander, Mormonism in Transition, 99–100. In 1910 Salt Lake leaders directed Wells to obtain receipts or vouchers for all of his activity, a task that occupied most of the latter half of the year. Much of Wells's correspondence with the First Presidency, the Presiding Bishopric, and Safe Guard Account Company of Boston (the firm he hired to assist him) is in the Wells Collection. In 1913, Senator Reed Smoot called on fellow Senator William Dillingham of Ver-
fact that he had designed the monument. On dedication day, Joseph F. Smith told the assembled listeners that it was Wells “who conceived the idea of erecting a monument on the birthplace of the Prophet Joseph Smith... presented his plans to the presiding authorities of the Church... [and] was granted the authority and means at his command.” Thirty years later, Joseph Fielding Smith, who in 1905 was assistant Church historian, recalled that the monument to Joseph Smith in Vermont came about “through the earnest pleadings of Elder Junius F. Wells.” In a pattern common in the operation of large organizations generally and the history of the LDS Church in particular, an individual had made a proposal, the proposal was endorsed by the leaders of the organization, and interpretive ownership of the monument passed from Wells to the Church. Yet future interpretations were made in connection with additional public reactions.

Reactions

As Wells translated LDS memories of Joseph Smith into monumental form, news of his efforts became public; and the private discussions among Church leaders were but a quiet prelude to the public reactions that followed. The range of public response to the monument provides evidence that memories, however intangible and mist-like, are highly influential. If the inscriptions and monument design served to codify nineteenth-century mists, the translation into


At the dedication, Wells reported that phase of the project in masking passive verbs: the idea to erect a monument “was revived” and “it was some time before plans could be fully matured and presented and approved.” Proceedings, 10.


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

Memories are not objects bound in time and space, or capable of being lost or found, rather they flow out of human experience, they are shaped and revised, revived and ignored, formed and validated, ever present and ever changing. John R. Gillis, ed., Commemorations, 3–60. They are, in Susa Young Gates’s apt characterization, like “mists” that dramatically influence what people see of the world and how they navigate in it.
a new medium in a new public context raised questions about polygamy and patriotism from religious competitors, anxious Americans, and neighboring Vermonters.  

In late June 1905, an unsigned Associated Press article began circulating throughout the country describing the action of secret agents who had purchased the birthplace of Joseph Smith in Sharon, to the disgrace of the community. As a result, the article euphemistically reported, local residents were "preparing to give the Mormons a warm reception." While an examination of Vermont newspapers indicates that the story was exaggerated, in its time, under the present limitations of travel and communication, it was a story impossible to refute or to verify.  

This development was particularly disturbing to leaders of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (RLDS, now Community of Christ). Based in Lamoni, Iowa, for over half a century, the RLDS Church had contested the claims of the Latter-day Saints in the courts and in the mission field. During early 1905, Richard C. Evans of the RLDS First Presidency and Joseph Fielding

62Flake, *Politics of American Religious Identity*, 138-45, links the monument to the Reed Smoot hearings of 1904-07 and the Church's public efforts to discontinue the practice of polygamy. Taysom, "A Uniform and Common Recollection," proposes a theoretical exploration of public memory. It is important to note, however, that in the early twentieth century polygamy was not memory but practice.

63"Didn't Want Smith Shaft," *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 26, 1905, 1.


Smith, son of LDS President Joseph F. Smith, debated the traditional issues of conflict between the two churches—legitimacy of succession, the origins of polygamy, and doctrinal differences—in a Toronto newspaper.

In June 1905, Frederick M. Smith, son of RLDS Church president Joseph Smith III and a counselor in his father’s First Presidency, traveled to Salt Lake City to tackle the new problem the monument’s announcement had created. Frederick had visited the city a number of times and been cordially hosted by his cousin Joseph Fielding Smith. Their visits had been congenial, and President Joseph F. Smith personally invited Frederick to the 104th anniversary of Hyrum Smith’s birth, celebrated in 1904. But Frederick M. Smith, though he called on his Salt Lake relatives, had more on his mind than a familial visit. He intended to “save the ‘good Mormons,’” “eradicate the effects of polygamy,” and “preserve the honorable name of his grandfather.”

On July 1 the Salt Lake Tribune published Frederick’s “Open Letter to All People.” Acknowledging the Associated Press dispatches,


68Joseph F. Smith, Letter to Edward A. Smith, February 12, 1904, LDS Church Archives. Edward was a relative in Canada to whom Joseph described the party.

69Edwards, The Chief, 73.
Smith reminded readers of the ongoing Senate investigation of Reed Smoot and argued that the Mormons of Utah did not represent Joseph Smith but Brigham Young. The argument essentially restated the issues debated for the past fifty years: succession, polygamy, and charges of civil disobedience. He protested the erection of the monument as “unfair” and a “great discredit to the memory” of his grandfather. Smith accused the LDS leaders of fiscal irresponsibility: “These men have great amounts of money placed in their hands by a sacrificing people, for which there is no account rendered to that people, and this money they freely spent in erecting monuments to fix the eyes of the world upon their infidelity to morals and law.” He closed with a “protest against the further stigmatization of Joseph Smith’s name by the present Mormon authorities through their malfeasance and the erection of mocking monuments.”

Like a stone dropped into a pond, Frederick Smith’s letter rippled outward until it mingled with familial, national, and regional memories of Joseph Smith. The day after his protest appeared, Frederick M. Smith called on Joseph Fielding Smith and a “spirited discussion” ensued, which, continuing for the next several months culminated in the latter’s preparation of *Origin of the Reorganized Church: The Question of Succession.* But Frederick M. had also linked the monument with the Reed Smoot hearings, drawing it out of an LDS or Vermont context and placing it into an American one. For many years, Mormons had been characterized as un-American, but the Senate committee’s investigation of Reed Smoot placed the concern onto the front pages of national newspapers. Smoot had been ordained a member of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles in 1900 and elected, three years later, as Republican Senator from Utah. Religious and women’s groups, led by the Salt Lake Ministerial Association, sent scores of letters protesting the propriety of having a Mormon leader in national public office. Smoot was seated, but the Senate convened investigative hearings in 1904 to decide if he would be allowed to stay. It soon became apparent, however, that the Church—not Smoot—was on trial. President Joseph F. Smith was called to testify in 1904 about polygamy; but since Smoot was not a polygamist, the debate shifted in

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70Frederick M. Smith, “Open Letter to All People,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 1, 1905, 3.
1905 to questions about the influence of Church government (derogatorily characterized as "hierarchy" in the press) and whether oaths sworn in LDS temples contained anti-American sentiments, a charge that particularly rankled Smoot.\(^72\)

Despite Frederick M. Smith's protests, LDS leaders went ahead with the project in the summer of 1905. That fall, unsuccessful in their public plea to stop the monument, RLDS leaders went to Salt Lake City to work politically to discredit their opponents. Speaking in Salt Lake City on September 24, 1905, RLDS President Joseph Smith III delivered "sledge-hammer [sic] blows in the battle for loyalty to the Government, for obedience to the laws of the land and of God." RLDS leaders also joined with Salt Lake non-Mormons to challenge Mormon political power by forming a new political party—the "American Party."\(^73\)

Frederick M. Smith's letter reverberated into New England. The debate was mentioned in *The Nation* and the *New York Times*. The letter was summarized in the *Burlington [Vermont] Free Press* and the summary was reprinted in other Vermont papers. One reporter concluded "that such a prospect could not be hailed with Vermonters generally is quite evident; but that it can be defeated by protests from the Smiths or the citizens is not very likely." The *Burlington Free Press* also printed a project summary drafted by Junius Wells, adding, "This reads finely, nevertheless Joseph Smith was an imposter, and the religion he founded a delusion and a snare." An article in New England's *Interstate Journal* described "Mormonism as a species of deep-sea oc-


topus, with ever-reaching tentacles, seeking whom it may devour."

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

The implications of the debate were especially significant for residents of the White River Valley towns of Sharon, Royalton, and South Royalton who would feel the monument’s presence in their backyard. In July, before beginning construction of the monument, Junius Wells had published an article to assure these residents that there was “nothing in the exaggerated dreams of some newspaper specials to justify the thought of establishing there a holy shrine, or a ‘Mormon’ mecca, to which tens of thousands will make the annual pilgrimage.” In August 1905, a local reporter observed that “there is more agitation outside the locality of the monument than within, it


76Junius F. Wells, “Birthplace of Joseph Smith the Prophet,” *Deseret
would seem. Nobody appears greatly concerned hereabouts.”

During the first week of December, however, resistance surfaced in Royalton Township. Congregationalist Reverend Levi Wild wrote to the editor of the local paper on behalf of those “who regard with deep concern the present Mormon invasion of our community” and introduced a letter prepared by the Woman’s Home Missionary Union of Vermont. This letter presented several reasons why the monument was “an offense to the thoughtful people of Vermont”: Smith was deplorable, the hierarchy sought only power, and the monument would provide a foothold in Vermont for missionary work. They condemned all who had a part in the monument, from those “tempted” to sell their land to the “owners of those granite hills” for “allowing a flake of it to go to perpetuate the infamy of the system which holds plural marriage as the distinguishing tenet of its faith.” The Woman’s Home Missionary Union also attacked Wells personally, charging that he, “by his unassuming and gentlemanly bearing, wins the favor of people at our state capital.” And “by his purchase of the largest and most costly monument ever sent from the Barre granite works he gains the good will of one of the largest business concerns in the state.” Furthermore, “by his employment on a liberal payroll of many of the laborers of Royalton and vicinity he wins the encomiums of local journalists, who see material prosperity accrue to the town of Royalton in various ways from this enterprise.” The women announced that “there are some who look beneath the fair exterior and see only uncleanness within.” And while they recognized they were in the minority in Vermont, they warned that “this imposing monument marks the grave of the virtue of women and the sanctity of monogamy.” In a final reference to biblical prophecy, they declared the monument to be “the abomination of desolation standing where it ought not on the soil of our free and enlightened state. It is an insult

_Evening News_, July 1, 1905, 14–15. Two years later, however, mission president John G. McQuarrie proudly boasted that “thousands are visiting the birth place of Joseph Smith,” _Conference Report_, October 1907, 81–82; the guest register records only 1,082 signatures. “Register of Visitors to Joseph Smith’s Birthplace,” 1906–22, LDS Church Archives. Estimates throughout the century appear in Erickson, “American Prophet, New England Town,” 325. The _Deseret News_ 2004 Church Almanac, 215, gives “about 70,000” as the current annual figure.

77No headline, _Randolph Herald and Times_, August 10, 1905, 2.
to the womanhood of Vermont, of our country, and of the world.”

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

Tarbell’s polished public reply was seconded by the signature of forty-three men and women of Royalton Township, who, the same day signed a petition welcoming visiting Mormon authorities to their town. Additionally, the petition offered the visiting Latter-day Saints free use of “Woodard Hall,” a local assembly hall attached to the South Royalton House hotel. The petitioners included most of the prominent citizens of South Royalton, and three out of four of the elected Royalton township officials. In the December 14 Herald, Mark Sargent, the correspondent who compiled the local South Royalton news, called the monument “a marvel of simple elegance

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78 Levi Wild, Letter to the editor, Randolph Herald and Times, December 4, 1905, and “A Protest from the Woman’s Home Missionary Union of Vermont.” The letter was later published as a pamphlet and kept in print for several years. A post-1944 copy is in the LDS Church History Library.
80 The original petition is in Wells Collection, LDS Church Archives. A transcribed list was published in Proceedings, 6; however it contains sev-
and beauty" and praised "the energetic manner in which it has been carried to completion by the representative of the church." He predicted that "the dedication will largely be attended by people eager to witness the unveiling and curious to see the leaders of the Mormons."  

Whether Wells was in town or not when the protest appeared is difficult to ascertain. Because Wells did not record his daily activities, the local newspaper is the best source for tracking his movements, though it usually describes his weekly activity only briefly. According to the paper, he was in Boston during the ﬁrst and third weeks of December, returning to Vermont briefly in mid-December. He was in town on December 8 when the monument was completed. Present or not when the protest was published, Wells stayed informed of local events with the help of the South Royalton postmaster, Julius Belknap, who would have certainly shown Wells a copy of the protest had he not seen it initially. On December 15 Wells wrote from South Royalton ofﬁcially accepting the offer to use Woodard Hall. Perhaps hoping the outburst was a singular occurrence, Wells returned to Boston to make ﬁnal travel arrangements for the party from Salt Lake. After the protest, local residents seemed resigned to the presence of the monument, but the anxious feelings that ﬂamed up in early December would continue to smolder beyond the monument’s dedication.

THE DEDICATIONS

By late 1905, dozens of individuals from Utah to Vermont had taken a variety of positions for differing reasons on the memory of Joseph Smith in Vermont. These reasons were all "rooted in the conﬂict and interplay among social, political, and cultural interests and values in [their] present" because memory is ultimately "the faculty whereby we perceive connections between past and present, thus enabling us

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to make sense of our surroundings. The official LDS record of the monument project contains no reference to the RLDS protest, national agitation, or to negative local sentiment, though all three factors were evident to varying degrees in both of the monument’s dedications.

The second, formal dedication occurred on December 23, with Joseph F. Smith presiding. Four weeks earlier, after all of the granite pieces had arrived; but before they were assembled, Junius F. Wells hosted a small ceremony to prepare a time capsule that was placed inside the monument. In both settings, those present drew from the common mists of memories, but the contrast between the two occasions indicates the impact of personal and situational influences contingent upon immediate, local, and American contexts.

On Sunday evening, November 26, 1905, several local businessmen and political leaders came, at Wells’s invitation, to the South Royalton House. There had been little disturbance recently from RLDS individuals, and the Woman’s Home Missionary Union of Vermont had not yet published its objections. Emphasizing the memory and testimony of Joseph Smith as a prophet, Wells included Mormon scriptures and a hymnal, copies of *The Life of Joseph Smith* by Lucy Mack Smith and *Life of Joseph Smith the Prophet* by George Q. Cannon, as well as portraits of Church presidents along with a list of current Church officers. In celebration of Smith’s Vermont birth, Wells placed the title deed to the property and testimonies of the local citizens certifying the veracity of the birth site. Yet Wells recognized a new chapter in the connection of Joseph Smith’s memory with Vermont by including a list of names of all who had worked in 1905 to quarry, transport, and erect the monument; a copy of the Acts and Resolves of the State of Vermont for 1904, which contained the names

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The Joseph Smith Memorial Monument, with its inscription draped in a large American flag, awaits unveiling on December 23, 1905. Dedicatory services were held in the Memorial Cottage (left), also constructed for the occasion. Courtesy Royalton Historical Society, Royalton, Vermont.

of all state officials; the Town Reports and a chronicle of the events of 1905 from Sharon and Royalton; and a small publication entitled Glimpses of the White River Valley, by G. A. Chency, which gave a brief history of Sharon and Royalton and described prominent citizens of the two towns. Wells also made a small patriotic gesture by including U.S. coins minted in 1905, along with portraits of George Washington and the current president, Theodore Roosevelt. After this ceremony, the box was sealed in the base of the monument as the polished pieces were set in place. Wells published the list of contents in the Royalton and Sharon town records as well as in the official dedicatory Proceedings.84

When the formal dedication day arrived nearly one month later, the symbolic historical context had become drastically different. Joseph F. Smith and other Church leaders and members from Utah, New York City, and Boston brought with them their awareness of events in the West and in the nation. (Smoot did not attend.) Joseph Smith III sent an RLDS representative, and hundreds of local resi-

84 Proceedings, 27–28; Sharon Miscellaneous & Highway Records 1:53–56, Sharon Town Clerk’s Office.
idents showed up as well. The day’s proceedings included speeches, music, and Joseph F. Smith’s dedicatory prayer. After the monument’s unveiling, the crowd remained for informal conversation and the opportunity to sign the commemorative guest register. A local reporter noted that “a lunch was served free to the ‘Gentiles,’ consisting of salads, cold meats, sandwiches, cakes, coffee, etc., of which all partook by general invitation. The Mormon high churchmen mingled freely with the people.”

Smith’s dedicatory prayer was the most specific celebration of Joseph Smith as a prophet. Recalled by Susa Young Gates as a “simple, beautiful and touching dedicatory prayer,” Smith dedicated the monument “to the memory of . . . Joseph Smith, the great Prophet and Seer of the nineteenth century,” the ground “that it may be sacred and most holy,” and the foundation, “typical of the foundation Thou hast laid, of Apostles and Prophets, with Jesus Christ, Thy son, as the chief corner stone.” He dedicated the base “as typifying the rock of revelation on which Thy Church is built,” and the inscription die with its molded cap “as a sign of the glorious crown that Thy servant Joseph has secured unto himself through his integrity to Thy cause, and of that similar reward which shall grace the head of each of his faithful followers.” Next, he dedicated the thirty-eight and one half foot shaft “as a token of the inspired man of God whom Thou didst make indeed a polished shaft in Thine hand, reflecting the light of heaven, even Thy glorious light, unto the children of men.” Finally, President Smith dedicated the entire monument as “signifying the finished work of human redemption.” He pleaded that the monument might be “preserved from the ravages of time, the disintegrating action of the elements, from upheavals of the earth’s surface, and from the violence of human malice or caprice.”

In his speech, Apostle Charles W. Penrose asserted that the monument stood as a testimony to Smith’s vision of God and Jesus Christ and concluded by quoting the chorus of the martyr hymn “Praise to the Man.” The assembled Mormon crowd sang “Praise to the Man” and “We Thank Thee, O God, for a Prophet.”

Throughout the day, the speakers also went out of their way to emphasize the kindness of Vermonters and the Church’s connection

86 Gates, “Memorial Monument Dedication,” 316; Joseph F. Smith
with the Green Mountain State. In his description of the construction process, Wells thanked every Vermonter who had anything to do with the monument, mentioning most by name and emphasizing: “It has been courtesy and kindness all along.” (Barre’s four top executives, including Bowers, attended the ceremonies.) President of the Twelve Francis M. Lyman thanked his “dear brothers and sisters of Vermont (for we are all of Vermont),” asserting that Wells “could not have done it without you. He could not have made this monument if it had not been for Vermonters, for Vermont stone, roads, railroads and horses.” Apostle Hyrum Mack Smith seconded the sentiment: “This monument is a credit to you and to this state.” On behalf of Vermonters and the citizens of Royalton, State Senator Edgar J. Fish of South Royalton congratulated the Mormons on their accomplishment, adding, “We beg to share with you in feelings of satisfaction and pride at the erection of this beautiful, magnificent and enduring memorial.” He specifically greeted the Mormons “in that broad spirit of toleration and Christian charity and brotherly love which unites men of every country, every sect and every opinion; and which recognizes everywhere, in all men, at all times and in all places the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man.” In his dedicatory prayer, Joseph F. Smith blessed “the people of South Royalton, of Tunbridge and Sharon, and of the surrounding country.”

The local reporter observed: “Their brief addresses were well worded, and they were evidently very desirous of producing a good impression.” It is true that Wells had won the friendship and admiration of Vermonters in Royalton and throughout the state. George Albert Smith recalled: “The people of South Royalton were waiting to make us welcome ... every member of the party was made to feel that we were in the hands of friends.” The local paper noted that “the expenditure of many thousands of dollars in the enterprise, the employment of help and the pecuniary benefits derived have doubtless had their influence in paving the way for the good feeling that exists.”


Over seventy Vermonters signed the guest register. The local newspaper correspondent summarized the range of local reaction: "It may be asked, What is the attitude of the people of Royalton and Sharon toward this monument and the things it implies? The answer is, general complaisance. There are some who resent the intrusion and deplore the coming of Mormonism in even this form, but most of the natives look on with interest, and tolerate, if they do not approve of it." 88

In addition to the Vermonters present for the ceremony, the local paper also noted that "there was one interested observer of the day's proceedings who came without invitation." This was Francis M. Sheehy of Boston, a member of the RLDS Church, who "came with credentials from Joseph Smith of Lamoni." The Herald reporter quickly perceived that "Mr. Sheehy was persona non grata to the other Mormons, and they gave him the cold shoulder at South Royalton." Nevertheless, "he unburdened himself freely to the Herald man" describing the differences between the two Mormon churches, decrying polygamy and "the evil side of Brigham Young's followers." After a lengthy conversation with Sheehy, the local reporter concluded that "his errand at South Royalton was apparently to spy and to create local hostility to the opposing faction." Sheehy signed the guest register, perhaps in symbolic defiance or perhaps because he tacitly approved of the occasion. Whichever the case, his signature marked the end of LDS and RLDS quibbling over the monument in Vermont, though their debates continued at other historical

88"Exercises Held in the Cottage," Randolph Herald and Times, December 28, 1905, 5; George Albert Smith, Conference Report, April 1906, 53; "Birthplace of First Mormon Marked by Splendid Monument," Randolph Herald and Times, December 28, 1905, 3; "Register of Visitors to the Birthplace of Joseph Smith," 1–6. Dedication coverage in the local paper occupied two full pages in the Randolph Herald and Times (§, 5), summarized the story of Joseph Smith and the rise of Mormonism, and commented: "There are both good and bad features of Mormonism," noting "the one blight of Mormonism has been the practice of polygamy." And while Mormonism was "a species of priesthood, bound up in mysticism, with a powerful hold for good or evil over its membership," its members were "peaceable, honest, law-abiding, temperate, faithful, and industrious" (§). See also St. Alban's Messenger, December 26, 1905; "Monument to Joseph Smith," New York Times, December 24, 1905, 10.
sites.\textsuperscript{89} If the Latter-day Saints gave Sheehy and his debates about succession and polygamy a "cold shoulder" at the dedication, there was a warm emphasis on Mormon American patriotism. The dedicatory service opened with the singing of "America." Francis M. Lyman, president of the Quorum of the Twelve, referred in his address to the Vermont-born Mormons of the nineteenth century as "the pilgrim fathers No. 2."\textsuperscript{90} Apostle John Henry Smith emphasized an American message: "I am not here to talk religion; but I am here as an American citizen."\textsuperscript{91} The monument's inscription die was draped with an American flag, and the crowd took photographs with the flag-draped monument. Susa Young Gates recalled that, as the American flag was withdrawn, "a shout at once arose, and men reverently lifted their hats, while women wept with joy and gratitude that such a man had lived, had died, and now had been remembered."\textsuperscript{92} Both President Smith and the "thronging crowd demanded more music" from Emma Lucy Gates. When she favored them with "The Star-Spangled


\textsuperscript{90}Lyman, *Proceedings*, 9, 17.


\textsuperscript{92}Gates, "Memorial Monument Dedication," 317. See also Edith Ann Smith, *Journal*, December 23, 1905, 33, LDS Church Archives. Edith was the daughter of Elias Smith, first cousin of Joseph F. Smith.
Banner,” the crowd joined in the singing. 93

CONCLUSION

Thus, the influential mist-like memories of Joseph Smith were symbolically translated into the Joseph Smith Birthplace Memorial Monument in December 1905. Memories circulating for decades were emphasized by specific individuals in the context of early twentieth-century concerns, and the resultant monument tells us much more about them than it does about Joseph Smith. Individuals found their own meaning in the monument: Wells saw it as an expression of testimony of contemporary Latter-day Saints, Joseph F. Smith dedicated it as a witness of the work of human redemption, Vermont Congregational women saw the death of womanhood, and Frederick M. Smith was insulted but Sheehy signed on. 94 From the perspective of the memories of Joseph Smith, the schoolboy was not forgotten, but the Vermonter was emphasized. An inscription, rather than relief medallions marked the martyr memory. American, regional, and religious concerns produced a celebration by patriotic followers of a prophet born in the figurative birthplace of Yankee America, a sentiment that some years later would help create an image of Joseph Smith as an “American Prophet.” 95

In the weeks following the monument’s dedication, Mormons received positive attention in the local and national press. Despite vigorous opposition, Smoot’s Senate seat was confirmed; and four years later when he was reelected, he observed to Junius F. Wells that the “American people have changed their sentiment materially in regard to the Mormons.” “We are better understood than we ever were before,” he noted, thanking Wells for “the great work you accomplished


94 The act of finding memory in the Joseph Smith monument continues, and the commentary reflects more upon the observer than upon the observed. John Henry Evans, Joseph Smith, frontispiece, saw in the monument a symbol of the Prophet’s legacy, while Fawn M. Brodie found only barreness in both the legacy and the granite, No Man Knows My History, 397–403.

in the erection of the Joseph Smith monument in Vermont." Smoot added, "I thank you, as a member of our Church, for the magnificent work you did." The obelisk in Vermont is tangible evidence of the work—both physical and symbolic—of remembering Joseph Smith in Vermont.

APPENDIX

"The Past" Versus "Memory": Historiographical Consequences

Because personal and collective memories shift over time, some historians are tempted to compare them to what can be documented about the referent past. Setting memory against the past not only misses the most important question—why people remember things the way they do—but it also carries a trail of consequences. First, these historians almost invariably argue that the "myth" or "legend" or "folklore" (whichever word they choose to describe memory) is incongruent with the "true" or "objective" past (usually preceded by a definite article). Next, they conclude that memory is therefore an "oversimplified," "whitewashed," "sanitized," or "untrue" version. Finally, they can end up charging that commemorators are subversive agents trying to supplant authentic truth. For American history examples, see Thomas L. Connelly, The Marble Man: Robert E. Lee and His Image in American Society (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977); Michael C. C. Adams, The Best War Ever: America and World War II (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994). In Mormon history, see Fawn M. Brodie, No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith the Mormon Prophet (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945), her word is "obliterated" (397); Davis Bitton, "The Ritualization of Mormon History," Utah Historical Quarterly 43 (1975): 67–88; Edgar C. Snow Jr., "One Face of the Hero: In Search of the Mythological Joseph Smith," Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought 27 (Fall 1994): 233–47.

Historians who emphasize the differences between "the past" and "memory," may conclude that they "have a duty to criticize and correct inaccurate, inadequate, or oversimplified versions of the past." Bitton, "The Ritualization of Mormon History," 84. In so doing, they frequently separate the world into people who believe in memory and people who believe in the truth: heritage versus history, popular versus professional, profane versus sacred, thereby drawing the lines for cultural wars. David Lowenthal, "The Timeless Past: Some Anglo-American Historical Preconceptions," Journal of American History 75 (March 1989): 1263–80; Edward T. Linenthal and Tom

96 Boston American, December 24, 1905; Reed Smoot, Letter to Junius F. Wells, January 26, 1909, Wells Collection.
RECONSTRUCTING THE Y-CHROMOSOME OF JOSEPH SMITH: GENEALOGICAL APPLICATIONS

Ugo A. Perego, Natalie M. Myres, and Scott R. Woodward

INTRODUCTION

During the last half of the nineteenth century, when the contest of authority between the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (now Community of Christ) was most intense, a key point in the RLDS attack on the LDS insistence that Joseph Smith Jr. originated polygamy was the absence of fully documented children produced by his unions with about thirty plural wives.\(^1\)

The controversy faded away in the 1980s as RLDS historians, leaders, and members generally accepted the overwhelming documentary support that plural marriage originated in Nauvoo with Jo-

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\(^1\)For simplicity’s sake, we refer to him as Joseph Smith. The Jr./Sr. designations to differentiate between him and his father appear only in Figure 2.

Joseph Smith. Yet even though this historical question has lost its controversial content, it has remained unanswered: Where are the children, if any, of Joseph Smith by his plural wives? One plural wife, Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner, stated that she knew "he had three children. They told me. I think two are living today but they are not known as his children as they go by other names."

This ambiguity means that a group of families have harbored traditions, taken with various degrees of seriousness, that such-and-such an ancestor from the Nauvoo period whose mother is known to have been a plural wife of Joseph Smith may have been Joseph’s child as well. These children may have included Oliver Buell (son of Prescindia Huntington Buell, wife of Norman Buell), John Reed Hancock (son of Clarissa Reed Hancock, wife of Levi Hancock), Moroni Llewellyn Pratt (son of Parley P. Pratt’s wife, Mary Ann Frost Pratt), Orson Washington and Frank Henry Hyde (two sons of Orson Hyde’s wife, Nancy Marinda Johnson Hyde), Josephine Rosetta Lyon (daughter of Sylvia Sessions Lyon, wife of Winsor Lyon), an alleged child born to Fanny Alger during the Kirtland period, Zebulon William Jacobs (son of Zina Diantha Huntington Jacobs, wife of Henry

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4 Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness*, 12. See his summary (12–13) of possible reasons for the fewness of Joseph’s children and his conclusion: “It is clear that some of his plural wives did have children by him, if we can rely on the statements of George A. Smith, Josephine [Lyon] Fisher, and Elizabeth Lightner.”

5 Josephine made an affidavit on February 24, 1915, affirming that Sylvia, on her deathbed in 1882, “told me that I was the daughter of the Prophet Joseph Smith.” Ibid. 183, 681. Although this claim offers the strongest documentation, it cannot be tested by the Y-chromosome methods described in this paper because it is a father-daughter descent, rather than a father-son descent.

6 Brodie, *No Man Knows My History*, 345.
Jacobs), and an alleged son of Hannah Dubois Smith Dibble.

Researchers interested in the question have had to rely on probabilities: Was a child born to a plural wife after her sealing to Joseph Smith and within eight or nine months of his death in June 1844? Were there known opportunities for cohabitation? Do later family accounts provide any support for such a hypothesis? Even shakier evidence is the possibility of physical resemblances. Fawn Brodie, for instance, published Oliver Buell’s portrait with those of Joseph’s four surviving sons by Emma and states that his “physiognomy . . . seems to weigh the balance overwhelmingly on the side of Joseph’s paternity.”

This article reports a form of DNA testing, which was used to answer the question of whether a given man who has living descendants through an unbroken father-son line was or was not a son of the Prophet Joseph Smith. Based on the availability of living descendants, three separate genetic investigations into the paternity of these men have been completed.

**Genetic Testing and Pedigree Completion**

In recent years, the use of computer-based genealogical resources has dramatically increased our ability to access historical records. Also available are large computerized databases containing pedigree-linked information, which combine the research findings of many individuals into a format quickly and easily retrieved over the internet. With these advances, it has become increasingly evident that, although a greater amount of information is available, it can often be ambiguous. Often difficulties associated with immigration, adoption, illegitimacy, and poor research result in records that are incomplete and inconsistent. In addition, some records have been lost, destroyed, or simply never kept. Genealogical research based on these sources may lead to the hypothesis of a family relationship yet provide insufficient or conflicting evidence to confidently establish the link.

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8. Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness*, 631. This may not be a comprehensive list of those who may have believed in possible descent from Joseph Smith.

9. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History*, 301, portrait facing 299. Unfortunately, since depictions of Joseph Smith are limited to a couple of profiles, portraits, and his death mask, this argument is not particularly strong.
In situations where there is inadequate documentation to resolve a genealogical question, genetic testing may either support or disprove the existence of specific family relationships. The Sorenson Molecular Genealogy Foundation (SMGF), a nonprofit organization located in Salt Lake City, is currently building the world’s largest and most comprehensive database of correlated genetic and genealogical information. Researchers at SMGF are expanding the use of DNA testing and are developing new applications with the goal of assisting genealogists with their research. Occasionally, requests are received to work on side projects that could be used to teach about and to promote the usefulness of genetic testing to complement traditional genealogical research.

One of these studies involved the reconstruction of the Y-chromosome to assist in locating the exact birthplace of Joseph Smith’s paternal third-great-grandfather, a Robert Smith of Buxford, Massachusetts, who emigrated from Lincolnshire, England in the earlier part of the seventeenth century. Although the research for Joseph Smith’s ancestor is still underway, the genetic information generated from this study can also be used to answer specific questions about Joseph Smith’s posterity.

DNA markers from specific regions of the Y-chromosome are particularly useful in the reconstruction of paternal genealogies because the Y-chromosome is found exclusively in males and follows a strict inheritance pattern from father to son, similar to the family surname in most western cultures. Unlike the other twenty-two pairs of chromosomes, it does not include genetic material from the mother. A set of small segments (known as markers or loci) on the Y-chromosome can produce a very specific DNA profile (called a haplotype) that can uniquely identify a paternal lineage. The analysis of each of these markers yields a measurable count, or allele value, for that specific marker. For example, at location DYS391 on the Y-chromosome, one male may have an allele value of 10 while another may have an allele value of 11 at the same location. The entire set of these values constitutes the Y-chromosome haplotype for an individual and a

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10Mark A. Jobling, “In the Name of the Father: Surnames and Genetics,” Trends in Genetics 17, no. 6 (June 2001): 353–57.
11DYS is an acronym for “DNA Y-chromosome Segment. The number that follows DYS indicates a particular marker, or locus (plural loci) found along the Y-chromosome.
Figure 1. Pedigree chart representing the relationship of the two individuals who volunteered a DNA sample for the reconstruction of Joseph Smith’s Y-chromosome haplotype. Joseph Smith Jr. is the most recent common ancestor (MRCA) on the paternal line for males S1 and S2 through Alexander Hale Smith and Joseph Smith III.

unique genetic combination that characterizes his paternal ancestry. To increase the accuracy of Y-chromosome testing with the case studies presented in this paper, we tested each individual at twenty-four loci. Testing fewer markers would reduce the level of confidence in the results.

We reconstructed the Y-chromosome profile for Joseph Smith by obtaining genetic samples from living male descendants of two of Joseph’s sons, Alexander Hale Smith and Joseph Smith III. Because males receive their Y-chromosome DNA from their father essentially unchanged, it would be expected that male descendants from a common paternal ancestor would share the exact same values at all of their Y-chromosome loci. (See S1 and S2 in Figure 1.) The Y-chromosomes from the living descendants were identical, thus allowing us to infer with a high degree of confidence Joseph Smith’s probable Y-chromosome haplotype. (See Table 1.)

To confirm that the inferred haplotype uniquely identifies Jo-

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12Names of living sample donors are withheld because of confidentiality agreements.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locus</th>
<th>SI Descendant of Joseph Smith through his son Joseph III</th>
<th>S2 Descendant of Joseph Smith through his son Alexander III</th>
<th>Joseph Smith Inferred Y-ch. Haplotype (MRCA)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1DYS19</td>
<td>14</td>
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<td>24Y-GATA-H4</td>
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</table>

Note: We defined Joseph Smith's haplotype by DNA obtained from two living male descendants of two of Joseph's sons, Alexander Hale Smith and Joseph Smith III. All twenty-four loci of their Y-chromosome haplotypes were identical.
Joseph Smith's lineage and does not resemble it merely by chance, we randomly selected fifty-six men surnamed Smith from the Sorenson Molecular Genealogy Foundation database and cross-typed their Y-chromosome haplotypes. Forty-nine of the fifty-six had two or more mismatched loci when compared to the Joseph Smith inferred haplotype. Standard genetic statistical studies have determined that individuals who match twenty-two out of twenty-four loci likely share a most recent common paternal ancestor approximately twenty-one generations in the past.\textsuperscript{13}

We investigated further and found that the remaining seven individuals from the Sorenson database, who had either one or no mismatches to the Joseph Smith haplotype, shared a common paternal line with Joseph Smith through his grandfather, Asael Smith. (See A1–A7 in Figure 2.) This result also allowed us to infer the Y-chromosome haplotype for Asael Smith.

\textsuperscript{13}Bruce Walsh, "Estimating the Time to Most Recent Common Ancestor for the Y Chromosome or Mitochondrial DNA for a Pair of Individuals," \textit{Genetics} 158 (June 2001): 897–912. This figure has a 95 percent confidence interval of 4.8–56.2 generations. For more information about confidence intervals, please refer to a textbook on statistics.
Although the Y-chromosome is transmitted directly from father to son, possible mutations at each of the marker loci could change the allele value at one or more loci. Rates of mutation under ordinary circumstances are well established, with an estimated average mutation rate of 0.28 percent for Y-STR loci per generation.\(^{14}\) This rate indicates that a specific marker inherited along the paternal line may change at any given generation, but the probability of this occurrence is small. When these mutations do occur, they can be used to estimate how many generations separate two individuals sharing a common paternal ancestor. When taking into account the mutation rate, closely related individuals on the paternal line may possess haplotypes differing by one of twenty-four loci. Individuals having two or more differences in their haplotypes are likely to share more distant common ancestry. Given the number of generations that have passed since Joseph Smith’s lifetime, it is likely that individuals with haplotypes differing by more than two loci from the Joseph Smith haplotype do not descend directly from his paternal line.\(^{15}\)

While there are currently more than 2,000 surname studies using Y-chromosome testing to link family lines descending from a potential common paternal ancestor,\(^ {16}\) one of the first instances where this test was used to support the existence of a familial relationships was the highly publicized 1998 Jefferson-Hemings case.\(^ {17}\) That study, which uses analysis strategies similar to this study, demonstrated the usefulness of Y-chromosome testing in establishing a possible biological connection between two separate lineages. By testing the Y-chro-

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\(^{15}\)As Val D. Rust, Radical Origins: Early Mormon Converts and Their Colonial Ancestors (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004), points out, many early Mormon converts shared common ancestors and therefore were biologically related to each other. However, Y-chromosome testing identifies unique ancestors on the direct paternal line.


mosome of male descendants from both families, researchers were able to confirm a long-standing family rumor indicating that President Thomas Jefferson's slave, Sally Hemings, bore a child whose father was a member of the Jefferson family.

Beginning in 2003, we had the opportunity to apply this type of genetic testing to a case study of three purported sons of Joseph Smith by plural wives: Moroni Llewellyn Pratt, Zebulon William Jacobs, and Orrison Smith.

The Case Study Candidates

**Moroni L. Pratt**

Moroni L. Pratt was born on December 7, 1844. His mother, Mary Ann Frost, was civilly married to Parley P. Pratt on May 14, 1837, and sealed posthumously to Joseph Smith on February 6, 1846. Although there is no record that Mary Ann was sealed to Joseph Smith during his lifetime, family historian Robert Steven Pratt "suspects a marriage to Joseph Smith while he lived," perhaps because Parley stood as proxy for Joseph Smith during her posthumous sealing to him and because she left Parley and did not go west with his other wives. Brodie also identifies Moroni as a possible child of Joseph Smith.

To determine Moroni Pratt's biological father, we conducted genetic analysis on the Y-chromosomes of direct patrilineal descendants of Moroni L. Pratt, Parley P. Pratt, and Joseph Smith.

**Zebulon William Jacobs**

Similarly, Zebulon William Jacobs, born to Zina Diantha Huntington Jacobs Smith on January 2, 1842, is recorded as a possible...
child of Joseph Smith.\textsuperscript{21} On March 7, 1841, Zina was civilly married to Henry Bailey Jacobs. Nine months later, on October 27, 1841, when she was already pregnant with Zebulon, she was sealed to Joseph Smith.\textsuperscript{22} While there is sufficient evidence to document Zina's two marriages, the paternity of her first son remains unresolved.\textsuperscript{23} To establish Zebulon's true paternity, we generated Y-chromosome profiles from DNA samples obtained from descendants of Zebulon W. Jacobs and from Zina's second child, Henry Chariton Jacobs, who was born March 22, 1846.

\textit{Orrison Smith}

Todd Compton argues that Fanny Alger was Joseph Smith's first plural wife.\textsuperscript{24} The relationship began in Kirtland, Ohio, in 1833; in 1836 she moved with her family to Wayne County, Indiana. When the Alger family continued on to Missouri, she stayed behind, married Solomon Custer, and, according to Solomon's obituary, had nine children.

A Y-chromosome profile was also generated for a Smith lineage suspected to originate from Joseph Smith because of his association with Fanny Alger. Even though Compton reports that Fanny was probably pregnant when she left Kirtland in 1836,\textsuperscript{25} there is insufficient historical evidence to show that she had a child by Joseph Smith, or that she already had a child when she married Custer. During this research work, we came in contact with an individual who believed that his ancestor, Orrison Smith, could have been a son of Joseph Smith and Fanny Alger, according to family tradition.\textsuperscript{26}

\textbf{COMPARING THE HAPLOTYPES}

We obtained a biological sample from volunteers representing

\textsuperscript{21}Van Wagoner, \textit{Mormon Polygamy}, 48-49.
\textsuperscript{22}Martha Sommarg Bradley and Mary Brown Farnage Woodward, \textit{Four Zinas: A Story of Mothers and Daughters on the Mormon Frontier} (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2000), 112, 114.
\textsuperscript{23}Compton, \textit{In Sacred Loneliness}, 72, 81.
\textsuperscript{24}Ibid., chap. 1.
\textsuperscript{25}According to Compton, there were rumors of a pregnancy but no reports that Fanny actually had a child at this time. Ibid., 35–36. See also Brodie, \textit{No Man Knows My History}, 345.
\textsuperscript{26}Personal communication with the individual tested and with some of his close associates.
## Table 2

**Parley P. Pratt's Inferred Y-Chromosome Haplotype**

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<tr>
<th>Locus</th>
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<td>P3</td>
<td>P4</td>
<td>Inferred Ych Haplotype</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Descendant of Parley P. Pratt through son Moroni</td>
<td>Descendant of Parley P. Pratt through son Moroni</td>
<td>Descendant of Parley P. Pratt through son Helaman</td>
<td>Descendant of Parley P. Pratt through son Lehi</td>
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*Note: We defined Parley P. Pratt's haplotype by DNA obtained from four living direct-line male descendants of Moroni Pratt (P1, P2), Helaman Pratt (P3), and Lehi Pratt (P4). Note that the different mothers do not affect the Y-chromosome transmission. All four haplotypes are identical at all twenty-four loci.*
TABLE 3
HAPLOTYPE COMPARISON BETWEEN
JOSEPH SMITH AND MORONI PRATT

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<th>Ych</th>
<th>Moroni Pratt Ych</th>
<th>Joseph Smith</th>
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Note: The two haplotypes differ at six loci, showing that the Moroni Pratt is not closely related to Joseph Smith.

each family in the study using a mouthwash rinse to collect cells from inside the cheeks. Using standard laboratory procedures, DNA was separated from the remaining cellular material.\textsuperscript{27} Genetic profiles (haplotypes) were then generated for twenty-four markers located

\textsuperscript{27}David J. Walsh et al., “Isolation of Deoxyribonucleic Acid (DNA) from Saliva and Forensic Science Samples Containing Saliva,” \textit{Journal of Fo-
Figure 3. Pedigree chart representing individuals sharing Parley P. Pratt as their most recent common ancestor (MRCA) on their paternal line. Individuals labeled P1 and P2 have Moroni L. Pratt as their MRCA and were tested to reconstruct the Moroni Pratt Y-chromosome haplotype. Individuals labeled P3 and P4 who have Parley P. Pratt as their MRCA were also tested to reconstruct Parley P. Pratt's Y-chromosome haplotype.

along the Y-chromosome\textsuperscript{28} using ABI 3700 automated genetic analyzers and processed using ABI Genotyper and GeneScan software (Applied Biosystems, Fullerton, California).

Moroni L. Pratt

To establish Moroni L. Pratt's genetic ancestry, we constructed Y-chromosome haplotypes for male individuals descending from him (see P1 and P2 in Figure 3 and Table 2). We compared these two Pratt haplotypes, which were identical to each other, with the Joseph Smith haplotype at twenty-four loci and found mismatches at six loci. (See Table 3.)

Because the calculated time to the most recent common ancestor with a mismatch of six out of twenty-four loci is approximately 100

generations,\(^{29}\) Joseph Smith is excluded as Moroni Pratt's biological father. Furthermore, we collected additional DNA samples from Parley's descendants through two other sons and generated an inferred Y-haplotype for Parley P. Pratt similar to the procedure performed for Moroni Pratt. (See P3 and P4 in Figure 3 and Table 2.) The inferred Y-chromosome haplotype of Parley P. and Moroni L. Pratt were identical at all twenty-four loci, which is consistent with Parley's being Moroni's biological father.

To determine the likelihood associated with two individuals sharing the Pratt twenty-four-locus haplotype, we typed 1,180 individuals, mostly of European descent, at twenty-one of the twenty-four loci used to construct inferred Y-haplotypes.\(^{30}\) Of the 1180 Y-haplotypes, 1,155 were unique,\(^{31}\) including the inferred Pratt type. Since the inferred Pratt type was unique, the maximum likelihood estimate\(^{32}\) shows that the probability of two random individuals sharing the inferred Pratt 21-locus haplotype is approximately \(\frac{\ln(\frac{1155}{1180})}{1159}\) or 1 out of 55,057.

Since Moroni L. and Parley P. Pratt share identical twenty-four-locus haplotypes, it seems indisputable, in practical terms, that Parley was indeed the biological father of Moroni Pratt.

_Zebulon W. Jacobs_

Similarly, we collected and analyzed DNA samples from male descendants of both Zebulon W. Jacobs and his brother Henry C. Jacobs. Henry C. Jacobs was born in 1846, thus excluding Joseph Smith, who was killed in June of 1844, as his possible father. Further-

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29 Walsh, "Estimating the Time to Most Recent Common Ancestor."

30 We used database samples compiled in advance of this study, which did not include the Y-chromosome markers designated as DYS447, DYS445, and YCAII.

31 The presence of twenty-five individuals with Y-chromosome haplotypes matching others in the observed subset could be explained by the existence of an undocumented common paternal lineage. There is also a remote possibility of having two unrelated lineages sharing the same set of Y-chromosome markers by chance.

more, the identity of Henry C.'s father, Henry Bailey Jacobs, has never been challenged.

We compared the Y-chromosomes of these two individuals at twenty-four loci. All twenty-four were identical, confirming that both children were fathered by the same individual, most likely Henry B. Jacobs. (See Table 4.) These two haplotypes differed at nine loci from Joseph Smith's Y-chromosome, too great a number of variations to consider a paternal relationship.

Orrison Smith

When we compared the Y-chromosome obtained from a male descendant of Orrison Smith to the Joseph Smith haplotype, we found nine differences between the two. (See Table 5.) Thus, this finding provides strong supportive—but not conclusive—evidence that Orrison Smith was not Joseph Smith's son.

However, since only one descendant of Orrison Smith contributed a DNA sample, we could not infer Orrison's Y-chromosome haplotype. It requires at least two direct male descendants to reconstruct the Y-chromosome haplotype of their most recent common paternal ancestor. A non-paternal event, such as adoption or illegitimacy, in the four generations that separate Orrison Smith from the individual tested could be responsible for the different Y-chromosome haplotype. For this reason, Orrison's Y-chromosome cannot be confidently inferred. To exclude the possibility of a non-paternity event, further DNA sampling from descendants sharing a documented genealogy with Orrison Smith's paternal line is needed.

As displayed in Table 5, the highly significant differences existing among the haplotypes of the three case studies (Moroni Pratt, Zebulon Jacobs, and Orrison Smith), when compared to the Joseph Smith inferred haplotype, identify each one as representing a separate and distinct paternal lineage. Collectively, this study provides each family with additional reliable information for evaluating suspected genealogical relationships.

**CONCLUSION**

This study demonstrates the usefulness of combining traditional genealogical resources with genetic data to illuminate questions of Joseph Smith's possible paternity of children born by plural wives. While some sources report Joseph Smith as the biological father of Moroni Pratt and Zebulon Jacobs through polygamous relationships, genetic testing on the Y-chromosome showed that it is unlikely that Jo-
### Table 4

**Haplotype Comparison for Joseph Smith and Descendants of Zebulon and Henry C. Jacobs**

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<tbody>
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**Note:** The inferred Y-chromosome haplotypes for brothers Zebulon W. and Henry C. Jacobs are identical at all twenty-four loci but different at nine loci from Joseph Smith's inferred haplotype.
Joseph Smith fathered either of them. In addition, the Y-chromosome haplotype for the descendant of Orrison Smith, regarded by some as a possible child of Joseph Smith and Fanny Alger, was significantly different from Joseph Smith's Y-chromosome haplotype and could be confidently excluded as being part of the same lineage.

Genealogical research using the Y-chromosome has recently become popular among family historians for establishing links to common paternal ancestors for individuals sharing the same or similar surnames. This study demonstrates the value of such an approach.

However, Y-chromosome testing alone does not always provide a conclusive answer for determining a particular paternal relationship. One major limitation of this approach is that a long time span can exist between descendants and a most recent common paternal ancestor. Males who share a common paternal ancestor up to ten generations in the past are expected to have identical or very similar Y-chromosome haplotypes at twenty-four loci. Therefore, determining a particular paternity event is difficult without historical documentation that supports a specific ancestor or time associated with the event.

In this study, we can definitely state that Moroni Pratt’s father was Parley P. Pratt because the genealogical information harmonized with the genetic results. Similarly, we can confidently exclude Joseph Smith as Zebulon Jacobs’s father and identify Henry Bailey Jacobs as his and his brother’s likely father on the basis of

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33 Jobling, "In the Name of the Father."
34 Walsh, "Estimating the Time to Most Recent Common Ancestor."
35 Y-chromosome testing is not to be confused with genetic paternity testing. The use of Y-chromosome testing to prove or disprove the paternity of a child who lived several generations in the past becomes more meaningful when surrounding historical events are also taken into consideration. Paternity testing does not require such documentation and is much more specific than Y-chromosome testing. However, paternity testing can be used only in cases where actual DNA samples for both the alleged parent and the child are available.

36 The Pratt case is the strongest of the three presented in this paper. In addition to being able to reconstruct and compare Moroni Pratt’s Y-chromosome haplotype, we were also able to test additional Pratt lines and reconstruct Parley P. Pratt’s Y-chromosome haplotype.
combined genetic and genealogical evidence. We could not identify Orrison Smith's exact paternity, even though the Y-chromosome haplotype of the descendant tested was clearly not from Joseph Smith's paternal line.

Another limitation in using Y-chromosome testing for genealogical purposes is that its application is restricted to males and their paternal lines. This limitation was not an issue with the three cases presented in this study since they dealt with father-son descent. However, to explore more complex genealogical situations involving ancestors from lines other than the paternal one, it will be necessary to examine additional chromosomes of the human genome.

37 With this second case, we could determine only that both Zebulon and Henry C. Jacobs were fathered by the same man. There is no reason to doubt that their father was Henry B. Jacobs. However, we cannot completely exclude from this picture the fact that Zina Huntington, Henry B. Jacobs's wife, was eventually married as well to Brigham Young. While we can confidently exclude Joseph Smith as Zebulon's father, testing a separate Jacobs line (i.e., a male descendant from one of Henry B. Jacobs's brothers, cousins, or uncles) or testing a known descendant of Brigham Young, would eliminate any doubt about Zebulon's true parentage.

38 Females can use the Y-chromosome genetic testing for their own family history research by asking a male relative who shares their paternal lineage to submit a DNA sample in their stead.

39 We are currently working on the Josephine Lyon Fisher case, where Y-chromosome testing is of no help since she did not inherit it from her father (either Windsor Lyon or Joseph Smith). This case is much more complex than those presented in this paper. Hundreds of DNA samples from male and female descendants of both Josephine Lyon and Joseph Smith have been collected and are being analyzed with the objective of identifying lineage-specific markers found on the remaining twenty-two chromosomes.

Popular Mormon Millennialism in Nineteenth-Century Britain

Malcolm R. Thorp

Since Norman Cohn's 1957 The Pursuit of the Millennium, millennialism has consistently captured the historical imagination. Following the lead of Cohn and others and borrowing models from sociologists of religion like Brian Wilson, historians have attempted to explain how millennial thought has operated in various groups of believers, from efforts at social control to the "chiliasm of despair," or efforts to escape from the realities of everyday life in England's "dark, satanic mills." In recent decades, much attention has been given to many curious movements, such as the French prophets, the Millerites, the Southcottians, and the

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Courtney revolt, for example. In addition, historians such as J. F. C. Harrison have attempted to place Mormon millennial expectations within the framework of nineteenth-century popular culture. More recently, Grant Underwood has explored Mormon millennial thought in America and Britain, focusing attention on the teachings of the LDS hierarchy.

In spite of much insightful analysis, what still appears to be missing in many studies of millennial imagery in Britain is an analysis of how rank-and-file Latter-day Saints actually reacted to such ideologies. Indeed, what was the extent of millennial fervor among the LDS converts in the British Isles during the nineteenth century and how was millennial imagery used by the converts? Moreover, it is appropriate to ask: Did millennial fervor parallel the distinct phases of millennial hopes in the LDS Church in America? These are some of the questions that demand further attention. This essay explores per-


7For early Mormon millennialism, especially in 1838, see Marvin S. Hill, Quest for Refuge (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989), xx–xxi, 80–81.
sonal documents produced by LDS converts to provide insight into these questions.\(^8\)

Given the extensive collections of LDS diaries, journals, and reminiscences, it is remarkable that historians of millennialism have paid little attention to these sources. Based on my readings, I conclude that, while British Saints showed some millennial expectations, it was not a major theme in their writings. Literary and journalistic sources, such as the *Millennial Star*, suggest that American missionaries fervently preached millennialism but failed to arouse the same level of interest among most British converts. Indeed, one surprising aspect of "popular" millenarianism was how few of these converts actually envisioned conditions in the world growing worse and worse and, as a result, expected the Lord's return in the near future.

J. F. C. Harrison, the perceptive historian of millenarian movements in England, has commented: "Millennialism and millenarianism were ways of looking at the world, rather than specific doctrines."\(^9\) Thus the millenialist would attempt to make sense of the world through this ideological "filter": "Living in such a time of acute social change was for many people uncomfortable, bewildering, traumatic. Familiar social landmarks disappeared, assumptions about sta-


\(^8\) Personal documents such as diaries, journals, poetry, hymns, correspondence, and newspaper articles of the nineteenth-century British Latter-day Saint (Mormon) converts form the basis for this study. Many, but not all sources, were catalogued in Davis Bitton, *Guide to Mormon Diaries and Autobiographies* (Prowo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1977).

bility and normality were no longer unquestioned, the sources of authority to which men looked for guidance were not convincing as they once had been. A new ideology to take account of the disruption or weakening of the old social order and to sanction new aspirations was needed. Millenarianism was that ideology.\textsuperscript{10}

Harrison uses "adventist millenarian" to describe the largely self-educated believers who contended that they were living in the last days before Christ's return, and that the signs of the times pointed unmistakably in that direction.\textsuperscript{11} Thus, various events, foreign and domestic, could find ready providential explanation. Typical of this approach is the constant reference to wars and rumors of wars, terrible storms, earthquakes, and ominous manifestations in the heavens as signs of the impending millennium. In addition, political and social happenings were interpreted as portents of future calamities. While American missionaries readily saw the world in such terms, British converts tended to explain their contemporary situation in more secular terms. For example, James Bunting in 1857 notes that many of his fellow Saints live in the depths of poverty and "scarcely know where or how to obtain bread for the day" while also observing, "The Bastille[s], work or poor houses are full, and a very many of the prisons also."\textsuperscript{12} Clearly Bunting did not see poverty and social distress as necessarily connected to prophecies about the last days.

II

On September 11, 1839, Joseph Smith wrote to Isaac Galland concerning affairs in Commerce (soon to be "Nauvoo"), Illinois, commenting on the commencement of the mission of the Quorum of the Twelve to the British Isles and the earlier missionary successes in Britain, beginning with the opening of missionary work in 1837. To the Mormon prophet, these events had a clear millenarian significance:

\textsuperscript{10}Harrison, Second Coming, 219.

\textsuperscript{11}Ibid., 5. For a study that also connects early nineteenth-century popular millennialism to social disturbance, see W. H. Oliver, Prophets and Millenialists: The Uses of Biblical Prophecy in England from the 1790s to the 1840s (Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press, 1978), 16.

\textsuperscript{12}James Bunting, Diaries, 1857-1920, December 8 and 12, 1858, L. Tom Perry Special Collections and Manuscripts, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter Perry Special Collections).
"According to intelligence received since you left, the work of the Lord rolls on in a very pleasing manner, both in this and in the old country. In England many hundreds have of late been added to our numbers; but so, even so, it must be, for ‘Ephraim he hath mixed himself among the people.’ And the Savior He hath said, ‘My sheep hear my voice;’ and also, ‘He that heareth you, heareth me;’ and, ‘Behold I will bring them again from the north country, and gather them from the coasts of the earth.’ And as John heard the voice saying, ‘Come out of her my people,’ even so must all be fulfilled; that the people of the Lord may live when ‘Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen.’"

Thus, from the early beginnings of the British mission, a major American theme was gathering Israel to the safety of Zion so that the faithful might avoid the premillennial calamities that would soon befall Babylon. Although Church leaders sent to Britain during the next two decades might have varied somewhat in the frequency in which they delivered this message, it was a theme that rang from the pulpit with force and vigor. From the beginning this can be seen in Orson Hyde’s influential 1837 pamphlet, *A Timely Warning to the People of England.* However, the most vigorous millennialist was undoubtedly Apostle Wilford Woodruff, who went, not once but twice, on missions to England in the 1840s. In his diary, Woodruff wrote approvingly: “One sister [in Manchester] said she saw by vision or Revelation Jesus pleading with the Father to spare England one year more that the reapers might gather the grain for the harvest was fully ripe.”

The Church’s official periodical, the *Millennial Star,* was founded in 1840 and under Parley P. Pratt’s editorship (1840-43) had regular news of “the signs of the times.” The *Millennial Star* brought a “special message to all the nations of the earth . . . to prepare all who

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14Orson Hyde, *A Timely Warning to the People of England: Of Every Sect and Denomination, and to Every Individual into Whose Hands It May Fall, by an Elder of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Late from America* (Preston, Eng., August 19, 1837, May 4, 1839); also reprinted in Manchester by W. R. Thomas, *Spring Gardens,* (1839).

will hearken for the Second Advent of the Messiah, which is now near at hand." After Pratt, subsequent editors also vigorously encouraged the British converts to gather with ominous reminders: "The Saints of all nations, have been commanded of God to gather out from among the wicked... judgements, great and terrible, have been decreed... because of [sic] great wickedness. That the Saints may escape the plagues of great Babylon... they are commanded by the voice of the Lord to depart out, and gather unto the land of refuge." However, while there were early reports of strange happenings in the heavens and terrible storms and distress on earth over the entire 1840-65 period, it is significant how few articles were specifically devoted to the millennium.¹⁸

Not surprisingly, as has been observed in other contexts, Mormon missionaries "filtered" contemporary events from the millenarian perspective. For example, in April 1845, Woodruff attended a protest in Manchester over the Maynooth Grant.¹⁹ "The speakers considered Parliament was betraying the country & striking a death blow at


¹⁸Only seven "Millennium," nine "Last Days," and sixty-eight "Sign of the Times" references appear in the Index to the Millennial Star, vols. 1-15 (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Library, 1960). Almost all of these references were authored by leaders, not by rank-and-file members. Nor did the majority of these indexed items suggest that the millennium is imminent.

¹⁹Maynooth, St. Patrick's College, was established in 1795 as the principal Roman Catholic seminary in Ireland. Pitt the Younger had hoped to appease Catholic sentiment and, at the same time, to avoid the need for
the three hundred years of reformation [sic]. They seemed to be alarmed at the signs of the times... And for one I could see they were big with events that the time had commenced for the beginning of those tremendous events which have been prophesied of by the Ancient Prophets concerning those things which must come to pass in the last days among the Gentile Nations. Later that year on October 22, Woodruff ordered the printing of 20,000 copies of Proclamation of the Twelve Apostles, which was, he said, “A warning to the whole gentile world that they may be left without excuse in the day of God’s judgment upon the nations.” Moreover, other American leaders wrote about the Revolutions of 1848 in Europe, the Crimean War, and the potato famine in Ireland, not only as signs of the times, but also as indications that the millennium was looming immediately. Andrew Ferguson, a Scottish convert who later served two missions in Scotland, wrote in 1854, “We must looke for nothing but a continued warfare until the end,” and Orson Pratt even prophesied in 1857 that the Saints would soon be going back to Jackson County, Missouri. While it is difficult from historical sources to calculate the impact such messages had on rank-and-file members in Britain, at least some evidence is available from the numerous diaries, journals, and reminiscences available in various archives. We can certainly observe


21Proclamation of the Twelve Apostles was originally published in New York in 1845. Woodruff was instructed to publish it in Britain. A copy of Proclamation of the Twelve Apostles (Liverpool, 1845), is available in the vault, Perry Special Collections. The Proclamation declares the Second Coming to be “near at hand.” Following the Advent, “the whole order of things in Europe and Asia, in regard to political and religious organization and government” will be changed, including the toppling of monarchies (pp. 2, 7). See also Woodruff, Journal, 1:607–8.

22Andrew Ferguson, Diaries and Autobiography, 1852–1880, January 23, 1853, and June 3, 1854, Perry Special Collections; Ezra T. Benson, Diary, April–November 1857, October 11, 1857, microfilm, Archives, Family and Church History Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter LDS Church Archives).
whether the same level of intensity for millennial expectations existed in the minds of members compared to leaders and, indeed, whether it was a common practice to "filter" events in the world from the perspective of millennial expectations.

Mormon converts, like many (if not most) believers in British society, would have been receptive to the idea of the millennium. But to what extent did they become Adventist millenarians who, like their leaders, believed in the imminence of the pre-millennial holocaust and thus saw contemporary happenings from the "filter" of millenarian prophesies? Here the evidence becomes somewhat controversial.

Grant Underwood argues that both leaders and rank-and-file members shared a solid commitment to the Mormon millennial perspective. Did ordinary members, in fact, see events as clearly as their leaders saw them? Underwood's discussion of "The Millenarian Appeal of Mormonism in England" begins with the assumption that early Mormons were essentially gleaned from Adventist sects. It is true that many of Mormonism's earliest British converts, especially in 1837, came from the congregation of Reverend James Fielding, who was affiliated with the Adventist church headed by his brother-in-law, the Reverend Timothy Matthews of Bedford. Some early Mormons were also drawn from the millennial movement of the Reverend Rob-

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25 Such ideas can be seen in John Lyon, *The Harp of Zion: A Collection of Poems* (Liverpool: S. W. Richards, 1853). For example, an extract from "Address Delivered to the Saints at Burslem, Staffordshire, 1850," reads:

O! what a glorious prospect of release,
When Christ shall reign a thousand years in peace,
To live in Zion, where no hostile hand
Shall rob, or rob, or murder; at command!
When Saints shall turn their spears to pruning hooks,
And burn their old sectarian sermon books,
Where groaning thieves, and praying rogues, no more
Shall do in credit, what the damned abhor. (64-65)

25 Ibid.
26 Although from a Methodist background, Fielding was encouraged by Matthews to launch a Primitive Episcopal assembly in Preston. For a revisionist account of the accepted LDS myth surrounding Fielding's church, see my "Early Mormon Confrontations with Sectarianism, 1837-40," in *Mormons in Early Victorian Britain*, edited by Richard L. Jensen and
ert Aitken, although Aitken's views differed appreciably from those taught by Mormon missionaries. For example, one of the most prominent early Aitkinite converts, Alfred Cordon, became the British LDS leader in Staffordshire and adopted millenarian views, but apparently through his own reading rather than from Aitken's influence. Cordon recorded that he "began to see plainly the 2nd Coming of our Lord from Heaven to Earth to sit upon the Throne of David his Father[.] I saw this was of the greatest importance and [I] began to teach it to the members of my class." In addition, the remarkable conversion of the United Brethren in Herefordshire in the spring of 1840, although theologically prompted by primitivist impulses, was not notably influenced by Woodruff's millenialist perspective.

While millenialism was a doctrine that attracted at least some early converts to Mormonism, apparently millenial dogmas were not foremost in most converts' minds. In an earlier study, based on 298 literary sources, only six converts mentioned being specifically attracted by LDS views on the millennium, although another ten also said that they had been influenced by the millennial pamphlet, A Voice of Warning. Following the initial Mormon success among Methodist splinter groups, Mormon converts were drawn largely


29The United Brethren, former Primitive Methodists, considered faith, repentance, works, and the literal atonement of Christ fundamental to their salvation; an imminent millennium was seen as a less crucial doctrine. Millenarians understood their salvation to be a "corporate" affair, and not an "individual" or "private" happening as Methodists believed. See Julia Stewart Werner, The Primitive Methodist Connexion: Its Background and Early History (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984), 31.

from the mainline denominations, all of which preached the doctrine of the millennium in a vaguely futuristic way but did not promote an imminent millennial holocaust.\textsuperscript{31} For example, John Wesley preached “fleeing the wrath to come,” but neither the mainline Wesleyan movement that he founded nor its more popular Primitive Methodist counterpart was distinctively millenarian. This also applies to the Church of England, Baptists, Independents, and the other major denominations from which Mormon converts were drawn. Thus, for many Mormon converts, doctrines of the rapid approach of the Second Coming, to be preceded by building Zion in America, were distinctive and new doctrines, as were many other theological tenets taught by American missionaries related to the latter days.

Perhaps the newness of these ideas helps explain why few converts attempted to use millennial teachings as a framework from which to critique society. Indeed, it is perhaps remarkable that few personal accounts written by converts criticized modern industrial society and the social changes they were experiencing. In contrast, social criticism is a distinctive theme among the writings of LDS leaders from America, who tended to project denunciations of “dark, satanic mills” as signs of the time that the advent must be near.\textsuperscript{32} On the contrary, there seems to have been a general acceptance of social and economic realities among the converts, coupled with a hopeful expectation of improving their condition. Thus, there were more examples of involvement with trade unions, as well as Chartist activities, than of millennial criticisms of society.

One convert, Joseph Eckersley, was somewhat unusual in envisioning political issues from a millennial perspective:

> There is agitation in the Country [he wrote on January 28, 1848], and in England, Ireland and Scotland. The Magistrates use, what we call, swearing great numbers of Special Constables in ready to be called on at any time, for the protection of the Peace. There is much oppression and tyranny in the land, and the burdens of the people are so heavy [that] can scarcely be borne. There has been a National petition got up and will be presented to Parliament praying that

\textsuperscript{31}Thorp, “The Religious Backgrounds of Mormon Converts in Britain,” 58–64.

the Peoples Charter may become the law of the land which would, if
granted give the People a voice in the Choice of their representatives
to Parliament. But I fear lest much blood be shed. Men’s hearts are
failing them for fear for the things which are coming on the earth[.]
My prayer is that God will bless and gather his saints from this wicked
place.\textsuperscript{35}

Later that year Eckersley also remarked about the deterioration of his
immediate situation: “I was very poor at this [time], and without work
and waiting for sbute [shute] for the other Loom. I was ground down
with the iron hand of the gentile yoke of tyranny and appression, pray-
ing and seeking a deliverance, in a better land even the western worlds
of America. A Land which the Lord has pointed out by his own finger
as a Zion for the gathering together of his people Israel in the last
days.”\textsuperscript{34}

Beyond Eckersley’s laments, there are few references in LDS
sources to the factory system in millennial terms. For example, Wil-
liam Y. Empey, a local Church leader, capably describes the appalling
events of 1853 in Preston and notes that there were “about 30 thou-
sand through [thrown] out of work in a Little a place as Preston and
are Left to beg for their bread. . . . The Masters has joined to gether
under a covenant to turn all their hands out of imploy to compelli
the people to work at their own price [,] They now are Commencing riot-
ing and Breaking Down houses, Smashing in the windows, so that
they are oblige[dl] to call for the Military to quell them.”\textsuperscript{35} Almost
three weeks later Empey vividly records that thousands of men and
women were forced to beg for scraps of bread and “women with little
children in their arms all most starved to Death while others [are] roll-
ing in their pomp and splender,” and demonstrates his deeper feel-
ings when he laments, “Oh; awful horrible to behold the Sufferings of
the people on this continent hearing every day of murders committed

\textsuperscript{35}Joseph Eckersley, “A Record of the Dealings of God with me, Joseph
Eckersley,” January 28, 1848, typescript of microfilmed manuscript, LDS
Church Archives. The “Peoples Charter” is the third and final attempt by
the Chartists to revive their dying movement in 1848. The threat of a mass
Chartist demonstration and procession to Parliament was avoided by the
government’s proposed military response.

\textsuperscript{34}Ibid., June 8, 1848.

\textsuperscript{35}William Young Empey, Diary, 1852–1854, November 8, 1853, Perry
Special Collections.
to prison and Robberies and some committing Suicide on account of starvation and the hardship that they have got to go through.  

Although we might have expected that working-class Mormons would have commented on their situation in life through the filter of millennial expectations, in fact there is a general silence within the literary sources on this topic that is perhaps in itself instructive. While such sources occasionally yield commentaries concerning the factory system as a system of “white slavery” or record specific grievances concerning “oppression” within the workplace, even these moderate lamentations were not widely held views. Perhaps Thomas Durham best expressed sentiments about conditions in England in his song, “Hard Times”:

Let us pause in life’s pleasures  
And count its many tears  
While we sip sorrow with the poor.  
’Tis a song that will linger forever in our ears.  
Oh, hard times come again no more.\(^{37}\)

This song contains no millennial reflection, just a simple lament over the conditions of life for common people. Indeed, Mormon converts tended to be socially conservative and not deeply introspective about their common lot in life.

Other sources of millennial expectations among the converts, however, are prophetic priesthood blessings and inspired prophetic utterances, both undoubtedly inspired by Church leaders from America. On December 31, 1846, Joseph Eckersley recorded that he had heard Parley P. Pratt teach (presumably in England) about the imminence of the second coming: “It was out he was a prophet so he would prophesy. There were [many] alive on the earth in eighteen hundred and thirty that would live to see Jesus Christ coming in the clouds of heaven and His saints with power and glory and that earth Quakes and famine, and pestilence and wars, and blood and the [w]ord, and fire of devouring flame. The powers of heaven shaken and signs in

\(^{36}\)Ibid., November 26, 1853.  
\(^{37}\)Thomas Durham, Autobiography and Diary, 1854–71, 17, Perry Special Collections.
the heavens with distress of nations.\textsuperscript{38} It was not uncommon at the
time in various priesthood blessings to forecast that individual Saints
would live to see the Savior’s return.\textsuperscript{39} Job Smith, an influential
Church leader in East Anglia, received a patriarchal blessing on January
25, 1845, which stated: “The number of thy years shall be according
to the desire of thy heart—even one hundred and twenty, like the
days of Moses.” It also prophesied that he would remain on earth during
the thousand-year millennium as a king and priest.\textsuperscript{40}

Additionally, social reminiscences by the Saints often used a
characteristic metaphor: the concept of “Babylon.” In the rhetoric
of the missionaries from America, Britain was a modern version of
“Babylon of old.”\textsuperscript{41} Joseph Fielding put this concept in biblical con-
text when he wrote about visiting the Liverpool Docks in 1840: “Took
a Walk to the Docks, the Day fine, & we surveyed the Works of Men in
the Shipping Building, etc. with admiration, but at the same time,
thought of the Fall of Babylon as spoken of in the 18 of Revelations.
We thought how soon shall the Crying and wailing begin of the build-
ers of Ships & the Merchants thereof; yea the Cry of her who hath
made all Nations drink of the Wine of her fornication shall soon be
heard by all Nations weeping & howling, because of the Woes that
shall come upon her.”\textsuperscript{42}

From the contexts in which “Babylon” was used, it represented a
place of spiritual corruption, decay, sin (drunkenness, prostitution,
and violence were some of the common references), and political op-
pression. Job Smith, visiting the colleges at Cambridge, reflected: “I

\textsuperscript{38}Eckersley recorded Pratt’s statement a second time in “A Record of
the Dealings of God with me, Joseph Eckersley,” January 10, 1847, LDS
Church Archives.

\textsuperscript{39}Francis Kerby, Journal 1849–1873, March 2, 1857, microfilm of ho-
lograph, LDS Church Archives.

\textsuperscript{40}Job Smith, Diary and Autobiography, 1849–77, 10–11, Perry Spe-
cial Collections.

\textsuperscript{41}For a still-popular example also see Cyrus H. Wheelock’s text of “Ye
Elders of Israel,” Hymns of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt
Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1985), no. 319. The
chorus reads, “O Babylon, O Babylon, we bid thee farewell; / We’re going to
the mountains of Ephraim to dwell.”

\textsuperscript{42}Joseph Fielding, Diary, February 14, 1840, typescript made June
1963, Perry Special Collections.
noticed the splendour and magnificence of Babylon which ere long must perish.” More bluntly, J. Melling wrote in 1850, “Zion we have long hoped for it. . . . We want to come out of Babylon and be rid of her wickedness of her plagues and of her blood and to live by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.” Another convert, Edwin Stratford, was certain that what he believed to be ministers’ corruption of the word of God was responsible for the outbreak of modern plagues: “Oh Babylon! Oh Babylon! how hast thou perverted the Gospel surely the cup of your iniquity is nearly full and your overthrow will speedily take place the work of the Lord is onward the Gospel is rolling with power among the nations the Devil begins to be enraged the Destroyer has commenced his work of death[,] Cholera has its victims among the people accidents deaths and other signs indicate that a time of trouble is near.” Conversely, those who involved themselves in various “institutions of men,” such as sick clubs, trade unions, or working men’s lodges, were chastised as putting their priorities in the wrong place: the “Saints [are] to gather out of Babylon & to make no delay lest they be overtaken by the furious vengeance of an offended God.” Enjoying “Babylon” and her social relationships was viewed as a very wicked thing.

But not all converts quickly adopted this pejorative metaphor. Although some Saints spoke of Britain as “Babylon,” William Kelsey maintained a nationalistic pride in the British nation and the glories of its Empire: “May the Lord still pour upon the British nation prosperity and peace as long as she affords an asylum to the persecuted and oppressed of all nations and affords that protection to the Saints

43Job Smith, Diary and Autobiography, 12.
44J. Melling, Letter to Edward Martin, May 12, 1850, Edward Martin, Correspondence, 1840–60, LDS Church Archives.
45Edwin Stratford, Diary, March 1851–October 1854, 40–41, Perry Special Collections.
of the most high God in the future as she has done in the past.\textsuperscript{48} To him, cruelty and tyranny were occurring in the Second Empire in France—not in Britain, "where we see the good feelings and prosperity surrounding her."\textsuperscript{49}

In general, however, references to "Babylon" were most frequently used in connection with its implied opposite, Zion, as missionaries and members alike made strenuous efforts to advance migration to the United States. In such cases, it often had no millenarian connections and instead connoted an aspiration to leave Britain for a new life in America. Indeed, emigration to America was not simply a millenarian aspiration. The land was thought to be cheap and plentiful, the soil productive, and the crops bounteous beyond all expectations. The thought of such possible increase, along with the ideas of liberty and freedom, suggested a much improved social status, a sharp contrast to the British class system where such opportunities were restricted. Even so, care is required when attempting to understand and interpret both popular thinking and the language of the past. People saw themselves as "a rejected people, a despised flock, or independent beings dispossessed of their birthright," and not necessarily within all-inclusive labels such as class or even asmillenarians.\textsuperscript{50}

The idea of "gathering" to escape persecution was also significant. Opposition to Mormonism in Britain grew throughout the mid-nineteenth century along with the conviction that the persecution would become increasingly severe: Unless the British LDS members "fled from 'Babylon' to safety in Zion, they would be forced out by their persecutors."\textsuperscript{51} Persecution could be simple harassment or inflict actual physical harm. Edwin Cox in South Wales noted:

At the close of the meeting we adjourned to one of the principal Streets of the town to preach (I will here say that Sam [my brother] and myself had both a new suit of Clothes on the Occasion of my join-

\textsuperscript{48} William Henry Kelsey, Diary, 1858–1895, January 1, 1858, Perry Special Collections.

\textsuperscript{49} Ibid., May 1, 1858.


ing the Church,) we arranged ourselves underneath a high wall, and commenced singing the hymn Oh Babylon ect when a pailful of something, which certainly was much stronger than water dropt on the top of my head, ran all over my new Clothes & turned my blue sattin necktie a pale yellow. [T]his was quickly followed by a pailful of Pea shells and Potato peelings, the crowd in front of us scraped the dust together by double handfuls and threw it all over us, keeping up an incessant yelling and hooting all the while. 52

As Cox later reflected, it was the heavy hand of oppression in the British Isles that prompted a yearning for the New World, and not necessarily his millennial expectations. He captured these sentiments in a heartfelt song, whose jog-trot rhythm is at variance with its mournful words. Here is one verse:

Whilst here in grief with slight relief
We’re doomed alas to stay
We all can feel oppressions ill
That binds us day by day
Our joys are few and pleasures too
Our sorrows quite a load
Oh what a treat when we shall meet
In utah’s blest abode. 53

Yet another example of physical persecution is vividly described at the close of an LDS meeting in Birkenhead, near Liverpool. Milo Andrus had preached to a large gathering, in place of Orson Pratt, when “the rabble threw a dead dog through the window.” Andrus thinks the dog was aimed at his head, but fortunately, “it went down on the floor and only hit me on the foot the stench was awfull.” 54 While few of the Saints were subjected to such assaults, ridicule and derision were not uncommon. For example, Harriet Globe Bird noted in her autobiographical sketch: “Persecution began to rage. I was [regarded

52Edwin C. Cox, Record Book of Edwin Charles Cox, June–July 1857, 73, typescript copy, Perry Special Collections.
53Edwin Charles Cox, “Emigration Song,” January 8, 1869, Perry Special Collections. My appreciation to Sarah Ercanbrack, who brought “Emigration Song” to my attention.
as] a very wicked woman and ought not to live. Even my dear sister
and her husband acted a little strange toward me and that broke my
heart.”

Thomas Atkin, who was only a child at the time of his parents’
conversion, later recalled that his parents were derided and ostra-
cized by former friends and extended family as a result of joining the
“Mormonites.” These experiences, however, only increased their zeal
for the gospel and sparked “the spirit of gathering” in his family.
Fears of persecution, actual and imagined, as well as the social stigma
for joining a despised sect, also propelled the British converts toward
America and the “gathering.”

To Underwood, “the gathering” was a distinct way in which the
Mormons were able to advance the coming kingdom. While the
theme of “gathering” was important, it was not always connected to
building the Kingdom of God in America. The broader range of
first-person recollections indeed reveals that expecting the Lord’s im-
miment return and building his kingdom by immigrating to America
is too simplistic an explanation. Typically in discussions about
“gathering to Zion,” the secular was as prominent as the sacred.

55Harriet Globe Bird, Autobiography, 2–3, Margrett Steed Hess Col-
lection, Perry Special Collections.

56Thomas Atkin, Jr., Autobiography, n.d., typescript, 3, Perry Special
Collections.

57Underwood, The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism, 29. See also
Grant Underwood, “Mormons and the Millennial World View,” in Mormon
135–42.

58P. A. M. Taylor, “Why Did British Mormons Emigrate?” Utah Histori-
tical Quarterly 22 (July 1954): 253, established the “mixed” motives for emi-
migration from the British Isles: “The motives of those who emigrated in the
nineteenth century will probably, to a considerable extent, remain unknow-
able. Not only were there several strands, personal and family, economic,
political, religious, in each of which there was an element of attraction to a
new country and repulsion from an old, but the pattern of such strands may
have been different for every individual or head of a family in the entire
movement.” In his larger work, Expectations Westward: The Mormons and the
Emigration of Their British Converts in the Nineteenth Century (Edinburgh,
Scotland: Oliver & Boyd, 1965), 144–45, he identifies the millennial thrust
of LDS teachings, desires for free land and low taxes, the appeal of democ-
Lorenzo Barnes indicates that distress during the “Hungry Forties” was a primary incentive for emigration: “As it regards the situation of this country it is beautiful to look upon, but the condition of its inhabitants is dreadful—thousands of the poor are clamoring & starving for bread[.] Employment is very scarce—wages low and provisions high, & in some places a law that they shall not beg[.] England then in short I think is the most distressed country on the globe[.] However, the Saints seem to keep up good courage and are making every exertion in their power to go to America[.] They seem over anxious and I presume thousands will go next fall and winter.”

Edwin Smout was a prosperous tailor in the Midlands when he joined the Church. He expressed no desire to leave England until a year later when, as his trade was “failing,” it became necessary to close his business and emigrate.

Nor can the Mormon Reformation of 1856–57, which had such marked effects of heightened zeal in Utah, be considered a powerful motive toward emigration. John Redington recorded that many ordinary British converts manifested indifference: “They have been dropped ... some of them we have rebaptized ... but most of them have been cut off the Church.”

During 1857, William Bayliss preached repeatedly about the Reformation and urged local officers to be “examples to the flocks.” Later he commented that “the officers are very dull and sleepy on the matter,” while “the tithing seems to upset many of the old Saints some of the officers refuse to comply with it altogether.”

In addition to the economic incentives offered by the United States, ordinary British Saints obviously responded to images of a sovereignty, and the separation of church and state in America—although he did not comment on its general lack in Utah in the nineteenth century (9, 153–54).

59 Lorenzo Barnes, Letter to Elijah Malin and Edward Hunter, June 8, 1842, Yorkshire, England, microfilm of holograph, LDS Church Archives.


62 William Bayliss, Reminiscences and Diaries, 1853–1861, quotations from April 22, May 12, and May 24, 1857, LDS Church Archives.
ciety where liberty and justice prevailed, inexpensive land, and less prevalent class distinctions. In his groundbreaking pioneer study on Mormon emigration, Hamlin Cannon discussed both economic and social motives that encouraged British migration: “For the poor there was land for the asking. By tilling the soil frugally and carefully, one could become solvent. The more affluent brethren would find a golden opportunity to invest their moneys. By establishing factories and foundries, one would assure himself of good profits, and not only would reap a rich return on his investment but would derive the added satisfaction of knowing that he had been the means of furnishing a livelihood for worthy and distressed Saints.”

Matching this model was, for example, William Gibson, a former miner, who declared that his reasons for emigrating from Scotland were a desire to possess his own property, to escape deprivation, and to obtain his freedom from all mortals, thereby having “no master but our God.”

Agricultural and industrial conditions in Utah, however, were an especial shock to former urban dwellers like most of the British converts, and the hope of “a good time coming” was never realized for many of them. As word filtered back to Britain concerning the hard realities of life in Utah, Franklin D. Richards, former British Mission president, argued that a destitute convert in the Salt Lake Val-

\[M. \text{ Hamlin Cannon, “Migration of English Mormons to America,” }\]
\[\text{Historical Review 52 (October 1946–July 1947): 445. For the vast majority of less affluent rank-and-file British membership, investing their money was not a realistic priority. Many Welsh Saints, for example, were disappointed to discover they would have to pay for their own emigration. Thomas Smith records that a Sister May Grayhame went from Carlisle to Liverpool, preparing to emigrate, but he first found her drunk. Then, on the day she was to leave, she gave the elders the slip. Smith returned her possessions to her parents. Thomas Smith, Diaries, 1845–51, microfilm of holograph, LDS Church Archives.}\]

\[\text{64 Quoted in Frederick Stewart Buchanan, ed., “Good Time Coming”: Mormon Letters to Scotland (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1988), 12.}\]

\[\text{65 William Yeates, Journals 1848–1891, September 20, 1855, microfilm of holograph, LDS Church Archives, read a letter from George Dunford, then in Utah, expressing dissatisfaction as the immigrants could get only bread and potatoes to eat, and “a Man was thought nothing of unless he had, two or three wives.”}\]
ley was still "better off this afternoon in this place, in rags, and beg-
gging your bread, than in England, Scotland, or Wales, earning one
hundred pounds per annum. You would there be dwelling among the
cloudy mists of Babylon, where you dare not say your souls were your
own."  

Mormon emigration was a current in the wider secular stream
of exodus from Britain, a movement that expanded after 1850 to
300,000 emigrants per year. Total LDS figures for the entire nine-
teenth century are estimated at 55,000. Surely, Mormon emigrants
seldom had motivations for leaving their homeland that were com-
pletely unique, nor does it seem that millennial expectations was the
dominant force.

III

Although some British Saints recorded millennial expectations
in connection with Joseph Smith’s death in 1844 and the subsequent
exodus from Nauvoo, popular Mormon millennialism in Britain
did not fit the general pattern of that seen in America. Further, while
Church leaders from America often spoke on millennial themes dur-
ing the Reformation of 1857, contemporary reflections by Mormon
converts in Britain seldom echoed them. William Yeates was an ex-
ception, recording on November 2, 1857, that banks were failing in
New York, that political unrest was rising in the United States, and
that the British Raj had captured New Delhi from local rebels. He
then mused: “Some Great things going on in the Earth at the Present
Time Men’s Hearts are failing them[.] In fear Looking for the things

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66Franklin D. Richards, October 6, 1853, Journal of Discourses, 26 vols.
(London and Liverpool: LDS Booksellers Depot, 1854–86), 1:918. Richards
vividly confirmed to John Taylor in 1855 the economic connection to emi-
gration when he wrote, “in reference to the emigration of the Saints to the
States, that the horrors of war, the prevalence of hunger, producing bread
riots, and the general depression of all trade all serve to render it as impos-
sible to stop emigration as it would be to dam up the Hudson [River] with
bulrushes.” Quoted in Richard L. Jensen, “The British Gathering to Zion,”
in Truth Will Prevail, 177–78.

67Taylor, Expectations Westward, 144–45.

68Smith, Diary, December 31, 1846. Reflecting on the Saints being
driven from Nauvoo, he prayed: “Oh Lord hasten the time when Zion shall
be free and thy Saints rest in peace.”
that are coming to Pass[,] While the Saints are rejoicing and Building up the Kingdom of God on the Earth."\textsuperscript{69}

Most instructive of all, however, is the failure of British Saints to see the Civil War in America as a millennial harbinger, unquestionably an expectation of Saints in Utah. On October 30, 1859, writing on the signs of the times, W. H. Perkes recorded that Edward Tullidge, a British convert serving a mission in England, and one of his companions, identified the rising of slaves in Virginia as at least partial fulfillment of a revelation given to Joseph Smith.\textsuperscript{70} On the following day, Perkes commented that the suppression of the Harper’s Ferry revolt was the prelude to something much greater to come: "As every great event has its type, this is but the type of the greater event and Calamity which is about to come upon the American Continent."\textsuperscript{71} The Civil War attracted considerable attention among common people in Britain, who generally viewed it as a battle between democratic and elite forces, but Mormon diarists showed little interest in it and seldom commented on its possible millennial implications.\textsuperscript{72}

Douglas Davies, a British scholar of Mormonism, has noted: "It is characteristic of emergent religious groups that the leaders articulate their solution to the unformulated confusion of their followers by rearranging and re-emphasizing beliefs and practices already familiar to the potential disciples."\textsuperscript{73} While the leaders of the emerging religious groups obviously channel and direct religious energies in a prescribed direction, the rank-and-file converts also influence doctrinal selection by emphasizing some and ignoring others, for personal reasons and also as conditioned by their religious backgrounds and cul-

\textsuperscript{69}Yeates, Journal, November 2, 1857.

\textsuperscript{70}William Henry Perkes, Collection, October 30, 1859, microfilm of holograph, LDS Church Archives. This uprising was abolitionist John Brown’s attack on the federal arsenal at Harper’s Ferry, Virginia (now West Virginia) on October 16, 1859, designed to incite a mass uprising among the slaves. John Brown was executed on December 2, 1859.

\textsuperscript{71}Ibid., October 31, 1859.

\textsuperscript{72}See, for example, Richard D. Poll, "The British Mission during the Utah War, 1857–58," in Mormons in Early Victorian Britain, 224–42.

tural conditions. LDS converts in Britain were generally familiar with and committed to biblical images of millennialism. Contrary to the contentions of such historians as E. P. Thompson, most common people in early nineteenth-century Britain existed within a basically conservative social milieu and aspired to achieve respectability and social advancement either in Babylon or Zion.

Armand Mauss astutely observes that contemporary Mormonism is much more "churchly" in its American western heartland than in areas where it is less dominant. The farther from Church headquarters, the more filtered and adapted the message. Yet most historians have not recognized that this observation is also applicable to historical settings. It is certainly relevant to the nineteenth-century British Isles. We might expect nineteenth-century LDS leaders from America to be fervent about millennial expectations. Indeed, they faithfully brought with them to Great Britain the messages prominent in Nauvoo and Salt Lake City. However, British convert reaction was considerably less enthusiastic and more selective in response to the American message. The common image of Mormon converts gathered from the millennial sects and zealous to build the Kingdom in preparation for the devastation to come does not entirely fit. In fact, the documented decline of millennial expectations in late nineteenth-century Utah may well have had something to do with the impact of British Saints in the American West. But that topic lies outside the scope of this article.

Nineteenth-century LDS converts in Britain displayed neither revolutionary fervor (either secular or religious) nor were they driven by disappointment into the "chiliasm of despair." In short, they seem to have been most excited about the prospects of a new religion based on the concept of a restoration and the promise of a reinforcing identity. Moreover, if we follow Harrison's and Oliver's contention that millenarianism was a way of looking at the world rather than specific

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76Ibid., 25–26; Gordon Shepherd and Gary Shepherd, A Kingdom Transformed: Themes in the Development of Mormonism (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1984).
doctrines, then there were many fewer converts to this all-encompassing worldview than one might expect from an uncritical reading of the statements of the LDS hierarchy, especially missionaries like Wilford Woodruff. This is not to say that there were not at least some adventist millennialists among the converts, but they were apparently the exception, not the norm.
King Follett:
The Man Behind the Discourse

Joann Follett Mortensen

God himself was once as we are now, and is an exalted man, and sits enthroned in yonder heavens! That is the great secret. If the veil were rent today, and the great God who holds this world in its orbit, and who upholds all worlds and all things by his power, was to make himself visible,—I say, if you were to see him today, you would see him like a man in form—like yourselves in all the person, image, and very form as a man; for Adam was created in the very fashion, image and likeness of God, and received instruction from, and walked, talked and conversed with him, as one man talks and communies with another. —Joseph Smith, "The King Follett Discourse"¹

The two most frequently asked questions when King Follett’s name comes up are: “Why was he called King?” and “Why did the Prophet Joseph Smith choose his funeral to deliver such a monumental doctrinal sermon or discourse?” Sometimes, a third question enters the discussion: “What is known about King besides the fact that he died while working on a well in Nauvoo?”

The first query is easily answered. “King” was his given name. A

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definitive answer to the second would be found only in the mind of the Prophet, but presumably it was a combination of the memorial service for "a great friend," as one source referred to King, and the revelation of a particular doctrine given at the right time to the growing church. The King Follett discourse contains what many have called Joseph Smith's greatest sermon. The speech lasted for more than two hours, discussing the character of God and the origin and destiny of human beings. From this sermon originated the context, unique in Mormon teachings, that, as Lorenzo Snow recapitulated it in an easy-to-remember epigram: "As man is now, God once was; as God is now, man may be."

The third question, which focuses on King's life before his death in Nauvoo in March 1844, has been more difficult to answer. As far as I have been able to discover, neither King, nor his wife, Louisa Tanner Follett, nor any of their adult children kept journals or left life stories. The sole exception is a brief journal by Louisa covering a short period

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2 Arnet L. Hale, Letter to Beesly, ca. 1897, Arnet L. Hale Papers, MS 17081, microfilm of holograph, Archives of the Family and Church History Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter LDS Church Archives). Hale was a young man who played in the Nauvoo band at the funerals of King Follett and Joseph Smith.

3 Joseph Smith, et al., History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, edited by B.H. Roberts, 7 vols., 2d ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1976 printing), 4:226–32. While Joseph Smith's history does not record that he routinely gave funeral sermons, a parallel is the sermon he preached for Seymour Brunson on August 15, 1840, during which he announced the new doctrine of baptism for the dead.


5 Clyde J. Williams, The Teachings of Lorenzo Snow: Fifth President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1984), 1.
following King's death. However, it contains no information about King's early years. While King Follett would have died virtually unknown in Church annals if his name had not been attached to the discourse, his life represents a host of little-known individuals whose devotion and sacrifice are a hallmark of early Mormonism.

King's ancestral line can be documented through census and vital records to an immigrant ancestor, Robert Follett, who was living in Salem, Massachusetts, as early as 1655. Three generations of John Folletts follow between this Robert and King. King was born July 26, 1788, in Winchester, Cheshire County, New Hampshire, to a Revolutionary War captain, John Follett and Mrs. Hannah Oak(e) Alexander. Since King’s father had two previous marriages and his mother one, he grew up as one of at least twenty children in the combined families, with five full brothers, eight Alexander half siblings, and six Follett half siblings. There was a marriage connection between the King family and the Folletts, who were neighbors at the time of King’s birth.

I have found no records about King between his birth and age twenty-three, when he purchased land in 1811 in DeKalb, St. Law-


7Photocopies of typed and holograph birth records for King and other Follett children, Winchester, New Hampshire, Town Hall, in my possession. Some early Mormon records that show a Vermont birthplace for King Follett are in error.

8Mrs. Charles Carpenter Goss, Colonial Gravesones Inscriptions in the State of New Hampshire (Dover, N.H.: National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the State of New Hampshire, 1942), 154. Although “Captain” appears on the cemetery records and the headstone itself in the Evergreen Cemetery at Winchester, Revolutionary War records do not show that he earned this title. He served two enlistments. Perhaps it was a courtesy title or came from otherwise undocumented service in a local militia.

9Ancestral File, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Family History Library, Salt Lake City, and Follett family records in my possession.

rence County, New York. At that point, his older half-brother, Seth Alexander, had been in the DeKalb area for at least six years. Seth had come with the original settlers organized by Judge William Cooper, father of author James Fenimore Cooper, and founder of Cooperstown, New York. Louisa Tanner was born there in 1798. By the time, King appeared on land records in DeKalb, Seth and the Tanners owned land in the same part of town, suggesting that King may have been with Seth in Cooperstown and known the Tanners there as well. On a land survey conducted in DeKalb, St. Lawrence County, dated April 8, 1815, King’s name appears on Lot 347 with 80 acres in the “Farr Tract” in a category described as: “Choice Lots with handsome improvements, under good cultivation and prospered by able settlers.” The information with the description adds, in sentence fragments, that Follett purchased the land in August 1811, “cleared 20 acres,” had a six-acre meadow “too stony to plough,” kept no stock there, had “a log house unfinished,” “is undetermined whether to go on his Farm, or else-Where to work,” and that he had previously been in partnership with a man named Whipple “in the distilling business.”

In 1815, King turned twenty-seven and Louisa seventeen. Although no documented date for their marriage has been found, the ceremony was performed in the nearby town of Hermon, New York. They settled in Dekalb and in December 1816 their first child, Adeline Louisa, was born.

Living conditions in northern New York at this time may have encouraged the young couple to seek their fortune elsewhere. The War of 1812–15 had greatly depressed the economy in New York’s northern counties, and so many moved away that the region was almost deserted. A general depression followed throughout the United

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12 “Classification of the Township of Dekalb,” April 8, 1815, holograph, St. Lawrence County Historical Society Office, Canton, New York; photocopy in my possession.

13 Unless otherwise indicated, birth, marriage, death, and census data are in my possession and are available on request.

14 Everts and Holcomb, History of St Lawrence Co., 456–58. Though King would have been the right age to have served in St. Lawrence County’s
States, while extremely cold weather, caused by volcanic ash in the atmosphere, resulted in "the year without a summer" (1815–16). By 1819 when their second child, John, was born, King and Louisa were living in Shalersville, a small town in Portage County, Ohio, thirty-four miles southeast of Cleveland and the same distance south of Kirtland. King's younger brother, Alexander Follett, joined them there. Immigrants making that same trek would have traveled by horse and buggy or wagon, by boat on Lake Ontario or Lake Erie, or on a barge on any of the numerous rivers and waterways. About the same time, some of Louisa's family began leaving St. Lawrence County, and King and Louisa may have traveled as far as Attica Center, New York, close to Buffalo, with them.\(^\text{15}\)

Family tradition does not specify why the Folletts chose Shalersville, but possibly land was more readily available to them there than elsewhere. Shalersville is part of the Western Reserve, territory reserved for grants to Revolutionary War veterans, primarily those from Connecticut, to reward their military service. A land title trail has not yet been identified that links the Shalersville property with John Follett's military service. However, since almost all of the immigrants into the Portage County area at this time had some connection to the original military purchaser, it is possible that King and Alexander had a similar access to land.\(^\text{16}\)

Census and family records establish that, for at least the next twelve years, King and his family resided in Shalersville, where he was involved in farming and manufacturing. Perhaps the "manufacturing" was a continuation of his New York distillery business, as grapes were grown in the area and liquor was an important frontier commodity. A third child, Edward, was born in 1821 but had died by 1833 when another son was given that name. Nancy was born in 1823, fol-

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\(^{15}\)A brother, Joseph Tanner, appears on the 1820 census for Attica Center, New York; by 1830, his parents, Thomas and Anna, and two other brothers, William and Warren, had also reached this area. King visited nearby Buffalo on business in May 1836.

lowed by William Alexander (1825), Emily (ca. 1829), Mary (ca. 1831—she and Emily are never again listed in family records), and Edward Moroni (1833). This name was spelled as "Maroni" and even Marion in family records, but it signals the family's involvement with Mormonism by this date. In addition to the deaths of three of the eight children, King's brother, Alexander, had died in 1826 at age thirty-three, leaving a wife, perhaps children, and an estate valued at approximately $170. It included personal property, farm animals, and "an unexpired right to the use of thirteen acres of land two years."

King and Alexander were taxed in Shalersville beginning in 1820 and ending in 1832, when King apparently moved to Missouri. According to these records, the value of his property remained about the same. From 1820 to 1825, he was taxed for one lot of real property but only for personal property (usually one horse and three to eleven cattle) from 1826 through 1832. Obviously, the Folletts were simple country folk, typical of most of their neighbors.

Shalersville was a small village when the Folletts lived there with a population of approximately two hundred. Except for the tax lists, King's name has not survived in any available town, court, or land record, or voting register. Louisa's obituary indicates that the family attended the Methodist Episcopal church in Shalersville before "affil-

17 Alexander Follett, Probate Packet, September 1826, #140, holograph, Portage County Courthouse, Ravenna, Ohio; photocopy in my possession.

18 Portage County, Ohio, Auditor, "Duplicate Tax Records: 1816–1838," and "Deed Records, 1795–1881," n.p., microfilm of holograph, Film #528374-79, #8999058, and #900895, LDS Family History Library, Salt Lake City (hereafter Family History Library). Though King was assessed for "real tax," is sometimes listed as a "resident proprietor" on Lot 75, and was taxed for an additional 16 3/4 acres, no deed is recorded in Portage County showing title to real property in either his name or that of his brother, Alexander Follett. Their name also appears as "Fallatt."


20 "List of Voters in Portage County, Ohio, 1816–1856," prepared by the Wm. Guinching Johnson Jr., Past President, Portage County Chapter,
iating with the Mormons." They could best be described as a small town, New England-born frontier family consisting of a mother and father with four surviving children of the seven born to that point. Soon they would hear the message of a new and very different religion.

Almost certainly, the Folletts would have encountered Mormonism in 1831, the year Church headquarters were established in Kirtland, and possibly in 1830, when the first four missionaries sent to Missouri (Parley P. Pratt, Oliver Cowdery, Ziba Peterson, and Peter Whitmer Jr.) found such an enthusiastic response among Sidney Rigdon’s congregation in Kirtland. Not even a family story, however, reports that first encounter with the Mormons, and contradictory records exist about when and where King and Louisa were baptized. According to family history and early Church records, King was baptized in or around Shalersville or in Cuyahoga County, Ohio, in the spring of 1831. According to the Kirtland Elders’ Quorum Record, he was baptized in St. Lawrence County, New York, also in 1831. It seems unlikely that he would have been in New York unless he was visiting Louisa’s family. Because of the extensive missionary activity occurring in the Ohio area, it is much more likely that the baptism took place there. Peter Whitmer Jr. records the baptism of King’s two older children, twelve-year-old John and eight-year-old Nancy, on December 4, 1831, in Shalersville. Their baptisms seem unlikely if the parents were not already members. By November 1831, a branch of


21Louisa Tanner Follett, Obituary, Mulberry (Iowa) Leader, November 15, 1891.

22History of the Church, 6:249.


24Peter Whitmer Jr., no title but introductory phrase: "The following is a brief report written 29 Jan 1831 by Peter Whitmer jun. about his mission to the west," Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (chronological scrapbook of typed entries and newspaper clippings, 1830-present), January 29, 1831, 2, LDS Church Archives. Peter Whitmer Jr. reports his mission: "... thence I went to Shalersville, and on December the 4th, I baptized John Follett and Nancy Follett." A typed note on the same
the Church had been established in Shalersville; however, no membership records have survived.25

By tax time in 1833, the Follett family was living in "Zion," of Jackson County, Missouri. According to Louisa's 1839 affidavit, between 1833 and 1836, the Follets lived in Jackson, Clay, and Caldwell counties, moving with the body of the Saints, and suffering in their persecutions.26 King, however, also continued to participate in Kirtland activities where the Church's first temple was being constructed. According to family tradition, King became Joseph Smith's bodyguard and his "grate friend," willingly giving up all he had not only to obey the Prophet on spiritual matters but also to follow him and assist him as a friend would. King's activities during this period indicated that he made the thousand-mile journey between Kirtland and Missouri at least twice.

I have found no documentation of a land purchase in Jackson County, Missouri, but the Follets apparently settled with other members along the Blue River, as King was involved in the Battle of the Blue in November 1833.27 After living a quiet life in New York and Ohio, King and Louisa must have been thrown into consternation by the persecutions inflicted upon the Saints. Yet as King's participation in the Battle of the Blue evidences, he was willing and able to physically defend himself, his family, and his neighbors.

They left Jackson County, probably at the same time as the other Saints and, by early 1834, were living at Liberty, in Clay County, close

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page states that the report's original "is dated December 13, 1831." Although out of the Journal History's usually strict chronological order, it is included with the reports of Oliver Cowdery and Parley P. Pratt.

25Ibid., January 29, 1831, 1.
27Philo Dibble, quoted in Journal History, November 4, 1833, 9, was wounded in the Battle of the Blue. He created a partial list of participants dated April 15, 1861, also in the Journal History, which identifies Follett as one of those who "were engaged" in the fight. Henry A. Cleveland, who was also wounded, was taken to the home of Nathan West. Nathan married King and Louisa's daughter, Adeline Louisa Follett, in 1836. Ibid., 8; "Clay County, Missouri, Marriages, 1821–1881," 12, Film #2055215, LDS Family History Library.
to the site of Zion’s Camp. 28 King is listed as a member of the Hulet Branch. 29 Again, no branch record has survived. In September 1835 in Clay County, King received a certificate of membership into the church, which also served as his license to preach and certification of his worthiness to do so. 30

To Whom These Presence [sic] May Come:

This certifies that King Follett has been received into this church of Latterday saints organized on the 6 of April 1830 and has been ordained an Elder according to the Rules and Regulations of said church and is duly authorized to Preach the gospel as an act in all the ordinances of the house of the Lord agreeable to the authority of that office.

Given by the Directions of a conference of Elders held in @ Monroe County Missouri September 12 – 1835  Jesse Hitchcock
Ellis Eames Clerk

Sometime during or shortly after 1836, the Follettes moved with the body of the church from Clay County to Caldwell County, where Missouri officials had promised the Saints safety.

Two months later on November 4, 1835, the History of the Church notes: “King Follet arrived from Zion this day.” 32 There are no details, and it is not clear where Louisa and the children were. Family tradition vaguely suggests that he brought Joseph Smith a message from Missouri, but not what it would have been. Another possibility is that King, like other elders, had come to Kirtland during the winter of 1835–36 for the School of the Prophets and to receive Joseph Smith’s

28 Amasa M. Lyman, quoted in ibid., June 25, 1834, 1. After describing the suffering the members of Zion’s Camp endured because of malaria, he notes that, when the company was disbanded, “from this place, I went to the residence of Br. King Follett.”


31 Photocopy of holograph in my possession; location of original unknown. After Jesse Hitchcock’s name, a word is written vertically on the paper, possibly ‘Moairator.’

32 History of the Church, 2:301.
instructions in the preliminary endowment ordinances—anointing and the washing of feet.\textsuperscript{33} King’s name is not listed among those who participated in these temple ordinances, but it seems likely that he did.

On December 16, 1835, King received a patriarchal blessing from Father Joseph Smith Sr., who had been ordained as patriarch on December 13, 1833. W. W. Phelps, converted in 1831 in Kirtland, attended this same gathering and recorded:

I attended a feast at the house of Bro. Zera S. Coles; about sixty guests were present, a number of whom were blessed by Father Joseph Smith, among them being Elijah Fordham, King Follett and Jesse Hitchcock. This was the first and greatest blessing feast I have ever attended. The greatest solemnity and harmony prevailed. The viands were good and the affair was orderly and enjoyable, though many of those present were young. We sang “There’s a feast of fat things”, “Adam-Ondi-Ahman,” “O Behold the Lord is nigh,” etc. The greatest wishes of the guests were that we might soon celebrate a feast in the land of Zion. The weather was very cold.\textsuperscript{34}

On January 28, 1836, King was “anointed” in the Kirtland Temple by Alva Beaman, president of the elders,\textsuperscript{35} and in March he received his elder’s license, one of 263 issued between March (when the temple was dedicated) and June. Since Follett had received this certificate a few months earlier, it was apparently reissued to him and to others in the interests of keeping a better record of certificate-holders in Kirtland and so that the worthiness of such individuals could be verified.\textsuperscript{36} Journals of this period indicate that many rich religious experiences surrounded worship in the temple during a six-month period beginning in January 1836. In the words of Orson Pratt: “God was there, his angels were there, the Holy Ghost was in the midst of the people, the visions of the Almighty were opened to the minds of the servants of the living God; the veil was taken from the minds of many; they saw the heavens opened, they beheld the angels of God; they heard the voice of the Lord; and they were filled from the crown

\textsuperscript{33}Backman, \textit{The Heavens Resound}, 284-305.

\textsuperscript{34}W. W. Phelps, Journal, in \textit{Journal History}, December 16, 1835, 1.

\textsuperscript{35}Cook and Backman, \textit{Kirtland Elders’ Quorum Record}, Appendix B, 82-83.

\textsuperscript{36}Backman, \textit{The Heavens Resound}, 110-11.
of their heads to the soles of their feet with the power and inspiration of the Holy Ghost."\textsuperscript{37}

Presumably King also shared in these powerful experiences. Follett's name also appears on a broadside, printed in Kirtland in April 1836, on a list headed "the Second Seventy Elders."\textsuperscript{38}

The next document that mentions Follett is an entry on Tuesday, May 3, 1836, in the journal of Levi Jackman, a forty-year-old Vermont native who had joined the Church five years earlier in Portage County, Ohio, and who was then preaching the gospel in Buffalo, New York. Jackman wrote: "While walking on the sidewalk I found Brother King Follette who had been to that country on business. He had been collecting some money that was due him. Our meeting was joyous. He was my neighbor in Missouri and we were both going home. He let me have some money, and we engaged a passage on the steamer Columbia, to the nearest port to Kirtland."\textsuperscript{39} According to Jackman's journal, the two reached Kirtland the next day, then continued on the lengthy trip through Illinois to Missouri (no date given).

There is no record of a Follett land purchase in Clay County for his family, but King was taxed 48 and six-eighths cents for personal property (a horse valued at forty dollars and four cattle valued at fifty dollars) in that county on September 5, 1836.\textsuperscript{40} On April 24, 1837, the Far West High Council minutes note that he is the "No. 10 High Counsellor."\textsuperscript{41} King next appears in the records on July 28, 1837, when he purchased forty acres of land near Far West, Missouri, on which he built a log house for his family. The lot was located in the Mirabile Township about a mile and a half west of the temple site and at least


\textsuperscript{38}Reproduced in Backman, \textit{The Heavens Resound}, Appendix B.


\textsuperscript{40}1836 Clay County, Missouri, Tax List and the 1835 Missouri Tax Law, transcribed, annotated, and indexed by Annette Curtis (Independence: Missouri Mormon Frontier Foundation, 2003), 18.

\textsuperscript{41}Donald Q. Cannon and Lyndon W. Cook, eds., \textit{Far West Record Minutes of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830–1844} (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1983), 110. Follett's name also appears in the minutes on August 6, 1834, but it is not clear whether he was present. Ibid., 90.
fourteen miles southwest of Gallatin. In September 1837, he baptized Newman B. Williams, presumably a convert. On November 7, at a “General Assembly,” some objected when David Whitmer was nominated as the first President of this branch of the Church. “Bishop Partridge” and “also Elder King Follett” were among those who said they would vote for Pratt Whitmer.

On January 22, 1838, the last of King and Louisa’s nine children, Warren King Follett, was born in Caldwell County. On March 18, 1838, King gave his twelve-year-old son, William Alexander, a father’s blessing; that promised, if he listened to his parents’ counsel, “thy name shall ever be registered in the lambs book of life . . . and while thou art young thou shalt become an instrument in the hand of the Lord to thrash the nations by the power of his spirit.” He also promised William that he would become a workman on the house of the Lord and “the blessing and gift of architecture shall be given to thee and if thou wilt live by the words of wisdom the blessing of health, strength and activity shall be bestowed upon thee.” On July 6, 1838, at the “Second Quarterly Conference” in Far West, Follett was “acting as president” of the Seventies. In November 1838, he baptized Martin Wood, a twenty-year-old native of Portage County, Ohio, but the location is not specified.

On August 6, 1838, when Mormons tried to vote for county and

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42Clark V. Johnson and Ronald E. Romig, eds., An Index to Caldwell County, Missouri, Land Records, rev. ed. (Independence: Missouri Mormon Frontier Foundation, 2002), 11, 70. The July date appears on the deed; however, land office records in Lexington, Missouri, in both the register’s office and the recorder’s office, show a payment of $50 dated February 13, 1837.

43“Record of Members of the Twentieth Quorum of Seventies, 1844-94,” Seventies Quorums (Salt Lake City: Genealogical Society of Utah, 1938), film #25554, not paginated.

44Cannon and Cook, Far West Record, 122.

45Photocopy of holograph of blessing in my possession; location of original unknown.

46Cannon and Cook, Far West Record, 198.

state officials at Gallatin, it turned into a fist-fight supplemented by oak clubs. John Lowe Butler, one of the Mormon protagonists, brought his wife and family to seek refuge with the Folletts two days later, after Joseph Smith counseled Butler to “go and move them (my family) directly and do not sleep another night there.”

During October 1838 when the Danites shifted from defensive to offensive action, Follett was probably involved to some extent. No extant record lists him as present at the Battle of Crooked River on October 25, but Reed Peck’s testimony at the Richmond court of inquiry calls him “Captain Bull of the Regulators,” a group of twelve in the Far West area who were part of, or associated with, the Danites. As a sort of corroboration, a Follett family tradition places King in the category of vigilantes like Orrin Porter Rockwell. Furthermore, on November 26, 1838, William Huntington Sr., also a Danite, arrived in Far West with his family. After being “notified there was diligent inquiry and search for me to take me to Richmond, I accordingly left my family immediately and went to King Follett’s to stay three days.”

The Folletts also helped the Partridge family during the fall of 1838 when Bishop Edward Partridge had to leave Far West suddenly for fear of arrest, counting on King Follett to bring his wife and children to Quincy. As matters turned out, Follett was also arrested, but sisters Emily and Eliza Partridge said that “King Follett proved a true friend and assisted them in every possible way.”

Joseph Smith and several of his associates had been arrested at the surrender of Far West on October 31, were taken to Richmond for a hearing that lasted from November 12 through 28, and then were jailed for the remainder of the winter in Liberty, Clay County. King

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49 Reed Peck, quoted in Harold Schindler, Orrin Porter Rockwell: Man of God, Son of Thunder (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1966), 44 note 51.

50 William Huntington, Autobiography, typescript, 1, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter Perry Special Collections).

51 Harri Wixom, Edward Partridge: The First Bishop of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Springville, Utah: Cedar Fort, 1998), 97. It is not clear where Wixom found this statement by the Partridge sisters.
and Louisa both signed the Scroll Petition in 1843 which described some of the depredations inflicted on Far West’s residents by the un-
disciplined Missouri militia: “A large mob under . . . Cornelius Gilliam came into the vicinity of Far West, drove off our Stock and
abused our people, another party came into Caldwell County took
away our horses and cattle, burnt our houses, and ordered the inhabit-
ants to leave their homes immediately. . . A mob party from two to
three hundred in number, many of whom are supposed to have come
from Chariton, fell on our people and notwithstanding they begged
for quarters [sic] shot down and killed Eighteen, as they would so
many Wild Beasts.”52 Which of these persecutions the Follett family
endured cannot be documented, nor is it clear whether King and
Louisa were together.

On November 5, 1838, Major General John B. Clark arrested an
additional forty-six men at Far West whom he also took to Richmond
for the November 12–28 hearing.53 King was one of eleven additional
men eventually arrested. He and a number of others were released
during the hearing when the Judge Austin A. King ruled that there
was not enough evidence to hold them.54 While Joseph and Hyrum
Smith and four other men were incarcerated in Liberty Jail, four oth-
ers were detained in Richmond Jail through the winter of 1838–39. By
November 19, nearly all of the Mormons had left Daviess County. In
February 1839, the evacuation of the Saints in Far West began in ear-
nest, and nearly all of them had left the state by mid-March.

It is not clear why King did not take his family out of the state
during this same period. They were making preparations to
leave about “the middle of April” 1839 when he was rearrested, appar-
etly because he had been a member of a Mormon posse “who took a
keg of powder from a gang of ruffians.” In May, he and three other
prisoners were transferred from Richmond Jail to the jail in Colum-

\[52\] Johnson, Mormon Redress Petitions, 587. The murder of the eighteen
is a reference to the Haun’s Mill Massacre.

\[53\] Alexander L. Baugh, A Call to Arms: The 1838 Mormon Defense of
Northern Missouri (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1971; printed,
Provo, Utah: Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History
and BYU Studies, Dissertations in LDS History Series, 2000), 169 note 142.

\[54\] Document Containing the Correspondence, Orders, &C. in Relation to the
Disturbances with the Mormons; and the Evidence Given before the Hon. Austin A.
King (Fayette, Mo.: Office of Boon’s Lick Democrat, 1841), 149–51.
bia, Boone County, Missouri.\textsuperscript{55} On July 4, they executed a daring daylight jailbreak and all escaped. King was quickly recaptured, partly because the horse provided for him had a lady’s sidesaddle. His captors threatened, “We’ll roast him alive over a slow fire.” He was immediately reimprisoned and “chained down to the floor for a few days.”\textsuperscript{56} He remained in jail until September 29, 1839, when he was tried on the charge of robbery, found not guilty, and released.\textsuperscript{57}

The details of how Louisa and the children left Missouri are unknown. By May 6, 1839, however, she was in Quincy, Illinois, for she swore an affidavit that went to the federal government with scores of others, petitioning for redress for their losses in Jackson, Clay, and Caldwell counties.\textsuperscript{58} According to the journal of Jeremiah Leavitt II, King was in Twelve Mile Grove, Wilton Township, Illinois, after

\textsuperscript{55} Scot Facer Proctor and Maurine Jensen Proctor, \textit{Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt: Revised and Enhanced Edition} (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2000), 258–254. I have found no further details about where or when the powder reg incident occurred.

\textsuperscript{56} Calvin N. Smith, “‘King Follett, Quiet Fortitude: Prophet Speaks at Funeral,’” \textit{Church News}, December 25, 1983, 10.

\textsuperscript{57} No headline, \textit{Pulaski Missouri Whig and General Advertiser}, October 12, 1839, 1–11: “King Follett, one of the Mormon prisoners, indicted for robbery, was tried at Columbia on the 25th ult [sic]. The jury, after retiring for a few minutes, brought in a verdict of not guilty.” See also “State of Missouri against King Follett: Indictment for Robbery,” Case No. 1380, Boone County (Missouri) Circuit Court, Vol. C, 1838–41, pp. 925–39, LDS Family History Library, Film #981766.

\textsuperscript{58} Johnson, \textit{Mormon Redress Petitions}, 201. Louisa’s affidavit includes general statements about losses of land, buildings, crops in the ground, moving expenses, furniture, provisions, and stock, and loss of company and assistance while King was in jail. She also complained of being deprived of her rights as a citizen of Missouri. She requested $3,960 reimbursement. Caldwell County tax records list the Follett farm as being forfeited to the state four times in 1862–63 for back taxes accrued in 1860–63. “List of Owners of Lands and Lots in Caldwell County Forfeited to the State for Back Taxes during 1855–1863,” \textit{Caldwell Banner} (published in both Liberty and Kingston, Missouri), August 20, 1864, retrieved in May 2003 from \url{www.yourlunchpad.com/terry/Caldwell/taxlist.htm}. This list did not give a value for the property or the amount of taxes due.
March 1840, since he ordained Jeremiah a teacher.\textsuperscript{59}

At the federal census enumerated in November 1840, King and Louisa Follett were listed as residents of Adams County, Illinois, even though on April 1, Follett had signed an agreement to purchase Lot 26 in Nauvoo from the Church for $500 with two payments of $250 to be made in 1845 and 1850. He paid the taxes but was dead before the first payment came due. Apparently title reverted to the Church.\textsuperscript{60}

Nauvoo ecclesiastical and civic records give brief glimpses of King Follett’s activities. He was a member of the Second Quorum of Seventies.\textsuperscript{61} In an undated letter from the Nauvoo High Council to Elias Higbee, Follett’s name appears on a list of thirty-eight men who might be witnesses in Washington, D.C., about the Saints’ persecutions in Missouri, if they could get a hearing. (They couldn’t.)\textsuperscript{62} King was elected third lieutenant of the Nauvoo Legion’s First Cohort (mounted) in March 1841 and, on October 16, 1841, he was commissioned a captain.\textsuperscript{63} The 1842 Nauvoo census lists him as a member of First Ward (a municipal as well as ecclesiastical unit) along with Louisa and their six living children,\textsuperscript{64} and he appears on the Nauvoo


\textsuperscript{60}James L. Kimball, Jr., interviewed in November 1999, about information in Joseph Smith’s Nauvoo Day Book, 1839–40, 5; notes in my possession.

\textsuperscript{61}Cook and Backman, \textit{Kirtland Elders’ Quorum Record}, Appendix B, 82–83. John Wesley Follett, King’s and Louisa’s son, was a member of the Twenty-ninth Quorum of Seventy. The quorum records of both Follettes are available at the Seventies Hall, Nauvoo, Illinois; photocopy of typewritten in my possession.

\textsuperscript{62}Elder Robert B. Thompson, “Commerce, Hancock County, Ill.,” Journal History, March 17, 1840.


\textsuperscript{64}Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Nauvoo First Ward, “Record of Members, 1841–45; Church Records, 1836–1846; Film #0889392, item 4, n. paginated, LDS Church Archives.”
Tax rolls for 1841-14.\textsuperscript{65} Louisa joined the Female Relief Society of Nauvoo on March 24, 1842, at that organization’s second general meeting.\textsuperscript{66} Together they participated in baptisms for the dead in the unfinished Nauvoo Temple on August 13, 1843; King acted as proxy for his father and three other deceased relatives while Louisa was proxy for her mother and five others.\textsuperscript{67}

King joined the Nauvoo Lodge of the Freemasons in November 1843. The lodge records list his occupation as “farmer” and also confirm that he received a Masonic funeral and burial.\textsuperscript{68} How often he attended or how active he was is not known. However, he was present on June 2, 1842, when the local lodge discussed the expulsion of John Cook Bennett, its former secretary, for adultery and other activities unacceptable to Masons.\textsuperscript{69}

Then follows a gap in the public and ecclesiastical records where Follett is concerned. He next emerges on November 28, 1843, when he and Louisa signed the Scroll Petition, a fifty-foot-long document signed by 3,419 Church members in another (also rejected) appeal to the U.S. government for compensation for the loss of property and other suffering in Missouri.\textsuperscript{70}

According to family tradition, Follett again served as Joseph Smith’s bodyguard, probably during the summer and fall of 1843


\textsuperscript{67}Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Nauvoo Temple, “Baptisms for the Dead, 1840-1845,” 23, 55-56, 162-63, Film #0183376, 0183379, LDS Family History Library.

\textsuperscript{68}Mervin B. Hogan, “The Vital Statistics of Nauvoo Lodge,” 1976, typescript, LDS Historical Department Library. According to the November 2, 1843, minutes: this lodge shall “proceed to work and confer the degrees of Masonry on all worthy men in this City who desire them” (5). According to Hogan, the Nauvoo Lodge had the largest membership for a community of its size in the nation (5).

\textsuperscript{69}Mervin B. Hogan, “The Official Minutes of Nauvoo Lodge” (Des Moines, Iowa: Research Lodge No. 2, A.F. & A.M., 1974), entry dated June 2, 1841; typescript, LDS Historical Department Library.

\textsuperscript{70}Johnson, \textit{Mormon Redress Petitions}, 564, 589.
when Missouri sheriffs were actively seeking to arrest Joseph Smith as a conspirator in the attempted assassination of Missouri’s former governor, Lilburn Boggs, in May 1843. Although there is no record that Follett posted a bond as constable of any of Nauvoo’s four municipal wards, the History of the Church refers to him in December 1843 as a constable in Hancock County when a Mormon, Daniel Avery, was kidnapped and taken into Missouri. On December 17, 1843, Follett with a posse of ten arrested John Elliott as the kidnapper. Word circulated that “some thirty armed men [were] following Constable King Follett some miles on his way, when he had Elliott in custody.”

By the spring of 1844, King, Louisa, and their children were living in a home King had constructed in Nauvoo, and on March 9 he began digging a well on his lot. The entry for that date in the History of the Church reads, “Our worthy brother, King Follett, died this morning, occasioned by the accidental breaking of a rope, and the falling of a bucket of rock upon him while engaged in walling up a well, and the men above were in the act of lowering the rock to him.” His funeral was held the next day, March 10. Although his specific grave site is not now known, family tradition indicates that he is buried in the Old Pioneer Saints’ Cemetery, and his name appears on the Nauvoo sexton list. According to the History of the Church, “Brother King Follett was buried this day with Masonic honors. I [Joseph Smith] attended meeting at the stand, and preached on the subject of Elias, Elijah, and Messiah.”

Then why was the famous King Follett discourse dated almost a month later? Again, there is no recorded answer to this question. Family tradition indicates that Louisa and the children may not have been satisfied with the first sermon and asked Joseph Smith to include an-

71History of the Church, 6:117–20. Avery was imprisoned for a couple of weeks and released on Christmas Day. Elliott was tried for kidnapping Avery and his son and threatening harm to Joseph Smith but was, at Smith’s request, released.

72History of the Church, 6:248.

73Nauvoo Restoration, Inc., Nauvoo Deaths and Burials: Old Nauvoo Burial Ground (Nauvoo, Ill.: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, October 7, 1989, rev. May 1990), 13. This list contains names of persons who died in the Nauvoo area between 1839 and 1856, members and others possibly buried in old Nauvoo burial ground or in other Nauvoo cemeteries.

74History of the Church, 6:249.
other memorial to King in a later meeting. Possibly, Smith waited to give the discourse to a larger audience, since the actual date was a session on April 7 of general conference.\footnote{Ibid., 6:287.} This meeting was held in the grove immediately west of the temple. Edward Stevenson, who was in attendance that day, called it a “Grand funeral sermon” and described the setting: “The weather was lovely and the surrounding river and the Iowa side with its sloping hills looks lovely.”\footnote{Edward Stevenson, quoted in George and Sylvia Givens, *Nauvoo Fact Book: Questions and Answers for Nauvoo Enthusiasts* (Lynchburg, Va.: Parley Street Publishers, 2000), 51.} An unnamed source estimated attendance at 20,000, which seems unlikely since it would have been more than Nauvoo’s total population. A more accurate figure is probably about 8,000.\footnote{Both figures in Cannon, “The King Follett Discourse,” 182 notes 14–15.}

Two months later, Joseph and Hyrum Smith were assassinated. The widowed Louisa Follett was visiting her family in New York with her married daughter, Adeline West, age twenty-nine, and six-year-old son, Warren. She recorded in her brief diary on July 21: “A great man has fallen . . . I feel a deepe sympathy in all the afflictions of my friends at Nauvoo.”\footnote{Louisa Follett, Journal, June 5–September 7, 1844, while on a trip from Nauvoo to New York to visit family. Undated typescript, identified as “part” of a journal kept by Louisa Tanner, in my possession; location of original unknown.} At that point, twenty-five-year-old John, probably unmarried, was living in Nauvoo where he owned property. Nineteen-year-old William Alexander and eleven-year-old Edward were also in Nauvoo. Twenty-one-year-old Nancy was married to James Daley and had two sons. James died while Louisa was on this trip.

According to the diary, Louisa and her children returned to Nauvoo on September 7, 1844. In the 1847 Iowa census for Van Buren County, she may have been living in the home of her oldest
daughter, Adeline, and son-in-law, Nathan West. By 1848, she had moved to Mills County, Iowa, in the Silver Creek area. By March 1848, Alpheus Cutler was president of a branch at Silver Creek, dividing his time between that group and the Indian mission he had established in nearby Kansas. That fall began a “prolonged and bitter dispute” between some of Cutler’s followers and the Kanesville (now Council Bluffs) Iowa high council over some of Cutler’s activities. Cutler and his more zealous followers balked when the high council tried to “coerce them into moving west,” and he was excommunicated in April 1851. On September 19, 1853, Cutler had formally organized a church; but the extant records do not list Louisa as a member.

As of September 1850, she was living in Atchison County, Missouri, with daughter Nancy, and Nancy’s husband, Henry Sanford. All of her other children were at Winter Quarters. However, according to an Iowa state census in 1856, she was again living in Silver Creek Township, this time with Adeline and Nathan. The 1860 census shows her still living with Adeline and Nathan. In 1870, she was living with her youngest son, Warren, and his wife, Virginia Ann Dunlap Follett, in Malvern, Mills County, Iowa. According to her obituary, she lived with Warren for twenty-eight years before her death on

79Iowa General Assembly, “Census of Clinton, . . . Van Buren, and Wapello Counties, Iowa, 1847” (Salt Lake City: Genealogical Society of Utah, 1978, Film #1022202, items 10-16; also typescript in Family History Library. It lists Nathan West, Adeline’s husband, with a household of seven, unnamed. Nathan, Adeline, Louisa, her two sons Warren and Edward, and Nathan’s two children by a prior marriage could be these seven. Family traditions have consistently indicated that Louisa lived in Van Buren County for at least some time after she left Nauvoo. For many years, some descendants believed she was buried there.


August 3, 1891, age almost ninety-three. Louisa outlived King by forty-seven years.

Correspondence with Dunlap family members documents that Louisa had failing eyesight before she left Nauvoo and may have been blind many years before her death. Such a condition might have made the trek west too daunting, especially since none of her children went, except William Alexander, who served in the Mormon Battalion. Like a significant fraction of other Latter-day Saints in the turmoil following Joseph Smith’s death, she may have lacked confidence in Brigham Young as the new leader of the Church. W. W. Blair, a redoubtable missionary of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, records baptizing Louisa Follett on July 6, 1863, in Manti, Mills County, three years after this new church under the leadership of Joseph Smith III was organized.

What happened to the children of King and Louisa Follett who survived to adulthood? According to family records and traditions, Adeline and Nathan West settled in Mills County, Iowa. Nathan became a justice of the peace, was associated with the Cutlerites, and was excommunicated about 1851 by the Utah church. They had no children, and both are buried in the Mahvern Cemetery. The second child, John, reportedly married an Elizabeth Daley and died two or three years later, possibly leaving one daughter. Nancy took her children by her first husband, James Daley, and went with her second husband, Henry Sanford, and her brother Edward, who never married, to the goldfields of northern California. They settled in Contra Costa County where some of Nancy’s descendants became active in community affairs. Warren King became an important landowner and community leader in Mills County, Iowa, served in the Civil War, and founded the First Baptist Church in that area.

William Alexander, who turned twenty in 1845, went to Winter Quarters with the Saints, served in the Mormon Battalion, and settled in Provo, Utah, where he became a bishop and city councilman. In 1855, Brigham Young sent him on a short mission to help settle Las

83Louisa Tanner Follett, Obituary, Malvern (Iowa) Leader, November 15, 1891.
Vegas, Nevada. He returned to Provo where he farmed. About 1877, he was called to help settle near Showlow, Arizona. After about five years in northern Arizona, in 1892 he moved even farther south to southeastern Arizona, where his son, Isaac Alfred Follett, had settled in Smithville (later renamed Pima).  

This then is a condensed version of the story of the man behind the King Follett discourse. It is a story of one early-day convert whose experiences are typical of those of many individuals and families who were living a quiet existence in the newly settled areas of America and whose lives were changed more than just spiritually by the new religion of Mormonism. On the day of King’s death, the Prophet Joseph Smith recorded in his journal: “Elder Follett was one of those who bore the burden, in common with others of his brethren, in the days when men’s faith was put to the test. All the persecutions he endured only tended to strengthen his faith and confirm his hope; and he died as he had lived, rejoicing in the hope of future felicity.”

While King did not have a major visible leadership role in the early Church and his name is known primarily because of the second funeral sermon preached after his death, the early years of the Mormon restoration can be better understood and made more meaningful through a review of his life and an examination of the variety of experiences one man and his family shared and endured.

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86 Family records in my possession.
87 History of the Church, 6:249.
THE WALDENSIAN VALLEYS: SEEKING “PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY” IN ITALY

Michael W. Homer

In June 1850 Apostle Lorenzo Snow (1814–1901) opened the Italian Mission in the Kingdom of Sardinia. He chose this location because he believed, based on a tract he read in England, that the Waldensians—a small group of Protestants with settlements in several Piedmont valleys—were “like the rose in the wilderness.”1

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The tract Sketches of the Waldenses advanced an ancient-origins thesis which claimed that the Waldensians had rejected the corruption of the Catholic Church after Constantine embraced Christianity and that they had successfully preserved the beliefs and practices of the primitive church in their remote mountain settlements. Snow was convinced, after reading Sketches, that the "the Lord has hidden up a people, amid the Alpine mountains, and it is the voice of the spirit that I shall commence something of importance in that part of


3Even though he did not identify the Religious Tract Society pamphlet by name, Snow relied on it in his summary of Waldensian history and for his recitation of poetry by Baptist W. Noel (1798-1873) and Felicia Hemans (1793–1835) in letters to Church authorities. Snow, The Italian Mission, 13, 21–22. Hemans's poem, "Hymn of the Vaudois Mountaineers in Times of Persecution," was later adapted as a Mormon hymn by Edward L. Sloan (1830-74), editor of the Salt Lake Herald, and set to music by Eliza Stephens (1854–1950). It still appears as "For the Strength of the Hills," in Hymns of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: Corporation of the President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1985), No. 35.
this dark nation."\(^4\) Although he acknowledged that "the night of time has overspread their origin," he still believed that in the Waldensian valleys "Protestantism is not the offspring of boasted modern reformation; but may fairly dispute with Rome as to which is the oldest in apostasy, and that [e]very man holds a creed [in Italy] which has been transmitted from sire to son for a thousand years, whether he be

Protestant or Catholic.\textsuperscript{5} Snow and other Mormon leaders hoped that they could demonstrate to the Waldensians that Joseph Smith (1805–44) had completely restored the primitive church which their ancestors had attempted to safeguard for centuries.\textsuperscript{6}

**Protestant Support of the Ancient-Origins Thesis**

Lorenzo Snow was not the first Christian missionary who was attracted to the Waldensians because of their ancient origins. Protestant clergymen—Anglican, Presbyterian, and Baptist—also believed the Waldensians; and the Waldensian claims to antiquity were important in their plans to spread the Reformation to Italy. Shortly after Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821) went into exile and the previous regimes were restored on the Italian peninsula, Protestants established missions and began their efforts to convince the Waldensians to align with their particular brands of Protestantism. Following the revolutions of 1848, Mormon missionaries were in the vanguard of renewed missionary work which also included the followers of John Darby (1800–82), founder of the Plymouth Brethren and father of modern Protestant “fundamentalism.”

After the Kingdom of Italy was proclaimed in 1861, other mainstream Protestant denominations also established missions there: Wesleyan Methodists in 1861, Adventists in 1864, English Baptists of the Baptist Missionary Society in 1866, American Baptists of the Southern Baptist Convention in 1870, and American Episcopalian Methodists in 1873.\textsuperscript{7} During the 1890s, the Salvation Army came to Italy and Bible Students (name changed to Jehovah’s

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\textsuperscript{5}Snow, *The Italian Mission*, 10, 21.

\textsuperscript{6}Missionary journals also contain useful information about Snow’s mission, all in Archives, Family and Church History Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter LDS Church Archives): Thomas Margetts, “Narrative”; Samuel Francis, Journal; Jabez Woodard, Autobiography”; Susanna Melitable Rogers Sangiovanni Collection, 1813–1905; and Stephen Malan, History.

\textsuperscript{7}Two English Baptist ministers, Edward Clark and James Wall, visited Bologna in the spring of 1863 to become better acquainted with the Chiesa Cristiana Libera [Free Christian Church]. Clark established a congregation which was autonomous from the Chiesa Cristiana Libera. When Clark returned to Italy in 1866, he established a church in La Spezia. In January 1870 the Southern Baptist Convention established a mission in Rome after
Witnesses in 1981) followed after 1900.\(^8\)

These missionaries were attracted to the Waldensian valleys because of the ancient-origins thesis. Some believed that the Waldensians had been "preserved for a special purpose in the Divine Counsels; destined to fulfill a most important mission in the Evangelization of Italy" and that they "are not Protestants, but primitive Christians."\(^9\) Some even claimed that the Waldensians had "remained on the old ground" and were entitled to "the indisputably valid title of the True Church."\(^10\) They believed that they could demonstrate, through Waldensian history and practices, that their own claims and doctrines were the same as those taught by the primitive church.

**The Waldensians**

During the late twelfth century, a merchant named Valdes or Waldesius organized a Catholic reform movement in Lyons, France.\(^11\) Valdes, and his "poor of Lyons," recognized that the Catholic clergy had become worldly and sinful, and he urged lay parishioners to set a better example for the church by living in poverty and

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preaching repentance, even though they were not ordained and they had not received permission to preach from their bishop. Valdes initially believed in the doctrines and sacraments of the Catholic Church—he signed a statement of faith in 1180—but the clergy resented the “Poor Men” not only because they were uneducated but also because they seemed to usurp priestly prerogatives.

In 1184, Valdes and his followers were excommunicated when they refused to cease preaching, and the movement was thereafter included in a list of schisms. Expelled from Lyons, they established communities in Languedoc and Lombardy. When Valdes died, some of his followers returned to Catholicism, including Durand of Huesca who was converted by St. Dominique (1170–1221). But many remained steadfast in their opposition to Catholic leaders and some practices. In 1215 the Fourth Lateran Council condemned the Waldensians for heresy.

In 1218 Waldensians from Languedoc (in France) and Lombardy (in Italy) met in Bergamo, in northern Italy, where they discussed the Fourth Lateran Council and the Church’s compromise with secular authorities. During this meeting they rejected selected Church doctrines, including purgatory, masses for the dead, and the intercession of Mary and the Saints. They also became increasingly radical in their opposition to the clergy and developed their mission to live in poverty and to witness as itinerant preachers. In 1252 they were accused of setting fire to the parish church of St. Nizier in Lyons, where Valdes and his family had attended mass.

The Waldensians eventually established settlements in Piedmont, Puglia, Calabria, Provence, Languedoc, and Bohemia. For the next three hundred years, they lived in isolated rural communities in Italy, France, and Germany where they attended mass publicly.

but practiced their true religious convictions surreptitiously. In Piedmont they settled in mountain valleys located near Torino. Those settlements—now known as the Waldensian valleys—were governed by the House of Savoy which traced its origins to the eleventh century when Emperor Otto III (980–1002) made Umberto the Whitehanded a count over critical territory that controlled the mountain passes between France and Italy. The Waldensians quickly learned that the House of Savoy would play an important role in their survival. (For a historical overview of the House of Savoy, see Appendix.) Although they were occasionally subjected to religious persecution, they were for the most part left alone and targeted for political and religious persecution only after the start of the Reformation.

When Waldensian pastors (known as “barbes” or “uncles”) became aware of the religious reformation launched by Jean Calvin, they began to confer with Swiss Reformers. Although the barbes were deeply divided about aligning themselves with the reformers, some believed that such an alignment would help them emerge from their geographical and cultural isolation. During this period (1533–36), the House of Savoy lost most of its territory. In 1536 Jean Calvin (1509–1564) and William Farel (1489–1565) took the Reformation from Bern to Geneva, seizing control of the Canton of Vaud, on the north shore of Lake Geneva, which had been ruled by the House of Savoy for more than two centuries. The same year France invaded Savoy and Piedmont (including the Waldensian valleys) and occupied them for the next twenty-three years.

Meanwhile, in 1532, the Waldensians had held a synod in the Angrogna Valley, attended by William Farel and other Swiss reformers. Some historians claim that the barbes voted to align the Waldensians with the Swiss Reformed Church during this synod. Such an alignment, which naturally required the modification of many historical beliefs, practices, and organization, took many years to implement.12 The continuing warfare between France and Spain allowed the Waldensians to flourish in Piedmont, gradually institutionalizing Protestant doctrines, rituals, and ecclesiastical organization.

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12 Cameron, *The Reformation of the Heretics*, 252–53, notes that the synod occurred in September 1532. Antoine Monastier identified the location of this synod as Chanforan, which Cameron has challenged. In 1932 a monument was placed at Chanforan to commemorate this event.
This brief peace was interrupted in 1545 when Francis I (1494–1547), king of France from (1515–1547) authorized attacks on Waldensian settlements in Provence. But his son Henry II (1519–59), who ascended the throne in 1547, was distracted by affairs of state, enabling the Waldensians to build their first churches in Val Luserna in Piedmont in 1555. Thereafter they abandoned their original mission to live in poverty and to witness as itinerant preachers.\(^{13}\)

In 1559 Spain defeated France and, under the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, the House of Savoy regained control of much of its former territory, including the Waldensian valleys in Piedmont, but only under Spanish oversight. King Philip II of Spain (ruled 1556–98) was ferociously intolerant of unorthodoxy. He targeted the Waldensian settlements, not only in Piedmont but also in Apulia, Calabria, Provence, Dauphiné, and Bohemia for extermination. For the next century, non-Catholics were killed or converted in Calabria and reassimilated in Apulia and Bohemia. In France, they were absorbed into the Reformed Church (Huguenots).

The Waldensian’s last stand occurred in Piedmont. Emmanuelle Filiberto, the “Iron Head” (1528–1580), duke of Savoy (1553–1580), moved his capital from Chambéry (on the west side of the Alps), to Torino (on the east side of the Alps) in 1561. Philip II of Spain convinced him that the Waldensians were a serious threat whose unorthodox beliefs and practices could no longer be tolerated. These rulers were convinced that the Waldensians’ ties to the Swiss Reformed Church made them more dangerous and threatening, even in their isolated communities. Their pastors were trained in Geneva and Vaud, which Protestants had seized from Savoy in 1536 and still controlled more than two decades later. Many Catholics also suspected that Protestant extremists had set fire to Chambéry’s Sainte Chapelle in 1536, severely damaging the venerated fabric that would soon be known as the Shroud of Turin. The new Savoyard capital in Torino was also much closer to the Waldensian valleys.

Persuaded by these arguments, Duke Emmanuelle Filiberto invaded the Waldensian valleys in February 1561 but was startled when the Waldensians raised an army to defend themselves. Rather than test their resistance, the duke prudently approved the Treaty of Cavour, which allowed his Waldensian subjects freedom of worship within their valleys. He thus became the first Catholic sovereign to

tolerate any form of non-Catholic worship. 14

The French were less benign toward their Protestant subjects. The future King Henry III (1551–89, reigned 1574–89) helped his mother plot the massacre of St. Bartholomew in 1572. His reign was marked by persistent civil conflicts between Catholics and the Huguenots, which included the remnants of the French Waldensians. His successor, Henry IV (1553–1610), converted from Protestantism to Catholicism in 1598. He became the second Catholic sovereign to tolerate Protestants when he issued his famous Edict of Nantes in 1598 allowing Huguenots to worship in selected villages in rural France.

**The Ancient-Origins Thesis in the Seventeenth Century**

As the Waldensians gradually completed their alignment with the Swiss Reformed Church, they were increasingly subjected to persecution by the warring rulers who exercised political control over their valleys. During this period, Protestant apologists (including Waldensians) formulated an official historiography and began to institutionalize a cultural and ethnic identity. As historian Euan Cameron explains, however, their historiography was based not only on “the real people who had suffered persecution in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in the Alps” but also on “idealized hypothetical antecedents of the reformed church” through which they attempted to trace their origins back to primitive Christianity. 15 Waldensian pastors drew on other writers making claims, oral traditions, and additional documents to construct an ancient-origins case. 16 While they convincingly demonstrated that both church and state had marginalized and persecuted them for centuries, they struggled to locate their origins beyond the twelfth century. They were aided by Protestant writers in England, Switzerland, and Italy who argued that the “true church,” including doctrines and priesthood, “had survived within dissenting movements from the Dark Ages up to the time of

15Cameron, The Reformation of the Heretics, 237.
16Cameron (ibid., 242) notes that Samuel Morland repeated the claims of Matthias Flacius Illyricus (in *Catalogus*, 1608) and James Ussher (in *Granissimaque Questionis de Christianorum Ecclesiarum . . . continuae successionis et statu, Historica Explicatio*, 1613).
Luther’s first schism.\textsuperscript{17} As they became increasingly known as “forerunners of the Reformation,” their valleys became identified as the safe haven in which the pure gospel had survived.

In 1619 Jean-Paul Perrin, a pastor in the French Reformed Church, published a history claiming that the Waldensians were direct descendants of primitive Christians.\textsuperscript{18} Also during the seventeenth century, two Waldensian pastors, Pierre Gilles and Jean Léger, advanced the same thesis.\textsuperscript{19} One historian has referred to these three books as “the first three most important histories of the Waldensians” which “make up the ideological foundations of the official Waldensian historiography. . . . They propounded the correct view that was to be held regarding the Waldensian past. . . . History was not being written for itself but to serve a certain idea and a certain cause.”\textsuperscript{20} Léger’s book had the most significant impact in Europe because it was written following the infamous Easter Massacre of 1655 when troops loyal to the Duke of Savoy massacred hundreds of Waldensians.

Protestants in Europe—including Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658)—vigorously protested the massacre. John Milton (1608–74), one of Cromwell’s ministers, penned an outraged sonnet (“Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughter’d Saints”) to call attention to the Waldensian cause.\textsuperscript{21} Thereafter “the thesis of the Waldenses as antecedents of the Reformation . . . was . . . not confined, either to the authors native to the Dauphiné, or to those with a particular polemical

\textsuperscript{17} Cameron, The Reformation of the Heretics, 247.

\textsuperscript{18} Jean-Paul Perrin, Histoire des Vaudois divisée en trois parties . . . (Geneve: Chouet, 1619). Perrin was severely criticized by Alexis Muston (The Israel of the Alps, 2:388-89) and by Etat Cameron who observed that Marc Vulson’s De la puissance du Pepe (Genève, 1685) made in a few pages “a rather more coherent contribution to the thesis of the Waldensians as antecedents of the Reformation than Perrin had in several hundred.” Cameron, The Reformation of the Heretics, 236.

\textsuperscript{19} Pierre Gilles, Histoire ecclésiastique des Églises Réformées . . . (Geneve: Jean de Tournes, 1644); Jean Léger, Histoire général des Églises Évangéliques des Vallées du Piémont ou Vaudoise (Leyde: Jean Le Charpentier, 1669).

\textsuperscript{20} Audisio, The Waldensian Dissent, 292. See Muston’s discussion of these writers in Israel of the Alps, 2:398–402.

\textsuperscript{21} Stephens, The Waldensian Story, 182. In 1638 Milton visited Galileo at his farm outside Florence in Arcetri where Galileo was under house ar-
interest in the Waldenses." They "earned inclusion, if only in passing, in the works of nearly all the major religious writers of the early Reformation era."\textsuperscript{22} Milton was convinced that the Waldensians had existed "pure since the Apostles" and that they "held the same doctrine and government since the time that Constantine with his mischievous donations poisoned . . . the whole church."

Samuel Morland (1625–95)—a diplomat dispatched to Torino by Cromwell after the massacre—repeated the thesis in his *History of the Evangelical Churches*.\textsuperscript{23} He claimed that he had consulted documents which proved that the Waldensians existed before Valdes and that they had taught and practiced "Protestant" doctrines and rituals before the Reformation. The propaganda value of these books was enormous. Within a few years the British government began dispensing financial assistance and the Duke of Savoy reaffirmed the Treaty of Cavour which memorialized his dynasty's policy of Waldensian toleration.\textsuperscript{24}

Still, the Waldensians continued to be verbally attacked and physically persecuted.\textsuperscript{25} When Louis XIV, the "Sun King" (1666–1732), revoked the Edict of Nantes in 1685, he pressed Duke Vittorio Amadeo II (1666–1732) of Savoy to convert or exile his Protestant subjects. In January 1687, Duke Vittorio Amadeo II forced approximately twenty-five hundred Waldensians to march to Geneva in thirteen contingents. More than two hundred perished on route. In Switzerland the Waldensians, unlike other exiles, preserved their ethnic identity, maintained separate communities, and resisted assimilation with the Protestants. In 1689, after Duke Vittorio Amadeo II

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext[22]{Cameron, *The Reformation of the Heretics*, 236.}
\footnotetext[24]{Cameron, *The Reformation of the Heretics*, 243.}
\footnotetext[25]{The Catholic hierarchy argued that the Waldensians were founded in the twelfth century by Valdes, thus disposing of the ancient-origins thesis. Waldensians who converted to Catholicism also challenged the thesis. See, e.g., Marco Aurelio Rorengo, *Breve narrazione dell'introduzione degli heretici nelle valli de Piemonte . . .* (Torino: Tisma, 1632); and his *Memorie historiche dell'introduzione dell'heresie nelle Valli di Luccerna, Marchesato di Sabauza et altro di Piemonte* (Torino: Tarino, 1649).}
\end{footnotes}
aligned his duchy with Britain, the Waldensians completed their "glorious return" to the valleys. Under the leadership of Pastor Henri Arnaud (1641–1721), they reclaimed most of their confiscated lands.\textsuperscript{26}

As the Waldensian's new hero, Arnaud recorded these events and repeated the claim: "Neither has their church been ever reformed, whence arises its title of Evangelic."\textsuperscript{27} In 1694, the duke issued a new edict reconfirming toleration for the Waldensians while they resided in their valleys. This new edict was never revoked. In fact, in July 1706, the duke demonstrated his confidence in his Waldensian subjects when he took refuge in their valleys during a French siege of Torino.\textsuperscript{28} Thereafter Protestants in England, Holland, and Switzerland began sending aid to the Waldensians. Queen Mary granted a royal subsidy to support the pastors in the valleys and to subsidize education. During the eighteenth century, "the debate rested" concerning Waldensian claims that they were "forerunners of the Reformation."\textsuperscript{29}

\textbf{Nineteenth-Century Elaboration of the Origins Thesis}

At the opening of the nineteenth century, the Waldensians were granted religious freedom when Napoleon annexed Piedmont and made it a French department (or state). Under French rule, they were absorbed into the French Reformed Church, and Britain suspended

\textsuperscript{26}Anon., \textit{Histoire de la persécution des valées de Piedmont} (Rotterdam, 1688).


\textsuperscript{28}For a contemporary description of this episode, see the Baron of Saint-Hippolyte, \textit{Letter to the King of Prussia}, in Davide Jahier, "Vittorio Amedeo II ripara preso 1 Valdesi udrante l'assedio di Torino nel 1706," \textit{Bolletino della Società di Studi Valdesi}, February 17, 1837. The dukes of the House of Savoy took the title of kings in 1713 when Vittorio Amedeo II became King of Sicily. In 1720 he became King of Sardinia. Almost 150 years later, the dynasty took the title "King of Italy" when Vittorio Emanuele II became king in 1861.

\textsuperscript{29}Cameron, \textit{The Reformation of the Heretics}, 251.
its financial aid. After the Treaty of Vienna (1815) restored the House of Savoy and other European dynasties, the British renewed financial assistance to the Waldensians. British missionary societies, organized during the 1790s, began planning missions in Italy. Anglicans, Presbyterians, and Baptists were all anxious to proselyte the Catholics, convinced that the Waldensians were the key to their success in Catholic Italy.

As British missionaries began their labors in Italy, French and Swiss clergymen introduced a religious revival which had some similarities to the second great reawakening in the United States. Its most charismatic elements were personal gifts of the Spirit, but it was also characterized by a struggle between upholding tradition and seeking renewal. Felix Neff (1798–1827), a French Reformed Church minister, introduced this movement into the valleys. Neff believed that “the Vaudois have greatly degenerated, and many of them, without having made an outward change of religion, have departed farther from the faith of their fathers, than if they had become Catholics.” During the summer of 1825, Neff preached in Luserna San Giovanni and other Waldensian locations. He encouraged Waldensians to participate in prayer meetings, be missionaries, and expand educational opportunities. After Neff returned to France, some members withdrew from traditional services, held separate meetings, and eventually formed a separate church. According to Waldensian Pastor Alexis Muston (1810–88), “a number of these Vaudois brethren did not hesitate to say that they had changed their religion. . . . The Vaudois . . . were grieved by these intestine [sic] divisions, embittered by ignorance and often fomented by pride.” Although this schismatic church was eventually disbanded, and many of the “dissidents” returned to their ancestral church, the revival resulted in increased lay participation and educational opportunities, as well as prayer meetings, Bible studies, Sunday Schools, new hymns, and missionary

31 Antoine Blanc, the minister in Luserna San Giovanni, invited Neff to preach to his congregation. Concerning Neff’s activities see Spini, Risorgimento e protestanti, 124–25; Bruno Bellion, Marco Cignoni, Gian Paolo Romagnani, and Daniele Tron, Dale Valli all’Italia, 1848–1998 (Torino: Claudiana, 1998), 31, 35, 58, 59; Comba, Breve Storia dei Valdesi, 156.
work. Some Waldensians influenced by the reawakening eventually joined such Protestant churches as La Chiesa Cristiana Libera and Le Assemblee dei Fratelli when they were organized in Italy.\(^{34}\)

During the reawakening, Waldensian pastors advanced a more elaborate version of the ancient-origins thesis. In 1884 Alexis Muston argued that the “Waldenses have been the means of preserving the doctrines of the gospel in their primitive simplicity” but he also advanced the notion that “they were doubtless designed to preserve the germ of another spring, through the winter of the middle ages; like the leaven hid in three measures of meal, or the precious seed set aside by the husbandman to produce a future harvest.”\(^{35}\) This thesis reflected the strongly held belief of most Waldensian pastors that their ancestral church provided a “chain by which our Reformed Churches are connected with the first disciples of Christ” and that their new mission was to evangelize Italy.\(^{36}\)

**ANGELCAN, PRESBYTERIAN, AND BAPTIST EFFORTS**

Anglicans, Presbyterians, and Baptists had many doctrinal and organizational disagreements; but even during the denominational wars of the nineteenth century, they agreed that the Waldensians

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\(^{33}\)Bellion, Cignoni, Romagnani, and Tron, *Dalle Valli*, 60. The reawakening also led to the idea of gathering on August 15.

\(^{34}\)The Chiesa Cristiana Libera took inspiration from John Darby, the father of modern Protestant fundamentalism. Giorgio Spini, *L’Evangelo e il Brevetto Frigio: Storia della Chiesa Cristiana Libera in Italia, 1879–1904* (Torino: Editrice Claudiana, 1971); Le Assemblee dei Fratelli were established in Italy in 1833. Domenico Maselli, *Tra risveglio e millennio. Storia delle chiese cristiane dei Fratelli, 1836–1886* (Torino: Editrice Claudiana, 1974). Giorgio Spini, *Risorgimento e protestanti*, 2d ed. (Milano: Il Saggiatore, 1989), 194–200, has demonstrated that Waldensians were discussing ways to establish churches outside their valleys in Catholic Italy even before King Carlo Alberto issued the Edict of Emancipation and the Statuto in 1848.


were the best beachhead for their missions in Italy. They saw the Waldensians as models for nineteenth-century seekers and for their vision of the primitive church.  

Robert Baird (1798–1861), founder of the Society for the Preservation of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) and a prominent Presbyterian minister, reported in 1847: “There are nearly forty Protestant ministers of the gospel in Italy at present, about one half of whom are laboring as pastors and professionals in the valleys of the Waldensians.” One Baptist minister observed, “There is scarcely a sect in Christendom, which, during the last dozen years, has not laid claim to them as their rightful kindred, in one way or other,” and a Presbyterian cleric conceded, “There is hardly a Protestant denomination of Christians which has not set them up as a kind of exemplar of primitive purity, and boasted of a conformity to their ecclesiastical character.” The Mormons would soon join this chorus.

Nevertheless, the missionaries of these restorationist

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37In 1881 Samuel Butler sat next to a Waldensian on a train from Torino to Pinerolo. The Waldensian told Butler that Waldensians “were without exception Protestant, or rather they had never accepted Catholicism, but had retained the primitive Apostolic faith in its original purity.” Butler decided not to visit Torre Pellice since the Waldensians were “a very growing sect, and had missionaries and establishments in all the principal cities in North Italy; in fact so far as I could gather, they were as aggressive as malcontents generally are, and, Italians though they were, would give away tracts just as readily as we do.” Samuel Butler, Alps and Sanctuaries of Piedmont and the Canton of Ticino, 2d. ed. (London: A. C. Fifield, 1920), 111–12.

38Regarding the theorized connection between the Cathars and Waldensians, see, e.g. [William Simé], History of the Waldenses, from the Earliest Period to the Present Time (Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union, 1829), 18–19, 21; Sketches of the Waldenses (London: Religious Tract Society, ca. 1846), 38; and The History of Protestantism in France (London: Religious Tract Society, [ca. 1850]), 28, 30, 42, 57.


churches—who were intent on restoring the true New Testament church—disagreed on the beliefs and practices of the ancient Waldensians. Anglican writers maintained that the Waldensians had an Episcopal form of church government with a priesthood tradition through which they could trace their own priesthood authority back to the primitive church without going through the Catholic Church.  

Presbyterians claimed that the Waldensians had a Presbyterian form of church organization. The Baptists were convinced that the Waldensians were congregational and that they had practiced "believer's baptism" by immersion, prior to their alignment with the Reformation.

Among the most important Anglican ministers who traveled to the valleys between 1814 and 1850 was William Stephen Gilly (1789-1855). After a 1823 visit, he wrote a book in which he discussed the ancient-origins thesis. An Anglican canon, he saw Waldensian history through Anglican eyes, an interpretation that had


44 Other Anglican writers who edited and introduced the writings of Waldensian pastors who had emphasized the ancient-origins thesis include Hugh Dyke Acland, The Waldenses in Piedmont (London: John Murray, 1825) and his A Compendious History of the People, in Henri Arnaud, The Glorious Recovery by the Vaudois of Their Valleys (London: John Murray, 1827). According to Acland, The Waldenses in Piedmont, 10, "The Vaudois themselves, when establishing their apostolic origin, trace the imposition of hands to Claude, Bishop of Turin, and contend that Claude was an opponent of all the errors then introduced by the See of Rome, and was consecrated by bishops who had not deserted the primitive faith." He concluded that "the imposition of hands, by Claude, Bishop of Turin, implies an episcopal creed," and that "the Vaudois formerly used the term episcopus as well as that of moderator." Ibid., 38–39. See also Jean Rodolphe Peyran, Défense historique des Vaudois, with an introduction and appendices by the Rev. Thomas Sims (London: Rivington, 1826). George Stanley Faber, An Inquiry into the His-
a dramatic impact on the future of the Waldensian church. Gilly convinced the British government to restore the full royal grant (partially restored after the Treaty of Vienna in 1815) and raised funds to build a hospital, construct schools, and educate ministers.

Gilly’s book also inspired John Charles Beckwith (1789–1862), a retired British colonel who lost a leg at the Battle of Waterloo, to visit the valleys in 1827 and 1834. For the next thirty years, he was the Waldensian’s “great benefactor.” Beckwith raised funds to build a hospital, a church, and other buildings in Torre Pellice, established a plan to build one-room schoolhouses in every village and another to train ministers in their own valleys. He encouraged them to seek converts among the Catholic population. In 1848 he told them: “Henceforth, either you are missionaries, or you are nothing. . . . Stand up for something, or be nothing.”

Like many other visiting Anglicans, Gilly believed that the true

*tory and Theology of the Ancient Vallenses and Albigenses* (London: R. B. Seeley and W. Burnside, 1838), 563, concluded that when the Waldensians separated from the Catholic Church “they still retained that primitive form of Ecclesiastical Polity, which ordains the authoritative government of the Church to be vested in Presbyters, employing Deacons as their subordinate assistants, while they themselves acknowledge the superintendence of a Bishop or General Overseer.” The Religious Tract Society also hammered the thesis to advance the dreams of converting Italian Catholics in Italy to Anglicanism. See Anon., *Sketches of the Vallenses*; Antoine Monastier, *A History of the Vaudois Church* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1848); Cromat Temple, *The Glorious Return*; [Anon.], *The History of Protestantism in France* (London: Religious Tract Society, [1850]; Seventeenth-century works with this thesis were also republished: Pierre Allix, *Some Remarks on the Ecclesiastical History of the Ancient Churches of Piedmont* (Oxford, England: Clarendon Press, 1821); Henri Arnaud, *Authentic Details of the Waldenses, in Piedmont and Other Countries* (London: John Hutchard and Son, 1827); and his *The Glorious Recovery by the Vaudois.*

45William Stephen Gilly, *Narrative of an Excursion to the Mountains of Piedmont in the Year MDCCCXXIII* (London: Rivington, 1824). After his next visit, he wrote *Waldesian Researches During a Second Visit to the Vaudois of Piedmont* (London: Rivington, 1831), emphasizing “the antiquity and purity of the Waldensian Church.”


church had to be in the line of apostolic succession, that the Waldensians “had the benefit of an episcopal government,” and that they were therefore the perfect alternative source of priesthood authority unblemished by Catholic apostasy. Gilly wrote that the Waldensian moderator (the ecclesiastical leader) was “the successor of a line of prelates, whom tradition would extend to the apostles themselves, the high-priest of a church, which is, beyond all shadow of doubt, the parent church of every Protestant community in Europe, and which centuries of persecution have not been able to destroy.”

Gilly also believed that the Waldensians were “the spot from which . . . the great Sower will again cast his seed, when it shall please him to permit the pure Church of Christ to resume her seat in those Italian States from which the Pontifical intrigues have dislodged her.”

The Presbyterian clergy also aggressively advanced the ancient-origins thesis. Like the Anglican clergy they were convinced that the Waldensians provided a link between the primitive church and the Reformation and that the Presbyterian brand of Protestantism was not only superior to that of the Anglicans and Baptists but also most like the ancient Waldensians. Presbyterian clerics noted that the Waldensians were neither prelatists (those who advocate church governance by bishops in the Anglican mold) nor anti-Pedobaptists (opponents of infant baptism in the Baptist mold) since they “recognized [the Reformed Churches, on the Presbyterian plan] as true churches.”

Robert Baird published his Sketches of Protestantism in Italy after two trips to the valleys in 1837 and 1843. He wanted to create “a deeper interest in the conversion of Roman Catholic nations to true Christianity” and stimulate “the Reformation to

Story, 287-90, suggests that Beckwith’s ability to raise funds for these projects and his recognition by the Italian government support the possibility that he was an agent for the British government during this important period of Italian unification. Although Beckwith left the valleys in 1854 because he believed the Waldensians had “misconstrued” and “repudiated” their origins, he eventually returned, died, and was buried among his adopted people.

48Gilly, Narrative of an Excursion, 69.
49Gilly, Waldensian Researches, 158.
50Miller, “Recommendatory Letter,” 5.
recommence its glorious career."51 He also wrote a commentary for a new English edition of Jean Paul Perrin’s seventeenth-century treatise arguing the ancient-origins thesis.52

Although Baird conceded that the Waldensians experienced “a falling off in relation to sound doctrine towards the close of the last [18th] century . . . brought about by the influence of Geneva and Lausanne,” he was convinced that they had begun to separate themselves from the Swiss Reformed Church during their reawakening and that their program to train pastors in the valleys had accelerated this process. He also believed that Waldensian history proved that “prelacy has never existed in the valleys” and that the office of Church Moderator “is in no sense whatever episcopal.”53 Other Presbyterians, including Ebenezer Henderson who visited the valleys in 1844, also pointed out that the Waldensians had “no conception” of “apostolic succession, in the way of a regular sacerdotal line of descent,” that they would have “scouted the idea” because it would have reduced them “to the yoke of bondage to human institutions,” and that there was no “trace of an episcopal hierarchy . . . in any of their ancient documents.”54 He also concluded that they were pedobaptists, like the Presbyterians, and that “they have been such from the earliest times.”55 Other Presbyterian publications made sim-


53Ibid., 388-89.

54Ebenezer Henderson, The Vaudois: Observations Made during a Tour to the Valleys of Piedmont, in the Summer of 1844 (London: John Snow, Pater-noster Row, 1845), 207-8. He also argued that “to apostolic succession they did, indeed, pretend: but it was a succession, not of men, but of doctrine—a succession, not in the shape of a mystical, undefinable, intangible something attaching to priestly virtue and authority; but in the solid, substantial, and reasonable faith of a living Christianity” (207).

55Ibid., 396-97.
ilar claims. The Baptists were also aggressive proponents of the ancient-origins thesis. "It is probable," claimed one Baptist historian, "that the Waldensian churches maintained an unbroken line of succession, apart from the papacy, from the days of the apostles." Through the Waldensians the Baptist movement had an "immediate descent from the Apostles and assert that the constitution of their churches is from the authority of Jesus Christ himself, and his immediate successors." During the Middle Ages in "the North, they went by the names of Anabaptists and Mennonites; and in Piedmont and the South, they were found among the Albigenses and Waldensians."

One of the most prominent Baptist ministers to make this argument was William Jones (1762-1845). In his History of the Waldenses, Jones concluded that the ancient Waldensians were "dissenters upon principle, not only from the church in Rome, but also from all national establishments of religion," and that after the Reformation they were "utterly dispersed and scattered by a series of persecutions." Jones believed that their forced exile in 1686 resulted in "ter-

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58Hannah Adams, A Dictionary of All Religions and Religious Denominations (Boston: James Eastburn and Company, 1817), 38-40. Samuel Smucker, A History of All Religions (Philadelphia: Duane Rulison, Quaker City Publishing House, 1860), 38, wrote: "As a sect, or separate organization, they [Baptists] never existed for many ages, until the rise of Peter Waldo, in the twelfth century, who established the sect of the Waldenses among the mountains and valleys of Piedmont." As noted earlier, "Peter" is an anachronistic addition.
59William Jones, History of the Waldenses; Connected with a Sketch of the Christian Church from the Birth of Christ to the Eighteenth Century (London: J. Haddon, 1812), Jones criticized the claims of other Protestant denominations to be closely related to the ancient Waldensians in The History of the Christian Church... (Dover, England: Trustees of the Freewill Baptist Convention, 1837), 1xi. Other Protestant dissenters criticized Jones. See, for example, John Lawrence, The History of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ (Dayton, Ohio: United Brethren Printing Establishment, 1860). In his
minating the history of the Waldenses. After the Waldensians’ "glorious return," Jones believed the Vaudois ("Waldensians" in French) began to baptize infants, like Anglicans and Presbyterians, even though the original Waldensians performed only baptisms of believers by immersion and were dissenters from the national church. As such "the present race of Protestant churches in Piedmont bears little or no affinity to the ancient Waldenses, either in their doctrinal sentiments, their discipline and external order, or their religious practices."

Although Jones hoped his book would rekindle British interest in the small Protestant sect, he did not receive the same recognition as Gilly whose books were published more than a decade later. As a dissenter, Jones believed that Gilly had treated him and other Baptist writers with condescension; and in his later editions, he criticized Anglican efforts "to identify the ancient Waldenses with our national establishment," attacking their claims that it was possible to trace an apostolic succession and an episcopal tradition through the Waldensians. Other Baptist writers supported Jones's interpretation, attacked such competing sectarians as Peyran, Sims, Baird, and Miller, and distinguished the pre-Reformation Waldensians (who they claimed were Baptists) from the post-Reformation Vaudois or Waldensians (who became part of the Swiss Reformed Church). They also rejected Anglican and Presbyterian attempts to analogize their doctrines (concerning church government and practices (baptism) with those of the Waldensians.

MORMONS AMONG THE WALDENSES

While Anglicans, Presbyterians, and Baptists disagreed on

"Recommendatory Letter," Samuel Miller, a Presbyterian minister, accused Jones of perverting "the plainest documents of those pious witnesses of the truth, in order to make them speak the language of anti-pedobaptists, as to place his character as an honest historian in a most undesirable position" (3).

[61] Ibid., xi.
[62] Ibid., viii-xii.
[63] See, e.g., John L. Waller, "Were the Waldenses Baptists or Pedo-Baptists?," Western Baptist Review 4, no. 4 (January 1849) and 4, no. 7 (March 1849).
many subjects, they agreed that the American-born churches were neither Protestant nor Christian. Although the Protestants were restorationists they could not embrace churches that believed in an imminent millennium. For their part the American-born churches, like the "radical reformers," believed that the Catholic Church could not be reformed and that the mainline Protestants were therefore daughters of the "mother of harlots." For example, Warren A. Cowdery (1788–1851), the elder brother of Oliver Cowdery who, like his brother, was a scribe for Joseph Smith, wrote in 1835: "We are aware that the Roman Catholic Church is fixed upon by all Protestants as the Babylon spoken of by the revelator. But... is there any more disorder or confusion in her movements, than in the rest of the professing world? She professes to be the only true Church and treats the sinners as heretics. Protestants have done the same, with the same opportunities." Parley P. Pratt (1807–57), one of Mormonism’s most vocal critics of Catholicism, reported in the Millennial Star in 1840 that Protestants saw "the Roman Catholic, or mother Church," as "the ‘mother of harlots’" and "so corrupt, and so far apostatized from the truth, that a reformation was not only needed but absolutely necessary." However, "from whence did the Protestant Church derive her authority as to offices, ordinances and christenings? Answer: From the Catholics. . . . If then, the Catholic Church is considered 'thorn' or 'thistle', the Protestant Church cannot be considered a fig or grape." Pratt’s criticisms were typical. John Taylor (1808–87), who succeeded Brigham Young as president of the LDS Church, wrote on May 3, 1837:

Some that are in the Church of England, profess to have this authority, and to trace it thro’ from the Apostles’ time. But what channel did it run through? The mother of harlots. You may say she might retain her power though she had lost her virtue. If so, she had power to

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64 Grant Underwood, The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 112, concludes: "Perhaps the two most successful millenarian groups in mid-nineteenth century America were the Mormons and the Millerites. They flourished at roughly the same time and in roughly the same area" in upstate New York.


excommunicate, which of course would nullify all that had been done. We see then, that at the present time, nothing but direct revelation from God could set in order the Church, place them in that state of dignity from which they fell, and prepare them for the glorious appearing of God our savior. 67

Despite these fundamental differences, many Mormons, Adventists, and Jehovah’s Witnesses shared the Protestants’ enthusiasm for the ancient origins thesis. 68 They believed that the Waldensians’ history of persecution, their refusal to submit to papal authority, and many of their doctrines and practices, supported the thesis that they had withstood centuries of persecutions and had preserved many of the pure doctrines of the primitive church. Although these American churches believed that the small Italian church had rejected many of the innovations introduced by the Catholic hierarchy during centuries of apostasy, they did not believe that any priesthood authority had been preserved through the Waldensian clergy. Adventists and Jehovah’s Witnesses were convinced that the ancient Waldenses wor-

67“Letter from John Taylor,” Messenger and Advocate 3, no. 9 (June 1837): 518–15. Similarly, on June 16, 1844 Joseph Smith said: “By all apos[tates] since the world began — I testify again as God never will acknowledge any apost: [sic] any man who will betray the Catholics will betray you — & if he will betray one another, he will betray you — all men are liars to say that they are of the true — God always sent a new dispensation into the world — when men come out & built upon o[the]r men’s foundatn.” Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook, eds. and comps., The Words of Joseph Smith (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Study Center, 1980), 381–82.

shipped on the biblical Sabbath.\footnote{The proselytizing activities of the three American religions in Italy have been ignored by many secular and religious historians. One reason is their "non Protestant" and "cult" status. The history of Adventism in Italy is better documented than that of the Mormons or Jehovah Witnesses. See Giuseppe de Meo, "Crime di Sale": Un secolo di storia della Chiesa Cristiana Adventista del 7° giorno in Italia (1864–1964) (Torino: Claudiana, 1980). In contrast Waldensian authors have emphasized Waldensian emigration to Utah rather than the Mormon mission. Giorgio Spini, Risorgimento e protestanti, 2d. ed. (Milano: Il Saggiatore, 1989), 423 note 3; Belloni, Cignoni, Romagnoni, and Tron, Dalle Valli all'Italia, 1848–1998, 122. The only substantive reference to the presence of Jehovah's Witnesses in the valleys is Paolo Piccioli, "Due pastori valdesi di fronte ai testimoni di Geova," Bolletino della Società di Studi Valdesi No. 186 (giugno [Junec] 2000), 76–81. A rationale for overlooking the Mormons, Jehovah's Witnesses, and Christian Scientists is given in Giorgio Bouchard, "Chiese e monumenti evangelici del nostro tempo" (Torino: Claudiana, 1992), 149–52; and Giorgio Girardet, Protestanti perché (Torino: Claudiana, 1983), 111.}

Renewed missionary activity in Italy followed the revolutions of 1848. The Italian peninsula was a patchwork of separate kingdoms, duchies, and states. With the exception of the Kingdom of Sardinia and the Papal States, all of the regions—including the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, the Duchy of Parma, the Duchy of Modena and Duchy of Massa, the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and the Kingdom of Lombardy-Veneto—were dominated by foreign governments.\footnote{See Dennis Mack Smith, Modern Italy: A Political History, new ed. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1997).} With revolutions spreading throughout Europe, on February 8, 1848, King Carlo Alberto (1798–1849), of the Kingdom of Sardinia (which included the Waldensian valleys) received the petition of his nobles, who wanted to share more power with the monarchy, to grant a constitution. He acquiesced and published the "Statuto," patterned after the French Constitution of 1830. While it guaranteed individual liberty (articles 24, 26), freedom of the press (art. 28), and the right to congregate without arms (art. 32), and extended certain civil and political privileges to non-Catholic minorities (Jews and Waldensians), it did not guarantee religious liberty to non-Catholics, or the same degree of press freedom that was assured in England and the United States. The Catholic Church continued to be "the sole religion of the
State, and Bibles, catechisms, and liturgical prayer books could not be published without permission of a Catholic bishop.\textsuperscript{71}

Brigham Young (1801–77) dispatched missionaries to Italy in 1849 because the Mormon Church hierarchy was convinced that, after two years of revolutionary activity, the European continent was ready for the introduction of the gospel.\textsuperscript{72} Soon after Joseph Smith had organized the Church of Christ in 1830, Sidney Rigdon (1793–1876), a former Campbellite Baptist preacher, one of Smith's most trusted confidantes, and a future counselor in the not-yet-organized First Presidency, was sympathetic with William Jones's conclusion that the Waldensians "were doubtless the remains of the apostolic church." Rigdon also wrote that he was struck by the "persecutions" and "outrright falsehoods" that had been perpetrated against them.\textsuperscript{73} John C. Bennett (1804–67), another former Campbellite preacher, also a member of the First Presidency and a confidant of

\textsuperscript{71}See, generally, Giorgio Tourn, \textit{The Waldensians: The First 800 Years} (Turin: Claudiana, 1989), 180–200. Similar concessions were granted to members of minority religions in other parts of Europe, including England, France, and Germany. Catholics were not emancipated in England until 1829. Stephens, \textit{Waldensian Story}, 264.


\textsuperscript{73}[Sidney Rigdon], "Faith of the Church of Christ in these Last Days," \textit{Evening and Morning Star} 2, no. 21 (June 1834): 162, quoting William Jones, \textit{The History of the Waldenses: Connected with a Sketch of the Christian Church from the Birth of Christ to the Eighteenth Century} (London, 1811). See also John
Smith, compared persecutions perpetrated against the Mormons and Waldensians, and concluded that persecutions against Mormons were worse. 74 Other Church leaders compared Waldensian teachings—particularly those which they believed were taught in the primitive church—with Mormon doctrines. 75 No LDS leaders believed that the Waldensians possessed priesthood authority or that there was an “unbroken chain of apostolic succession.” 76 They were particularly critical of Baptist claims that they were Waldensians and that they had therefore inherited title to the primitive church.

Lorenzo Snow (1814–1901) organized the Italian Mission in the Waldensian valleys. 78 He candidly admitted that he and his companions did not “actively and publicly engage in communicating the great principles which I had come to promulgate” during the initial

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74 Correspondence Between C. V. Dyer and Gen. J. G. Bennett,” Times and Seasons 3, no. 10 (March 15, 1842): 728.


76 In 1888 John Taylor recalled that, when Joseph Smith sent his apostles to England in 1837, he instructed them: “If you come across a people who have even the first principles of the Gospel of Christ correctly you need not baptize them, for the possession of those principles will be a sign that they have some portion of the Holy Priesthood.” John Taylor, n.d. 1889, Journal of Discourses 24:228–29. In a subsequent discourse, John Taylor reported that he had never encountered such a group. August 17, 1884, ibid., 25:263.


phase of the mission and that "all the jealous policy of Italy has been hushed into repose by the comparative silence of our operations."\(^{79}\) During this phase it is unlikely that any Waldensians understood that Mormons were not Protestants. After meeting with Charles Beckwith several times, Snow reported to Young that Beckwith told him that he would "receive no opposition on my part."\(^{80}\) Beckwith was probably not familiar with Mormon truth claims, since Mormon missionaries did not arrive in England until after Beckwith settled in Italy, and Snow's presentation probably lacked specifics since he was still conducting a public relations campaign. Under the circumstances, Beckwith probably concluded that Waldensians could benefit from observing the Mormons since they needed, according to Beckwith, to return to their roots, go forth as missionaries without purse or scrip, and witness to the Catholics in Italy. In large part, because of Beckwith's benign attitude, Snow and his small band of missionaries were initially welcome to preach before Waldensian congregations.

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\(^{79}\) Snow, *The Italian Mission*, 14, 22.

\(^{80}\) Ibid., 17.
In December 1850, Snow initiated another phase of his mission when he sent T. B. H. Stenhouse (1824–82) to open a mission in French-speaking Switzerland. Snow interrupted his low-profile approach in the Waldensian valleys when he published two pamphlets in French, *Exposition des premiers principes de la doctrine de l’Eglise de Jésus-Christ des Saints des Derniers Jours* and *La voix de Joseph: Exposition des premiers principes* (a translation of *The Only Way to Be Saved*, which he had written a decade earlier as a missionary in England) described the first principles of the gospel without mentioning either Joseph Smith or the Book of Mormon. *La voix de Joseph* emphasized those aspects of Mormonism which eventually convinced some French-speaking Waldensians to change religions.\(^\text{81}\) It described Joseph Smith’s revelations, explained the Mormon doctrine of gathering converts to America in anticipation of the millennium, presented the Perpetual Emigrating Fund which assisted those who could not afford to emigrate on their own, and depicted the beautiful natural conditions in the Salt Lake Valley.

Waldensian pastors, some of whom had lived through the dis-sensasion which accompanied the reawakening, cooled toward Snow and his missionaries when *La voix de Joseph* made them aware of Mor-

\(^{81}\) Snow, *The Italian Mission*, 13–14; Snow, *La Voix de Joseph* (Turin: Ferrero et Franco, 1851). Snow also arranged for the translation into French and publication of a pamphlet he wrote during his mission in England: *The Only Way to Be Saved* (London, 1841), published as *Exposition des premiers principes de la doctrine de l’Eglise de Jésus-Christ des Saints des Derniers Jours* (Turin: Louis Arnaudi, 1851). It was republished a year later in Switzerland. *La Voix de Joseph* was published with "a woodcut of a Catholic Nun, An-chor, Lamp and Cross on the first page, and on the last, Noah’s Ark, the dove and the olive." Although Snow confused a "Lamp" with a monstrance, he understood that it was common to place these symbols on publications which had received ecclesiastical approval; because his pamphlets were published without the permission required under the laws of the Kingdom of Sardinia, the symbols would make it easier to distribute them. Snow, *The Italian Mission*, 22–25; and Vittorio Emmanuele I, *Regio jildito* (Torino: Stamperia Reale, 10 June 1814), para. 13. For other contemporary publications which were published with permission and which included similar symbols, see Abbé Paul Barone, *Judith ou scènes Vaudoises* (Pignerol, Piedmont: G. Lobetti-Bodoni, 1846); Antoine-Ulric, *Exposition des raisons ou motifs* (Pignerol, Piedmont: P. Massara, 1838).
monism's fine points and established clearly that Mormonism was not part of mainstream Protestantism. Pastors of the Reformed Church wrote most of the negative information concerning Mormonism which circulated in the valleys, including attacks on Snow's pamphlets.¹⁸² Waldensian pastors also became hostile after Mormon missionaries baptized a few of their members. Snow recognized that the Waldensians' alignment with the Swiss reformers and the "long . . . and . . . intimate connection between the Protestants here [in the valleys] and in Switzerland," provided him with an opportunity to ensure "that the Gospel may be established in both places."¹⁸³

Snow also recognized that the Waldensians comprised less than 1 percent of the total population of the Italian peninsula. When he returned to England in January 1851, he planned to send missionaries to the Italian-speaking Catholics, hired a scholar to translate the Book of Mormon into Italian, and the following year published both IILibro di Mormon (Londra: Stamperia di Guglielmo Bowen, 1852), and an Italian edition of The Only Way to Be Saved.³⁴ Snow encouraged his missionaries to use these publications and proselytize in the largest


Italian-speaking cities in the Kingdom of Sardinia: Turin, Nice, and Genoa.

In 1852 two missionaries, Jabez Woodard and Francis Combe, took lodgings in Turin and printed announcements, which they placed in cafes and on the streets, to publicize that they were “authorized to give all necessary information” concerning their church and that they would be present “everyday from 7 to 9 in the evening, in via della Chiesa, n. 9 bis, left staircase, at the end of the courtyard, first floor” to explain to the public “information concerning their doctrines and emigration program which they have established to the United States.” Although it is unclear whether these missionaries had copies of *Il Libro di Mormon*, they did distribute copies of *Ristaurazione dell’antico Evangelio*.

At least one Catholic newspaper was offended by the presence of Mormon missionaries in the capital city of the Kingdom of Sardinia. *L'Armonia della religione colla civiltà* was one of many newspapers founded in Turin in 1848 after King Carlo Alberto’s Statuto (constitution). It was not an official Catholic organ and was, in fact, considered ultraconservative by other more moderate Catholic newspapers. On August 1, 1852, *L'Armonia* published a supplement with a headline for its lead story that announced “Mormons in Turin.” The article discussed, for the first time in an Italian newspaper, the history and contents of the Book of Mormon. It also provided information on Church history and doctrines. The article argued that both Mormons and Waldensians were conducting missionary work and publishing religious pamphlets contrary to Sardinian law and that the

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government's complacence was therefore allowing the Catholic Church to be undermined.

A week later, L'Armonia's lead article was headlined: "Who is better off in Piedmont? The Catholics or the Mormons?" The newspaper complained that "unfortunately the Mormons, about whom we wrote last Sunday, are in Turin beginning their mission in the shadow of liberty, under the beneficial influence of the three-colored flag, protected by those great and spastic Catholics who are our state ministers." The article discussed Elder Snow's Restaurazione dell'antico Evangelio and warned readers not to be surprised if the missionaries began publishing a newspaper in Turin or even built a temple, because the government's ministers might allow such activities with a "nod of the head" because of their "agreed upon love of liberty." These Catholic writers were wary of the Mormons because the Waldensians were publishing a paper and building a temple in Turin at the time the article was published. The article then complained of what it characterized as the government's shabby treatment of the Catholic Church while the Mormon missionaries were being allowed to conduct their activities without fear of legal action. Eventually the government prosecuted the owners of L'Armonia for the paper's dogged opposition to the Risorgimento (the movement to unify Italy) and for its continued criticisms of government ministers.

Following the appearance of these articles in 1852, L'Armonia did not report specific Mormon missionary activity in Turin. The missionaries were unsuccessful in their quest to convert Catholic investigators, and this failure probably explains the lack of continued newspaper coverage. One Mormon missionary speculated that the "Catholics have been much more civil to us than the Protestants for some time, perhaps it has been because we have not menaced their positions heretofore." But L'Armonia did continue to report on Mormonism in general, including political events in Utah.

Nevertheless, supplied with copies of Il Libro di Mormon and Restaurazione dell'antico Evangelio, Mormon missionaries continued...
their efforts to find converts in Turin and other cities in the Kingdom of Sardinia. Without exception, their visits were brief because of the hostility they aroused. In July 1853, Thomas Margetts reported: “On my arrival in Turin I found that I was well known. . . . Finding I could not remain there more than a few days, I was compelled to return to the valleys [sic] of the Waldenses.”90 By this time the Waldensian newspaper, *La Buona Novella*, which was also located in Turin, was also criticizing the government’s willingness to allow Mormon missionaries in Italy.91 In fact both *L’Armonia* and *La Buona Novella* not only published negative articles about the Church but characterized Mormonism as similar to their rivals—Protestants in the case of *L’Armonia* and Catholics in the case of *La Buona Novella*.92

In March 1854, Stenhouse reported that because of “the many difficulties and much suffering attending open circulation of our publications in Italy, I have been led to change tactics, and have sent two young Geneva Elders to Turin and Nice, to labor at their occupations, and to seek out opportunities of distributing the printed word, and of doing as much more as circumstances and the Spirit of the Lord may direct.”93 In June 1856, Samuel Francis reported that he was determined to establish “a Turin Branch of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, before the close of 1856.”94 He attempted to proselytize not only among the Catholics but also among the Prot-


94 Samuel Francis, “Piedmont—Italy,” *Millennial Star* 18 (August 2,
estants who held services in the city. He reported that he had “a good supply of The Only Way to Be Saved, in Italian (the only work we have in that language, except the Book of Mormon),” which he distributed “at the church doors, and along the public walks and gardens.” But he also complained about continuing negative articles in the local press.  

Despite these attempts to introduce Mormonism in the Italian-speaking cities of Turin, Nice, and Genoa, the missionaries made only one Italian-speaking convert from Catholicism during the nineteenth century. The other 171 were all Waldensians.

Many of these converts were attracted by Mormonism’s claim that the primitive church had been restored through the revelations of Joseph Smith and that the Mormon Church was endowed with continuing revelation, spiritual gifts, and priesthood authority. Some early members were veterans of the reawakening and rejoiced that their dreams and aspirations were finally fulfilled. The Mormon mission also coincided with overpopulation and declining economic conditions in Waldensian valleys. Some converts were attracted by the doctrine of “gathering” and PEF, which subsidized those who could not otherwise afford to emigrate. Some Mormon missionaries candidly admitted that “in these valleys, a great many lovers of emigration join the church, expecting to get free emigration to America.” The Waldensian clergy tried to counter this attraction—out of genuine concern for their flock—by offering Mormon converts alternative emigration to Waldensian colonies being established abroad. The Venerable Table (the governing council of the Waldensian Church) eventually instituted a program of emigration to Sardinia, Algeria,

1856): 491.


98 Ibid., 19.

99 Ibid., 19–21. Nevertheless, not all Mormon converts emigrated to Utah because they were poor. Surviving land sale records demonstrate that some converts sold their property for significant amounts. Homer, “Like the Rose in the Wilderness.”
the United States, Australia, and Argentina. In January 1854, the first group of Mormon converts from Italy emigrated to Utah. By the end of the decade, seventy-three converts—almost half of the 171 total—had emigrated. Most of the others returned to the Waldensian church. In 1867 Brigham Young stopped sending missionaries to Italy, which had been part of the Swiss Mission for more than ten years.

Church leaders criticized the Waldensians after it became clear that the Italian Mission would produce only meager results. In 1854, Young reminisced in a sermon that he had reminded a missionary who had returned from Italy that, even though "the Baptists say they received their authority or priesthood [from the Waldensians,]... their priesthood is no better than the Catholic priesthood.” While Lorenzo Snow originally believed that the Waldensians were a "Branch of the House of Israel,” he was soon discouraged because they “regard any innovation as an attempt to drag them from the banner of their martyred ancestors.” Mormon authorities also criticized Protestant attempts to claim priesthood authority through the Waldensians. When a Protestant minister told John Taylor that Protestants could trace their priesthood authority either through the Waldensians or the Albigensians, Taylor reminded him that “the whole of England was under the dominion of the Pope... and all submitted to his authority.” George A. Smith (1817–75) also criticized what he perceived as Baptist claims to


102 “Extract from John Taylor’s Journal,” Times and Seasons 3, no. 8 (February 15, 1842): 693–95, quoting John Taylor, Journal, Liverpool, England, May 5, 1839. See also John Greenhow, “Letter to the Editor,” Times and Seasons 4 (April 15, 1843): 165–66: “A Rev. master of arts in Liverpool attempted to prove that the Church of England received their priesthood and authority from the Waldenses; but with all the art he was master of he failed, for it is notorious that the reformation in that church by Henry the Eighth was not a reformation in either doctrine or discipline but a transfer of the same power from the Pope to the King.”
priesthood through the Waldensians.¹⁰³

Mormon missionaries underestimated both the Waldensians' and Catholics' dedication to their religious and ethnic heritage. They seemed most surprised that the Waldensians retained a strong ethnic identity and a passionate connection with their history. Snow complained that the Waldesian pastors could discourage prospective converts by simply referring to that "dear church which is consecrated by so many glorious remembrances, and for which your fathers have died."¹⁰⁴ They were unable to expand their mission to the Catholics because the Kingdom of Sardinia had virtually no religious liberty. While Mormon missionaries were tolerated, or at least ignored, in the Protestant valleys, they were forbidden to proselytize in the rest of the kingdom. The Catholic Church was the state religion under the Statuto. Although the Waldensians were sometimes overlooked, to the exasperation of *L'Armonia* and other Catholics, no minority religion was authorized to assemble, publish religious propaganda, or seek converts among the Catholic population. The Catholic Church also opposed separation of church and state. Even when the Prime Minister, Count Cavour (1810–61), proclaimed in 1860 that there would be "a free church in a free state" and that the state had the right to dismantle many of the prerogatives of the Catholic Church, he also recognized that "the King's government cannot tolerate proselytism or public acts in locations where they could produce popular tumult and disorder."¹⁰⁵

SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS

Adventists were also restorationists and convinced that Waldensians had preserved some of the doctrines of the primitive church. In 1864 Michael Belina Czechowski (1818–76), a former Polish Franciscan friar, became the first Adventist missionary to proselytize in Italy, but not as a representative of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, which had just been organized the previous year. Czechowski began his mission in the Waldensian valleys because of the "Waldesian myth," and his mistaken belief that the Statuto extended

civil liberties to the Waldensians. Czechowski believed that the wars of liberation and unification in Italy had religious and theological, as well as political, implications.\textsuperscript{106} Czechowski knew that several Protestant groups had established churches in Italy after the Statuto, achieving only limited success.\textsuperscript{107} Like the Mormon missionaries who preceded him, he established contacts with Waldensian pastors, including Bartolomeo Pons and preached to Waldensian congregations.\textsuperscript{108} He also exchanged ideas with Piero Guicciardini of the Chiesa dei Fratelli, and with Jean Pierre Combe and Francesco Lagomarsino of the Chiesa Cristiana Libera.\textsuperscript{109} When Czechowski preached in Turin, Milan, Bergamo, Verona, and Brescia, he warned his listeners that “the approaching Kingdom of God is very near,” that there were many sects but only one remnant church, and that the true Sabbath had been changed from Saturday to Sunday.

During his fourteen-month mission in Italy, Czechowski bap-


\textsuperscript{107} De Meo, “M. B. Czechowski,” 206.

\textsuperscript{108} Ibid., 216.

\textsuperscript{109} Ibid., 214.
tized a handful of converts, organized the first Adventist congregations in the Waldensian valleys, and translated, published, and distributed the first Adventist pamphlets. He also built a solid foundation for future Seventh-day Adventist missionaries. In 1874 John Nevins Andrews (1829–83), the first official representative of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Europe, confirmed that several Adventists, apparently Czechowski's converts, still resided in the Waldensian valleys. In 1885, Daniel T. Bourdeau (1835–1905), another Seventh-day Adventist, proselytized in the Waldensian valleys for several months. In a letter to his brother, Augustin G. Bourdeau, he announced that the Waldensians were prepared for the Adventist message. When Augustin arrived in Torre Pellice during the same year, he found about fifty members and rented a hall, which accommodated 200 persons.110

In 1885 Ellen G. White (1827–1915), leader of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, was attending a church council in Europe and, after reading Reverend James Aitken Wylie's *History of the Waldenses*, decided to visit the valleys.111 Although Wylie (1808–90) was a minister in the Free Church of Scotland, White was convinced that he was correct in asserting that the Waldensians were a "remnant of the early apostolic church of Italy" who had "succeeded in maintaining their independence of Rome many years after others had yielded to her power."112 She was also persuaded by Anglican canon Stephen Gilly's prediction that the valleys would become the location from which "the great Sower will again cast his seed, when it shall please him to permit the pure Church of Christ to resume her seat in those Italian States from which Pontifical intrigues have dislodged her."113

White believed that the Catholic Church had lost its divine authority, that "in every age there were witnesses for God," and that the Waldensian Church was "the true church of Christ, the guardian of the treasures of truth which God has committed to His people to be given to the world." In "their purity and simplicity, [the Waldensians]

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110 De Mecq, "Granel di sale," 91.
112 White, *Historical Sketches*, 239.
resembled the church of apostolic times,” had successfully “contended for the faith of the apostolic church” before the rise of Protestantism, and had “resisted the encroachments of the papal power” because “their religious belief was founded upon the written word of God, the true system of Christianity.” According to White, they “maintained the ancient faith” because they translated the scriptures and observed the “Bible Sabbath,” even though their faithfulness brought upon them physical attacks and legal persecution.\(^\text{114}\)

When White arrived in Torre Pellice on November 27, 1885, she already “in visions . . . had been shown the trials and persecutions of the Waldensians.”\(^\text{115}\) She delivered a sermon in a hall before a handful of believers and, during the next two and a half weeks, experienced more opposition from Adventists (who were not part of her church) than she did from Waldensian pastors or Protestant ministers.\(^\text{116}\) Her opponents included a former Seventh-day Adventist disciple who owned the first hall where she spoke and another Adventist, Miles Grant, who held meetings in “a hall directly above ours, on the same days but at different hours.” White complained that Grant spent much of his career “following” on her track” in order to claim that “the visions of Mrs. White are not of God.”\(^\text{117}\)

Even though she was frequently interrupted and attracted only small audiences, White remained convinced that “the Lord will again work for this people, and restore to those who will come to the light, their former purity and fidelity to his service.”\(^\text{118}\) But she also knew that previous Adventist missionaries had achieved only minimal success among the Waldensians and, like them, complained that, despite their history of persecutions and adherence to “protestant” doctrines, “few of their descendants manifest a desire to continue to walk in the light as it shines from the word of God.”\(^\text{119}\)

Despite these reservations, White revisited the valleys in April

\(^{114}\) White, *The Great Controversy*, 61, 68, 64, 577.

\(^{115}\) White, *The Lonely Years*, 336.


\(^{117}\) White, *Historical Sketches*, 236.

\(^{118}\) Ibid., 249.

\(^{119}\) Ibid.
1886 and received a more cordial reception. She preached in Torre Pellice to a "little company of Sabbath-keepers," in Villar Pellice to an audience in a "hall...literally packed," and to more than four hundred in the open air outside the hall. She also spoke at San Giovanni, visited historical sites in the valleys, including Bobbio and Angroina, advised Bourdeau on missionary work, and prepared to organize a missionary society. Following her second visit, she believed that Sabbatarianism (celebrating the Sabbath on Sunday) was the biggest obstacle to making converts but also criticized Catholicism's heavy influence in Italy, and predicted that mainstream Protestants would eventually unite with Catholicism because of their "infidelity concerning the scriptures."

Two years after her visit to the valleys, Ellen G. White wrote her most famous book: *The Great Controversy between Christ and Satan: The Conflict of the Ages in the Christian Dispensation* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1888), in which she devoted an entire chapter to the Waldensians. She even praised them, despite her obvious disappointment that they had not embraced her Adventist message. Given her continuing admiration for the Waldensians, it is not surprising that Seventh-day Adventist missionaries and Church members remained in Italy throughout the nineteenth century.

Ten years after White's visits, another Seventh-day Adventist missionary, H. P. Hosler, established a residence in Torre Pellice where he preached the Adventist message. But after the turn of the century, the Seventh-day Adventists eventually concentrated their proselytizing efforts in the major metropolitan cities of Italy where most of the Adventist Italian membership is centered today.

**Jehovah's Witnesses in Italy**

The first Jehovah's Witnesses in Italy (known until 1931 as Bible Students) were also disillusioned Waldensians who remained alienated from their church even after it made changes after the reawaken-

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121 White, "Visit to the Vaudois Valleys," 48.
125 See generally, De Meo, "Grancl di Sale."
ing. In 1903 Fanny Stefania Balmus Lugli (1856–1926), a Waldensian dissident who lived in frazione Gondini (fratzone: a small neighborhood) in San Germano Chisone, read Charles Taze Russell’s *The Divine Plan of the Ages*. Russell (1852–1916) was the founder of Zion’s Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society (the forerunner of the Jehovah’s Witnesses) in 1881, and he published *The Divine Plan of the Ages* in 1886. Lugli received this book from relatives in the United States, became a convinced Jehovah’s Witness, and began holding meetings in her home. During the same year, another Waldensian, Daniel Rivoir (1825–1916), began translating the same book into Italian. Rivoir, a Waldensian Pastor until 1865 and the Waldensian Moderator of the tavola Valdese for two years, was a teacher at the Scuola Latina in Pinerolo. In 1904 he published *Il Divin Piano delle Età*. During the same year, he began translating and publishing the Jehovah’s Witness periodical: *Zion’s Watch Tower and Herald of Christ’s Presence*. From this foundation, the first Jehovah’s Witness congregation was organized in 1908. It met each Sunday afternoon in San Germano Chisone (fratzone Gondini), and each Thursday evening in Pinerolo.

Official Jehovah’s Witness publications have claimed that Charles Taze Russell visited the Waldensian valleys in 1891, where he met Daniel Rivoir, and that he returned to the valleys in 1912. Although this claim has recently been repeated in *The Watch Tower*,

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127 Frazione Gondini was known among the locals as “La Repubblica” because many nonconformists lived there. Residents of San Germano converted to Mormonism, Adventism, Darbyism, and the Salvation Army.


129 For claims of Russell’s visit, see 1982 *Yearbook of Jehovah’s Witnesses*. 
some Jehovah's Witnesses in Italy now dispute that Russell ever visited the Waldensian valleys because contemporary articles published in *The Watch Tower* did not document any visits to Pinerolo, report any encounters with Rivoir, or acknowledge that Russell, or anyone else in the United States, knew that there were Jehovah's Witnesses in the valleys. The claim was constructed from local folklore—statements by Jehovah's Witnesses who were not affiliated with the movement until the 1930s—rather than from Russell's memoirs.

The construction of this claim may reflect some Jehovah's Witnesses' conviction that Russell's injunctions to read the Bible and witness to Catholic neighbors answered the prayers of Waldensian dissidents who, following their own reawakening, remained disappointed because the Waldensian leadership failed to return to its original proselytizing mission. Although Jehovah's Witnesses during this period may not have believed that Waldensians were the literal descen-


dants of the primitive Christians because they (the Waldensians) were “too far afield doctrinally,” they did believe that they were “the torch-bearers for the cause of freedom” during the “gross darkness of the Middle Ages.” Their most important activity during these years of darkness was translating and distributing Bibles, deriving authority from the scriptures, and witnessing as missionaries.

The publication of a controversial book shortly after Russell’s death may have been another catalyst for the claim that Russell visited the valleys. Russell wrote six books in a series entitled Studies in the Scriptures. Within a year of his death a seventh volume, entitled The Finished Mystery, was published under his name. It is now acknowledged that it was written by Clayton J. Woodworth and George H. Fisher. The book reflects Russell’s teaching that the Catholic Church became corrupt and lost the power of God. It also advanced a dispensational view of human history and taught that God had chosen various messengers to be witnesses after the Catholic Church introduced false doctrines and practices. Valdes “was the messenger to the fourth epoch of the Church,” he and his followers “complained that the Roman church had degenerated from its primitive purity and sanctity,” and Valdes attempted to return the church to that “amiable simplicity and primitive sanctity.” The book also concluded that Russell was the “seventh messenger.”

It seems reasonable to hypothesize that these early Jehovah’s Witnesses constructed a story to connect Russell with the establishment of the first congregations in the Waldensian valleys. Such a story corrects Russell’s apparent neglect of the Waldensians’ ancient practice of Bible reading and preaching, and connects the success of the Jehovah’s Witnesses among dissident Waldensians who recognized this deficiency in the Waldensian Church with Russell’s ministry. Eventually, however, both Valdes’s and Russell’s roles as messengers have been revised in official Jehovah’s Witness publications. The Finished Mystery “was allowed to go out of circulation” and the claim

132Ibid., 36.
that Russell was a messenger has been abandoned.\textsuperscript{134} Similarly, although the Jehovah’s Witnesses acknowledge that “insistence on public preaching became the decisive issue of the church’s attitude toward the Waldenses,” they now rely on academics who have established that, shortly after the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, the Waldensians abandoned their original mission and began living “a double life.”\textsuperscript{135}

But even if Russell did not acknowledge the Waldensians or visit their valleys, it is still true that all of the original Jehovah’s Witnesses in Italy were former Waldensians. As such, Russell’s writings—particularly those which predicted the second coming in 1914—had great repercussions among them. According to the Jehovah’s Witnesses’ own literature: “One day, some of them went out to an isolated place to wait for the event to take place. However, when nothing happened, they were obliged to go back home again in a very downcast frame of mind. As a result, a number of these ones fell away from the faith.”\textsuperscript{136} After the disappointment of 1914, only about fifteen Jehovah’s Witnesses remained in Pinerolo and San Germano Chisone.\textsuperscript{137} One of the remaining believers, Remigio Cuminetti, refused to serve in the military during World War I which set a precedent for subsequent

\textsuperscript{134}“Then Is Finished the Mystery of God” (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Watchtower Bible and Tract Association of Brooklyn, 1969), 110–13. This book reminds its readers that the inaccuracy of the claim that Russell was a messenger has been corrected in the Watch Tower in 1927, Light in 1930, and Vindication in 1951.


\textsuperscript{136}1982 Yearbook of Jehovah’s Witnesses, 120.

\textsuperscript{137}Giovanni Luigi Fornerone wrote and published Per un grande risveglio popolare, profezie e rivoluzioni mandate dal Signore (Pinerolo, Italy: Tipografia Sociale, 1914). Although apparently not a Jehovah’s Witness, Fornerone used the publisher of Rivoir’s translation of Il Divin Piano delle Eta and made arguments reminiscent of Jehovah’s Witnesses literature. He criticized not only Catholics and Waldensians but also Adventists and Mormons. According to Fornerone, the Mormons lived communally, practiced polygamy, and were awaiting the second coming. He did not realize that the Mormons no longer observed the law of consecration, had abandoned polygamy, and were no longer strict millennialists.
conscientious objectors in Italy. Following World War I, Waldensian Pastor Giuseppe Banchetti (1866–1926), translated The Watch Tower, The Harp of God, and Deliverance. Although Banchetti, like Rivier, did not become a Jehovah’s Witness, he incorporated some of Russell’s beliefs into his sermons. Perhaps because of them, but certainly not with Banchetti’s approval, approximately twenty Waldensians left the church in Cerignola to become Jehovah’s Witnesses. During the 1920s, Pinerolo remained the Jehovah’s Witnesses’s Italian headquarters, where they published books and held conferences, including the first assembly of approximately seventy Jehovah’s Witnesses, held at the Corona Grossa Hotel in April 1925.

ABANDONMENT OF THE ANCIENT-ORIGINS THESIS

Catholic, Protestant, and even Waldensian scholars eventually debunked the thesis that Waldensians were “proto-Protestants” prior to Luther and Calvin. Just as English and German scholars dismantled Freemasonry’s claims to antiquity, academics in England, France, and Germany demonstrated that the Waldensians did not originate before the twelfth century.138

While most Catholic writers ignored the ancient-origins thesis during the seventeenth century, they targeted it in the nineteenth century, particularly after Alexis Muston wrote: “Roman writers are unwilling to admit the antiquity of the Waldensian church, which would go far to contradict the doctrine of the papal supremacy, therefore they have endeavored to prove that the origin of these Christians is traced to the eleventh or twelfth century.”139 Catholic clergymen in Piedmont were particularly aggressive in attacking Waldensian claims of antiquity. Andrea Charvaz (1793–1870), the bishop of Pinerolo with jurisdiction over the Waldensian valleys, wrote a rebuttal to

138 Anti-Masonic publications disputed the antiquity of Freemasonry by referring to the scholarship of “highminded and honorable gentlemen of profound learning and research, men above suspicion and in possession of the most ancient and extensive libraries in this country.” New England Anti-Masonic Almanac for the Year of our Lord 1831, No. 3 (Boston: John Marsh & Co., ca. 1830), 39. They also mocked the ancient-origins thesis of Freemasonry by asking: “Why is Free Masonry like an old Maid? Because she fibs about her age.” Ibid., 38.

139 Sketches of the Waldenses, 15.
Muston’s book two years after it was published. He demonstrated that the Waldensians began as a Catholic reform movement, that they originally adhered to Catholic doctrines and practices, and that the documents which Morland and others claimed established the ancient origins of the Waldensians were actually written after Valdes organized the movement. Charvaz later supervised the construction of a priory church, which included a residence for eight monks who were missionary preachers, at the gates of Torre Pellice. The church was dedicated by King Carlo Alberto on September 23, 1844. Perhaps the best Catholic response to the ancient-origins thesis was written by another Piemontese priest and future saint, Giovanni Bosco (1815–88). In his La Storia d’Italia, he observed that the Waldensians attended Catholic Mass before the Reformation and became anti-Catholic and belligerent following their union with Swiss Protestants. In a second work, he observed that the Waldensians failed to produce any evidence that their movement began before Valdes and that their history had been falsified by Waldensian Pastors.

140[Andrea Charvaz], Recherches Historiques sur la véritable origine des Vaudois (Paris: Perisse Frères, 1836); Andrea Charvaz, Origine dei Valdesi (Torino: G. Bocca, 1838). Charvaz taught King Carlo Alberto’s children, including the future King Vittorio Emanuele II. He was appointed bishop of Pinerolo in 1834, resigned in 1847 to protest King Carlo Alberto’s liberal policies on religious publication, became the archbishop of Genoa, and is buried in the Cathedral of San Lorenzo.


142Giovanni Bosco, La Storia d’Italia, 5th ed. (Torino: Oratorio di San Francesco di Sales, 1866). Bosco incorporated the Society of Saint Francis of Sales (the Salesians) in 1859, and obtained papal approval for the society between 1864 and 1874. The future saint (canonized in 1930) established schools, missions, and homes for children. His book discussed the Risorgimento (the Italian unification movement) and the liberal and anti-clerical policies of the Kingdom of Sardinia. During the Risorgimento’s last stages (1866–71), church and state several times asked Bosco to mediate disputes between the Kingdom of Italy and the pope, particularly when it became increasingly clear that the king intended to occupy Rome and make it his capital. Concerning Bosco and the Waldensians, see Michele L. Straniero, Don Bosco e I Valdesi: Documenti di una polemica trentennale (1853–1883) (Torino: Claudiana, 1988).

143Bosco, La Storia d’Italia, 351.
such as Leger, Peyran, Muston, and Bert and by anti-Catholic Protestant writers. He also noted contradictions among these historians. Leger claimed that the movement began with the Old Testament prophets, Bert with the New Testament Apostles, Peyran with the disciples of Christ after the death of the apostles, and Muston during the third century after the Constantine embraced Christianity. Bosco concluded that the Waldensians had no priesthood lineage and that no Protestant church could claim one through them. He was mildly offended that Amedeo Bert, the Waldensian Pastor of the French-speaking congregation in Turin, continued to advance these claims regardless.

But the most devastating rebuttals of the ancient-origins thesis were written by Waldensian scholars. In 1870 Pius Melia (1800–83) severely criticized Jean Leger as having "misled nearly all who wrote on the subject after him." He concluded that "the Waldenses had their first origin in the second half of the twelfth century, and that Peter of Vaud, the rich merchant of Lyons, was their founder." Two decades later Emilio Comba (1839–1904) reached the same conclusion: The Waldensians did not claim "an ancient origin, prior to Waldo until more than one hundred years after Waldo's death," and this "tradition... was still more perverted by the men of the Reformation. Adopting the Waldenses as their precursors, they endeavored, by that means, to create for themselves 'a secret perpetuity during the middle ages, vying with Catholic perpetuity."

Comba also observed that "Legend, like Pharaoh's lean kine, swallowed up history; the date of Waldensian writings were confused,

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144Giovanni Bosco, _Il Cattolico nel Secolo_, 2d ed. (Torino: Tipografia e Libreria Salesiana, 1883), 206, 217.
145 Ibid., 412.
146 Ibid., 224. Giovanni Perrone, a member of the Salesian order in Turin, also wrote a rebuttal to the ancient-origins thesis: _I Valdési. Primitivi, mediani e contemporanei_ (Torino: Tip. Dell'Oratorio di San Francesco di Sales, 1871).
147Bosco, _Il Cattolico nel Secolo_, 208.
148Pius Melia, _The Origin, Persecutions, and Doctrines of the Waldenses_ (London: James Toovey, 1870), 52, 130.
and false quotations did the rest."\textsuperscript{149}

\textbf{The Thesis's Stubborn Survival.}

Reformed Protestant ministers, right-leaning Anglican canons, and even tradition-bound Waldensian pastors, no longer sponsor the ancient-origins thesis. In fact, no mainstream Protestant church teaches that any doctrines or authority of the primitive church were preserved through any non-Catholic or unorthodox heresies. Historians now agree that the documents upon which Samuel Morland and others relied were written many years after Valdes died and that some were even created after the Waldensians joined the Reformation.

Despite this general abandonment of the ancient-origins thesis, some fundamentalist "Bible only" evangelical groups continue to insist that the Waldensians were "proto-Protestants." Landmark Baptists and Plymouth Brethren believe in a "Baptist secessionist" thesis (i.e., they are successors of the ancient Waldensian claim to be in the unbroken chain from the primitive church to the present) and claim that they are the "true Waldensians." Some Baptist writers also continue to repeat William Jones's thesis that the Waldensians failed to remain faithful to apostolic Christianity following the Reformation.\textsuperscript{150}

The Landmark Baptist movement originated in 1851 under the leadership of James R. Graves (1820–98). They are particularly enthusiastic about the ancient-origins thesis. Mark Montgomery, pastor of Ambassador Baptist Church in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, hosts a website called His Majesty's Service. The explanation on this site asserts that "one of the Baptist groups which has existed in past eras is the Waldensians" and that the "Waldenses themselves claimed to have a historic line which led back to the apostolic churches." He con-

\textsuperscript{149}Emilio Comba, \textit{History of the Waldenses of Italy, from Their Origin to the Reformation} (London: Truslove & Shirley, 1889), 9, 11.

cludes: “It is clear that they were Baptistic.” Without mentioning that these claims have been refuted and abandoned, the Landmark Baptists continue to trace their lineage through the Waldensians by relying on the seventeenth- and nineteenth-century Protestant writers discussed above who promoted the ancientOrigins thesis.

Thomas Williamson, pastor of the Berea Baptist Church in Bloomfield, New Mexico, noted in 1999 that “there is a problem with the claim that the Waldenses were Baptists” because “those of the Reformed theological persuasion have also claimed the Waldenses as a Reformed party.” Williamson solves this problem by explaining that, although the Waldensian doctrines before the Reformation were “Baptistic,” they ceased to be Baptists after the Reformation. Like Baptists in the nineteenth century, the Landmark Baptists continue to insist that the Waldensians aligned themselves with “Pedobaptists” and thereafter broke the “chain of transmission of apostolic truth from the time of Christ to the era of the Reformation.” According to Montgomery, the Baptists are now the real Waldensians since they continue to preserve the doctrines and practices of the primitive church.

Historian Euan Cameron has noted that the ancientOrigins thesis “would not now be taken seriously by any modern scholar.” Sectarian Waldensians, Anglicans, Presbyterians, and most Baptists no longer take it seriously. It is therefore ironic that the Landmark Baptist’s successionist claims in favor of the anachronistic thesis are premised on their notion that historians have determined that, previous to the Reformation, the Waldensians followed the New Testament doctrinal and organizational pattern. Cameron and French historian Gabriele Audisio have observed that when the Waldensians aligned themselves with the Calvinists, they abandoned many of their doctrines and their ecclesiastical organization. They have not argued that Waldensian beliefs and practices, before these


154Cameron, Waldenses, 6.
changes were made, were premised in the primitive church. Still the Landmark Baptists remain determined to claim the mantle of the "true church" by both practice and inheritance.

CONCLUSION

In retrospect, it is not surprising that the Waldensians could not resist the temptation to claim that they originated much earlier than the twelfth century after they began developing and advancing their own ethnicity and historiography. Restorationist churches in the nineteenth century were seduced by this thesis because they were desperate to find support for the concept that the Reformers were not innovators and, in fact, that the Reformation had restored the church to its primitive purity. The thesis that the Waldensians remained faithful to the doctrines and practices of the primitive church during centuries of innovations by the Catholic Church and that their doctrines before the Reformation were identical to those of the reformed churches, seemed to support the Protestant argument that the Catholic Church—not the Protestants—were the real innovators.

Thus, it is particularly ironic that, during the twentieth century, the Waldensians have aligned themselves with Methodists in Italy (who are different from the Swiss Reformers with whom they aligned themselves during the sixteenth century) and with Presbyterians in the United States, who trace their heritage to the Scottish Reformed Church. These churches no longer claim to be either a remnant of or currently part of the "only true church." In fact, they now assert that new religious movements that claim to be "restored churches" are not part of mainstream Christianity. When the 202nd General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church (USA) met in Salt Lake City in 1990, it published a study prepared by a special task force which listed and discussed Mormon doctrines and practices, past and present, that were inconsistent with mainstream (presumably primitive) Christian beliefs. They emphasized changes which Mormon leaders have institutionalized during the past century but failed to discuss the differences which continue to separate various Protestants denominations. The report concluded that Mormonism is problematic because it "believes itself to be the only true church on the face of the earth" and has
rejected "the classic ecumenical creeds."\(^{155}\) Of course, the report failed to summarize the changes which Presbyterians have instituted during the same period or their abandonment of the restorationist idea to create the "mainstream true church."

Mormon authorities, like these rival ministers, no longer mention the Waldensian contribution to the Restoration nor do they place any reliance on the veracity of the ancient-origins thesis. Eric Dursteler has recently documented how the architects of Mormonism’s "concept of a historical apostasy" relied on the same secondary sources, no longer considered historically accurate, in their studies of the "Great Apostasy."\(^{156}\) Brigham H. Roberts (1857–1933), James E. Talmage (1862–1933), and Joseph Fielding Smith (1876–1972) relied heavily on studies by Johann Lorenz Von Mosheim, Joseph Milner, and Jean Henri Merle D’Aubigne.\(^{157}\) Although each of these scholars mentioned the Waldensians in their chronological studies of Christianity, they had different perspectives concerning the ancient-origins thesis. Mosheim rejected it, Milner was more persuaded by it, and D’Aubigne ignored it. Despite their reliance on these studies, Roberts, Talmage, and Smith did not include the Waldensians or the ancient-origins thesis in their analysis of the fall and restoration of the true church. This was a departure from earlier Church authorities.


who noted the Waldensian break with Catholic authorities and flirted with the ancient-origins thesis.

Nevertheless, both groups continue to express interest in their common ancestry. When Waldensian pastor David Bosio (1885–1950) came to Utah in 1913, he visited Waldensians who immigrated to Utah (not as Mormon converts) between 1892 and 1912, as well as those who had converted to Mormonism sixty years earlier. He encouraged the latter to return to the church of their ancestors. During the 1940s, George Watts, a French professor in North Carolina, published two books in which he recorded the names of all of the Waldensian immigrants who came to the United States, including Mormon converts. Waldensian Moderator Ermanno Rostan visited Utah in February 1965 “to make friends for the Waldensian Church” and spoke to a group of Waldensian descendants. The following year, he published Chi sono i Mormoni? (Torino: Claudiana, 1966), a pamphlet sharply critical of Mormonism. When representatives of the Società di Studi Valdesi toured the United States in 1997 they visited their fellow parishioners in Salt Lake City and Ogden. More recently the Waldensian Moderator Gianni Genre hosted an official delegation from Salt Lake County which visited Torre Pellice in September 2002.

Mormons also remain interested in the Waldensians. During the last two decades of the nineteenth century, three Waldensians who converted to Mormonism during the 1850s returned as missionaries where they unsuccessfully tried to convert their valley people. Mormon leaders did not intend to visit the Waldensian valleys when the Church reopened the Italian Mission in 1966; but Apostle Ezra Taft Benson (1899–1994), who initially planned to...

158 Several families migrated to Utah between 1891–93 and after the turn of the century. David Bosio, “Nos Vaudois dans L’Utah,” L’Echo des Vallées Vaudois, September 11–13, 1913.
162 Jacob Rivoire (1879–80), James Beus (1882–83), James Bertoch (1892–93), and Paul Cardon (1900) each proselytized in the valleys.
dedicate the new mission in Florence, was forced to change plans due to a flood in the city. He moved the dedication to Torre Pellice where Lorenzo Snow had ascended Monte Casteluzzo 166 years earlier. Since then Mormon missionaries have concentrated their efforts on a bigger prize, the Catholics in large metropolitan areas. During the twentieth-century, Mormon missionaries have rarely encountered Waldensian, Methodists, or Presbyterian competitors on the streets of Rome, Florence, or Milan. Instead they compete with old rivals like the Jehovah's Witnesses and Baptists, and with newer contenders, including Assemblies of God, Pentecostals, Children of God, and Moonies from the Unification Church. Like the Mormons, these new competitors all claim to be the only true church. Although there are very few conversions made among the Catholics—who also claim to be the true church—these missionaries are outranking the mainstream Protestant churches that are ecumenical and no longer seriously attempt to introduce the Reformation in Italy.

APPENDIX

The House of Savoy controlled the mountain passes between Savoy, Canton Vaud, and Piedmont during most of its history. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the dynasty was centered in Savoy and on Lake Geneva. In 1232 Count Thomas purchased Chambéry to better control the Mont Cenis Pass, and Count Amedeo IV (1233–53) ceded Piedmont to his brother Thomas II. Count Peter II (died 1268) enlarged the Château du Chillon on Lake Geneva to better control the St. Bernard Pass, and built a castle in Yverdon north of the lake. In 1286 Count Louis built a castle in Morges and during the following year he seized Château L'île in Geneva.

During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, naval battles were fought on Lake Geneva between the House of Savoy, Bern, and Geneva utilizing oar-powered war ships. In 1388 the dynasty established a seaport when it took control of the county of Nice. In 1418 Count Amedeo VII (1391–1451) regained control of Piedmont. Count Amedeo VIII (who became the first duke of the dynasty in 1416) established his residence at Rapaille, near Thonon-les-Bains. In 1439 he was elected Pope Felix IV and

Bertoach returned to his birthplace in San Germano Chisone where his father had served as the first Mormon branch president. James Bertoach, Missionary Journal and Letters to His Family (Salt Lake City: Prairie Dog Press, 2004); Daniel B. Richards, The Scriptural Allegory (Salt Lake City: Magazine Printing Company, 1931).
remained on the throne (now considered as an anti-Pope) for ten years. His son Duke Ludovico transferred the capital of dynasty to Chambéry. In 1458 he purchased the Holy Shroud and in 1471 he began to enlarge the Sainte Chapelle so that he could display the famous relic. The shroud was placed in the chapel in 1502 and remained there for more than seven decades.

Unfortunately, Duke Carlo II lost control of most of his territory during his reign (1504–1553), including Savoy and Piedmont which were occupied by France, and its settlements on the north shore of Lake Geneva which were taken over by Protestant-controlled Bern and Geneva. In 1559 Duke Emmanuele Filiberto regained control of Savoy and Piedmont from the French, and two years later he transferred his dynasty's capital from Chambéry to Turin. In 1578 the Holy Shroud was taken to Turin and in 1694 it was deposited in the newly constructed Shroud Chapel, built by Guarini between the Royal Palace and the Cathedral. In 1602 Emmanuele Filiberto's son, Duke Carlo Emmanuele I, attempted to regain additional territory in Geneva and return the city to Catholic rule. The decisive battle, in which Geneva prevailed over the duke, is still commemorated each December as "The Escalade." In 1713 Duke Victor Amadeus II became the dynasty's first king when the Treaty of Utrecht granted the House of Savoy possession of Sicily and with it the title of king. Seven years later he became king of Sardinia when the Treaty of London granted his dynasty the Kingdom of Sardinia in exchange for the Kingdom of Sicily. In 1861 Vittorio Emmanuele II, the last king of Sardinia, became the first king of Italy.
“A Continual War, Not of Arguments, But of Bread and Cheese”: Opening the First LDS Mission in Italy, 1849–67

James A. Toronto

Modern Italy and the LDS Church first encountered each other in their infancies. In April 1849, less than two years after the first company arrived in the Salt Lake Valley, Brigham Young announced plans to open missionary work in non-English speaking countries; and by October, a first group of Europe-bound missionaries left the valley with the charge to begin preaching in Italy, France, and Denmark. Thus, midway through the “century of missions” (as the nineteenth century is sometimes called),¹ the Mormon Church became one of the first religions to begin actively proselytizing on Italian soil. These early LDS missionary labors unfolded against a backdrop of turbulent political and social events that marked a pivotal time in Italian history. In 1831, just one year after the founding of Mormonism, Giuseppe Mazzini, considered one of the main ideological voices of the Italian inde-

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pendence movement, organized his Young Italy association (Giovane Italia). For the next three decades, including the period when the Mormon missionaries arrived and proselytizing activities were at their zenith, the forces and momentum of the Risorgimento ("revival") were building to a historic culmination: the establishment of the first unified Italian state in 1861.

This paper discusses the establishment and development of the first mission in Italy. I will examine why Italy was selected as a mission field; the political, economic, and social factors that influenced the experience of missionaries and members; and why some Waldensians embraced a new religion transplanted into an insular alpine valley culture. My aim is to analyze why missionary work did not flourish as expected during the Church’s first venture into Catholicism’s domain in southern Europe and to provide a deeper understanding of the doctrines, strategies, practices, and challenges that characterized the experience of the first members and missionaries in Italy.

THE CHOICE OF ITALY AS A MISSION FIELD

The Mormon pioneers were barely settling down in their new homes in the Great Salt Lake Valley when Church leaders began making plans to send missionaries to continental Europe for the first time. On April 29, 1849, President Brigham Young told his counselors and the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles of his intention “to send brother Joseph Toronto to his native country (Italy) and with him someone to start the work of gathering from that nation.” ² At October 1849 general conference, Young followed through with his stated intention, calling the first missionaries to begin preaching the gospel in Europe. He assigned Lorenzo Snow, one of the Twelve, to go to Italy with Toronto, the Church’s first Italian convert. ³

During a two-month stopover in England, his old mission field,
Snow called T. B. H. Stenhouse to accompany him to Italy. He also carefully considered where their labors should begin, and in doing so his attention was attracted by the history of the Waldensians, a Protestant religious community in the Piedmont region of northwest Italy. As Snow reported to Brigham Young, the Waldensians, like the Mormons, had bravely suffered religious persecution; and only two years before, in 1848, the Sardinian government had granted them a greater degree of religious and social freedom. Snow concluded that "no other portion of Italy is governed by such favourable laws." As he "thought upon the subject," he recorded that "a flood of light seemed to burst upon my mind" and he began to think of this Protestant people "like the rose in the wilderness, or the bow in the cloud." When he visited a public library to obtain more information on the Waldensians, he had a singular experience that apparently settled the decision: "The librarian to whom I applied informed me he had a work of the description I required, but it had just been taken. He had scarcely finished the sentence when a lady entered with the book. 'Oh,' said he, 'this is a remarkable circumstance, this gentleman has just called for that book.' I was soon convinced that this people were

time when Church funds were nearly depleted. Toronto became virtually an adopted son to Young, working as his herdsman while crossing the plains and after settling in Utah. James A. Toronto, "Giuseppe Misio Taranto: Odyssey from Sicily to Salt Lake City," in Pioneers in Every Land: Inspirational Stories of International Pioneers Past and Present, edited by Bruce A. Van Orden, D. Brent Smith, and Everett Smith Jr. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1997), 125–47.


5Both "Waldensians" and "Waldenses" are used, but the former term is the preferred usage. In Giorgio Tourn, Giorgio Bouchard, Roger Geymonat, and Giorgio Spini, You Are My Witnesses: The Waldensians across 800 Years (Turin: Claudiana, 1989), 309.
worthy to receive the first proclamation of the Gospel in Italy.\footnote{5}

The three missionaries arrived in Genoa, Italy, on June 25, 1850, and within a week Snow had dispatched Toronto and Stenhouse to the Waldensian valleys of Piedmont to survey conditions there. After receiving an encouraging letter from them, he wrote a letter to Franklin D. Richards in Liverpool that documents his decision to preach first among the Protestants rather than the Catholics: “I have felt an intense desire to know the state of that province to which I had given them an appointment, as I felt assured it would be the field of my mission. Now, with a heart full of gratitude, I find that an opening is presented in the valleys of the Piedmont, when all other parts of Italy are closed against our efforts. I believe that the Lord has there hidden up a people amid the Alpine mountains, and it is the voice of the Spirit that I shall commence something of importance in that part of this dark nation.”\footnote{7} He left Genoa on July 23, passing through Turin, capital of the Kingdom of Sardinia, and arrived at La Tour (today called Torre Pellice), the principal town of the Waldensian community.

On September 19, 1850, Snow and Stenhouse, joined by newly arrived Jabez Woodard of England, ascended a prominent mountain peak near Torre Pellice.\footnote{8} (Toronto had left for Sicily the month before to teach his family.) Snow offered a prayer dedicating Italy to the

\footnote{5}Lorenzo Snow, The Italian Mission (London: W. Aubrey, 1851), 10–11. Snow may have considered preaching among the Waldensians even before the missionary party left Salt Lake City. Brigham Young and other Church leaders were aware of the Waldensians and saw parallels to the Mormon experience in their persecutions, migrations, and claims of ancient roots in the primitive Christian church. See Michael Homer, “Like the Rose in the Wilderness: The Mormon Mission in the Kingdom of Sardinia,” Mormon Historical Studies 1, no. 2 (Fall 2000): 31–32, and his “The Waldensian Valleys: Seeking ‘Primitive Christianity’ in Italy,” this issue.

\footnote{7}Snow, The Italian Mission, 10.

\footnote{8}This mountain overlooking Torre Pellice is called Monte Vandalino. After the dedicatory prayer, the missionaries began referring to it as Mount Brigham and the prominent outcropping of rock (Castelluzzo) where the prayer took place as the Rock of Prophecy. Jabez Woodard, born in 1821 in Debroy, Hertfordshire, England, was baptized LDS in 1849. Woodard, like Snow and Stenhouse, was married when he left for his mission. He eventually served two missions, a total of seven years, presiding over the Italian Mission and later the Swiss and German Mission. He emigrated to Utah
preaching of the gospel and organized the Italian Mission. On October 27, Snow baptized the first convert, Jean Bose. Missionary work continued in Italy for seventeen more years. By the time mission activities had slowed to a halt in 1867, about 180 persons had been baptized; approximately seventy emigrated to Utah, and the remainder had either apostatized or been excommunicated.

In some ways, the choice of Italy as one of the first non-English speaking mission fields is perplexing. Italy was not then a unified nation but a mosaic of competing states, and the progressive ideas of Enlightenment reformers that were bearing fruit in other European countries—notions of religious liberty, freedom of speech and of the press, universal education, and political pluralism—had not yet taken root in the various Italian governments. The entire peninsula, especially the Piedmont area where the missionaries began their labors, was passing through a decisive period characterized by political, economic, and social upheaval, evidence of which Snow noted in Genoa: “The city is filled with armed men; so, in fact, is almost every sea-port town and city through which we have passed since leaving England. Little money is circulating, and commerce languishes on every side. The country is not yet in a sufficiently settled condition to induce the enterprize of the capitalist. Since the revolution, the working class have suffered severely from the depression of business. Wages are, of course, very low. Upon an average, perhaps, not more than 20 cents for a day’s work for a labourer, which is commonly made to consist of about sixteen hours.”

The documentary sources, however, reveal a number of motives and strategies that help explain the unlikely choice of Italy as an early mission field: the gathering of Israel, Italy’s religious history, its geographical location, and the satisfaction of resuming modern mission-

with his family in 1854 and settled in southern Utah.

ary and apostolic labors in the same land where the ancient apostles had labored.

Brigham Young's April comment alludes to the doctrine of the election and gathering of Israel—viewed at that time (but less so today), as a core tenet of LDS theology. Young apparently felt, based at least in part on his close association with Joseph Toronto, that Italy would be fruitful in other souls possessing the blood of Israel. Thus, his decision "to start the work of gathering from that nation" seemed a plausible one from a theological perspective.

The missionaries made many references to this doctrine in their personal writings. Snow "felt assured that the Lord had directed us to a branch of the House of Israel" when he chose the Waldensians and he expressed his confidence that the LDS Church would "increase and multiply, and continue its existence in Italy till that portion of Israel dwelling in these countries shall have heard and received the fullness of the Gospel." Apparently his strategy for opening new missionary areas was based in part on possible Israelite connections: "[Malta] will be an important field of labour not only for Italy, but also for Greece, where, according to ancient tradition, a branch of the House of Israel has long remained." Jabez Woodard, in a letter to Snow, stated: "I confess that when I found you laid upon me the solemn charge to gather Israel from among these nations, I felt the weight of the office, and at the same time new courage and new patience."11

A Millennial Star editorial uses the same image of gathering Israel: "Thus are the glad tidings of salvation wending their way in the dark regions of the earth; the energy of the Elders of Israel is rapidly causing Zion's glorious standard to be lifted up among the nations, whilst the Holy Spirit of God inspires the scattered sons and daugh-

10In nineteenth-century LDS thought, the twelve tribes of Israel had been scattered throughout the world, and literal descendants (those possessing the "blood of Israel") had a natural affinity toward Mormonism. Armand L. Mauss, "In Search of Ephraim: Traditional Conceptions of Lineage and Race," Journal of Mormon History 25 (Spring 1999): 131-73; Arnold H. Green, "Gathering and Election: Israelite Descent and Universalism in Mormon Discourse," ibid., 195-228.

ters of Israel to flee to the hope set before them." Elder George Keaton spoke of his earnest expectation "to see the Church spread abroad until it has crushed, beneath its universal prevalence, everything that opposes, for the Lord will carry on His work until all Israel are saved." Stenhouse prayed that God would conduct Woodard and the emigrating Italian saints "in peace and gladness to the Valleys of Ephraim." In short, the imagery and rhetoric that permeate the early records reveal that a primary motive for Church leaders and missionaries was finding the "blood of Israel" in Italy and gathering such believers to Zion.

Italy's prominent role in Europe's religious and cultural history was a second important reason for making it one of the first European mission fields. Clearly, the prospect of proclaiming the Restoration in the birthplace of the Roman Empire, the Catholic Church, and the Renaissance captivated Mormon leaders and missionaries. Their views are typically Victorian in their romantic idealization of Italy's natural beauty and glorious past. Snow, for example, described sitting on a high mountain gazing at the valleys below: "Ancient and far-famed Italy, the scene of our mission, was spread out like a vision before our enchanted eyes." He marveled at Genoa's "palaces, numerous cathedrals, churches, high-built promenades, and antique buildings" which formed "a very singular and magnificent appearance. At a little distance from the city, I have the fascinating scenery of Italy's picturesque mountains... My eyes are filled with tears while attempting to picture the glorious view... The design and execution of these monuments of departed worth elicited our admiration... Our minds were absorbed in the contemplation of the beauty and richness of art."

However, missionary writings simultaneously recorded indigna-

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12 "East India Mission," Millennial Star 14 (May 1, 1852): 153
13 George D. Keaton, Letter to Samuel W. Richards, March 1854, Millennial Star 16 (April 1, 1854): 205-6. Keaton, a native of England, arrived in Italy in March 1853 and worked primarily in the Waldensian valleys with Woodard. He was a gifted linguist who quickly learned fluent French. Later he presided over the Neuchâtel Conference in Switzerland but was forced to leave the mission earlier than expected due to severe persecution.
15 Snow, The Italian Mission, 24 (during his second ascent of "Mount
tion and sorrow at Italy's moral corruption, deep-rooted traditions, and religious indifference. They characterize the spiritual environment with pejorative terms such as "despotic," "dark," and "be-nighted." This blended fascination and revulsion is apparent in two examples from Lorenzo Snow's missionary record:

One might travel far over the earth before he finds a fairer clime. Here man dwells beneath an almost cloudless sky. The sun scarcely hides his face in summer or winter; and when, at eventide, his golden glories fade behind the western hills, the silver stars shed a serene lustre over the blue vault of immensity. But... amid the loneliness of nature I found the soul of man like a wilderness. From the palace of the King, to the lone cottage on the mountain, all was shrouded in spiritual darkness.

O Italy! thou birth-place and burial-ground of the proud Caesars, who swayedst the sceptre of this mundane creation—land of literature and arts, and once the centre of the world's civilization—who shall tell all the greatness which breathes in the story of thy past? and who, oh! who shall tell all the corruption which broods on thy bosom now?... From the wave-swept shores of the Mediterranean to the base of the bleak Alpine region, thy sunny plains lie spread like a fairy realm.... O Italy! hath an eternal winter followed the summer of thy fame, and frosted the flowers of thy genius, and clouded the sun-beams of glory? No! the future of thy story shall outshine the past, and thy children shall yet be more renowned than in the ages of old.... There is yet the blood of heaven's nobility within the hearts of many amid thy sons and daughters.

Italy's location between Europe, Asia, and Africa is a third factor that weighed heavily in the decision to open a mission there. It is not certain whether this concept was fully present when the first missionaries were called or whether the idea evolved as missionary work progressed. But Lorenzo Snow and the other missionaries clearly viewed


16See, for example, Snow, The Italian Mission, 6, 7, 13, 17, 26; Woodard, "Cheering News from Italy," Millennial Star 15 (February 19, 1853): 127; and Keaton, "The Italian Mission," Millennial Star 16 (April 1, 1854): 204-6.

the Italian Mission's location as essential in a grand strategy for taking
the gospel to countries of the Mediterranean littoral and beyond.
Snow, as a member of the Twelve, was responsible for introducing the
Church into unreached areas under his jurisdiction. Italy was to be a
home base and jumping-off point for preaching the gospel in Switzer-
land, Malta, Spain, Gibraltar, Egypt, Greece, Turkey, Russia, and In-
dia. Given Italy's proximity to three continents, its commercial rela-
tions with many countries, and its seafaring people's ability to speak
several languages, he foresaw that a few converts in Italy could trans-
plant the gospel to surrounding nations where it would take root and
mature.

At the dedication of Italy in September 1850, Jabez Woodard
prophesied that "the Work of God will at length go from this land to
other nations of the earth." 18 While serving as mission president
in the northern Piedmont valleys, he wrote to Snow: "The great thought
which now occupies my mind is to put the leaven at work, as you say; . . .
I cast many longing looks and anxious reflections however towards
other localities. Turin does not present any opening, but towards the
Mediterranean it seems that amid the goings and comings of com-
merce, some of the seeds might travel far." 19 The biblical metaphor of
leaven also appear in Snow's explanation to Franklin D. Richards:

Nor will the importance of this mission be limited to Italy; the way will
open from hence to other parts of the world. There has long been an
intimate connexion between the Protestants here and in Switzerland.
I intend to avail myself of this circumstance, that the gospel may be es-

tablished in both places . . . The work here is slow, and tedious. The
spiritual atmosphere around us is like the Egyptian darkness which
might be felt. Nevertheless, the Church has been established. The tree
has been planted, and is spreading its roots. The leaven has begun its
process. 20

In another letter, he elaborated on his hope of reaching Greece,
Egypt, the Russian and Turkish empires, and "the burning climes of
India":

The Waldenses were the first to receive the Gospel, but by the press

18 Ibid., 16.
19 Woodard, Letter to Snow, Millennial Star 13 (October 1, 1851): 302.
20 Snow, Letter to Franklin D. Richards, December 2, 1850, Millennial
and the exertions of the Elders, it will be rolled forth far beyond their mountain regions. . . . Italian States are well known as being among the most hostile upon earth to the introduction of religious truth, but as their subjects are in constant communication with many countries that are washed by the Mediterranean, they will have facilities for hearing the Gospel as we come into connection with their maritime relations; and being acquainted with all the languages around that Central Sea, the thousands of Italians who do business upon its waters, will furnish some faithful men to speed on the kingdom of God through the south and east of Europe.\textsuperscript{21}

When Snow decided to open missionary work in Malta in 1852, he explained: "The organization of a branch of our Church here [Malta] would loosen the spiritual fetters of many nations, as the Maltese in their commercial relations, are spread along the shores of Europe, Asia, and Africa. Nearly all speak the Italian, and at the same time, by the peculiarities of their native dialect, they make themselves easily understood by those using the Arabic and Syriac, which are exceedingly difficult for most other Europeans."\textsuperscript{22}

A fourth reason for Italy's selection as a mission is the concept of continuity of gospel dispensations in LDS theology. Church leaders and missionaries viewed Italy as a land sanctified by the presence of some of Christ's original Twelve Apostles and wished to establish the Restored Church in the land where the Ancient Church once flourished. They attached significance to the idea of modern apostles taking up the work in the same cities where the ancient apostles had left off. A Millennial Star editorial described the Italian missionaries as carrying out "a work so great as that which was once committed to a Peter, James, and John, or a Paul," labouring "in countries which were once under [the ancient apostles'] immediate supervision by virtue of a commission direct from the Son of God. . . . Now we hear the joyful tidings of flourishing Churches being established in those lands, which possess the same faith, and enjoy the same blessings that those holy men of old declared were necessary to salvation." The editorial concludes with a prayer that the Saints in Italy and Malta "will honour the footsteps of the ancient Apostles, and

\textsuperscript{21}Snow, Letter to Richards, April 1, 1852, 107–8.

\textsuperscript{22}Snow, Letter to Franklin D. Richards, March 10, 1852, Millennial Star 14 (April 24, 1852): 142.
the counsel of modern ones.²²³

In sum, the Church’s choice of Italy as one of its first non-English speaking mission fields had more to do with theology, history, and global strategy than with contemporary political, economic, or spiritual conditions. As the missionaries discovered, however, Italy presented many serious obstacles that prevented the kind of proselytizing success Snow and other missionaries had enjoyed earlier in Great Britain.

“From the Magistrate to the Match-Seller”: Obstacles to Missionary Work

The missionaries who arrived in Italy in June 1850, though recognizing that challenges lay ahead, had high hopes for success and made sanguine predictions about the eventual fruits of their labors. After just two months in Italy, Snow wrote: “Our course is often dark and difficult; but I believe that, however slow it may be for awhile, it will ultimately be brightened with complete success.”²²⁴ A year later Woodard was optimistic that, despite “many vexations... I can still rejoice and see the day approach when a mighty number will be added to the Church in these regions.”²²⁵ However, as the missionaries confronted the sobering realities of their task, they tempered their language and expectations. In 1853, Thomas Margetts concluded a letter to European Mission President Samuel W. Richards by “looking forward for the time to come when Italy shall not be behind any of the


²²⁴Snow, The Italian Mission, 18.

²²⁵Woodard, Letter to Samuel W. Richards, Millennial Star 14 (September 18, 1852): 476–77. Snow had set Woodard apart as president of the Italian Mission in November 1850 before leaving Italy. At this point, each mission had a separate president who reported to the apostle at church headquarters in Liverpool who was “President of the European Missions” or President “of the Church in the British Isles and adjacent countries.” Woodard, “Italian Correspondence,” Millennial Star 18 (October 18, 1856): 667; John L. Smith, “Swiss and Italian Mission,” November 19, 1961, Millennial Star 23 (December 14, 1861): 807–8.
foreign missions.\textsuperscript{26}

Margetts would not see that achievement in his lifetime. A decade and a half of missionary work in Italy produced fewer than 200 converts, of which only about seventy maintained their membership long enough to emigrate to Utah. While the comparatively low number of converts was discouraging to the missionaries, their fewness was not surprising, given the circumstances. A constellation of formidable political, economic, and social forces severely inhibited the efforts of both missionaries and new members to establish a viable Church presence.

The 1840s and 1850s were among the most chaotic years in European history, as nearly every part of the Continent was touched by political and social ferment. Italy in 1850 was passing through the aftermath of revolution, characterized by political tension, economic deprivation, military conflict, religious intolerance, and low levels of literacy. A noted historian summed up the turbulent times: "In that annum mirabilis of revolution [1848], when, with the exception of Russia, the whole of Europe from Berlin to Palermo erupted in political, social and national rebellions against the existing order, Italy went through particularly traumatic experiences of turmoil, repression and invasion."\textsuperscript{27} In fact, "Italy" was primarily a geographic expression, because the Italian peninsula had for centuries been politically

\textsuperscript{26}Thomas Margetts, Letter to Samuel W. Richards, \textit{Millennial Star} 15 (August 29, 1853): 558. Margetts was president of the London Conference when Snow met him en route to Italy. After raising money for missionary work in Italy, Margetts began his own mission in Piedmont in December 1852, later working in Genoa where he baptized one convert. He returned to England in June 1853 and later emigrated to Utah.

fragmented—a patchwork of rival nation-states. In 1850, the political map consisted of the Kingdom of Sardinia in the northwest, the Austrian empire in the northeast, the Papal States in Rome and central Italy, and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies ruled by the Spanish Bourbons in southern Italy and Sicily. The emergence of Italy as a modern nation-state dates from March 1861 when, after a series of military campaigns and much political intrigue, a tenuous unification was achieved, except for Venice and Rome, added in 1866 and 1870, respectively. Victor Emmanuel II of Piedmont was proclaimed king.

By focusing their labors in Piedmont, the missionaries unwittingly placed themselves at the vortex of Italy’s sociopolitical tempest. Of the four powers exercising hegemony in the peninsula, the Kingdom of Sardinia with its capital city Turin in Piedmont was the only one that was native to the land, could field a well-organized military, and had (through the efforts of its energetic and shrewd prime minister, Count Camillo Benso di Cavour) influence to win support for independence from European powers France and England. The fact that the center of the struggle for Italian independence was in Turin impacted proselytizing efforts in both positive and negative ways that the missionaries noted. In 1848, the year of revolutions, the Kingdom of Sardinia began to implement social reforms and a more liberal political system by passing a new constitution, the Statuto. At the same time, international intrigue and sabre rattling dominated politics, and the potential for social unrest and military conflict, whether real or perceived, resulted in repressive measures throughout Piedmont, especially in cities. Designed to quell dissent and maintain stability, these measures included censorship of printed materials, spying on

Denis Mack Smith, Modern Italy: A Political History (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1997), 3, notes: “Until 1860 the word Italy was used not so much for a nation as for a peninsula, and [Prince Clemens von] Metternich [of the Austrian Empire] wrote disparagingly of this ‘geographical expression.’ Austria controlled much of northern Italy at the time. See also Duggan, A Concise History of Italy, xiii.

The Statuto and accompanying Lettere Patenti (Edict of Emancipation) granted Waldensians the right to hold government office, practice the professions, attend universities, and enjoy the civil rights of other Sardinian subjects. Jews received similar rights. However, religious and educational restrictions remained.
citizens and foreigners, limitations on free assembly, and a ban against public preaching and distribution of literature by non-Catholic groups.  

The Mormon missionaries seem to have been relatively unaware of or unconcerned with the broader geopolitical forces at play around them, but their journals and correspondence reveal how deeply their work was affected on a daily basis by the political milieu. Snow’s writings often reflect his frustration at the encumbering lack of religious and political freedom: “Our presence in this land is only just tolerated and not recognized as any right, founded upon established laws. Liberty is only as yet in the bud.... Strange customs, laws, and languages surround us on every side.” After leaving for England in February 1851 to supervise the Italian translation of the Book of Mormon, he expressed his relief upon arriving in Geneva:

“*The Voice of Joseph* [a Mormon pamphlet] is now circulating in Italy, with a woodcut of a CATHOLIC NUN, ANCHOR, LAMP, and CROSS on the first page, and on the last, NOAH’S ARK, the DOVE, and the OLIVE. ... In consequence of so much difficulty and vexation

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30 The Piedmont government’s “cultural and political repression” after Napoleon’s defeat in 1815 “helps explain why the Kingdom of Sardinia shared only minimally in the economic boom” occurring in Lombardy to the east. The Savoys “restored preexisting measures uncontaminated by modern ideas. They allowed the Jesuits to return ... and discriminated against religious minorities. King Victor Emmanuel I refused to wear clothes styled after the beginning of the French Revolution. ... Patriotic intellectuals like Silvio Pellico were forced into exile.” In response to these harsh measures, secret societies sprang up to oppose the government. Di Scala, *Italy: From Revolution to Republic*, 45–46. Between January 1848 and August 1849, “in every state in the peninsula, whether directly ruled by Austria or not, rebellion was followed by ugly repression.” Absalom, *Italy since 1800*, 19, 27. In both northern and southern Italy, the governing class of rich and educated elites “saw modernization as fraught with social dangers; and their fears were given moral sanction by the Church.” They feared that “the social fabric could only be held together if the peasantry remained resigned.” Education of the masses was thus avoided, liberal ideas were viewed “as both inflammatory and immoral,” and strict censorship and political persecution were the norm. Duggan, *A Concise History of Italy*, 119–20.

in getting out publications in Italy, I feel unwilling to draw many books from that quarter; therefore, I feel it my duty to make arrangements to get published, here [in Geneva], a second edition of both works. . . . I feel FREE, and in a FREE atmosphere and to prophecy GOOD OF SWITZERLAND.\textsuperscript{32}

Snow evidently felt impelled to use Catholic symbols on his pamphlet, the first Mormon publication in Italy, to ease its printing and distribution.\textsuperscript{33} He lamented restrictions against holding meetings and preaching in public but observed that political change was in the air. "We are not permitted to preach in public, and at every step find ourselves far away from the religious liberty enjoyed in England. But Italy is not silent beneath the shackles of spiritual despotism.

\textsuperscript{32}Ibid., 25. Snow was mistaken in thinking that Switzerland had greater freedom of religion than Italy. The missionaries there also encountered severe persecution, a reflection of Europe's political and social tensions. There was in reality only "a small degree of religious liberty," and the elders came to know that their safety "depended upon the quietness of their movements." Stemhouse's friends advised him "not to be seen in the streets of Lausanne—the town where he had once resided, and done the most of his publishing in the French language." An LDS missionary named Secrist was summoned before the district ecclesiastical court to answer charges of "holding unlawful meetings, and teaching a strange doctrine. . . . After nine days' imprisonment, (a portion of the time in a very filthy place,) he was marched out of the Swiss Confederation into France on foot, and a portion of the way chained to a thief." Secrist went to Liverpool, then emigrated to America. The Swiss elders and Saints were fined "for entertaining the servants of God." Daniel Tyler, "The Swiss and Italian Missions," February 2, 1856,\textit{ Millennial Star} 18 (March 8, 1856): 154-57; see also Woodard's descriptions of Swiss intolerance in "Religious Intolerance," December 31, 1857,\textit{ Millennial Star} 20 (February 18, 1858): 107; 655; "Swiss and Italian Mission," April 23, 1858, ibid. (May 29, 1858): 346-47; "Swiss and Italian Mission," September 13, 1858, ibid. (October 9, 1858): 655; and "Swiss and Italian Mission," October 27, 1858, ibid. (November 20, 1858): 750.

Many noble sentiments and liberal ideas have been spread through the country by the speeches of honest-hearted men in the parliament, who have called loudly for religious freedom, and we trust they will not always call in vain.  

The missionaries made several attempts to proselytize in Turin and other cities outside the Waldensian valleys, but government restrictions and harassment prevented their making any headway. Woodard, writing in the summer of 1852 during one of the first proselytizing forays in Turin, observed:

We cannot proceed here with public preaching, as in England and America. I have been twice summoned before the magistrates for having given religious instructions to persons in my own room. As I knew they could not attack me for any infringement of their laws against public meetings, I have continued to sell and circulate our works up to the present moment, but I have no more left, and as the police have refused to legalize my passport, it will be necessary for me to obtain a signature on the French frontier, which is only a few miles from the brethren here; but to be compelled to change residence in that manner, is one of the many vexations to which we are subjected in those countries where freedom is yet only a name.  

Later he gave further details of his brush with the law: he was charged with “giving theological instructions without first being designated as an ‘Ecclesiastic’ upon the face of his passport” and ordered out of the Sardinian States. Beyond the Waldensian district, he “was ever surrounded by government spies, and through their influence I was exiled.” Correspondence between Joseph Malan, a prominent Waldensian who was a friend of Prime Minister Cavour and one of the first Waldensians elected to serve in the subalpine parliament in Turin, and Waldensian church officials, shows that

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34 Snow, Letter to Richards, April 1, 1852, 107.
36 Woodard, Letter to Lorenzo Snow, September 1852, in Daniel B. Richards, The Scriptural Allegory (Salt Lake City: Magazine Printing Co., 1931), 58–59. Woodard optimistically predicted that “a simple change in the cabinet at Turin may allow my return; however, Piedmont is but a part of Italy, and farther South the people are fast ripening for the Gospel—in spite of popes, princes and rulers.”
the government was aware of the Mormon missionaries' activities. The letter reveals that the government vacillated between the need for security (expelling the missionaries) and the emerging idea of religious liberty.38

Margetts experienced similar problems in Genoa where he had been sent because it was a seaport and "we thought we should have more liberty for telling the people our message, and also that it would be more conducive to my health." However, "with all their talk of liberty, there was no liberty for us, and... we could do nothing there, unless we could do it privately. We consequently commenced talking to individuals." Margetts astutely predicted that missionary work would succeed only when "the volcanic eruption of political feeling, the flame of which is only smothered for a time, shall burst as a bellowing earthquake."39 Woodard believed that the Waldensians' isolation accounted for the Piedmontese government's comparative tolerance of proselytizing and distributing publications there: "They [Waldensians] are far removed from the literature of the country, and from its general maxims and manners, and for this reason they are not so closely watched by the Italian police in regard to their religious opinions."40

The Waldensians' abject poverty and miserable living conditions were another challenge that severely impeded Mormon success. A number of factors contributed to the moribund economy, including government policies during wartime, traditional agricultural practices, the harsh climate, and the rocky terrain. Furthermore, LDS missionary work coincided with perhaps the lowest ebb that the local economy had experienced for years.41 Elder Samuel Francis made note of that fact, observing that "the state of the inhabitants in these

38 Joseph Malan, "Letter to Jean Pierre Revel, September 18, 1854," Archivio Tavola Valdese, Torre Pellice, Italy.
41 Shepard B. Clough, The Economic History of Modern Italy (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), 32-33, 58-59. Clough asserts that, despite Cavour’s economic reforms designed to increase foreign trade and tax revenue, Piedmont faced a severe economic crisis in 1853-54 involving a failure of crops, famine, and a cholera epidemic. Toniolo, An Economic History of Liberal Italy, 40-41, examines the "serious crises" caused by infectious
valleys, has not been so bad as at present for many years.” He explained it as caused by changes in traditional markets and the impact of plant infestations. According to what he had learned, the coming of the railroad and shipment of local wheat to foreign markets had raised prices sharply. “This, with the destruction of the vines, the potato disease, and a falling off of labour, accounts for the state of the inhabitants at present.” Woodard also commented on the vineyard blight:

One feature of this sunny land has strikingly changed since we first came here. Then the autumn was robed with a purple vintage, and tens of thousands found employment in making wine, but now the blight has passed over the manifling vines, and their clusters are covered with minute fungi, and ere the time to gather the grapes arrives they hang rotten upon their parent branches, disfiguring what they were destined to adorn. Description fails to convey the idea which strikes the mind on surveying thousands of acres smitten by this malady. The other day I searched almost half a day in the vineyard of a brother, but could not

diseases in vineyards and silkworms, both mainstays of the Piedmontese and Waldensian economies, during 1851–55. Mack Smith, Modern Italy: A Political History, 37–45, analyzes economic factors underlying the peasants’ impoverishment. The Piano di Sviluppo Economico e Sociale, 1978–1982 (Torre Pellegrino: Comunità Montana Val Pellegrino, n.d.), cites factors that have historically contributed to “the poverty of the local [Waldensian] economy” and resultant out-migration from the valleys: the soil, steep slopes, and poor output because of property fragmentation.

42 Francis, “Italy,” June 13, 1855, Millennial Star 17 (July 21, 1855): 454–56. The first Italian railway, between Naples and Portici, opened in 1839. Service between Milan and Monza followed in 1840, and between Turin and Moncalieri in 1848. For the impact of this “most profound revolution of technology” on agricultural economics in Italy, see Sereni, Storia del paesaggio Agrario Italiano, 260–61. Born in England, Francis was appointed president of the Italian Conference in October 1854. He worked in the Waldensian valleys and Turin, then in February 1857 left Piedmont for the mission office in Geneva. He later served as president of both the Geneva and Italian conferences until his release in April 1858. Francis converted Esther Weibrodt, a German, in Turin and married her while they were both still in the mission field. In 1861 they emigrated from England to Utah with their two sons and settled in Morgan Valley.
find grapes enough to make our Sacramental wine.\textsuperscript{43}

These combined factors fell with catastrophic effect on the vast majority of the Waldensians, who, even in the best of times, struggled to maintain a reasonable standard of living. George Keaton described the dismal conditions of the times:

It is heart-sickening to see the great poverty that exists among these mountains. Last year there was a great falling short of crops of grain, which, together with the grape disease and the potato rot, contributes largely to augment the miseries of the labouring poor. The country is teeming with beggars. I never saw such miserable holes in my life as some of the people dwell in. The rough walls of most of the hovels are as black as the chimney. Some of these hovels are stuck up among the rocks, and in some cases the rock serves for one end and a side.\textsuperscript{44}

Francis also noted the effects of this economic crisis adversely on the Mormon converts: "The whole of our Saints here at present, are of the poorer class, and depend mostly on others for labour, or . . . have a little piece of ground on the tops of the mountains, which no one cares to purchase. And this winter, they, with many of their fellow mortals, have been the sufferers of indescribable poverty. . . . Elder Rochan has not had any employ for the last three or four months, and nearly all the other Saints in the valleys have been in the same condition.\textsuperscript{45}

Elder John L. Smith, who arrived in 1855, was also deeply moved by the indigence of the Waldensians: "While visiting among the Saints of the Italian mission, I witnessed many of the worst scenes of poverty I ever saw. Whole families often sleep with the hogs and sheep belonging to their richer neighbors to keep them

\textsuperscript{43}Woodard, Letter to Samuel Richards, \textit{Millennial Star} 15 (October 8, 1853): 671.

\textsuperscript{44}Keaton, "Foreign Intelligence—Italy," June 16, 1854, excerpted in \textit{Millennial Star} 16 (July 22, 1854): 457. Keaton cites Jeremiah 16:16: "And they shall hunt them from every mountain and from every hill, and out of the holes of the rocks" and states that "surely the Lord had reference to such places" as the Waldensian huts.

\textsuperscript{45}Francis, "Italy," June 18, 1855, \textit{Millennial Star} 17 (July 21, 1855): 455; Francis, "Piedmont," excerpted in \textit{Millennial Star} 17 (August 23, 1855): 538. Rochan was a local Waldensian convert, probably from St. Germain.
from freezing to death."46

The Church had no financial resources to help the members, nor were government and humanitarian sources available to them. In effect, then, the members were left alone to deal with their destitution, which naturally inhibited their participation in Church activities and left them vulnerable to enticements to forsake their new religion if they could meet their basic needs elsewhere. Samuel Francis points out that there were no benevolent societies to help the poor in the valleys. Donations collected abroad by Protestant charitable organizations went to local ministers:

The poor apply to the minister for assistance, and if he has any he will supply them, but I need not tell you that he will give nothing to the Saints, unless they renounce "Mormonism." Thus, the poor Saints are deprived of all charity, and have no hope, but in God. This winter and spring have been a severe trial; the rough hardy faces, that came so joyfully to the meetings . . . have been obliged to rest at home from weakness, caused by want. . . . If [the members] could only get two meals per diem of black bread, or soup made from Indian corn, they would be contented. They never expect meat, and seldom see butter or cheese, and if the fowls should produce a few eggs, they carry them to market, to buy a little salt for their soup. Amid these scenes of poverty, the ministers have visited many of the Saints and tempted them with various articles of food to leave the Church, and, in some instances, the soft, smooth voice of the minister's wife has sought by these temptations to draw the Saints away.47

He added that visiting English ladies had added their "oily words" of

46John L. Smith, account written on Wednesday, September 26, 1855, quoted in "Swiss and Italian Mission, 1854 to 1860," Manuscript History and Historical Reports, Switzerland Zurich Mission, not paginated, LR 8884 2, Archives, Family and Church History Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter LDS Church Archives). Smith succeeded Daniel Tyler as president of the Swiss and Italian Missions in 1856. Jabez Woodard replaced him in September 1857. Smith again presided from December 1860 to October 1864, thus totaling six years of service in the Swiss and Italian Mission.

47Francis, "Italy," June 13, 1855, Millennial Star 17 (July 21, 1855): 455. Apparently, these efforts to lure the Saints away were somewhat successful. "We have been under the necessity of cutting off seven, who in their poverty have been bought with bread and polent by the Protestant minis-
persuasion. One young LDS sister was promised that if she would leave the Church, she would be taken to England to serve an old gentleman, "intimating that without doubt he would leave her his money. . . . But I am glad to say the sister refused all her flattering temptations. Some of the saints have fallen among these circumstances, and others have had a hard struggle. . . . The Protestants will keep families of Catholics, if they will change their religion; and Catholics . . . will keep families of Protestants, if they will turn Catholics." Francis aptly sums up sectarian relations in the valleys: "There is a continual war, not of arguments, but of bread and cheese."

To complicate matters, deep snows in May 1855 ruined the wheat crop and late frosts severely damaged the fruit trees and walnut trees from which the people made their oil. Then torrential rains washed away wheat fields and bridges. Such inclement weather, damaged roads, and missing bridges often prevented Church leaders from visiting the Saints to provide comfort; naturally, they also disrupted the missionaries' proselytizing efforts. All of this, coupled with war against Russia and "signs of eternal revolutions . . . is enough to tax


Francis, "Italy," June 13, 1855, Millennial Star 17 (July 21, 1855): 455. Toronto reported that, in Sicily, his relatives first welcomed him, because they "imagined he was very rich, but on finding him poor, treated him coldly. He spoke of the labors of Elders Lorenzo Snow, T. B. H. Stenhouse and Jabez Woodard, who had distributed tracts, treating on our faith in French through the villages and mountains of Piedmont among the Waldenses." He gave these details about the Waldensians' poverty: "They would carry hay on their backs for miles and where they found level spots on the mountains they had carried soil in baskets upon their backs and in this way cultivated the earth for a subsistence." Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (chronological scrapbook of typed entries and newspaper clippings, 1830–present), January 2, 1853, LDS Church Archives. See also "History of Brigham Young," January 2, 1853, p. 4, in "Church Historian's Office: History of the Church, 1839–circa 1882," in Selected Collections from the Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2 vols., DVD (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, [December 2002]), 1:3.

Francis, "Italy," June 13, 1855, Millennial Star 17 (July 21, 1855): 455. See also Francis, "Swiss and Italian Mission," February 27, 1857, Mil-
the wisdom of this nation, which is struggling hard for life and liberty," lamented Samuel Francis.50

In addition to these political and economic factors, the local socio-religious environment in Piedmont made missionary work a daunting task. Lorenzo Snow’s original views were confirmed that the Waldensian people shared similar views of scripture and a history of courageous resistance to religious persecution. These Protestant valleys also manifested more openness to discussion of ideas, greater freedom from harassment and persecution, and a higher level of literacy than other areas of Italy. These positive factors rendered possible, though still problematic, the enterprise of Mormon evangelization in Italy when most of the peninsula was virtually impervious to alien religious ideologies. Jabez Woodard acknowledged both the Waldensians’ underdeveloped society but also their comparatively greater freedom: “The walls of intolerance rising like mountains high around every other part of Italy, made us settle ourselves among a half civilized people, and our first sermons were preached in a cottage with unglazed windows and unplastered walls. . . . They are . . . not so closely watched by the Italian police in regard to their religious opinions.”51

Even though local inhabitants often attacked them physically, the missionaries acknowledged that the law gave them some protection. George Keaton, for example, reported that “ignorant persecuting rowdies” often attempted to assault the missionaries and that “in some places, we are obliged to watch for our opportunities to get about among the Saints and the people, for fear of the mob.” Two ruffians stoned a passerby, thinking him a Mormon missionary, he reported. The victim ran after and accosted his attackers who begged the man’s pardon when they realized their mistake. “He replied, they had no right to throw stones at ‘Mormons,’ or any one

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50Francis, "Italy," June 13, 1855, Millennial Star 17 (July 21, 1855): 456.

In 1855, Count Cavour, Sardinia’s prime minister, sent 15,000 Piedmontese troops to fight against the Russians in the Crimean War to curry favor with Britain and France. Smith, Modern Italy: A Political History, 19.

else. They were summoned before the magistrates and punished. Since this occurrence, I have not seen anything of the persecutors in that direction.”

The missionaries noted that among the Waldensians, despite social pressures, some were relatively well-disposed to entertain new religious ideas and scriptural interpretations. Keaton found that “many of the people will not believe anything that is not believed in by their religious leaders, but still there are those who are determined to use their own judgment in relation to religion as well as other matters.”

Thomas Margetts, one of the more observant and analytical of the missionaries, insightfully attributed this greater willingness to the Waldensian tradition of resisting persecution and of encouraging lay members to read and discuss the Bible:

In the valleys of Piedmont the people are nearly all of them Protestants, they do not believe in the doctrine of confession, and they have suffered much for their religion. From these sufferings, many of these people have learned to be kind to the stranger that may call upon them. They will invite you into their houses, and not being under any obligations to confess to the priests what they hear, they will give their ears to your words, and, where they are honest in heart, they will acknowledge the truth of the Gospel, and prove they believe it by being baptized. Though it is a hard country to live in, and the people are poor, yet there is a good prospect of doing a work in those small valleys. The Catholics believing in the doctrine of confession, and not being allowed to read the Bible, without special permission from the Priests, they believe it their duty to confess all you say to them, and are so ignorant that they do not know whether you tell them the truth or not, when you quote Scripture to them; in this way they are led along by men whose delight it is to keep the people in ignorance. Here we see the difference—in one case we have the liberty of speaking to the people, and they know what we say is true, because they read the Bible; in the other case we have no chance of talking, and, if we now and then

52 Keaton, “The Italian Mission,” January 16, 1854, Millennial Star 16 (February 18, 1854): 110. See also Francis, Letter to Franklin Richards, “Piedmont—Italy,” June 16, 1856, Millennial Star 18 (August 2, 1856): 490: “A few who are downright wicked will throw stones sometimes, but they are very careful not to let you see them do it, for fear of the law.”

53 Keaton, “The Italian Mission,” March [no day], 1854, Millennial Star 16 (April 1, 1854): 205.
should get an opportunity, the people cannot understand us, because of their superstition and ignorance.\textsuperscript{54}

The link that Margretts identifies between lay access to scripture and freedom of thought is well attested in historical studies of the Waldensian community. According to the pastor-scholar Giorgio Tourn, acculturation among Waldensians is based on three fundamental instruments: the church, the school, and para-ecclesiastical activities. The Waldensian ecclesiastical structure, like all reformed churches, is centered in comprehension of scripture rather than participation in liturgy: “The center of the cultic moment is preaching and not, as in Catholicism, the sacrament, with an evident consequence: increasing critical reflection and intellectual exercise instead of cultivating worship.”\textsuperscript{55} This tradition of preaching and lay scripture reading required the development of literacy skills for all parishioners, and this drive for education led to a “cultural revolution” between 1830 and 1850 that completely revamped the Waldensian educational structure.\textsuperscript{56} When Enlightenment ideas about education for the masses were virtually unknown in the rest of Italy, the Waldensians, with the help of a retired English general named Charles Beckwith, established elementary schools throughout the valleys.\textsuperscript{57} Called \emph{les universités des chevres} (Italian, \emph{le università delle capre}, or “universities of the goats”) because of their remoteness, these schools provided education for some illiterate adults as well as for children.

\textsuperscript{54}Margretts, Letter to Richards, August 20, 1853, 557.
\textsuperscript{55}Giorgio Tourn, “Esiste Una Cultura Valdese? Riflessioni per un Dibattito.” In \emph{Giovvenza Evangelica} 69, no. 31 (June 1981): 30.
\textsuperscript{56}Giorgio Tourn, \emph{I Valdesi: La Singolare Vicenda di un Popolo-Chiesa (1170–1976)} (Torino: Claudiana, 1977), 172.
\textsuperscript{57}These schools are still called “Beckwith schools” in honor of the general’s enormous contributions. Torre Pellice’s main street also bears his name. Beckwith (1789–1862), an Anglican who lost a leg in the Battle of Waterloo, in 1827 went to the Waldensian valleys and dedicated all his energies to aiding the people because they favored the diffusion of the Bible and educational development. Lorenzo Snow, \emph{The Italian Mission}, 17, had several meetings with Beckwith, who promised not to oppose the Mormon missionaries. See also J. P. Mélèze, \emph{Le Général Beckwith: Sa vie et ses travaux parmi les Vaudois du Piémont} (Lausanne, Switzerland: n.pub., 1872) and Fiorella Massel, \emph{Contributo alla Storia del Giornalismo Valdese: Tesi di Laurea in Storia del Risorgimento} (Torino: Università degli Studi di Torino, Facoltà di...
Prior to the Emancipation of 1848, it was illegal for Waldensians to attend secondary schools in the Catholic areas of Piedmont or establish them in their own valleys.\textsuperscript{58} In 1852 a normal school was established in Torre Pellice, and in 1856 the Waldensian Church opened an institute in Turin to provide training in artisanship to young Waldensians who had migrated there. As a result of this emphasis on education and teacher training, 1850 literacy rates among Waldensians were much higher than among the surrounding Catholic population.\textsuperscript{59} In sum, Waldensian history and epistemology produced a spirit of “critical reflection and intellectual exercise” (to use Pastor Tourn’s words) that helped create more favorable conditions for the introduction of Mormonism than elsewhere in Italy.

The religious and historical legacy of the Waldensians, however, proved to be also a hindrance in making converts to Mormonism. Soon after their arrival in the Piedmont valleys, the missionaries discovered that Waldensian tradition, while having prepared some of the populace to listen attentively to their proclamation of a latter-day Restoration, hardened the hearts and closed the ears of many others.

\textsuperscript{58}Statistics from that period indicate an increased number of schools but a decreased number of pupils, probably because after 1848, illiterate adults who had been attending school with their children had other ways of obtaining education. Massel, \textit{Contributo alla Storia}, 20. The Waldensians held teachers and pastors in high esteem because they expounded theology and read the scriptures during worship services and funerals. S. Cocorda, “Scuola e Cultura Valtèese nelle Valli del Piemonte tra il 1648 e il 1870” (Tesi di Laurea in Storia dei Risorgimento, Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, Università di Torino A.A. 1977–78), 18–19.

\textsuperscript{59}According to Massel, \textit{Contributo alla Storia}, 27, in 1847–48 15 percent of Waldensian men and 54 percent of Waldensian women could not sign their names on marriage certificates, in comparison to 38 percent of Catholic men and 88 percent of Catholic women. By 1897 illiteracy had been eliminated among those under forty to fifty years of age, while the rate for Catholic men and women was still 7.5 percent. The fruits of the educational system were also evident in the second half of the nineteenth century. In a population of about 20,000, mostly involved in agriculture, a large number obtained professional degrees in 1848–98: male and female teachers (224), professors (40), pastors (138), officers (34), lawyers (8), and secretaries (21).
Snow observed that, even though lies and slander about the Mormons were widely circulated, these were only “a small part of our difficulties.” The greater obstacles, among both the Protestant minority and the Catholic majority, were deeply ingrained religious identity, sectarian elitism, and fierce loyalty to time-honored traditions:

We have to preach, on the one hand, to a people nominally Protestants; but who have been from time immemorial in a church where any organized dissent has been unknown. The people regard any innovation as an attempt to drag them from the banner of their martyred ancestry. On the other hand, we have the Catholics, with their proud pretensions to a priesthood of apostolic origin. . . . Protestant and Papist looked upon each other as outcasts from the hopes of eternity; but regarded themselves as the favorites of heaven. . . . Every man holds a creed which has been transmitted from sire to son for a thousand years, whether he be Protestant or Catholic; and often he will lay his hand on his heart, and swear by the faith of his forefathers, that he will live, and die, as they have lived and died. . . . Their [Waldensians’] self-esteem, joined with deep ignorance, presents a formidable opposition to the progress of the Gospel.  

George Keaton tells of the annual Waldensian celebration of

60 Snow, The Italian Mission, 18, 21–22. Though characterized by Snow as “a small part” of their problems, fierce anti-Mormon propaganda figures prominently in the missionaries’ writings. Snow, for example, commented: “Soon after our arrival, we discovered the enemies of truth had not confined their labours to America, and the islands of the sea. In this country, a ‘History of the Mormons’ is widely spread. Solomon Spaulding and John G. Bennett, of everlasting notoriety, figure here in all their dignity! This History, or slander, is accompanied with drawings of the Nauvoo Temple, the prophet Joseph, and his murder at Carthage. I need scarcely say that, the sketches of the artist, and the tale of the historian, are in perfect harmony, and both as near the truth as the east is to the west.” Snow, Organization of the Church in Italy,” November 4, 1850, Millennial Star 12 (December 12, 1850): 371. Thomas Obray, an English elder serving in Malta, reported: “It is beyond my power to make known the difficulties attending this Mission. I have not only to encounter with Catholic, but with Protestant, who are circulating lies as fast as a horse can run, in order to stop the work of God on this island.” Letter to Samuel Richards, “The Mission in Malta,” August 18, 1852, Millennial Star 14 (September 18, 1852), 477. Generally speaking, though, the elders took the positive view that calumny often
"The Glorious Return," commemorating the heroism of the Waldensian forces led by Henri Arnaud and their successful military campaign in 1689 to win back their ancestral homeland. The festivities included renewing vows of loyalty to the Waldensian religion and warnings against the threat to the community posed by Mormon missionaries: "The rev. gentleman who addressed the vast assembly, knowing that many in their valleys had been baptised into the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and fearing that others would do likewise, seized the opportunity to exhort their hearers not to change their religion, but cleave to that faith which their forefathers had sworn to maintain." By equating conversion to another religion with repudiation of a proud heritage that ancestors had fought and died to preserve, Waldensian authorities created a powerful ideological counterweight to Mormon proselytizing efforts.

Much of the opposition that the missionaries and their converts faced on a day-to-day basis went beyond appeals to tradition and communal loyalty. The records make many references to physical attacks, verbal threats, and other forms of open harassment. Jabez Woodard: "Our enemies in that neighborhood have been numerous and vigilant, embracing all classes, from the magistrate to the match-seller." The Waldensian converts were "surrounded by continual opposition such as loss of employ, children expelled from schools, &c." He mentions that "to hinder our meetings, they have stopped up footpaths which have been frequented from time immemorial" and that mobs tried repeatedly to stone him and beat him. When one such gang of hoodlums failed in their attempt, they left "striking their cudgels to the tune of the Devil's concert... [and] swearing they would yet have vengeance upon such a disorderly character as myself." George Keaton "had many apparently narrow escapes from the hands of my ene-

worked for them. Concerning slanderous reports carried in English and French newspapers in Malta, Snow remarked: "Still they serve us some good purpose by awakening curiosity, and sending us many visitors, whereby we have increased opportunities of announcing our principles." Snow, "The Malta Mission," May 1, 1852, Millennial Star 14 (June 5, 1852): 236.

61Keaton, "The Italian Mission," March [no day], 1854, Millennial Star 16 (April 1, 1854): 205.

62Woodard, "Cheering News from Italy," January 12, 1853, Millennial Star 15 (February 19, 1853): 127; Woodard, "The Italian Mission," Sep-
mies. . . . Large stones have often come hissing by me with great force, but I have not yet received the first blow, for which I feel thankful to my heavenly Father.”

John L. Smith and his companion, en route from an evening meeting to their lodgings three miles away, “were followed by a mob who declared they would give us a ducking before we left; we were accompanied by many of the Saints and arrived safely about nine o’clock.”

The Waldensian ministers actively defended their flock against the incursion of Mormonism. Stephen Malan, one of the first LDS converts, recalled in his autobiography:

This rapid increase was however soon checked by the awakening of the sectarian seeing that if some steps are not taken immediately they would loose [sic] their communicants and endanger their ministerial avocation, the press also, for want of some sensational excitement; in concert with these ministers, began to disseminate among the people evil reports, misrepresentations falsehoods; in fact all that the evil one could inspire them to obstruct the advancement of our principles; To a very few exceptions when ever for the first time we would be preaching to a gathered assembly of people they after the services acknowledged to never in their lives heard so much truth, nor the gospel preached with such purity; of principles, we were hospitably received fed and lodged handsomely with an earnest invitation to come again and they would notify the people that we might have a large audience. But what was more surprising in our absence the minister with intensity of bitterness reviled us and announced to the people that we were a set of liars that we were wolves in sheeps clothings, that we were hired by Brigham Young, to convert them as a bait to bring them to Western deserts of America and thereunto would be slaves, and your young women taken possession by that infamous Polygamist and his associates to satiate their lust and debauchery; The credulous people looking upon these ministers as being invulnerable to utter any falsehood; were astounded at our cunning art of deception we had appeared unto them by our language as angels of light; and this last ti-

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63Keaton, “The Italian Mission,” March [no day], 1854, Millennial Star 16 (April 1, 1854): 294. In a pre-mission dream, Keaton was “given to understand” that he would not be hurt during his labors “inasmuch as I would be faithful.”

64John L. Smith, Letter, September 26 1855, LDS Church Archives.
rade against us was, so apparently truthful, that upon our promised visit anticipating to do a good work among willing ears, we found all the doors closed, and not a living soul in sight; as sheep hiding from the ravenous wolves as we were look [sic] upon in this instance. 66

Guglielmo Sangiovanni, 66 serving in Italy in 1864, also noted that “they have a great many curious stories here about us as a people. A woman whom I was talking with the other day on the principles of the Gospel, said she did not wish to offend me but she would like to ask me one question, and that was if we took the people from Europe for the purpose of eating them! For I have been told said the poor ignorant woman that they eat the people after they get them to Utah!!!!! I will leave you to judge whether I was tickled or not.” 67

The ministers also effectively fought the “war . . . of bread and cheese” to use Francis’s phrase. Francis felt that missionary prospects were greatly diminished “through the influence of the Protestant priest, exercised in the shape of presents of money, wheat, potatoes, and other things, which is the strongest influence they can use,” given the people’s poverty. 68 It is both fascinating and lamentable that the economic crisis in the valleys apparently became a source of recriminations and sectarian strife. Francis attributed the blight that ruined the vineyards and orchards to the wickedness of the people: “The judgments of God continue to manifest themselves among the vines


66Born of an Italian father and English LDS mother, Guglielmo was living in St. George when he was called to Italy in 1864. He served alone for one year in Piedmont, then was reassigned to Canton Berne. He spoke mostly French on his mission but learned a little Italian, and was the last full-time missionary in Italy before the mission was closed. Susanna Mebitable Rogers Sangiovanni, Collection, 1825–1905, MS 2986, LDS Church Archives.

67Other outlandish rumors about the fate of Waldensian converts once they arrived in Utah circulated in Piedmont. A member named Justot, whose daughter had emigrated with the Saints, heard from a neighbor reports that the Mormons had sold her into slavery three or four times. Sangiovanni, Letter to his mother, May 8, 1865, Susanna Sangiovanni Collection, 1825–1905, MS 2986, LDS Church Archives.

68Francis, “Italy,” June 13, 1855, Millennial Star 17 (June 13, 1855): 454.
and fruit trees." Perhaps his strong words are understandable given the inflammatory comments of the "would be wise" in the community that "none of these things transpired until the 'Mormons' arrived, and they firmly believe that we are the 'Jonahs,' and threaten us that if the plagues don't stop soon, they will 'throw us overboard' for proof."  

Another difficulty was, in Lorenzo Snow's words, that "strange ... languages surround us on every side." The enormous challenge of trying to communicate the gospel message in a multiplicity of languages and dialects had not been fully understood before the mission was founded. Samuel Francis claimed that "the languages present the greatest difficulty in the way of progress among the people." Snow found that "the French language is generally understood, but in many parts it is spoken very imperfectly, and with an admixture of provincialism and Italian. The latter is understood by a considerable number of persons; but it is not extensively used. In fact, this is a place where there are at least five distinct dialects spoken by different classes." Woodard noted that "though legal affairs are transacted in Italian, and ecclesiastical matters in French, yet there are many who understand nothing but the jargon of their native mountains, which differs as much from any written language as German does from English."

Francis commented on his frustration at trying to learn one foreign language (French) that gave him access to only a small percentage of the population, the majority of whom spoke variations of the
local dialect. "Although I have begun to speak the French language with some little freedom, it is very difficult with my English accent to make myself understood. One half of the people in these valleys do not know ten words of French, and two-thirds of the others, understand it, but cannot speak it. In the schools, the children are taught French and Italian, but out of school they speak Piedmontais, or a corruption of Italian mixed with a little French, which changes in nearly every town and village. This also presents difficulties to my progress among the strangers."  

The missionaries were ill prepared for the linguistic confusion that surrounded them in the Protestant valleys of Piedmont. There is no evidence to suggest that any of the missionaries made the most obvious choice—learning the Waldensian dialect—probably because it

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74 Francis, "Italy," June 13, 1855, Millennial Star 17 (July 21, 1855): 454-55. Francis's comments reflect misunderstandings that were prevalent because Waldensian was an oral rather than a written language. The Waldensian patois (French, patua in Italian), was not Piedmontese (the spoken dialect of Catholic Piedmont) nor a corrupted mixture of French and Italian. It was originally the dialect of Lyons, modified to some small degree by Piedmontese dialects after the Waldensians relocated from Lyons. Rather than being related to Italian dialects, it is actually a Provençal dialect, and Piedmontese has had only insignificant influence on it. As Snow suggested, five major dialect variations correspond to major regions of the valleys: Germanasca, Chisone, Angrogna, Pellice Superiore, and the "external" areas including Torre Pellice. From the sixteenth century, French gradually became the Waldensian ecclesiastical and cultural language. Knowing French became indispensable when the Bible was translated into French during the Reformation. Italian was used to communicate with Catholic adversaries on public disputes and political questions. As early as 1582, synod documents were written in both Italian and French. After the 1848 issuance of the Statuto, Waldensian leaders implemented Italian study in the public schools and in preaching. Teofilo G. Pons, Dizionario del Dialetto Valdese della Val Germanasca (Torre Pellice: Colonna della Società di Studi Valdesi, 1973).

75 In 1860 only an estimated 2.5 percent of the population understood Italian and many elites shunned it. "Victor Emmanuel II, the first king of united Italy, generally wrote in French, and spoke dialect at cabinet meetings; and his prime minister Cavour was visibly uncomfortable when using Italian in parliament. The majority of Italian speakers at the time of unification [1861] were concentrated in Rome and Tuscany," Duggan, A Concise
was too problematic and time-consuming to study a wholly oral language that had no grammars or dictionaries as reference tools. Most of the missionaries opted to study and proselytize in French among the Waldensians, then switched to learning Italian if they tried to work in the Catholic areas (primarily Turin and Genoa). Stenhouse became proficient in French, as did Keaton who stated that he had been "greatly blessed" in his language study and was "enabled to dispense the words of life freely." Despite the prevalence of the Waldensian dialect and French in the valleys, Lorenzo Snow apparently studied Italian during his five-month mission and recorded several instances when he used it. Woodard, Margetts, Francis, and Sangiovanni also devoted significant time to learning Italian, though they rarely used it because problems of working among the Catholic Italian-speaking population were so severe.

In response, Church leaders and missionaries began to urge the

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*History of Italy*, 27-30. The vast majority of Italians were illiterate, a problem compounded by the many regional dialects which "are in effect separate Romance languages" that "can differ from each other as much as French differs from Spanish." As recently as 1992 about 50 percent of Italians still used dialect as their preferred first language. Anna Laura Lepschy, Giulio Lepschy, and Miriam Voghera, "Linguistic Variety in Italy," in *Italian Regionalism: History, Identity and Politics*, edited by Carl Levy (Washington, D.C.: Berg, 1996), 70-75. See also Tullio De Mauro, *Storia Linguistica dell'Italia Unità* (Roma: Laterza, 1976).


77 For example, Snow spoke Italian to Mrs. Gay, the mother of the young boy whom he healed: "Il Dio di cielo ha fatto questa perversi" [The God of Heaven has done this for you.] Snow, *The Italian Mission*, 15. He performed the first baptism in Italy in Italian: "Sweet to us all were the soft sounds of the Italian." *Ibid.*, 17-18. He took pleasure in reciting the Church’s name in Italian: "Nor can I express the delight which I experienced in gazing upon Mount Brigham, on whose rocky brow we had organized La Chiesa di Gesù Christo dei Santi degli Ultimi Giorni in Italia." Snow, Letter to Richards, April 1, 1852, 107.

78 Woodard studied Italian in England and calls "that rudimentary [learning] . . . of more than golden value on my arrival in this country." Woodard, Letter to the editor, August 11, 1853, excerpted in *Millennial Star* 15 (September 3, 1853): 586. Margetts studied Italian ten to twelve hours a
members to learn and use English. Not only did English facility provide access to a greater variety of published Church materials but it also prepared members for emigration to Utah. Missionaries taught English classes to members. After Franklin Richards visited the members, several Saints became "very desirous to acquire a knowledge of the English language" to speak with him the next time he comes.\textsuperscript{79} John L. Smith found that converts in Wienselden, Switzerland, "had not been slow in learning the English language. They sang a number of hymns in English, and could talk a little. This gave me great joy. Also in Zurich the Saints sung in English, and Elder Hug is their only teacher."\textsuperscript{80}

**THE EXPERIENCE OF THE WALDENSIAN CONVERTS**

The best source for understanding the factors that attracted about two hundred Waldensian converts and the reasons that comparatively few (about 38 percent) emigrated to Utah are their own writings. Most of these historical documents are in the form of letters, autobiographies, and reminiscences written from Utah. They therefore reflect a retrospective and selective rather than contemporary view of what transpired.

A recurring theme in the history of Christian missiology, whether Catholic or Protestant, is that multiple factors—spiritual, so-


\textsuperscript{80}John L. Smith, "Switzerland," November 5, 1856, *Millennial Star* 18 (November 29, 1856): 762-63. Smith was then president of the Swiss and Italian Mission.
cial, economic, and political—influence conversion and retention. Like other Mormon converts in Europe during the nineteenth century, the early Waldensian converts were attracted to Mormonism because it offered a unique blend of spiritual hope for the hereafter and material well-being in the present.

Despite the many obstacles to missionary work, the missionaries found that some Waldensians were dissatisfied with their religion and convinced that a more purely charismatic form of ancient Christianity existed somewhere on the earth.\footnote{81} Gifts of the spirit—dreams, visions, healings—and identity with apostolic authority played an important role in the spiritual lives of these "primitive gospellers,"\footnote{82} of the Waldensian valleys. Several converts affirmed that Mormonism rang true because it coincided in important ways with Waldensian doctrine and because visions and dreams foretold the advent of the missionaries. More than forty years after emigrating to Utah, sixty-eight-year-old Marie Cardon Guild recalled her first intimations of Mormonism's advent:

I desire to write . . . of a great warning or vision, which appeared unto me when a Child, at the age between six or seven years old. I saw three strangers appear before me as I was in my bed, but it seemed to me that was on a part of my father's vineyard: one small strip of meadow, where I was to watch some milk cows and keep them from the vineyard. I thought I was sitting on the grass, and reading a book. I seemed to be grown up to womanhood and as I raised my eyes, I saw three strangers dressed in black but white shirts on. I looked up at them but did not speak, I raised my eyes to their face again, and they then spoke to me, saying fear not, we are the servants of God and have come to preach the everlasting Gospel of Jesus Christ, and that the fulness thereof was revealed to Joseph Smith Jr. a young boy who had the desire to know which of the sects or Churches where [sic] the right one. He was sincere in his heart before God. When a voice spoke to him and said none of the Churches had the true Gospel, but that the true and everlasting Gospel of Christ would be revealed in its fulness, never to be taken from the earth.

Again, these three men or two of them put their hands in their pokets and took out a small book which contained articles of the ever-

\footnote{81}{Snow, \textit{The Italian Mission}, 10.}
lasting Gospel, one of the Books had a pale blue cover while the other had pale green cover. They handed me these books to me to read; then they said the day would come when my parents and family would embrace this Gospel and all, and others of the house of Israel would also embrace this Gospel and the day was not far when we would repent and be baptized in the name of the Father and the Son and Holy Ghost and would be called to Zion they spoke of our journey on the desert plains: and many a thing which concerned to our future, and when I awoke I truly felt weak and strange, I got up and went in the kitchen where my mother [sic] was getting breakfast.

She felt rather alarmed in seeing me and asked me if I was sick. I answered no, and that is all I said, for I felt strange; it appeared to my mother that surely something was wrong, but being too busy to see to me just then did not say anything more until my father came in, then she called his attention at once, and said to him to try and find out what was wrong with me if he could. So he took me upon his knee and asked many a question before I would speak. Finally I told him of what I saw and heard while in my bed. This excited my parents and they did not let one word escape their mind, and though neither one of them could write these wonderfull warning or vision yet they knew that this was something worth to be felt excited over what I had told them. They treasured up every word in their memory.83

Maria added that she did not think about this vision again until, at age seventeen, she saw Elder Jabez Woodard and realized the fulfillment of the vision.

Stephen Malan, writing in 1893 at age fifty-eight, described religious discontentment, spiritual signs portending the coming of Mormonism, and convincing theology that attracted eight members of his family to the Church:

At the beginning of their organization, their [Waldensians] principles of theology may have been coherent with true Christianity, they have ever afterwards they became vitiated by contact with modern reforms, so much so that they are now also divided in several denominations, and this people's principles and their resistance to the Roman Church was but a preserved glimmering light foreshadowing the Reformation, and this last a preparative move to usher in the restoration of the gospel in its fulness in the last dispensation and fullness of times.

Something remarkable occurred among this people at the same

83Marie Madeleine Cardon Guild, Letter to her children, January 12, 1903, Guild Correspondence, 1898-1903, MS 894, LDS Church Archives. Initial capitals and paragraphing added.
time that Joseph Smith began to reveal to the world his commission to preach the new revealed fullness of the Gospel. An excitement of religious revival took place, and bitter persecution resulted against the innovators, by the true adherent of the Waldensian Church, as also at the time when Joseph and Hiram Smith were slain the heaven became red and its reflections upon the earth made it appear like blood these signs were not understood to portend what we afterwards discovered to be.

An incident also was made manifest in the conduct of many in regard to the approaching time of the introduction of the fulness of the gospel; some received visions some dreams, some by sudden inspirations of the spirit awakening to the sense that the religious principles of the day were not in accordance with Holy Writ; in particular my grandfather John Combe awaken to the position loudly denounced the false precepts and unscriptural dogmas of the day, and announced publickly that there were but one true religion practiced according to the pattern of Jesus Christ primitive Church; he did not know in which part of the world it was but that it would be known among this people in the near future that he would not live to see it but that those younger would.

My mother was a God fearing woman, according to the light she had, the Lord forewarned her also by dreams and visions of the night, that a time of refreshing was coming; father was often seen with some intimate friends engaged in religious discussion upon the extant corrupted systems and non conformance; to the principles of the Gospel as they were proclaimed by the ancient apostles; such were the divided opinions of the people some were led to infidelity through the antagonism of the various sects others were undecided which was the nearest to truth; others without withdrawing from their former; communicants were waiting for some great reforms in Christianity to take place; among these were my parents; until the Elders of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter day Saints reached our mountains and when they so clearly and understandingly propounded the first principles of the Gospel, and testified to the fact that Joseph Smith was instrumental in Gods hand to establish the Church of Christ in its purity of principles and doctrine, our eyes were open, our mind and understanding were enlightened, and prepared to receive this fullness of the Gospel and accept baptism at their hands upon the second sermon they discoursed unto us.

It was just at the time that Elder Snow departed from Turin for Switzerland that my Father and I were at Latour one mile and a half from our place of residence; we call at my sister Mary, who with her husband a tailor by trade, lived in that town; While there in a man of gentlemanly appearance enters and having been there before my sister introduced us to him, after a short conversation, in which he disclosed his business in our country my Father invites him to accom-
pany us to our residence which he performed; reaching our home after partaking to a frugal repast he told father, that inasmuch as he was commissioned to preach the gospel in the same manner, as Christ's apostles; and preach the same doctrine; he desired to do so if he could obtain a house where in he could have the neighbours to assemble.

We were able to gather some twenty five or more of the nearest, and there for the first time we heard the gospel in its true light, we were so edified and elated, that we could not do [book reversed] otherwise than to invite him to come again; which he did not fail to respond some few days after; having at the first preaching gave us an outline of his commission of the heavenly one committed to Joseph Smith; of this his authority to ordain others, to the priesthood, and that he Elder Woodard was ordained by the same power to preach the fulness of the Gospel beginning with the first principles; we therefore as he before observed pondered upon it and were convinced of the truth; the next time Elder Woodard preached to us we our family and few others accepted baptism, which ceremony was performed the day following the first was my brother John Daniel Malan and another young man by the same name of another family, then my Father, and mother, I, and my next in age Amelia Pauline, and Madeline, and three others of another family; at night meeting we were confirmed by Elder Woodard, we then proceeded to each one of us to testify to the truth and the spirit of God was made manifest for we were all filled with a joy unspeakable, and my mother for the first time spoke in tongues; and this took place exactly 8 years after the holy day celebration of the emancipation of the Waldenses, the 25th day of February 1851, eight months to the day when Elder Snow landed at Genoa. 84

Although some Waldensians were attracted to Mormonism for spiritual and theological reasons, others apparently had more temporal concerns in mind. The harsh political and economic conditions in the Waldensian valleys had already led to considerable out-migration. The mid-nineteenth century saw another “noteworthy flux of emigration.” 85 The missionary and member records noted both this widespread impulse to seek economic and social advancement outside of Italy and its impact on the Church’s efforts to win converts. The traditional problem of “rice Christians,” well-documented in the historical record of missiology, also constantly challenged LDS missionary

work. Samuel Francis wrote in 1855:

We have been obliged to use the pruning knife a little this spring. In these valleys, a great many lovers of emigration join the Church, expecting to get a free emigration to America. The Protestant ministers, thinking that we tempt the people to join our Church with emigration to the Valley, have opened emigration to Algiers, to oppose us, and this winter, the ministers have offered several families of the Saints a free passage there to leave the Church. We are heartily glad of this, for it is the best thing that could be put into operation to find out those who join the Church for emigration; . . . And after the emigration season is over, we find out these customers. This season we have found nine, six of whom we have cut off, . . . One of these customers told me plain, that if he thought we should not emigrate him, he would never come to meeting again.86

Daniel Tyler, an 1854–55 missionary, observed the same problem in Switzerland in areas with which the Waldensians had much interaction: "I found that the spirit of emigration exceeded any thing I ever had witnessed, some having found their way into the Church with no other view than to get to America. . . . Many of the peasantry, thinking that our only desire was to swell our numbers, came and offered themselves for baptism; stating that, as they had no property to detain them, they could be ready to emigrate at a week's or day's notice."87

While it is true that the Church's policy at the time was to "gather" the Saints to Zion, it must also be noted that the missionaries sometimes created problems by fostering unrealistic expectations for emigration, thereby attracting those in Waldensian society who were interested only in material concerns. Lorenzo Snow's pamphlet, _The Voice of Joseph_, reads like a travel advertisement in its description of a spiritual, social, and economic Utopia in Utah. In July 1847, for example, the pioneers found "a beautiful valley" where "all is stillness. No elections, no police reports, no murders, no wars in our little world. How quiet, how still, how peaceful, how happy. . . . Oh, what a life we

86Francis, "Italy," June 13, 1855, _Millennial Star_ 17 (July 21, 1855): 454.

87Tyler, "The Swiss and Italian Missions," February 2, 1856, _Millennial Star_ 18 (March 8, 1856): 154. Tyler assumed the presidency of the Swiss and Italian Mission in October 1854 but was released for health reasons in November 1855.
live! It is the dream of the poets actually fulfilled in real life. Here we can cultivate the mind, renew the spirit, invigorate the body, cheer the heart, and ennoble the soul of man... Here, too, we all are rich—there is no real poverty." Temptingly, Snow added that the Church has established a "Perpetual Emigrating Fund" for the poor: "Many thousand dollars have already been donated for this purpose... [and] this Fund has been so arranged as to be increased to millions, by which the poor and virtuous among men can be assisted, and with perfect assurance lift up their head and rejoice, for the hour of their deliverance is nigh."88

Other missionaries make it clear that this idealized view of Zion and the importance of emigration were continually propagated. John L. Smith, writing for himself and Samuel Francis, commented, "I feel to rejoice with the prospect of returning to Zion, the only place on earth where righteousness and peace are to be found."89 Jabez Woodard, after recounting scenes of persecution and oppression, stated: "I tell the Saints to make every preparation to flee as soon as the way opens."90 Woodard recorded in his journal that, during a meeting of the Saints in Switzerland, he "spoke upon the journey across the plains and the progress of a faithful saint from year to year. I told them that in 20 years I would be richer than the richest inhabitant that would then be found in Geneva."91 Keaton noted the sense of anticipation and hope that these teachings instilled in the members: "The Saints are increasing in faith and knowledge, and they rejoice in the glorious hope of one day assembling with the body of the Church in Zion."92

Apparently, the missionaries promoted the idea of emigration of Zion as a means of eliciting interest (a "spirit of inquiry" is the phrase often employed) in Mormonism and showing its superiority

91 Jabez Woodard, Diaries, 1852–1857, September 30, 1857, Ms 1851, LDS Church Archives.
to other religions. Shortly after the third group of Waldensian converts left for Utah in November 1855, Daniel Tyler noted that "the emigration of the poor from that place [Piedmont] has awakened a spirit of inquiry, and the Spirit of the Lord is moving upon the minds of the people in some places, and Elder Francis expresses himself as having a strong hope of doing a good work the coming season."93

But the Perpetual Emigrating Fund fell far short of having sufficient money to bring all the poor Saints to Zion, requiring the missionaries to modify Snow's over-zealous description. Tyler commented on those who were primarily motivated by a desire to emigrate: "When they were told that they could not be received on such terms, and that we wanted none except those who wished to serve God, and build up His kingdom, and were 'willing to toil' for its advancement, as well as their own, they went away sorrowful."94 Jabez Woodard described how difficult it was for the impoverished Saints in Piedmont to pay their own way to Zion. One convert "has now sold all he possessed, to prepare for Zion, but I need not say how immensely the value of his property was diminished, while others of the brethren, who were dependent upon daily labour, no longer find employment where the crop fails on all sides."95 Samuel Francis summarized the dilemmas of poverty and emigration: "Our numbers are very small there [Italy] at present; some of the strongest have been obliged to go to France in search of employment, and some have returned to the Waldensian Church, in their poverty, for the loaves and fishes, while others have desired to be cut off because they have not been emigrated. The few that are left... earnestly pray for their deliverance, and often say they would be willing to walk all the way to Liverpool (excepting the crossing of the channel) if the servants of the Lord could furnish them the means to cross the ocean, to go to Zion."96

Eventually, Church leaders in Italy and Switzerland employed more tempered rhetoric in preaching the doctrine of gathering. Daniel Tyler stated that his "short experience on the Continent has taught

93 Tyler, "The Swiss and Italian Missions," February 2, 1856, Millennial Star 18 (March 8, 1856): 156.
94 Ibid., 154.
95 Woodard, "The Italian Mission," September [no day], 1853, Millennial Star 15 (October 8, 1853): 671.
me that the spirit of emigration prevails to a great extent, both in and out of the Church, and I wish the brethren to instruct the Saints, that they should not emigrate without counsel from proper authority."97 John L. Smith, writing five years after the main emigration of Waldensian Saints, observed that “since the emigration we have sought to have the people know what they are doing before we receive them into the fold of Christ.”98

A poignant illustration of the powerful but misleading impression created in members’ minds by the missionaries’ portrayal of the American Zion appears in Stephen Malan’s autobiography. After describing the arduous journey with his family in the second company of Waldensian emigrants who arrived at Salt Lake City on October 28, 1855, he recorded his bitter disappointment when he first viewed the long-awaited destination and as soaring expectations met stark reality:

I could not sense the description given while in my native land of the flowery border of the Jordan River nor of the virgin prairies of the valleys of Deseret, nor of the dense forest and shrub of its mountain dales and the limpid water brooks and salubrity of its climate. Having never seen it I conjectured something of a similarity to my country’s nature’s gift. Hence with this reflection upon my mind after having for weeks traveled over sandy deserts and the wilderness across the Rocky Mountains, what a contrast would appear to my view when gazing upon Salt Lake, the fine city of the Saints, and the luxurious vegetation covering the surrounding country. I was so eager for this contemplation and so expectant of the contrast which my anxious gaze would witness that on the day that we were to cross the last summit of the mountains Emigration Canyon, I started at day break, left the company without my breakfast, and made rapid strides to reach the long sought land of Zion. . . . I arrived with perspiration and almost breathless up on a slight elevation at the mouth of the canyon. My eyes surveyed the whole landscape from the spot upon which I stood. Nothing but a desert was visible from the east to west mountain. I could not see anything indicative of my anticipations. . . . The contemplation not only dimmed my eyes, actually tears rolled down my

checks. Was it joy to be gazing upon Zion’s hills that produced the agitation? No! It was disappointment that was conceived through my ignorance of the aspect which I was to witness and the abortiveness of my sanguine anticipation.  

Malan, who wrote this account in 1893 with forty years of hindsight and perspective, was philosophical about the difficult transition that he and many other early LDS converts experienced in crossing boundaries of geography, culture, and faith to forge a new home and identity: “The test was a severe one, but it was momentary... It is sufficient to know, that day to this, I whether willingly or forcibly, through course of circumstances, adapted myself to the ways and rules which predominated this western clime, and would shed more tears if I had to forsake this vale of the mountains than those I shed when entering them.”

**CONCLUSION**

Initially, Church leaders selected Italy as one of the first foreign missions because of its potential for finding Israelite lineage, its pivotal cultural and historical role in Europe, its strategic geographic location in the Mediterranean basin, and its connection to apostolic Christian history. Hopes were high for a bounteous harvest of souls, but missionaries encountered a daunting array of political, economic, and social obstacles: political tensions in the Kingdom of Sardinia related to the Italian independence movement, in full bloom as the missionaries arrived; lack of religious liberties for non-Catholics; intense poverty and a harsh economic and physical environment; the strong opposition of the Protestant clergy; and fierce communal loyalty among Waldensians to their ancestral traditions.

The few Waldensians who joined the Church were attracted by Mormonism’s emphasis on charismatic spiritual gifts, apostolic priesthood authority, theological arguments, and the prospect of economic and social improvement through emigration to America. Waldensian society was passing through a period of internal social, educational, and religious reform that coincided with the advent of

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99 Malan, Autobiography and Family Record, 1893, not paginated. See also Stephen Malan’s Record, “Malan Book of Remembrance: John Daniel Malan,” Vol. 1, p. 102, Family History Library, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.  
Mormonism and that provided the LDS missionaries with a greater opportunity for proselytizing than could be found elsewhere in Italy. My 1999 interview with Pastor Giorgio Tourn, a noted Waldensian scholar and president of the Waldensian Cultural Center in Torre Pellice, confirmed these findings. When asked, “What was the attraction or motivation for some Waldensians to join the Mormon Church?” he offered this assessment:

We as a church have never confronted this question adequately. The Church had been passing through “a reformed dimension” just prior to and during that period of the nineteenth century. There was a conflict between a reawakening, reformist attitude and the traditional establishment. I don’t believe it was a response to Mormon theology, but a response to the “radical” spiritual needs of the 1800s that the church did not adequately address or satisfy. Baptists, Adventists, Jehovah’s Witnesses all had success in this process. The church was too rigid, and didn’t provide space for personal spiritual life. There was a lack of rapport between the pastors and the people. Mormon missionaries and others were able to take advantage of this situation. Also, when people are hungry, they will listen to people who offer bread. Later, in the 1880s, the church responded to this problem and resolved the crisis. Had this happened earlier, the missionaries would not have had such success.101

As time brought broader exposure to the challenging political, economic, religious, and linguistic environment, missionaries abandoned their expectations of a spectacular harvest of souls and became more philosophical about the relatively small number of converts they actually made. Later documents frequently use metaphors that connote the eventual development of something great from that which is initially small and unremarkable. Snow looked forward “to the day when the stability and grandeur of our building will be an ample reward for those months of labour which may not have been attended with anything extraordinary in the eyes of those who judge merely by the external appearance of the moment.” He simultaneously recorded a dream that “presented a theme for meditation” re-

lated to missionary work in Italy. He dreamed he caught a fish but was "surprised and mortified at the smallness of my prize. I thought it very strange that, among such a vast multitude of noble, superior-looking fish, I should have made so small a haul. But all my disappointments vanished when I came to discover that its qualities were of a very extraordinary character." Other missionaries also commented on the small number of converts but on the exceptional quality of their faith, commitment, and hospitality. For example, Samuel Francis reported:

Our numbers are very small there [Italy] at present; the few that are left, with one or two exceptions, are those that have been in the Church a long time, and whom we can term the faithful. They are zealous in the work of God, attend their meetings regularly, and are very obedient to the counsels and instructions of the servants of God. . . . They are very hospitable according to their means. While among them, I have always the offer of the warmest room and the best bed, the easiest stool, and the nearest place to the fire, indeed, they do everything they can to make me comfortable.

At a conference of mission leaders and missionaries in Geneva in 1854, George Keaton observed: "The Saints [in Italy] are good and faithful—the most obedient I have ever seen." As Daniel Tyler took over the presidency of the mission at the same conference, he thought that "all has been done that could have been done under the circumstances" in the mission and that "a superficial observer" might conclude that results thus far were insignificant when in fact much progress had been made in spreading awareness of the restored gospel in Italy and Switzerland.

In sum, Snow’s metaphor of a small fish of exceptional quality seems a propos. Although only about seventy Waldensian converts emigrated and settled in Utah, they include many stalwart LDS fami-

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104 "Minutes of the General Council," 706. Homer, "Like the Rose in the Wilderness," 34, points out that, even though converts totaled fewer than two hundred during seventeen years of missionary work, it represents "almost 1 percent of the small Protestant group that Snow initially targeted for conversion in the Kingdom of Sardinia."
lies: Bertoch, Beus, Carpon, Chatelain, Justet, Malan, Rivoir, Stal, and Pons. They added their unique cultural thread to the tapestry of the early Church and have made significant contributions to their communities.105

Diane Stokoe, a member of the Pons family, captured the pride that Waldensian descendants feel for their historical legacy. Referring to the Waldensian motto, “Lux Lacet in Tenebris” (A Light Shining in the Darkness), she notes: “I am proud to be descended from one of those ten [Waldensian convert] families. . . . Waldensians are survivors. They love truth. They are committed and determined. I find great strength in this rich heritage.”106


106 Photocopy of correspondence in my possession. Used by permission.
REVIEWs


Reviewed by Ronald O. Barney

In 1946 Ray C. Colton completed a thesis at Brigham Young University interpreting the origins of Fort Utah and Provo, Utah, by way of their geographical and historical identities. He asked and answered many of the right questions providing the physical and human context for the settlement of Utah Valley through the 1850s. Though a fine study for its time, the significance of Colton's work was limited by his reliance upon secondary sources and apparent lack of access to primary texts, for they are employed far too sparingly. Over a half-century later, Robert Carter has satisfied in a splendid way the story Colton initiated in the 1940s.

Carter is an award-winning, retired history teacher in Utah's secondary school system who has, in this work, produced one of the finest examples of local history within the state to date. Lewis K. Billings, Provo's mayor, who encouraged and promoted the book from its inception, notes in the foreword: "Few communities can claim to have a text documenting their earliest settlement that has been so well prepared by one with comparable credentials" (ix). He is correct. Would that every valley in Utah had Springville's Robert Carter living nearby. His deft portrayal of one of Utah's most important cities in one of Utah's most habitable valleys may serve as a model hereafter for anyone calculating to create fine local history.

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Provo lies at the southern sector of Utah's "humid continental-hot summer" climatic zone which sprawls on the western plain below Utah's imposing Wasatch Mountains. The unique corridor bisecting northern Utah provides an environment where most of Utah's population now lives. Latter-day Saints scouting for habitable settings quickly ascertained Utah Valley's attractions, outshining even those of Salt Lake Valley to the north. Still, in most things, Provo has generally filled a subordinate role to Utah's capital city. But while fine studies generalizing the history of several Utah localities have been produced in the past generation, none exceeds Carter's skilled presentation and detailed view of Provo's genesis.

Several local histories written a generation or more ago, all useful, focus on Provo's history. But common to histories of other locales, particulars of Provo's origins are collapsed into summaries that fail to capture the unique features of the town's beginnings. And while token treatment in the extant literature is usually given to the region's pre-Mormon history, Carter benefits his readers by including work from the significant body of information about the pre-settlement period which has come to light in the last generation or so.

Carter exhibits his comprehensive knowledge of the geography and physiography of the region beginning with the Archaic period of five millennia ago, followed 4,000 years later by the more commonly known Fremont culture. He gives human dimension to the early Native Americans who ranged, at the time of Euro-American contact, along the shoreline of Utah Lake. These inhabitants were the Timpanogots, a tribe of the Northern Utes. His detail of their relationship with other enclaves of regional Indians and particulars of their culture is an important contribution to pre-Euro-American history. Like all regions in America, Native Americans in Utah Valley inevitably encountered whites, first as visitors and then as potential settlers. As one would expect from a first-class history, Carter describes these Euro-Americans during their seventy-five-year era of sporadic visitations fitting between the Franciscan fathers in 1776 and the Mormon emigrants in the late 1840s. But while pre-settlement features of Utah Val-

ley's history are included in this volume, Carter's story is primarily about Mormons and their encounter with Indians.

Carter's account has a ring of revisionism and explores a story differing from the Daughters of Utah Pioneers genre of a half-century ago. The book focuses primarily on a single year, 1849-50, when the Mormons finally eyed Utah Valley for settlement. Carter revokes, in the case of Utah Valley, the generalization of stereotypical Mormon procedures for expanding their physical kingdom. He argues that a complicated series of events, played out by rugged frontier-type Mormon men with their families, actually inaugurated Mormon settlement near Utah Lake at Fort Utah, in what is now western Provo. Surnames such as Huntington, Higbee, Williams, and Bean identified these hardy men. Carter states:

Fort Utah was not what many have come to view as the stereotypical Mormon colony. In fact, in many ways it was similar to frontier settlements outside of the Great Basin. Most of the men who settled Fort Utah were rough, tough, and independent. A substantial number of the older settlers came from the backwoods South, and most of the younger people who came to Fort Utah had been born and raised on the frontier where pretensions and refined culture were rare. For many of Utah Valley's first colonizers, life in frontier Missouri and Illinois had been filled with hardships and marred by violence. In addition to this, sixteen of the early male settlers had been further hardened by life on the trail with the Mormon Battalion. They had developed into true frontiersmen. (xii)

Utah Valley's first settlers intermixed with Indians known to the white men as Old Elk, Little Chief, Blue Shirt, Roman Nose, and Stick-in-the-Head. Even before the Saints pitched their tents portending permanency, Mormons and Indians in the valley clashed. Once the Mormons began the invasive action of reconfiguring the land for settlement, the scarcity of food placed them in direct competition with the Timpanogos. The skirmish at Battle Creek (Pleasant Grove) in 1849 and the culmination of tensions in February 1850 in the Battle of Provo River brought a resolution to the conflicts—one which was, of course, disadvantageous to the Utes. No longer willing to tolerate attacks upon their cattle or their people by discouraged and hungry Utes, the Saints, despite their initial benign outlook toward the Indians, turned to brutal retaliation. Provo's initial settlement, in short, was marked by confrontation and bloodshed. Reports of the unyielding Utah Valley encounter tended to open other areas for white habitation with greater facility.

Along with his intimate knowledge of the region's landscape, Carter surrounds the core of his story with contextual highlights illustrating the nu-
merous components that expand our understanding of early Utah Valley’s rich history. The Timpanogots battled, for example, with Wanship’s band of Northern Utes for supremacy in the Wasatch region. Utah Valley’s unusual characteristic as a natural fishery by way of its streams and lake also influenced human history. Fish—suckers and trout—played a significant role in Indian/Mormon relations. Carter also includes the story of non-Mormons in the volatile mix in Utah County’s early years, including gold seekers and government military men, a number of whom left accounts of their experience in that setting. The ample use of photographs and illustrations, particularly of personalities whose lives crossed early Utah Valley’s stage, greatly enrich the narrative.

The book is not without shortcomings. Chapter 2, “Almost the Right Place,” which chronicles the Mormons’ expulsion from Illinois and their eventual settlement in Utah, although well-done, is mostly superficial. That period is so extensively discussed elsewhere that a paragraph or two would have sufficed. Unfortunately, the book lacks a summary conclusion describing the impact of Utah Valley’s settlement story on the rest of Utah territorial history. Indeed, the argument can be made that Mormon interference upon the Timpanogots in 1850 cast a foreboding pall across the region. Historian John Alton Peterson, for example, convincingly argues that the Utah Valley battles in 1849-50 greatly influenced the Black Hawk war that consumed Utah in the late 1860s. Despite these issues, however, Carter’s well-written Founding Fort Utah is an important contribution to the history of early Utah and one of Utah’s best local histories.

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Reviewed by Robert H. Briggs

3John Alton Peterson, Utah’s Black Hawk War (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1998), 57-58.
Southern Utah University Press has inaugurated a monograph series on the Mountain Meadows Massacre. *Historical Topography: A New Look at Old Sites on Mountain Meadows*, the first in the series, presents the research of Morris A. Shirts. Shirts spent years studying the Iron Mission along with the Mountain Meadows Massacre that contributed to its failure. At his death in 1997, his major study of the Iron Mission was still unpublished. His family pushed the project forward with editorial assistance from Frances Anne Smeanth. In 2001, *A Trial Furnace: Southern Utah’s Iron Mission* was published. Besides that work, Shirts had planned a study of some aspects of the massacre; but it, too, was unfinished at his death. Again the Shirts family turned to Smeanth to shepherd Shirts's research to publication. This short monograph is the result.

*A New Look at Old Sites* does not focus on the who, what, or why of the massacre, but instead on narrow but crucial issues of where. Where did the rancher party camp at the Mountain Meadows? Where were they attacked, where were they killed, where were they buried, and what marks their graves? "Professor Shirts came to believe," Smeanth states in her introduction, "that some site issues were more or less neglected by many writers, including Juanita Brooks. Examining these issues will be the focus of this paper." (2). This study contains an introduction and seven sections dealing with past site investigations and activities, current "critical issues" and recent site studies. Twenty maps, photographs, and illustrations enhance and clarify the text.

In addition, there are three appendices. Appendix I contains a list of the Mountain Meadows memorial committee for 1888–90. Appendix II discusses geographic and photographic details in Josiah Gibb’s 1910 study, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre*, and in Charles Kelly’s unpublished study, "Utah’s Black Friday: History of the Mountain Meadows Massacre of 1857." Appendix III briefly analyzes the map of Mountain Meadows contained in an issue of the *New York Herald* published in March 1877 following the execution of John D. Lee.

Shirts and Smeanth trace the examinations of the site beginning with the military investigations of 1859 conducted by Captain Reuben P. Campbell, Assistant Surgeon Charles Brewer, Brevet Major James H. Carleton, and Major Henry Prince; the later military site visit of 1864 by Captain George Frederick Price; the site surveys of 1873–74, 1876–77, 1881, and 1899; and the monuments placed in 1932, 1990, and 1999.

In one of the final sections, “Critical Issues,” the authors address lingering problems of interpreting events at Mountain Meadows. They weigh conflicting evidence to tentatively identify the traces of the Old Spanish Trail, the California Road and Jefferson Hunt’s “new” wagon road through the meadows. But of greater importance is their work in addressing geo-
graphical issues related to the massacre itself: (1) Where was the emigrants' wagon circle—the "siege site"—located? (2) What was the direction of march from the siege site to the massacre sites? (3) Where were these massacre sites? and (4) Where were the burial sites?

Shirts and Sneath conclude that the siege site was located at the southern end of the meadows, near the 1932 and 1999 monuments. During the initial attack and subsequent siege, between seven and ten Fancher party members were killed at that location. But this was not the site of the main massacre which was one to two miles northward.

Under a promise of protection, local Mormon militiamen led the Arkansas emigrants away from their camp. Shirts and Sneath favor the view that the line of march of the Arkansas emigrants and their Mormon escorts trended north by northeast along the eastern side of the valley and the massacre site of the emigrant men was approximately one and one-third miles north of the wagon circle or siege site.

The massacre site of the women and children was roughly one-third of a mile beyond that. Upwards of 110 men, women, and children were killed at these massacre sites. The "burial sites" were generally to the east of the massacre sites, that is, on the east side of the road. In that area, state Highway 18 generally tracks the old wagon road, making the original burial sites on the east, not west, of the present highway.

As noncontroversial as these conclusions may appear, one must recall that the record we inherit on even these subjects is clouded and that other interpretations are possible. I believe that Shirts and Sneath are largely correct in their conclusions. But one value of their study is that they have collected the relevant materials on all sides of the issues they address, making it possible for future students to reassess both evidence and interpretation.

A second value is illustrated by a question Sneath poses at the outset: "how to dispassionately interpret an event about which no one can be dispassionate" (2) Yet Morris Shirts and Frances Sneath have done exactly that. They and other students of the massacre are searching for new sources and applying a variety of new methods, disciplines, and interpretive frameworks to better understand the tragedy at the meadows.

Their work, Sneath observes in her conclusion, was to further the goal of providing a "practical methodology for preserving the site and educating its visitors." Concluding, Sneath thought she perceived that "genuine efforts continue to be made by serious-minded people on all sides of the historic conflict, working to end acrimony and establish a lasting dialogue of mutual respect" (59).

Much remains to be done to realize this worthy objective, but I join Frances Anne Sneath and the late Morris A. Shirts in hoping that it may be so.
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Reviewed by Richard K. Behrens

In this long awaited update of his 1971 edition, Richard L. Anderson continues his meticulous task of systematically documenting the Mack and Smith family ancestry of Joseph Smith the Mormon prophet. Anderson, a senior research fellow at the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History at Brigham Young University, where he has previously taught Church history, holds a doctorate from Harvard in law and another from the University of California in history.

Anderson’s stated objective in this biography is to focus attention on Joseph’s grandparents and other extended family members who influenced Joseph’s life in upper New England before the family left for Palmyra in 1817. Anderson relies heavily on Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith and His Pregenitors by Lucy Mack Smith, Joseph’s mother, the personal narrative of Solomon Mack, the 1799 “address” (letter) to his family by Asael Smith, and the journal of John Smith, Joseph’s uncle. Anderson identifies various contemporary documents that illustrate the place of the Smith and Mack families in the communities in which they resided. Anderson also relates numerous recollections from the memoirs of John Smith’s son George A. Smith. Many insights from Lavina Fielding Anderson’s Lucy’s Book and from Lamar C. Berret’s New England and Eastern Canada volume of the Sacred Places series provide additional interesting detail to Anderson’s original work.

Anderson carefully organizes his material in a way that encourages further research into the environment in which the families’ lives are set. Anderson uses some of the new material to further enhance our understanding of who was where and when. However, more information on the various people who impacted the Smith and Mack families would enrich our understanding of the period and encourage us to continue the search for additional information.

A look at various individuals in both extended families beyond tradi-
ional sources may provide additional useful insights and information. Sometimes the value of a book can be assessed based on the new questions that it generates, not just the questions that it answers. For example, Anderson’s entire prologue focuses solely on the family but ignores the environment which nurtured their growth. Further research on the female lines also seems like a desirable field of inquiry.

The presentation of the book itself is of high quality, with useful maps, illustration, and detailed notes. The index is comprehensive and useful.

RICHARD K. BEHRENS, a graduate of Dartmouth College, is preparing a book on Hyrum Smith’s schooling at Moor’s School, the pre-collegiate department of Dartmouth College, and its curriculum for 1754-1817. He has presented his findings at conferences of the Mormon History Association and the John Whitmer Historical Association, among others.


Reviewed by Richard C. Russell

Books about Joseph Smith and/or the Book of Mormon are automatically high-risk ventures, particularly in the LDS tradition (less so in the Community of Christ movement) if they end up drawing conclusions different from the orthodox position. Grant H. Palmer does not feel easy about that orthodox position, with the result that his book will make some readers uncomfortable while raising interesting questions and providing illuminating answers for others.

Palmer finds that much of what we take for granted as literal history went through tailoring and modification over the years, adding views that emphasized one aspect over another to the point that we have nearly lost the original narratives. What the principal people experienced as a spiritual or metaphysical event—something from a different dimension, he argues—was often made over into a more physical, objective occurrence. Early converts interpreted these events in the former way. Historians who have looked more closely at the foundational stories and source documents have restored elements, including a nineteenth-century worldview, that moderns have misunderstood, if not forgotten.

Palmer, a career Institute of Religion teacher, for his last thirteen years assigned as chaplain to the Salt Lake County Jail, is explicit about both his intention and his audience:
First, this book is not intended for children or investigators. So much of our attention is directed toward children and potential converts that long-standing adult members rarely have an opportunity to speak freely to each other. We worry that tender ears may overhear. I am a fourth-generation Mormon, and I want to address this discussion to other second-, third-, and fourth-generation Mormons who will better understand where I am coming from. Lest there be any question, let me say that my intent is to increase faith, not to diminish it. Still, faith needs to be built on truth—what is, in fact, true and believable. (ix)

Thus, Palmer does not give equal time to the history that insiders already know well, nor is this book designed for those seeking explicit confirmation of every event in the received historical accounts. “I cherish Joseph Smith’s teachings on many topics, such as the plan of salvation and his view that the marriage covenant extends beyond death,” he comments. “Many others could be enumerated. But when it comes to the founding events, I wonder if they are trustworthy as history” (261).

Insider’s View consists of eight chapters, four of them dealing with the translation of the Book of Mormon: Joseph as a translator, the authorship of the Book of Mormon, and strong nineteenth-century influences on its content. The last four treat the founding visions of the Restoration: Moroni’s visits, the testimony of the witnesses to the Book of Mormon, the restoration of the priesthood, and the First Vision.

Chapter 1 deals with Joseph Smith’s idiosyncratic use of translator, when referring to himself. Using the eyewitness accounts of those who observed the creation of the Book of Mormon, Book of Moses, Book of Abraham, and the Joseph Smith Translation of the Bible, Palmer constructs the noncontroversial case that Smith was not a translator in the usual sense of rendering into a target language the source words of an original document. With respect to the Book of Mormon, the source document was frequently absent during the translation. In the Joseph Smith Translation, the King James English translation was Joseph Smith’s only source. He did not consult earlier source documents in Hebrew or Greek. Modern Egyptologists working with the papyri constituting the Book of Abraham render the text as the Book of Breathings rather than the Book of Abraham.

In Chapter 2 on the authorship of the Book of Mormon, Palmer examines the claim that Joseph was an ignorant, nearly illiterate, farm boy. With numerous examples, he dismantles that image. Quoting B. H. Roberts’s appraisal of Joseph’s abilities, quoting examples of Smith’s written compositions, and identifying no fewer than twenty-five story-line parallels to the Bible and eight from Ethan Smith’s View of the Hebrews, Palmer makes plausible
the idea that Joseph was capable of Book of Mormon authorship. Palmer further refers to Joseph's personal philosophy, worldview, and spiritual angst—the resolution of which, he argues, show up in the pages of the Book of Mormon.

In Chapter 3, Palmer summarizes other studies documenting Joseph Smith's pronounced use of biblical language and concepts in the Book of Mormon. Although it does not break new ground, this chapter assembles in one place information previously available only from disparate sources. The weighty influence of the 1769 edition of the KJV is difficult to overlook.

Chapter 4, "Evangelical Protestantism in the Book of Mormon," was the most enlightening and satisfying chapter in the book. Although I am a student of Church history, I was unaware of this influence on the Book of Mormon. I learned where the book's "revival" feel came from and where Smith could have found the wording that appears in many of the Book of Mormon's most significant sermons—namely, in the camp meetings and style of Methodist preachers, their depiction of the conversion form so prevalent in the missionary stories in the Book of Mormon, and also a plausible source of the book's primitive theology.

Chapter 5, "Moroni and The Golden Pot," also raised an issue of which I was unaware. Palmer seems to be the first to systematically analyze the possible influence of E. T. A. Hoffmann's fairy tale on Joseph's Moroni narrative. Young Anselmus (Joseph?) becomes a candidate to translate scrolls from the secret library of Archiverius or archivist (Moroni?), a powerful and mystical custodian of ancient Atlantean texts. Through an intricate series of trials (vigils), Anselmus qualifies for the job. The Signature Books website links to Palmer's list of parallels between Joseph Smith's Moroni account and Der Goldene Topf, an even lengthier list than he presents in this chapter.

The next chapter probes the testimony of the Three and Eight Witnesses. A magical worldview permeated the culture, and seer stones were in the possession of many including the Whitmers, documents Palmer. James J. Strang, who broke off from the Nauvoo church in 1844, claimed to have found ancient writing on some plates that he identified as the plates of Laban and that he translated into the Book of the Law of the Lord. By 1846, notes Palmer, "all of the living signatories to the Book of Mormon, except possibly Cowdery, accepted Strang's leadership, angelic call, metal plates, and his translation of these plates as authentic. This replication of an earlier pattern of belief confirms that it must have been relatively easy for the witnesses to accept Joseph's golden plates as an ancient record. Appreciating their mindset helps us understand Mormon origins" (213).

In Chapter 7, dealing with priesthood restoration, Palmer presents a credible explanation for inconsistencies such as David Whitmer's admission that he never heard of a priesthood restoration by angels until 1834. He had
supposed, he said, that the authority came through prayer or the Urim and Thummim or "the spirit of the Lord." Palmer also points out the absence of a documented date for the restoration of the Melchizedek Priesthood, let alone contemporary narratives describing it. These events, he proposes, began as metaphysical experiences and over time became more literal—a physical laying on of hands. Palmer finds this argument convincing in also explaining why the retrospective accounts contain many anachronisms.

The concluding chapter contains Palmer's explanation, a plausible one I find, for why there are no contemporary accounts of the First Vision and why the extant accounts vary, becoming more elaborate and impressive with time. Moroni's visit was the only account to which early documents referred as the foundational event. At times of crisis in the Church, when Joseph needed to consolidate authority and quash dissent, he reemphasized his call from God.

Many of these topics are standard fare for anti-Mormon writers, but Palmer's tone places him squarely among the friendly writers. Richard Lloyd Anderson, another well-known historian working in the same period, observed, "In reality, attitude penetrates the judgments we make, whether in gathering the Hurlbut-Deming materials or in defending them." Palmer's tone is neither the cheerleading enthusiasm of an apologist nor the gleeful gloating of a carper. Rather, it seems to be the thoughtful presentation of a scholar who has examined troubling evidence, come to a reluctant conclusion, but is at peace with that conclusion. He communicates both regard for his audience and respect for the material.

Furthermore, far from dismissing Mormonism because of his disappointments with its history, he proposes a refocusing on the founder of the faith, Jesus Christ, as a way of regrouping on common ground: "In many sacrament meetings, the tendency remains to simply mention Jesus' name and then talk about other matters rather than to discuss him and his ministry. In our Sunday classes, the Gospels are taught for several months once every four years; the lives and teachings of modern prophets are studied each year. As the apostle Paul, who was capable of speaking on a variety of religious subjects, said of the early church: 'I determined not to know any thing among you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified' (1 Cor. 2:2). I would hope for a greater focus on Jesus Christ in our Sunday meetings" (263).

Serious scholars of LDS history will find only a few new ideas or concepts in this work, but Palmer has performed a service in collecting the known material and presenting it in such an accessible way. His analysis of E.

T. A. Hoffmann's Golden Pot story and its parallels to the Moroni saga is original.

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Reviewed by Laura Compton

In September, 1993, Judy Busk and her husband, Neal, packed their van with books on pioneer women, diaries, journals, letters, photos, and Gramm Peetol's quilt and set out from Richfield, Utah, to take a two-week journey along the Mormon trail. Judy "wondered what differences I would discover as I tried to follow in the steps of pioneer women" (4). This book chronicles not only the differences, but the similarities—physical, psychological, spiritual and intellectual—between the author and her historic subjects.

The Sum of Our Past is not meant to be a scholarly analysis or in-depth study of the lives of pioneer women. While it includes excerpts from nineteenth-century letters and diaries and while it discusses some details of pioneer life in every chapter, the focus of the book is primarily how a modern Mormon woman experiences her life journey and how that life journey is affected by and compares with the journeys of women living in a different time and place.

Busk weaves together historic narrative and personal memoir in an enchanting, thought-provoking way. "Structuring the book as a combination of historical research and personal memoir was natural for me," she comments, "because I have always responded to other people's experiences by comparison to my own. I feel a kinship with women and, in writing this book, wished to solidify that bond by exploring common experiences" (xiii). Within her narrative, as she solidifies her own bonds with her physical and psychological progenitors, she skillfully poses questions which encourage the reader to explore that same kind of kinship and bond.

Although the book follows a set of geographic stops along the route between Illinois and Utah, it is not by any means a trail diary. Instead, each geographic site becomes the inspiration for study of a topic related to
women. At Mount Pisgah, a museum tour brings an opportunity to discuss pioneer medicine and remember old family remedies. At the Stuhr Museum in Grand Island, Nebraska, a replication of a Pawnee Indian lodge inspires memories of Native American experiences—both nineteenth-century ones and those of Busk’s modern high school students. Only the journey through Emigration Canyon comes near to the average pioneer-on-the-Mormon-trail experience, as Busk examines at length the life and trail diaries of Eliza R. Snow.

Not all the memories are happy ones, and not all the family experiences are flattering, but one of Busk’s purposes in writing this book is to shatter or break down the mythical images of pioneers and find the real women hidden within. If she neglected to include her own foibles as part of her personal narrative, the reader would be left with only the author’s mythical shadow. In sometimes painful, sometimes funny, but always frank ways, Busk opens up her life to the reader. While it is refreshing to know that other women are struggling, it could be awkward to see family tensions set forth openly and freely.

But there is always something to keep the reader from feeling voyeuristic—a lesson learned, a bit of wisdom gleaned from a pioneer experience, an admonition to try to improve. One amusing story came as a result of visiting the renovated, spotlessly clean, Scovil bakery in Nauvoo. She asked if the bakery was actually used to create the gingerbread treats passed out by the hostesses:

I was informed that the gingerbread men were baked elsewhere so they wouldn’t “mess up” the bakery. No wonder women can stand in the confines of the small front room and idealize about how fun it must have been to roll pie crusts, cut cookie dough, and knead bread in the nineteenth century, popping the resulting delectables into a piping hot oven to bake and release savory smells throughout the house and neighborhood. Modern women conveniently forget the factors that make this vision of pioneer baking in the restored past seem so enjoyable: the replacement of hundred-degree summer heat with seventy-two-degree air conditioning and the replacement of long, incredibly hot dresses and petticoats with comfortable light-weight clothing. (29–30)

After pointing out the difference between the myth of pioneer baking and the realities of a hot kitchen in Nauvoo, Busk describes some of her own baking experiences. In hilarious detail she shares some of her more spectacular failures and successes: What was meant to be a circus scene turned into a history lesson about the La Brea Tar Pits; a white cake with pink and green gumdrop flowers became a group of ill-fated skiers buried in an avalanche;
the ghost cake with the glowing sugar cube eyes actually turned out well, though, and the "Bunny Cake" (instructions included) is being used successfully by her children. Her baking chapter concludes: "If you happen to visit the Nauvoo bakery or any other restored pioneer bakery, ask the docent to direct you to the real kitchen where they actually prepare the sample goodies. The lumps of cookie dough glued to the floor, the mass of sticky dishes and encrusted pans in the sink, and the pile of deformed and rejected gingerbread men will cure any illusion you might have about the good old pioneer days." (§1)

Often while breaking down illusions and comparing and contrasting modern and historic experiences like those at the bakery, Busk takes time to insert questions. She also includes questions for each chapter at the back of the book which could easily be used as a starting point for a book group, or as she suggests, a class discussion.

The Sum of Our Past is one more discussion-worthy book that will keep women's stories available, relevant, and alive. By entwining the lives of historic and modern women, Busk has created a work that brings the past into the future, showing us that we are not merely individuals living in the here and now, but that our experiences are, indeed a sum total of the experiences of those who have gone before, blazing trails and setting up milestones by which we can measure our own lives.

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Reviewed by Linda Thatcher

Standing on the Promises is a work of historical fiction that is meant to bring life to black members of the Mormon Church who lived from the 1800s to the present. Although it is fiction, it highlights real people—not imagined characters—identified by their own names and biographical facts. The three volumes introduce readers to black Mormons that most
today have only heard about and attempts to make them three-dimen-
sional, with hopes and dreams like anyone else. The authors feel that
"their experiences deserve to be better recognized, for they provide pre-
cious examples of faith sufficient to meet and transcend tribulation. Al-
though thousands of pioneer stories have been told and retold, these ac-
counts infuse a fresh perspective—not better, not bitter, but certainly dis-
tinctive. By looking at these lives of color, we hope that a healing will
occur, that wounds will be attended, and a new perspective will be
gained" (1xvi). Hopefully the readers will be able to relate to the main
characters, and enter the past on a sojourn of new understanding and
discovery.

Volume 1, One More River to Cross covers 1831 to 1848 in the lives of sev-
eral black Mormon pioneers. Prominently discussed is Jane Manning, who
after hearing Charles Wesley Wandell preach in Connecticut “dreamed . . .
of a white face rather like Charles Wandell’s but broader of cheek, thinner of
lip, the eyes as blue-green. The face smiled and nodded as though saying,
‘It’s all true,’ and she felt it surely was” (90). Joining the Mormon Church
three weeks later, she journeyed with other members of her family to
Nauvoo, Illinois, to join the Saints.

The Mannings stayed in the Mansion House for a week. Brother
Joseph would come in every morning to shake hands and check how
they were doing. Soon they all found other places to live in Nau-
voor—all except Jane, that is.

Jane was still waiting for her clothes to arrive on the steamship.
She placed ads in local papers and waited at the dock, but before long
she had to realize she had lost every one of her dresses—one of them
sheep, a hand-me-down from Missy. So there she sat, alone on her bed at
the Mansion House, weeping. When Brother Joseph came in to wish
her good morning, he looked around and said, “Why, where’s all the
folks?”

Jane stood, finger-combing her hair into place. It was done up in
seven braids in the back, but the short hair around her face were a
mess. “They got themselves places, Brother Joseph, sir. But I ain’t got
any place,” She burst out sobbing.

Joseph brought a handkerchief from his vest pocket and wiped
her eyes. “Now, now,” he said, “we won’t have tears here.”

She couldn’t stop, though. The touch of his hand made matters
that much worse. “And I just come from the landin’, and all my
clothes is stole, and I ain’t got no home!”

He patted her shoulder and wiped her eyes. She cried harder but
calmed when he said, “You’ve got a home here—right here, if you want
it. Now, you mustn’t cry. We dry up tears here.” (190–91)

Another prominent black Mormon in this first volume is Elijah Abel.
After his conversion to Mormonism, he was ordained a Seventy at Nauvoo in 1841 (26). Joseph Smith later appointed him as one of the city's first undertakers. He served three missions, the last one in October 1884, curtailed by illness. He came home and died in December 1884. Abel spent most of his Mormon life hoping that, along with his priesthood, he would also receive temple blessings. It never happened.

Also discussed in Vol. 1 are Oscar Crosby, Hark Lay, and Green Flake, three "colored servants," who were among the first pioneers to enter the Salt Lake Valley in July 1847.

Volume 2, Bound for Cañada, continues to trace the lives of several prominent black Mormon pioneers from 1838 to 1891. Discussed are Elijah and Mary Ann Abel (whom he married while on a mission in the Cincinnati area), Isaac and Jane Manning James, and Green and Elizabeth Flake.

The westward trek was merely an introduction to the problems these Saints would face once they reached the Salt Lake Valley. Early black members, like white ones, had expectations about their membership in the Mormon Church; sometimes they were met and sometimes not. Some had to leave the area to make a living to support their families. Jane Manning married Isaac James and had several children. After living in the Salt Lake Valley together for many years, Isaac felt that his destiny was in the gold fields of California. They divorced, leaving Jane to fend for herself.

Volume 3, The Last Mile of the Way, begins during the last years of the original black Mormon pioneers and ends in the present. It follows the descendants of Jane Manning James and of Green Flake, introducing such key figures as Abner Howell, Len Hope, Lucile Bankhead, and Ruffin Bridgeforth. Volume 3 switches from historical fiction to autobiography to relate the life of Aidan Gray who, after enrolling at BYU in the early 1960s, left soon afterward because of the discrimination that he felt:

It shouldn't have been much surprise when he [Aidan] got called into the Administration Office and told by a stoic dean that certain reports had come in. A particular young woman's parents had complained, having heard that a Negro was spending time with their daughter. The dean told him such behavior could not continue if he wanted to study at BYU anymore. The races were kept separate at this institution.

That was the last blow. It wasn't enough for Aidan to assure the dean he meant no harm or to explain that the young woman was one of his few friends and there was no romance involved. The whole idea of having to defend himself for being friendly was too humiliating. And he knew this was only the first accusation. Others would surely follow.

Aidan Gray left Provo on a dead run, vowing to himself that unless
God told him otherwise and unmistakable, he would never return. (3:341)

He eventually worked through these issues to become the leader of the Genesis Group, which offers support in Salt Lake City to multi-racial Mormons, and coauthored this trilogy with Margaret Young.

This "much-anticipated" (dust jacket, vol. 1) trilogy is meant to be an addition to the understanding of the black Mormon history. The volumes were written to give Mormons a better understanding of why blacks joined the Mormon Church—and why they stayed, even when discriminated against. Their lives, individually, form a collective saga, an epic coinciding with the broad sweep of Mormon history, some of which they helped make. Covering 1831 to the present, they are equally broad in their geographic scope (East Coast to West Coast) and introduce the readers to dozens of characters. The volumes could have been improved with a strong opening essay, clarifying the time period of each volume and briefly introducing the characters and events. Helpfully, the third volume does lists the characters and gives a short description of each.

The construction of any novel is important, working invisibly behind the scenes to assure that the story has a strong shape. Most novels focus on two or three characters, allowing readers to follow their journey from the cradle to the grave and to become involved in their lives. Unfortunately this trilogy, in an effort to introduce many characters and their stories, is written in a vignette style. As a reader, I constantly found myself checking previous chapters to refresh my memory about where and when I had last encountered them. Although they were undeniably sympathetic and their plights were involving, I often found myself confused and my attention fragmented because of the sheer number of characters. It's true that the major life events of the main characters enabled me to track them as the story progressed through marriages, divorces, children, death, disappointments, and negotiated relationships with the Church. The Church was increasingly torn because its claims to have the true gospel message for all humankind conflicted with its embarrassment at not knowing what to do, at least on some level, with some of its members.

Last but not least, sound research is the foundation of any good historical novel—and these volumes seem well researched. The authors did a good job of establishing the details of the time period and presenting the characters in ways that were appropriate for that period. For example, they took care with the dialect, as this example from Isaac James's courtship of Jane Manning shows:

Jane raised her brows and smiled. "And I think you been sipping blackberry wine, not just eating berries."
He laughed like a horse and hedged again, still working for words on the wall, or inspiration. "You so pretty when you smile, Miz Jane," he managed.

She uprighted the iron and turned away. "You tryin' to spark with me, Mr. James? Sour blackberries and sweet words." (1:298)

One of the most enjoyable details was the authors' decision to draw chapter titles from black hymnody: "Must Jesus Bear the Cross Alone?" and "Nobody Knows, 'Cept Jesus." Every chapter has notes, and each volume includes a bibliography.

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Reviewed by Stirling Adams

Black and Mormon is a collection of eight essays examining the experience of the LDS Church with African Americans, with an emphasis on the situation since the 1978 removal of the Church's racial restrictions. The essays portray an increasingly positive environment in which both the institutional Church and individual white members have improved in their acceptance and treatment of African Americans. The essays also highlight the need for continued change, particularly in expunging racial folklore still used by some Mormons to explain the former priesthood ban.

Co-editor Newell Bringham, a past president of the Mormon History Association, was one of the first historians to comprehensively examine the development of the Church's racial policy.¹ His opening essay, "The Missouri Thesis Revisited," is an excellent literature review of whether the Church's racial ban emerged during tense relations with non-Mormons during the Church's 1838–39 stay in Missouri or whether Brigham Young established the policy after Joseph Smith's death. Bringham summarizes contributions to the debate by Fawn Brodie, Stephen Taggart, Lester Bush, Thomas O'Dea, Dean L. May, Ronald K. Esplin, Klaus Hansen, Rex A. Coop-

er, Robert Madison, Armand L. Mauss, D. Michael Quinn, and John L. Brooke. He identifies the influence of British Israelism (a religious movement that saw the British Isles as populated principally by descendants of the lost ten tribes) on the Church's racial policies. One of its underappreciated influences is that it helped white Saints increase the ontological distance between themselves and blacks.

Brighthouse concludes that the racial ban was established after Joseph Smith's death. Supporting evidence includes the lack of contemporary documentation that Smith established the ban and that at least two blacks received the priesthood during Smith's lifetime. Though not mentioned in this essay, additional data suggesting that Smith was not the ban's source are the numerous scriptures promulgated by Joseph Smith expressly teaching that Christ's gospel is available to all "who belong to the family of Adam" and to "every nation, kindred, tongue, and people." Also, Young seemed to publicly take responsibility for the ban. Wilford Woodruff quotes him as proclaiming to the Utah legislature in early 1852: "Any man having one drop of the seed of Cain in him cannot hold the Priesthood, and if no other prophet ever spake it before I will say it now in the name of Jesus Christ."4

In "The Traditions of Their Fathers: Myth Versus Reality in LDS Scriptural Writings," Alma Allred argues that the racial ideas still current as justifications for the priesthood ban "conflict with basic concepts of LDS theology, good logic, scripture, and history" (37).

Several of the essays include case studies of African American members. Ronald Coleman and Darius Gray, in "Two Perspectives: The Religious Hopes of 'Worthy' African American Latter-day Saints before the 1978 Revelation," recount the story of Jane Elizabeth Manning James (1813–1908), a

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Nauvoo-period member, who was denied temple privileges by three Church presidents, but who, in 1902, was sealed to the Joseph Smith family as a servant. Their second case study is Len Hope (1892–1952), who joined the Church in 1918 and was active until his death. He said he would be "willing to be stripped of his skin if only he could hold that priesthood" (56).

In "Spanning the Priesthood Revelation (1978): Two Multigenerational Case Studies," Jesse L. Embry reports on the Sargent-Keys and Brown-Wright families, who joined the Church early enough (1906 and 1976) that interviews conducted in the late 1980s provided data about their experience through multiple generations. This essay expands her briefer treatment in her Black Saints in a White Church (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994), 48–50, 54–55. Both families had experienced a mixture of perseverance and attrition. Embry analyzes factors leading to positive, long-term affiliation but notes that "all of the interviewees reported incidents of aloofness on the part of white members, a reluctance or refusal to shake hands with them or sit by them, and racist comments made to them" (76).

In "African American Latter-day Saints: A Sociological Perspective," Cardell Jacobson analyzes statistical data suggesting that American Mormons' attitudes about race are not much different from the larger society. On African Americans' experiences in the Church, a majority of the Mormon blacks interviewed feel comfortable in the Church, he reports. While he views their experience as largely positive, he concludes that such members still face struggles in the Church, some of which are "clearly imposed by white members' insensitivities, slights, ignorances, and sometimes outright racism" and that members would like "both the membership and the leadership to be more active in ameliorating previous statements on race and in accepting African American members" (130–31).

Embry and Jacobson's samples were non-random, self-selected American blacks who have stayed active in the Church. (Brighthouse and Smith report that the attrition rate of black members appears to be "extremely high" [7]). Also, because most of their research was gathered in the late 1980s, the reader is left wishing for more current data from random samples of both active and inactive members.

Ken Driggs, in "How Do Things Look on the Ground? The LDS African American Community in Atlanta, Georgia," gives a current, upbeat account of race relations in his Atlanta ward, which is roughly half black and half white, with African American Mormons "growing in numbers, in commitment, and in the Church leadership roles they fill" (132). He laments that missionaries receive no counseling on how to explain the past racial ban, with the result that black members have found their justifications "very painful" (145). He suggests that Church leaders' "inability to appreciate how of-
fensive some of McConkie's *Mormon Doctrine* is to African Americans" shows that Utah-based leaders may lack "real-world experience at building race relations" (145).

In fact, several essays attribute the continued acceptance of racial folklore at least in part to McConkie's *Mormon Doctrine*. That influential book was first published by Bookcraft in 1958, has been through dozens of printings, and continues to be marketed successfully in hardback, paperback, and electronic formats by Church-owned Deseret Book Company. Post-1978 revelation changes in that book were so few that the publisher continued to identify the 1979 printing as the 1966 edition. The 2001 printing thus continues to offer as "Mormon doctrine" racial folklore including: non-white races are physically and spiritually inferior (616), dark skin is a curse from God (109, 114, 343), caste systems and racial segregation originate in the gospel (114), all blacks are descendants from Cain and Ham (109, 343), and interracial marriage with blacks is condemned (343). Significantly, it is the only major work by a Church leader published after the 1978 revelation that offers these negative racialist teachings.5

The tension revealed in several essays between the increasingly positive status of black members and the steady need for improvement receives serious treatment in Armand Mauss's important essay on contemporary history: "Casting Off the Curse of Cain: The Extent and Limits of Progress since 1978." Mauss documents the Church's positive recent actions to build relations with African American communities but also identifies barriers toward full acceptance caused by white members' erroneous and offensive racial folklore. For example, he interviewed a couple whose teenagers had left the Church because white ward members insisted that the black family "were descendants of Cain, for which their children were being hazed by their white Mormon peers" (86; expanded version in Mauss, *All Abraham's Children*, 284). While one might hope this experience is a rare aberration in LDS behavior, other essays recount dishearteningly similar experiences.

Mauss, Driggs, and Darvon Smith each urge the advantages of Church leaders clearly repudiating racial folk teachings. Some individual apostles

5Paradoxically, McConkie delivered his oft-quoted August 1978 speech, "All Are Alike Unto God," before his 1979 revisions to *Mormon Doctrine*. In that speech he progressively preached: "It doesn't make a particle of difference what anybody ever said about the Negro matter before the first day of June of this year [1978]. It is a new day and a new arrangement, and the Lord has now given the revelation that sheds light out into the world on this subject. As to any shivers of light or any particles of darkness of the past, we forget about them." Mark L. McConkie, ed., *Sermons and Writings of Bruce R. McConkie* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1998), 165.
have made occasional statements to this effect, but recent and contemporary experiences of African American members suggest the need for more effective measures.

Mauss makes a historiographical contribution in analyzing two organizational myths contributing to the Church's difficulty in disassociating itself from racial teachings. The first is the "myth of continuity, which sees the history of Mormonism in linear, progressive terms ... no zigs or zags, no turning back, no repudiation of the past" (106). From my own perspective, this analysis is essential to understanding our pace in casting off racial folklore. For some Mormons the "myth of continuity" seems to blossom into a full (and prideful) application of Voltaire's Dr. Pangloss's worldview, in which every Mormon practice and teaching is/was correct for its time and represents, for its time, the "best of all possible" outcomes. This results in communal pressure to exclude from the universe of possible revelations those that might require change or repentance for current or past practices. As such, the "myth of continuity" and its accompanying worldview may partially explain both our timing in dropping the racial ban in the late twentieth century and our continued harboring of harmful racial folklore.

Mauss's second organizational myth is seeing history as "time-filtered" (107). This approach to institutional change focuses on positive elements of the present but ignores conflicting past teachings or events, assuming that the negative past will eventually dissipate from institutional memory and life. This assumption may be accurate over a span of generations, but black members must deal with its painful manifestation in the present. From my perspective, a religious community with an ethical mandate to care for the one (Luke 15) and which greatly values the worth of one soul (D&C 18:10–15) should more promptly and directly address this enduring problem.

Co-editor Darron Smith, an African American convert to Mormonism, is married to a white woman. Their experiences raising a biracial family in Utah provides Smith with a contemporary personal context, though his focus is sociological (critical race theory) rather than historical. His "Unpacking Whiteness in Zion: Some Personal Reflections and General Observations" is a fresh and refreshing voice that frankly calls white members to task for evading racial issues and for the "continued marginalization of African Americans within the LDS Church" (151). Using "whiteness theory," he

6See James E. Faust, "Heirs to the Kingdom of God," Ensign, May 1995, 61: "In my experience, no race or class seems superior to any other in spirituality and faithfulness" and Howard W. Hunter, "All Are Alike unto God," Ensign, June 1979, 72: "Do you imagine our Heavenly Father loving one nationality of his offspring more exclusively than others?"
identifies the privileged social construction of whiteness and suggests a new way to look at built-in biases in the norms and structures within the Church. In co-editing this volume, Smith has helped gather a valuable body of the “race talk” that he calls for.

The essays in Black and Mormon should be a welcome addition to the library of readers interested in the history of the relationship between the LDS Church and African Americans, in learning from African American members about the current (and increasingly positive) status of this relationship, and in considering areas for improvement. It contains thoughtful analyses of the need to decisively repudiate racial folklore among the Saints and of the benefits of more dialogue on racial issues. Readers of Mauss’s All Abraham’s Children and Embry’s Black Saints in a White Church will already be familiar with some of the material in the Mauss, Embry, and Jacobson essays; but I find this book well worth acquiring, both for its new content and as an instance of important dialogue on this significant ongoing issue.

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Reviewed by Edward Leo Lyman

Scott H. Parrtridge who descends from Eliza’s father, Edward Partridge Sr., and the publisher have finally provided a complete and accurate version of this fine journal which had been published previously by Daughters of Utah Pioneers and by the Lyman Family Association, but never in total. While the abundant footnotes are excellent from a genealogist’s viewpoint, many are grossly deficient in offering any historical background, sometimes much required. The title is inaccurate in that Eliza was married (“Lyman” should have been included as part of her name and has always been part of the holograph title) for more than half of the time and pages covered.

The journal begins with Eliza’s brief sketch of her family and early life, including a paragraph about her residence in Joseph and Emma Smith’s home and her plural marriage (and that of her sister, Emily Dow Partridge) to him. This section includes several fervent testimonials in favor of that principle, while also admitting it had initially been difficult for her to accept. In her introduction to the journal, she wrote: “Nothing but a firm desire to keep the commandments of the Lord could have induced a girl to marry in
this way. I thought my trials were very severe in that line, and I am often led
to wonder how it was that a person of my temperament could get along with
it and not rebel, but I know it was the Lord who kept me from opposing His
plans, although in my heart I felt that I could not submit to them” (10–11).
Later Eliza was quite active in the public defense of plural marriage.

Perhaps more important from a family dynamics perspective is the fact
that, on the plains of Iowa and at Winter Quarters, her example helped mold
the seven sister-wives of Amasa Mason Lyman, their apostle-husband, into a
close-knit team of cooperative associates.

The reasonably regular daily diary portion of this work commenced
just as the earliest pioneer companies left the Sugar Creek camps across the
Mississippi River from besieged Nauvoo in the spring of 1846. This segment
document the struggle through the mud of an unusually rainy Iowa spring
better than any other known historical source. Eliza Maria's account of this
most arduous of Mormon pioneer journeys reaches the stature of classic of
its kind and should be known by many students of Latter-day Saint history.
She recorded this telling vignette on April 3 and 4, 1846:

The rain was pouring down in torrents. Pitched our tent in the
mud and water. It continued to rain all day. It was almost impossible
to get anything to eat, as we had to cook it out doors in the rain, or else
in mud.

Arose from our beds sometime in the forenoon, and found them
and our clothes quite wet with the rain. After breakfast we commenced
to dry our bed clothes by the fire out in the rain, when one side got wet
while we were drying the other. (23)

The less-detailed entries of her life at Winter Quarters and the subse-
quent trek across the plains to the Great Basin are also good. And her ac-
count of the family struggles in Great Salt Lake Valley, while Amasa was on a
mission to the goldfields, is poignant. She never blamed her brother-in-law,
Brigham Young (he had married Emily), for their hunger, which was techni-
cally his fault since they were probably on shorter rations than his own fam-
ily and the Church had clearly undertaken the responsibility of caring for the
families of missionaries.

An undetermined portion of the journal after the early 1850s is writ-
ten from memory, some time after the events had transpired. This reliance
assures that some errors would occur. For example, Eliza is a full year off in
noting her sister Lydia's marriage to Amasa in 1853 (68). Similarly, her
scathing comments about her husband (81) supposedly written in July 1863,
were probably actually written after he was disfellowshipped in April of
1867. She did not move from Salt Lake City to Fillmore until the fall of that
year. Incidentally, she then received a two-story brick home despite the alle-
gation (cited by the editor) that the husband was “unable to provide any significant level of support to Eliza” (v-vi, 8).

The semi-regular journal entries Eliza made in later years at Oak City and in San Juan County, Utah, commenced at the end of 1875 and continued through 1885, just three months before her death. They reflect her continued close ties with her married children, including their abundant tragedies.

One must “read between the lines” to discern how difficult her presence in their homes would have been for the in-laws. On September 24, 1882, she wrote sadly that, after a year of taking care of her son Joseph (who was recovering from a knee wound) and her daughter-in-law (who had poor health), they “commenced to cook and eat by themselves. . . . [I] should feel much better satisfied to have them stay with me if it had suited them” (155). A letter she wrote to former sister-wife Paulina Phelps Lyman (July 26, 1881, not in the journal) makes the case better when she admitted: “I always had a dreadful time when my children would get away from me.” On the other hand, she was truly heroic in rearing grandson Joseph Platte Callister from infancy after the death of her daughter Carle.

This book is a welcome addition to the increasingly more available body of primary source material on early Mormon life.

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Reviewed by Newell G. Bringhamst

This collection of seventeen essays written by Richard Lyman Bushman over some three decades and all previously published during the years 1969 to 2001 provides illuminating insights about his historical scholarship and religious beliefs. He also includes a two-page preface and a four-page “Afterword,” written for this volume. The Gouverneur Morris Professor of History emeritus at Columbia University, Bancroft Prize winning author and past-president of the Mormon History Association, Bushman is widely recognized as one of Mormon studies’ most distinguished historians.
The compilation, ably edited by Reid L. Neilson and Jed Woodworth, both former Brigham University students and currently graduate students at the University of North Carolina and University of Wisconsin, respectively, is divided into three sections: (1) belief, (2) the Book of Mormon and history, and (3) Joseph Smith and culture.

In the first four essays, Bushman forthrightly discusses the roots of his strong belief in Mormonism's truth claims and its influence on his research and writing: "I find our Mormon truth good... and strive to install it at the center of my life" (43). "I am a Mormon—by upbringing, affection, and cultural construction," adding, "I believe in the doctrine and the miraculous events because they sustain life" (38).

Bushman did not always manifest such religious certitude. In a particularly frank essay, "My Belief" he describes his own religious odyssey. Raised by parents who were "believers" as a fifth-generation "believing Latter-day Saint," Bushman attended Harvard University, an environment that he "loved everything about" and one in which he was "more myself there, then I had ever been in my whole life." But it was an environment which "eroded my faith in God" and "by the end of my sophomore year my faith had drained away" (20–21). Despite Bushman's "agnosticism" which he later characterized "as a little bit of a pose, [and] a touch of stylish undergraduate angst," he attended church "regularly" and forged friendships with other LDS students. At this critical point, he was called to serve a two-year mission—something he was "quite willing" to do even though "my bosom did not burn with faith" (22).

But Bushman became a believer as a result of his missionary experiences, including prayer, "wrestling" with the Book of Mormon, and reading Hugh Nibley's *Lehi in the Desert*. But the reasons he "concocted for believing" involved "more than the simple feeling that the [Book of Mormon] was right" and a "foundation for belief" (22, 24). Particularly crucial was Bushman's emerging "skepticism" about the engaging "rational discourse" that had caused his initial doubts. He came to see such discourse as "a kind of play, always a little capricious and unreal—and in the end, compared with the experience of life, not serious" (23).

In contrast, in the evolution of his own faith, Bushman acknowledges "subjectivity and the influence of a million personal associations" with other Latter-day Saints resulting in "a gradual merger of personality and belief" (41, 25). Through involvement in various Church callings, he "could no longer entertain the possibility that God did not exist, because I felt his power working through me" (25). He sums up the sources of his faith: "family culture, a thousand personal associations and deep personal needs. At the same time, it is girded up with forceful (though never unassailable) rational arguments based on conventional scholarly methods and the rules of ra-
tional discourse" (39). He carefully concedes, "There is no proving religion to anyone; belief comes by other means, by hearing testimonies or by individual pursuit or by the grace of God, but not by hammering" (27).

Such strong beliefs combined with Bushman’s academic training and carefully honed professional skills are reflected in the tone and tenor of the essays in the remaining two sections. His five essays about the “Book of Mormon and History” argue both explicitly and implicitly against “naturalistic” interpretations that dismiss the Book of Mormon as essentially the product of nineteenth-century American culture. He strongly affirms a traditional LDS argument upholding the book’s historicity and its coming forth by divine intervention. “The Book of Mormon was an anomaly on the [American] political scene of 1830,” he argues. “Book of Mormon political attitudes have Old World precedents, particularly in the history of the Israelite nation” (57). Bushman seeks “to convey” the book’s “complexity” and “intricacy” of construction (65), taking note of the book’s major theme of “record keeping” and the importance of Joseph Smith’s role as a “seer” or translator (68, 76).

In the boldest essay in this section, “The Lamanite View of Book of Mormon History,” Bushman explores the motives and behavior of the Lamanites as “a wild and hardened and a ferocious people” who “delighted in murdering the Nephites and robbing and plundering them” (85). This behavior, Bushman attributes not to competition over land and/or resources or even to the Lamanites’ basic “nature,” but rather to their distorted perception of history (the “incorrect tradition of their fathers”): their fundamental belief that they had “been wronged” in the distant conflict between their ancestors, Laman and Lemuel and Nephi (91–92).


Eight essays appear in the third part, focusing on varied aspects of Joseph Smith’s life, times, and complex personality. Bushman notes that the Mormon leader “walked the boundary between a believing biblical culture and an emerging scientific culture” while simultaneously confronting the emerging views of “Christian rationalists” like Alexander Campbell and William Paley. In “Joseph Smith in the Current Age,” Bushman assesses the Mormon prophet’s economic policy of “stewardship” as just and humane. “Smith envisioned stewardship at the heart of the new order” in Zion, wherein “men and women did not receive wealth or authority for their own gain and glory” (171). Bushman contrasts nineteenth-century Mormonism's
economic order with present-day "corporate capitalism" which he critiques as "merciless in its treatment of people" (170).

"Making Space for the Mormons," originally delivered as the 1999 Arrington Lecture, is one of the volume's most evocative. Innovative in its use of "space as a method of cultural analysis," it provides illuminating insights concerning "the centrality of Zion as a physical space in Joseph Smith's thinking" (173). This essay also contrasts Nauvoo with Chicago, which during the 1840s rivaled Mormonism's gathering place in size and influence.

In the following essay, "The Visionary World of Joseph Smith," Bushman also engages in comparative analysis, noting that Joseph Smith was far from unique as an early nineteenth-century American in claiming divine visions. Among the numerous Americans making similar claims was the well-known religious leader Charles Grandison Finney. Bushman suggests that this period's pervasive "visionary culture" opened "the minds of others . . . as a preliminary to the fulness of the Restoration" (206-7).

Particularly intriguing is "Was Joseph Smith a Gentleman?" Bushman frankly portrays the Mormon prophet as rough-hewn in manners and speech, clearly reflecting his lower-middle class origins and concluding with marked understatement that "refinement was not basic to the Prophet" (217). More elevated is the following essay, "Joseph Smith as Translator," which Bushman originally prepared as "a preliminary sketch" in formulating ideas for his forthcoming "cultural biography" of Joseph Smith. It explores the factors that caused Mormonism's founder "to think of himself as a translator" not just of the Book of Mormon, but also of the Bible and Book of Abraham (233).

A seventh essay in this section, "The Little, Narrow Prison" of Language: The Rhetoric of Revelation," was also written originally as "a preliminary sketch" for Bushman's forthcoming Joseph Smith biography, with the author attempting "to understand" the Mormon prophet's revelations and "explain their effectiveness" (249). Through his revelations, Smith constructed "a rhetorical space" particularly in his "classic revelations" in which God "was speaking to his followers" despite the "limits of his language" which Smith characterized as a "little, narrow prison" (251).

In the final essay "A Joseph Smith for the Twenty-First Century," Bushman carefully explores two issues that have shaped all biographical writing on Joseph Smith. The first is "belief," focusing on the fundamental question: Was Joseph Smith indeed a true prophet of God or not? The second is "significance," specifically Smith's role and place in the larger history of American society. On the first issue, Bushman urges future biographers to move beyond the simple question of authenticity and instead carefully consider the Mormon leader as they would any "human life as variegated,
strange, and rife with complex possibilities" (267).

This descriptive overview of Bushman's seventeen essays cannot begin to do justice to the complex, multifaceted nature of his varied arguments and observations. This volume represents a significant contribution for several reasons. First, the depth and quality of these essays affirm Bushman's status as the most articulate scholar defending the traditional interpretation of early Mormon origins, of Joseph Smith's divinely ordained prophetic role, and of the Book of Mormon's divine origins and historicity. Bushman thus clearly builds on and expands the tradition of Brigham H. Roberts and Hugh Niblcy.

At the same time, this volume reflects Bushman's desire to have his scholarship taken seriously by non-believers as well as fellow believers. "Imagining an audience consisting" of both groups, according to his editors, "Bushman takes on the seemingly impossible task of pleasing them both" (267). Bushman acknowledges the difficulty of "writing dialogically," conceding that, as a result, "my history seems a little detached to both audiences." It "falls short, neither confirming the traditional Mormon view nor making the exciting connections with American culture that secular historians expect" (281).

In a third way this volume is a significant contribution, offering a tantalizing preview of the form and features of Bushman's forthcoming "cultural biography" on Joseph Smith, due to be published in October 2005 under the title Rough Stone Rolling. Bushman chose this title from a May 1843 speech in which Smith characterized himself as a "'huge, rough stone rolling down from a high mountain' polished only when it chipped off a corner by striking something" (229). As for the long-awaited biography, itself, Bushman cautions that it will not satisfy all readers despite its attempt to be "dialogic" in appealing to believer as well as non-believer. "I do not want to disregard either audience.... I know the unbelieving reader wants an explanation of Joseph Smith that will not be forthcoming in my study—not because I am naive but because the believing side of my mind does not find that explanation plausible. That vital part of the story for unbelievers is missing" (282).

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Reviewed by Todd Compton

Even Hundred Wagons, written by a long-time National Auxiliary President of the U.S. Mormon Battalion, Inc., gives brief biographies of all the wives of the men who formed the Mormon Battalion. A list of sources is given at the end of each chapter.

This is not a scholarly book, and readers approaching it with those expectations will be disappointed. Such readers should start with Norma Rickett’s *The Mormon Battalion: U.S. Army of the West, 1846–1848* (Logan: Utah State University Press 1996) and David Bigler’s and Will Bagley’s *Armed of Israel: Mormon Battalion Narratives* (Spokane, Wash.: Arthur H. Clark, 2000). I think many aspects of scholarly writing are simply a matter of common sense—using a standard method of citing books, for instance, giving first importance to primary sources, and using and analyzing scholarly work that has gone before. This book could have been easily and quickly improved by using those standards. In addition, Maynes could have pointed the reader to a library collection where the most primary documents and family histories she cites are available by creating a "Maynes Collection" in one of the Utah libraries' archives (and I would suggest that she do this without delay). Furthermore, there are more than the usual number of typos and printing errors in this book. And of course, a thorough subject index would have been extremely useful, even necessary. This lack is unfortunate.

Nevertheless, despite these failings, this book has the value and usefulness of much family history material in Mormon history. It is like a vast collection of family biographies; and as any Mormon scholar knows, they can be enormously important if we have no diaries or autobiographies. This book represents a prodigious, devoted labor on the part of the author, who deserves our gratitude.

So this is a valuable book, and I enjoyed reading it. It shares themes with the New Mormon History, in that it looks at the women who were left behind, while their husbands were involved with the more famous battalion march. Heroic as those men were, in their strange, arduous journey through the American west, the heroism of these women as they struggled to survive at home, then often made their way across the overland trail to meet their husbands in Salt Lake City, is equally impressive. In addition, those interested in the battalion itself will find that these biographies shed much light on the men of the battalion.

This book will give the reader a fascinating, multi-faceted, continually surprising view of early Mormon women and early Mormonism. From its pages I gained insights on polygamy, blacks (190–92, a slave from Kentucky, Mammy Chloe, comes with her mistress to Utah), Sutter’s Fort, San Bernardino, earlier Mormon history such as the Missouri period (e.g., 191,
295), later Mormon history, such as the early settling of Utah, the details of building a house in early Utah (237), Native Americans (397), the overland journey, and the dangers of childbirth for pioneer women. (See below.)

The following quotation gives the flavor of the book: A daughter, Eliza Ann Sprague, wrote (444): "We did reach Council Bluffs where my father enlisted in the Mormon Battalion. We were left in the open prairie without any shelter to protect us, and but little provision to subsist upon. My mother rented a small house on a small stream called "Mosquito Creek," a place where some of the Saints had located. She made arrangements with a brother who took his team and moved us to that place. My mother had to hire out by the week to support the family, and my oldest sister and myself had to stay at home and take care of the children." Eliza Ann, a ten-year-old, struggled through the deep snow with her feet wrapped in rags to collect wood from the nearby groves.

Then there were the women who literally did not survive, like Charity Campbell, who died at Winter Quarters with her newborn baby (99). Another woman, Julie Ann Graybill Hudson, died in early Salt Lake City one week after her first child died at birth. A family member wrote, "Juliana will never appear in any history book for she is one of the unsung heroines of the early Church" (272). Thanks to Shirley Maynes, she is not now quite as "unsung."

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Reviewed by Philip Barlow

Tireless Mormon researchers have recently catalogued the avalanche of books, articles, theses, dissertations, and miscellany focused on Mormon history up to 1997. The list runs to 16,000 items, supplemented by several thousand more from the social sciences, and the flow has not subsided since the bibliography was published. The best of this work, as well

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1 James B. Allen, Ronald W. Walker, and David J. Whittaker, eds., Studies in
as the size of the onslaught, compares impressively with historical treatments of Puritanism, Catholicism, evangelicalism, or any denomination or movement in America’s religious past. One constriction of the literature, however, is its propensity to “denominational history,” with limited interest in wider and comparative contexts.

Students of the movement should therefore welcome Religion in the Modern American West, authored by western historian Ferenc Szasz, who has explored and taught the subject for decades at the University of New Mexico. Szasz weaves his treatment of the Saints into an account of a region ranging from the Pacific Ocean to the north-south line of aridity that includes western Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, and the Dakotas. The book is part of the Modern American West series which thus far has treated the region’s cities, economy, fiction and art, and people of Mexican origin.

Szasz’s volume is important for another reason. While Jan Shipps aptly conjures the image of a doughnut hole to describe the tendency of western historians to write around Utah and the Mormons, these regional historians in fact tend to write around religion as such. Exceptions exist,2 but Szasz has here produced the most ample Lasik corrective to a dominant, distorted, and relentlessly secular historical lens. He works to capture the distinctive feel of religious practice in the American West: a recipe of frontier spirit, religious consumerism, utopian reach, and eclectic philosophies in defense of an individualistic social structure. He succeeds in conveying the vitality and bewildering complexity of religious traditions in a region shared by many faiths, but dominated by none.

The book is a symmetry of chronology: three chapters comprise each of three parts (the 1890s to the 1920s, the 1920s to the 1960s, and the 1960s to the present). The third chapter in each section deals with important religious leaders and personalities as a humanizing complement to the institutionally conscious narrative dominating the work. Because no Latter-day Saints are highlighted in these chapters, the history of the Mormons (the Community of Christ does not appear) is an external one, focused on the presence of Mormonism in the public realm through, for instance, its architecture (especially its temples) and its welfare system.


Szasz's tone runs from neutral to admiring. One of the most visited tourist attractions in the world, Salt Lake's Temple Square features as its centerpiece the temple which was, by consensus, "the most impressive early-twentieth-century structure between Chicago and the Pacific Coast—secular or religious" (29–30). Later LDS temples generally "formed the most impressive religious structures of the entire western postwar building boom" (107). "The most creative western religious response to the Great Depression probably came from the Latter-day Saints of Utah: the church welfare system" (89).

Despite dramatic accommodation between the Church and the wider society, "the religious history of Utah for most of the first half of the century might be termed a 'cultural standoff.' Secure as the dominant faith in the region, the Saints moved in a separate sphere from the Gentiles, one that overlapped only occasionally. This religio-cultural standoff was replicated in no other part of the nation" (89).

For several decades the more evangelical churches virtually declared open theological warfare on the Mormons, with the Presbyterians, by 1920, assuming the role as the most entrenched opponents, intellectually anchored in their efforts by Westminster College. The Jews—non-proselytizers—"probably got along best in Zion" (90).

Covering such a vast subject matter as he does, it is no surprise that, with any single denomination, Szasz works from limited and secondary sources. For the Latter-day Saints, he is largely dependent on Thomas G. Alexander, Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1880–1930 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), Leonard J. Arrington and David Bilton, The Mormon Experience (New York: Alfred J. Knopf, 1979), Armand L. Mauss, The Angel and the Beehive: The Mormon Struggle with Assimilation (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), encyclopedia articles by Jan Shipps and Kenneth Winn, and newspapers from throughout twentieth-century Utah. Although restricted, these are generally dependable helps, though (immodestly and without sensationalism) Szasz occasionally cites an unreliable source, such as Steven Naifeh and Gregory White Smith, The Mormon Murders: A True Story of Greed, Forgery, Deceit, and Death. Szasz has drawn from materials in the Utah State Historical Society and the public library in Price, Utah, but gives no evidence of encountering the archives at LDS Church headquarters. As suggested by these sources, the considerable value of Szasz's book is not that it provides much information on the Latter-day Saints unknown to those steeped its past, but rather that it adly casts the Saints in the broader historical and religious realm of the western United States, to which so many historians—secular and religious—remain oblivious.

So integrated are the Mormons in Szasz's narrative that they figure in
the six general observations he makes on the nature of religion in the modern American West:

1. While one need not imbibe Newt Gingrich's view that American society currently pits a "nihilistic hedonism and secular belief pattern" against a "spiritual system," it is nonetheless true in the West as in the nation that traditional Judeo-Christian morality no longer holds the same sway it once did.

2. Despite this, the churches, synagogues, and their analogues remain vital to their local communities, as evidenced through the impressive quiet daily work of parochial schools, denominational hospitals, support groups, welfare distribution, and many related networks, as well as through the religious responses to the wave of social tragedies that occurred during the 1990s: brutal murders motivated by race or sexual orientation in Texas and Wyoming; public school massacres in Oregon and Colorado; bombings and tornadoes in Oklahoma.

3. "The powerful Mormon Church" has changed dramatically during the past century, doubling its size even since the 1880s and emerging as an international force. "The LDS Church [has] provided the model for language training now used by the Peace Corps, and Peace Corps officials know that if the church withdraws its missionaries from a region, danger is imminent" (195). While retaining vestiges of their long-held role as outsiders, "more than any other mainstream group (for so they have largely become), the Latter-day Saints embody traditional American middle-class, Judeo-Christian virtues" (195).

4. Asian, Near Eastern, and New Age groups (the latter borrowing from Native perspectives) are here to stay; a growing sense of the sacredness of the environment fostered among them and intersecting with increased interest among Mormons and traditional Christians may establish a ground for twenty-first-century ecumenism.

5. Pentecostalism (with particular appeal to black and Hispanic audiences) and a vigorous and surprisingly adaptive Protestant neo-evangelicalism thrive in the West and are assuming forms that may provide a new paradigm for churches in the new century.

6. The West—with southern California as its archetype—continues to attract migrants from the South, East, and around the globe, making it home to every imaginable religious impulse. The radical diversity may be glimpsed by pondering the facts that the Catholic Diocese of Los Angeles officially lists ninety-three different ethnic groups in its parishes and conducts mass in forty-two languages, while Los Angeles is also the only place in the world where one can encounter all forms of Buddhism.

One can explore contemporary religion in public life in exponentially richer detail by perusing the new series from Alta Mira Press treating each of
eight regions in the country, several of which embody or overlap with the region that preoccupies Ferenc Szasz. But within the limits (and the advantages) of a single-volume work of history, Szasz has performed an imaginative, path-breaking, and judicious labor. Those who read and write Mormon history should be schooled by the result.

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3 With publication dates of 2004 or 2005, these new volumes overlapping Szasz's West include (under the general editorship of Mark Silk) Wade Clark Roof, ed., Religion and Public Life in the Pacific Region; Jan Shipps, ed., Religion and Public Life in the Mountain West; Patricia Killen, ed., Religion and Public Life in the Pacific Northwest; Philip Barlow, ed., Religion and Public Life in the Midwest; and William Lindsey, ed., Religion and Public Life in the Southern Crossroads. Szasz has himself contributed a chapter to the Mountain West volume.
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.


Garfield County, created in 1882 and named in honor of U.S. President James A. Garfield, who had been assassinated the year before, is the fifth-largest in terms of area, 89 percent of it federally controlled (1, 168–70, 352.) It contains part of the Sevier River, “the longest river completely contained within the boundaries of a single state” (1). Its Henry Mountains were “the last mapped and named...in the continental United States” (72). Harsh and arid, its winter of 1879–80 in Grass Valley was so severe that the next spring ranchers found horse carcasses “in the tops of pine trees, which indicated the depth of the snow that year” (121).

Chapter 6, which deals with the founding of towns in the county, provides much interesting material for Mormon history readers, since the region was settled almost exclusively by Mormons. Women played a strong role throughout the county’s history, from founding a Relief Society in Escalante in 1877 even before the ward was organized (140–41) to a remarkable run of women mayors from the 1970s to the present (354–59).

The values of cooperation and volunteerism produced, for example, produced a homemade school business program for Hillsdale and Hatch in 1926 (Sam Riggs’s covered...
truck) and a hot-lunch program (a one-gallon thermos filled with "stew, chili, soup, or the like" passed in turn from family to family out of which the Hatch children served themselves with their own bowl and spoon (273). When Cannonville elementary students were bused to Tropic in 1954, the residents moved its sturdy pioneer building "across the street in 1963 and added it to their LDS chapel, with one new roof over all" (347).

Unlike some county histories, however, Garfield's retains a lively and sometimes tense dialogue between its old Mormon families and non-Mormon newcomers, drawn to the beautiful location. One example is a particularly thorough documentation of the 1999 creation (from Arizona) of the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument, in which they conclude that "Utah's governor had clearly been deceived as to the administration's intentions" (367). On a smaller scale, at the time of writing, Boulder was being sued for discrimination by "the owner of a tourist facility" because he wished to serve alcohol, forbidden by local ordinance. "This is clearly an issue with a religious foundation, pitting established Mormon residents against non-Mormon newcomers, though some non-Mormons also wish to keep the community dry" (358).

After the advent of television, the last theater in the county closed in the early 1960s, with the results that some "Garfield residents... have never seen a movie in a theater. Rather than travel to Cedar City or Richfield, they simply wait for the films to come out on video" (346). The county's newest town is Ticaboo, founded in 1982 to process uranium and still a viable community (332–33).

Both authors are descendants of pioneer families, and one photo shows Linda in her waitress uniform at Bryce Canyon Lodge where she worked for three summers as a college student, perched on the fender of a car (324). The narrative is enlivened with many vivid cameos of residents and episodes: instructions on how to make nails by hand from wire (149), a Panguitch librarian who also charmed off warts (209), the courageously neighborly response during the 1918–19 flu pandemic (256–60), the founding of the Panguitch Rhythm Band by ten women in 1936 which plays "tambourines, kazoos, washboards, sticks, triangles, drums, combs, tin plates, wooden spoons, always accompanied by a piano" that continues to the present (291).

A particularly charming story is the feud between the two plural wives of John M. Dunning, the county's first superintendent of schools. When he died and was buried in Panguitch, the second wife and a brother-in-law dug him up at night and transported him, tombstone and all, to Beaver where she had him reburied. The first wife wanted an arrest, but the sheriff declined since "Debbie had been married to John, too." The tombstone, which weighed "several hundred pounds," was discovered, inscription intact, half buried in the sand of Castle Creek. A California family took it home with them but re-

Leroy Robertson (1896–1971) was a gifted and prolific Mormon violinist, composer, who taught at Brigham Young University for twenty-three years and completed his career at the University of Utah where he formed a mutually supportive and productive collaboration with Maurice Abravanel, who was just then shaping the Utah Symphony. The author, his daughter, quotes voluminously from his correspondence, reviews, and the reminiscences of others in documenting his place in the American and western music scene.

A repeated pattern of his life was composing an important and ambitious work that was received with critical acclaim but which seldom became part of the standard performance repertoire, largely because he had neither the time to transcribe the parts by hand and seldom had the money to hire copyists. He is probably best known to Mormon audiences for his *Book of Mormon Oratorio*, in which his setting of the Lord’s prayer has achieved considerable fame as part of the Mormon Tabernacle Choir’s repertoire.

Of particular interest to *Journal of Mormon History* readers are his interactions with and considerable contributions to Church music. (See esp. Chap. 21.) In February 1946, the First Presidency, then George Albert Smith, J. Reuben Clark Jr., and David O. McKay, authorized him to complete his *Oratorio from the Book of Mormon* which they were planning as “the central showpiece of the summer-long festivities” planned for the 1947 centennial. He left studies at the University of Southern California with Ernest Toch “to concentrate solely on completing this work.” Brigham Young University informed him that no office space was available, so he worked on a card table in an upstairs bedroom during the day and, in the evenings while a child was sleeping in the room, in the living room. Then in early spring with only a few pages to score, he was “dumb-founded” to read in the newspaper an announcement that the central piece for the centennial would be Crawford Gates’s *Promised Valley. “No one had bothered to inform Leroy Robertson. He never said a word about his feelings to anyone,” not even to his wife (141–42).

He served on the General Church Music Committee beginning in 1938, commuting monthly from Provo for meetings. He was still a member of the committee and preparing to retire as head of the University of Utah’s Music Department when, in September 1962, he received a telephone call from
President Hugh B. Brown who asked him to become chair of the committee. When Robertson, still actively involved with many graduate students, said he would need to "check his schedule," President Brown "merely chuckled, "Roy, we're not used to hearing "No." Needless to say, "Roy" accepted the assignment then and there" (267).

Among Robertson's contributions were the compilation of the new hymnal in 1927 and another in 1948 that took ten full years to see through to completion. He composed some of the music for the 1930 centennial of the Church's founding, "The Message of the Ages," and scored all of it for full orchestra. He concentrated on making available anthem anthologies suitable for soloists and ward choirs while privately and presciently noting "Genl. Authority will put them back on hymns" (277). He also managed to reverse the ban against any instruments but organ and piano for sacrament meeting, replacing it with the policy that "musical numbers in sacrament meeting should be determined not by the instrument, but by "whether they be spiritually uplifting rather than merely entertaining" (281). His committee was reassigned to a merely "advisory" capacity in 1969, which essentially eliminated any real influence it might have continued to have (289–90).

The manuscript has no notes but the author explains that copies of a fully documented "companion manuscript" with additional appendices are available at the Marriott Library of the University of Utah, the Lee Library at Brigham Young, and the LDS Church Archives (xv–xvi).

The appendices include a biographical sketch of Robertson's wife, Naomi Nelson Robertson, more detail on a tax case involving his $25,000 prize from a major work that was also important in legal history, a 1965 letter from Robertson to the General Authorities appealing for a modest stipend of $100 a month for his services as chair of the music committee (it became a full-time salaried position in 1974 and still is), and a brief description of the thirty-five-box collection of Robertson material in the University of Utah archives with separate registers for his papers and his compositions.

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Rod Reed, a history teacher in Arizona high school and college, wrote a column called "Mormon Moments" for "a small, local newspaper" in Mesa. In his preface, he explains his view of history:

The past is unarguably authentic. It was here before we were and thus it trumps our thought and existence. . . . Situational television families, computer and video animations,
movies, video presentations and many modern conveniences... Take us out of reality” while historical persons “faced stark reality everyday of their lives. Therefore, where do we turn for true reality and authenticity? The past.

This little volume will take you to the lighter side of those wonderful, historical people in brief, easy-to-read stories. You will love them, and you’ll love the common traits of people with uncommon lives. [xii]

The vignettes are organized chronologically, beginning with the Kirtland period and ending with “The Modern Days: 1900–2003.” Many of the retold tales are familiar: Joseph Smith stories, Brigham Young’s bottomless purse when traveling to his mission in Great Britain, Parley P. Pratt’s escape from pursuing bulldog “Stew-boy” after his jailbreak, and Heber C. Kimball’s prophecy about goods being sold in the Salt Lake Valley at less than St. Louis prices that was fulfilled by people rushing to the goldfield. Most of the anecdotes have source notes (mislabeled as a bibliography) and Reed includes a glossary that not only explains terms like “Book of Mormon” and “apostate” but also gives biographical information (e.g., on Charles Coulson Rich and George Albert Smith) and even places (e.g., Par West).

An interesting account, not formerly published but told here with a wealth of detail, involves Elder Bruce R. McConkie’s presentation to a group of missionaries on the Book of Mormon as the keystone of Mormonism, then inviting questions. After a lengthy silence one missionary posed his question: “How do you help someone gain a testimony of the Book of Mormon?” The 6’5” Apostle called the 5’9” missionary up to stand in front of him, seized him by the lapels, lifted him to his toes, announced, “This is how it is done.” Then “shaking him for emphasis... said: “Joseph Smith’s a prophet! He’s a prophet! He’s a prophet!” The missionary looked like a rag doll in the hands of the larger man.” The rest of the missionaries burst into laughter. When it had died down, Elder McConkie straightened the elder’s coat, smoothed down his lapels, and then explained: “That is not the way it should be done... No one can help another gain a testimony of the Book of Mormon. They have to want it. All you can do is invite.” (179) The source note says that the missionary (not named) and another missionary present at the same meeting corroborated this story to Reed. (279)


This book is designed in a horizontal format, 8½ by 10 inches, with
two columns per page, each column dealing with the events of a calendar day in Church history and occasionally spilling over into two columns. It is lavishly illustrated with two or three black and white photographs per double spread (except for the first three days in January).

The four authors, all of whom are associate or assistant professors of Church history and doctrine at Brigham Young University, explain their method in the preface, which also provides a short history of the Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, a chronological scrapbook of typed entries and newspaper clippings, 1839–present. The volumes from 1839 to 1980 “filled some 800 binders” (vii). They note: “Since this project is date specific and records do not always provide the dates for important events (such as the First Vision and the restoration of the Melchizedek Priesthood), we sometimes struggled to find enough appropriate information for certain dates” (vii).

They included notations of the “birth dates and dates of ordinations or setting apart of all General Authorities and general auxiliary presidents, with the exception of the Area Authorities, who are too numerous to include in this volume” (vii). They also seem to have made an effort to include the first convert in each country, dates of temple dedications (and sometimes of announcements and groundbreaking), dates of dedicating a country for missionary work, and first stake in a country.

For example, entries for September 24 read:

1839 George Careless, later a pioneer musician and composer of nine hymn settings found in the LDS hymnal (1885), is born in London, England.

1860 The Stoddard handcarr company, consisting of 126 people and twenty-two handcarts, enters Salt Lake City; the last of the ten handcarr companies to cross the plains.

1864 Annie Clark (Tanner), later the author of A Biography of Ezra T. Clark and A Mormon Mother, is born in Farmington, Utah.

1890 President Wilford Woodruff issues the Manifesto, marking the end of Church-sanctioned plural marriages. . . .

1909 U.S. President William Howard Taft visits Utah and tours the communities south of Salt Lake City with Elder Reed Smoot, a U.S. senator from Utah.

1922 Douglas Stringfellow, later a Utah representative in the U.S. Congress (1958–55), is born in Draper, Utah. [The second date is incorrect. Stringfellow resigned on October 17, 1954, when his heroic war stories were exposed as fabrications. His successor, H. Aldous Dixon, then president of Utah Agricultural College, accepted the Republican nomination only fifteen days before the election and won. Dixon's dates of service are given correctly under his own birth entry (129).]

1937 The New England Mission is organized. (186)

Visually appealing, the illustrations are among the most interest-
ing feature of this book. Not only will the browser find well-known standard portraits of General Authorities but also an issue of Time magazine which featured Ezra Taft Benson in the cover (April 13, 1953) (74) and a caricature of Brigham Young as the "Mormon Moses" from the cover of the Daily Graphic for April 16, 1973 (75). On December 23, 1865, the well-known Danquart A. Weggeland portrait of Joseph Smith in profile is just a column away from Larry King interviewing President Gordon B. Hinckley in a bank of poinsettias on December 24, 1999 (246-47).


Each chapter recounts episodes in Joseph Smith's life, then draws a lesson from it. After describing the First Vision, for instance, the author comments: "Jesus taught persistence in prayer. I have often wondered what the outcome would have been if Joseph had only prayed for five minutes, or fifteen minutes, or if he had prayed for an hour or two hours. If he had not prayed as long as he did, he would likely have gone to bed and thought, "I wonder why God won't answer my prayer." I am grateful Joseph Smith persisted" (8).

This approach, designed for a popular and/or young audience, results in certain predictable omissions. Although an extensive section describes Smith's affection for Emma, his children, and his brother Hyrum (45-56), there is no mention of polygamy.


The twenty-eighth to be organized (in 1914) of Utah's twenty-nine counties and the "last...to be colonized" (110), Duchesne County in northeastern Utah has been characterized (sometimes positively, sometimes not) by its isolation. Its population was under 13,000 in 1990, and it got its first traffic light in the 1980s (x, 295). Seventy-two percent of the land is managed or controlled by the federal government (369). It has only six incorporated communities (x). Temperatures range from as high as 105 degrees to as low as 48 below zero (11). The nation's only known significant source of "clathrate, a hydrocarbon" is the
county's Hope Mine (128). Another
treasure is the Fremont petroglyphs
of Nine-Mile Canyon (15). Barton
also tells, with relish, the tales of lost
Spanish mines and the Rhoades
Mine, the location of which Ute chief
Walkara allegedly revealed only to
Brigham Young (21–22). One of the
few balloon-carried bombs launched
by the Japanese during the closing
days of World War II landed in the
county (276).
The book pays particular atten-
tion to the Ute tribe because of the
presence of the Uintah Reservation
within its boundaries. The history of
their nineteenth-century conflicts
with Mormons and the government
along the Wasatch Front, their
forced removal to the reservation
and subsequent neglect, the opening
of over a million acres of reservation
land to white settlement in 1905, and
later lawsuits over termination, the
rights of mixed-blood Utes, water,
and fish and game rights, are docu-
mented in Chapters 2, 4, 9, and 11.
As Barton tactfully notes when
reservation lands were opened for
homesteading in 1905: "Mormon
leaders were not yet accustomed to
acting according to federal laws and
procedures . . . ; therefore, various
church leaders in Heber City and in
Salt Lake City developed their own
plan to secure land for Mormon
church members when the reserva-
tion opened. As a result, a political
brouhaha erupted" (101).
A key county leader was William
Smart, president of Wasatch Stake
(and later of Uintah Stake), who or-
ganized the Wasatch Development
Company and "contacted all the LDS
stake presidents in the state, inform-
ing them that his company was
ready to help church members se-
cure land on the reservation" (102).
As a result, "most of the registrants
. . . were members of the Mormon
church" (108). Smart was a banker,
newspaper publisher, and president
first of the Dukesne Stake (1910)
and then its split-off Roosevelt
Stake (1920). He obviously re-
mained a driving force in the
county, weighing in on such issues
as its separation from Wasatch
County and the location of its
county seat in Duchesne (chap. 6).
Barton reports three versions of the
"Mormon curse" Smart allegedly
pronounced on Myton when the
town council refused his request to
let Mormon interests buy into some
of the local businesses. One version
is: "You will see the day when only
jackrabbits and tumbleweeds will
inhabit your main street" (161).
He found Roosevelt's gentiles
"more accommodating to the faith"
and headquartered his Dry Guleh
Irrigation Company there. This im-
portant economic system comple-
ments, competes with, and overlaps
with the federally funded Uintah In-
dian Irrigation project. An uneasy
cooperative effort developed, so
that "much of the water used by
Indians and white farmers alike is
"mingled" and moved through both
Indian and non-Indian canals," re-
sulting in "no small amount of con-
cern . . . some hard feelings, and . . .
headache for the ditch riders and
managers of the two irrigation sys-
tems" (305).
Another prominent Mormon
was A. M. Murdock, Duchesne Ward’s first bishop, the town’s mayor, and “unofficial banker.” He was known for his generosity in extending store credit to the local residents. When a clerk denied continued credit to an overdrawn customer, Murdock “literally would steal his own merchandise and give it to them” (182) Jesse Knight generously financed the Blue Bench Irrigation District in the area from 1913 until his death in 1921 (312–15). As of 1990, more than 9,600 county residents were LDS. The next highest denominational group was Roman Catholic with 250 (296). As a result, most of the county’s history has been, if not Mormon history, the history of Mormon people. The chapters covering the World War I, the influenza epidemic, the Great Depression, and contemporary economics are particularly personalized.
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