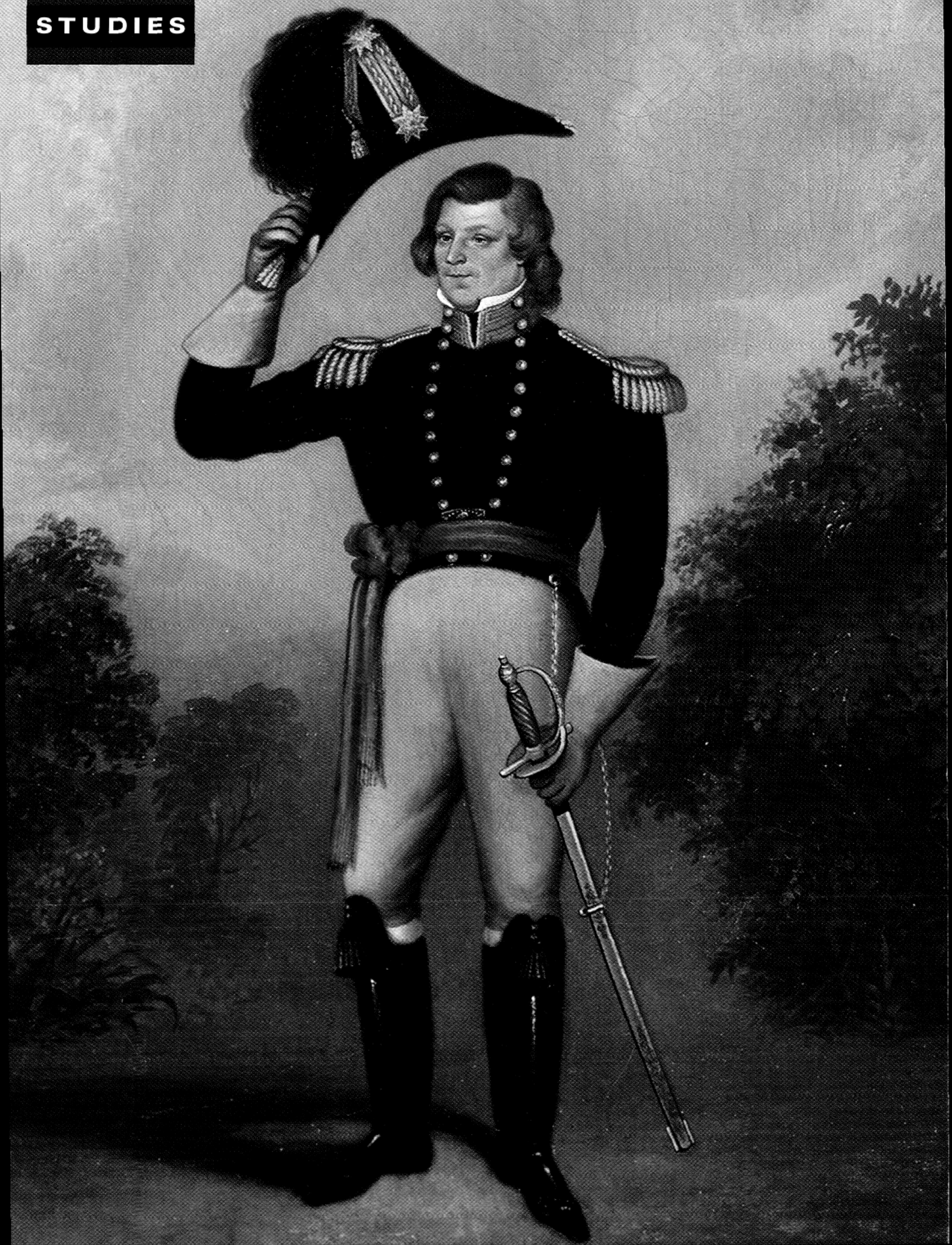
BYU STUDIES

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BYU STUDIES

A MULTIDISCIPLINARY LATTER-DAY SAINT JOURNAL

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BYU Studies is dedicated to the correlation of revealed and discovered truth and to the conviction that the spiritual and the intellectual can be complementary and fundamentally harmonious avenues of knowledge. This periodical strives to explore scholarly perspectives on LDS topics. It is committed to seeking truth "by study and also by faith" (D&C 88:118) and recognizes that all knowledge without charity is nothing (1 Cor. 13:2). It proceeds on the premise that faith and reason, revelation and scholarly learning, obedience and creativity are compatible; they are "many members, yet but one body" (1 Cor. 12:20).

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BYU Studies is published quarterly at Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. ©1995 Brigham Young University, Provo, UT. All rights reserved.
Printed in the U.S.A. on acid-free paper
4-90-46359-3.3M ISSN 0007-0106

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St. Louis waterfront. Thomas M. Easterly took this daguerreotype in 1848. Nearly 90 percent of the approximately 70,000 Latter-day Saint pioneers who immigrated to the Church centers in Missouri, Ohio, Illinois, and Utah between 1831 and 1869 traveled part of the way by water. Courtesy Missouri Historical Society.

Sail and Rail Pioneers before 1869

LDS immigrants trekking west by boat and train endured harassment, filthy accommodations, hunger, and accidents before even starting their wagon journeys.

Stanley B. Kimball

Some cultural myopia in Zion blurs our views regarding our sail/rail/trail pioneer ancestry—those who immigrated to Utah with the aid of boats and trains as well as wagons and handcarts. We seem to presume that only covered-wagon experiences count or make one a "real" pioneer and that travel to wagon trail heads is unimportant or uninteresting. The condescension toward Saints who traveled by rail, especially after the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869, can be seen in the pejorative term "Pullman Pioneer," which was coined to distinguish those who came primarily by railroad from "real" pioneers who came by wagon. Yet most pioneers traveled by boat or rail from their ships or other starting points in the East to places in the West where the wagon trails began. Those important legs of their journeys were sometimes well over a thousand miles long—a real story, a real journey, which was in many cases as hazardous and arduous as the final trek across the plains.

Of the approximately 70,000 LDS pioneers who between 1831 and 1869 immigrated to their various Zions in Ohio, Missouri, Illinois, and Utah, more than 90 percent traveled part of the way by water—a fact little noted nor long remembered in Mormon historiography.[1] They traveled on the Saint Lawrence, Pecatonica, Ohio, Mississippi, Missouri, Genesee, Hudson, Rock, and Illinois Rivers; on the Montezuma, Erie, Pennsylvania State, Ohio and Erie, and Miami and Erie Canals; and on two of the Great Lakes—Lake Ontario and Lake Erie—as well as on Cayuga Lake.

They utilized the many forms of water transportation of their day, including sailing sloops and schooners; steamboats of all sorts, especially side and stern paddle riverboats; and various canal-boats—the slow line boats and the faster packets. Many steamships and sailing ships operated on the Great Lakes. Steamboats were preferred for maneuverability but were not well suited to carrying large cargoes, so two-masted schooners were also used.

In addition, a surprisingly large number of immigrants were rail/trail pioneers.[2] Between 1840, when Mormon converts from Europe began sailing to the United States of America, and February 1855, 93 percent of those immigrant companies entered the United States at New Orleans, where they obtained passage on riverboats to their jumping-off places for their journeys west.[3] After 1855, however, as railroad lines pushed farther west, Latter-day Saint immigration patterns changed; all European immigrants then entered the United States at Philadelphia, New York City, or Boston and took various railroads as far as possible to river ports or trail heads in the Midwest. Of the total of 148 Latter-day Saint companies sailing to the United States between 1840 and the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869, 73 took railroads all or part of the way from the Atlantic Coast to the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers. In other words, of the approximately seventy thousand LDS wagon pioneers who crossed the plains, some thirty-four thousand (49 percent) traveled by railroad for at least one stage in their journey to their waiting wagons and handcarts.

Thus, travel by boat and train forms a larger piece of the westward Mormon migration than previous studies of the Mormon Trail have noted.[4] This article strives to correct that deficiency.[5]

The problem has not arisen because no rail and water accounts occur in the diaries or letters of pioneers; the problem is that we as a people think in terms only of wagon or "real" pioneers, not of water or rail pioneers. (I also get the feeling that the immigrants themselves did not feel much like real pioneers either until they got to their wagons.) Hence historians and catalogers pick up only wagon reports—no one "trailed clouds of glory" while on a train or boat! Yet, while rail and water travel was usually of shorter duration and not particularly conducive to long journal entries, it was an important part of the total picture. We are very lucky to know what we do about it.

Sail/Trail Pioneers

Water Routes. During the 1830s, Mormons were bent on reaching Kirtland, Ohio, and various places in Missouri. En route to Kirtland, they traveled from various starting points via Lake Cayuga, the Montezuma and Erie Canals, and Lake Erie. To Missouri, the preferred route was via the Ohio, Mississippi, and Missouri Rivers.

From 1840 through 1845, most Mormons traveled to Nauvoo from the East Coast or from New Orleans. From the East Coast, they mainly utilized the Erie Canal; Lakes Ontario and Erie; and the Hudson, Saint Lawrence, Ohio, and Pecatonica Rivers. From New Orleans, they took the Mississippi River. As the Mormons left Nauvoo in 1846, many traveled the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers to the Council Bluffs, Iowa, area.

Throughout the 1850s, most Mormon pioneers traveled the Ohio, Missouri, and Mississippi Rivers (mainly from New Orleans) to various jumping-off places at Saint Louis, Westport, Jefferson City, Alexandria, and Churchill, all in Missouri; Keokuk and Council Bluffs in Iowa; Fort Leavenworth and Atchison in Kansas Territory; and Florence and Omaha in Nebraska Territory.[6]

During the 1860s, most Mormons were able to ride various railroads from the East Coast to Saint Joseph, Missouri, where they took riverboats on the Missouri upstream to Council Bluffs or Omaha. In 1867 Mormon western travel by boat almost completely ended when the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad reached Council Bluffs and linked up with the Union Pacific. Two years later, Mormon immigrants could travel all the way from the East Coast to Utah by rail.

Experiences of Water Pioneers. As would be expected, with more than sixty thousand Mormons traveling for many years on all kinds of lake, river, and canal craft, they experienced about all the good and the bad that normally went with water travel during the nineteenth century. For the most part, Mormon experiences on the water were typical of their time and place. Bad weather, wind, rain, ice, miserable accommodations in deck and steerage passage, heat, insects, accidents, incidents of falling overboard, insults, disturbances caused by the Civil War and "Utah War," episodes of being left on shore, seasickness, cholera, threats from a "wicked" crew,

discomforts over slavery, boiler explosions, occasions of running aground, miscarriages, stillbirths, deaths, quarantine islands, snags, sandbars, broken rudders, breaks in canals, slowness, lack of shelter and proper sanitation, poor food, stench, and crowded conditions characterized river travel in that day.

Not all aspects of travel by water were negative, however. Journal entries describe natural beauty, church services, preaching invitations, games, cabin-class accommodations, organized activities, boat races, practicing phrenologists, kind crew members, and friendly officers, maids, and waiters, to name only a few of the more enjoyable aspects of these trips.

The first Mormon grumping took place in 1831 on the Erie Canal en route from New York to Kirtland. Joseph Smith's mother, Lucy, ran a tight ship (quite literally) and expected the immigrating company she was leading to conduct themselves in a saintly manner. She chastised mothers for being careless with their children, anyone else for complaining about having left good homes, and the sisters for sitting around pouting and for flirting with gentleman passengers who were strangers and not members of the Church.[7] The account of this boat's daring departure from the Buffalo harbor into an ice-filled Lake Erie is one of the most thrilling adventures of early Mormon travel. Turning to the motley and harried band of converts on her boat, Lucy called out:

> "Now Bretheren and sisters, if you will all of you raise your desires to heaven, that the ice may be broken up, and we be set at liberty, as sure as the Lord lives, it will be done." At that instant a noise was heard, like bursting thunder. The captain cried, "Every man to his post." The ice parted, leaving barely a passage for the boat, and so narrow that as the boat passed through the buckets of the waterwheel were torn off with a crash, which, joined to the words of command from the captain, the hoarse answering of the sailors, the noise of the ice, and the cries and confusion of the spectators, presented a scene truly terrible. We had barely passed through the avenue when the ice closed together again, and the Colesville bretheren were left in Buffalo, unable to follow us.
>
> As we were leaving the harbor, one of the bystanders exclaimed, "There goes the 'Mormon' company! That boat is sunk in the water nine inches deeper than ever it was before, and, mark it, she will sink—there is nothing surer." In fact, they were so sure of it that they went straight to the office and had it published that we were sunk, so that when we arrived at Fairport we read in the papers the news of our own death.[8]

Weather was a frequent problem. Bad weather and ice held up canalboats and sailing vessels on the Great Lakes. Records talk of the heat on the lower Mississippi and of rain on open and unprotected decks.

There was seasickness, of course, and much worse—deaths from cholera (a waterborne disease), especially during the bad years of 1849 and 1850, when some were quarantined near Saint Louis.[9] Corpses, if not thrown overboard, were buried in the riverbank. (Riverboats often carried coffins for just such use.) Once, in 1849, when some Saints requested a captain to stop for a proper burial, he stranded them. According to the account, "The captain was a brutal, unaccommodating, and a very, extremely harsh man." He weighted corpses and dumped them overboard. One Latter-day Saint died, and a brother, George Wood, got permission to make the burial onshore and "hired a Negro to help dig a trench." Before the burial was completed, the captain sailed off, leaving the burial party on the shore. The general appeals of the passengers were of no avail. Then a Mormon, Joseph Walker, found some rope and threatened to hang the captain: "We've tried persuasion to see if there is any humanity in your worthless carcass. See this rope. If you don't go back to those people, I'll hang you from your own cross beam and I'll have plenty of help to do so." The captain returned.[10]

Deaths occurred from falling overboard. Children, especially inquisitive boys, were the most vulnerable. The sources record some routine, but nonetheless tragic, losses of life.[11] In 1851 between New Orleans and Saint Louis, an English convert known as Sister Shelly attempted to draw a bucket of water from the river while the boat was running, and the force of the current drew her in. The records note that "she floated for a moment and then sank to rise no more. The engines stopped immediately and a boat manned and sent in search of her, but it was unsuccessful in obtaining the body."[12] Sadly, this is just one more example of how totally ill-suited the female attire of that day was for westering—her water-soaked, heavy skirts obviously drew her under.

In 1863 a crew member opened a trapdoor in the bottom of the riverboat to get water and forgot to close it. Notes one of the immigrants, "A small boy became frightened when some mules in a stall nearby started kicking and made a lot of noise. He became excited and fell through the trapdoor. They stopped the boat and searched,

but found no trace of his body. They thought he might have been struck by one of the large wheels on either side of the boat."[13]

That same year, a group of Latter-day Saints were on a flatboat with no railings traveling from Saint Joseph, Missouri, to Florence, Nebraska. During the night, the boat laid to for wood. A boy of about twelve, apparently half asleep, walked off the boat into the river. The swift current swept him away in an instant, and he was lost.[14]

In 1842 a poignant notice appeared in the *Times and Seasons,* a Mormon newspaper published in Nauvoo, concerning a lost child:

> INFORMATION WANTED
>
> As the Steam Boat General Pratt, was on her way from New Orleans to St. Louis, on the 15th of Nov. last, while about half way on her passage Mary, the eldest daughter of William and Mary Butterworth, of Macclesfield, Eng. 11 years of age, accidentally fell over board and although the captain of the boat instantly returned some distance and used every exertion to recover the body, nothing has yet been heard of it. If any one has found the body, and will give information thereof and the place of its deposit, they will greatly oblige, and soothe the feelings of the afflicted parents by giving notice to the Editor of the Times and Seasons. Editors on the Mississippi will please copy.[15]

Perhaps the most unusual detail in a drowning account came from an 1851 accident on the Mississippi River. A man, apparently not a Mormon, fell overboard. "The boat was stopped instantly, and every effort was made to save him, but to no purpose. As he sank he threw his pocketbook, which was picked up by one of the men and given into the hands of the clerk, in order to be restored to the relatives of the deceased."[16]

Accommodations and food were often bad. Most Mormon immigrants were poor, so they usually booked deck or steerage passage, suffering from bad stench, sleeping wherever they could, and eating as best they could. A few could afford cabin class, but they were exceptional. On rare occasions, Mormon agents would book an entire boat.[17] Most immigrants brought food with them and prepared it as circumstances permitted. Sometimes their food was stolen by the crew. In other instances, Mormons earned food scraps by helping the deckhands; a riverboat could burn up to forty tons of wood a day, and help was always needed to "wood up" on shore.[18]

Nagging problems such as getting stuck on sandbars, running aground, catching snags, and breaking rudders or paddle wheels kept life interesting. Other, more serious, problems were steamboat disasters that claimed thousands of lives. Exploding boilers, when captains tried to make time, were a constant threat.[19]

Occasionally passengers wrote about unpleasantries with the crew and boat personnel. One case is notable. In 1851 an English immigrant, Frederick Weight, on the trip from New Orleans to Saint Louis, claimed, "The crew was made up of very wicked, cursing men, who cared nothing for anything good." This good man's opinion was probably colored by the fact that the head cook fell in love with Weight's wife and threatened to shoot him![20]

One experience often commented on negatively, especially by the European Saints transferring from ocean vessels to riverboats in New Orleans, was the evil of slavery. In 1854 in New Orleans, a Danish convert "saw black slaves at work, thirty to fifty in a gang. On the steam ship are six blacks. They do the heaviest work. They buy them here for $25.00 each."[21] James Moyle from England went to the slave market and saw the slaves that were being sold that day. It was "revolting to my feelings to see the men, women, and children that we saw there sold like cattle or horses, and although they had a black skin they were human beings."[22] A sister, Emma Higbee, related a relative's experience: "She saw children taken from their parents and given to rough traders. The storms at sea did not seem nearly so terrible as that auction sale with human lives and happiness at stake."[23]

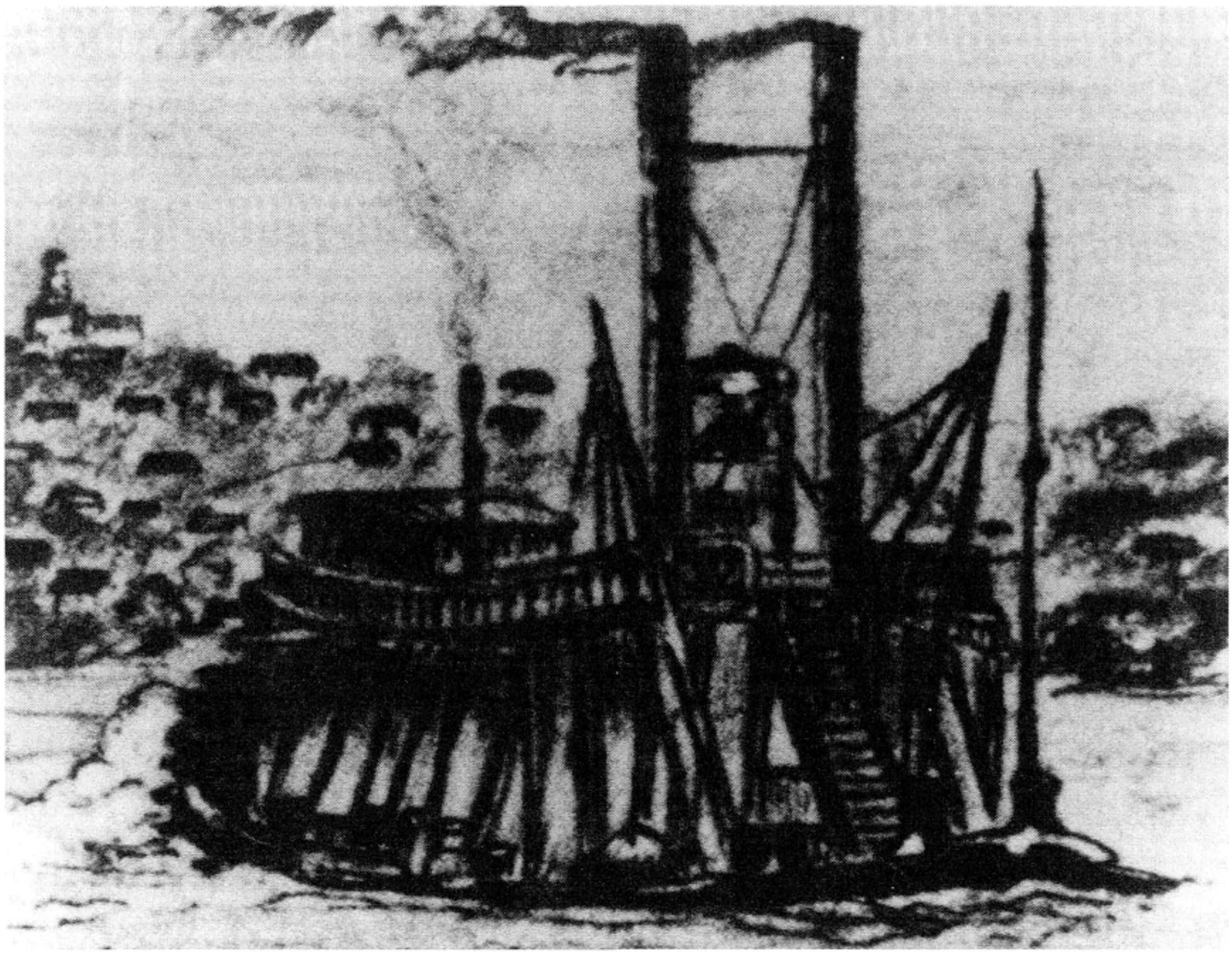
In 1851 one of the superior Mormon diarists described her experience with slavery in New Orleans as follows:

> The only thing which detracts from its beauty is the sight of hundreds of Negroes working in the sun. "Oh slavery, how I hate thee." [She visited a female slave market. ("No lady enters that for males.")] It is a large hall, well lighted, with seats all round on which were girls of every shade of color, from ten or twelve to thirty years of age, and to my utter astonishment they were singing as merrily as larks. I expressed my surprise to Mrs. Blims and she said "Though I, as an English woman, detest the very idea of slavery, yet I do believe that many of the slaves here have ten times the comfort of many of the labourers in our own country with not half the labor. I have been thirteen years in this country and although I have never owned a slave, or intend to do so, still I do not look upon slavery with the horror that I once did. There are hundreds of slaves here who would not

> accept their freedom if it was offered to them. For this reason they would then have no protection, as the laws afford little or none to people of color."
>
> I could not help thinking that my friend's feelings had become somewhat blunted, if not hardened by long residence in slave states.[24]

On board other boats, there were births as well as miscarriages. At Saint Joseph, Missouri, four men had to carry a poor sister off the boat in her bed. There were stillborn children—twins, for example—in Keokuk.[25]

Some rather unusual trials were endured, especially by Mormons. In 1844, for example, the *Maid of Iowa,* a Mormon-owned riverboat carrying immigrants, passengers, and cargo to and from New Orleans, was attacked on its way to Nauvoo. According to



Maid of Iowa. This sixty-ton paddle steamboat (possibly a stern-wheeler) was built by Dan Jones and Levi Moffit in Augusta, Iowa. During the Nauvoo period, *Maid of Iowa* transported companies of immigrants from New Orleans to the temple city on a bend of the Mississippi River. On several occasions, *Maid of Iowa* was fired upon, and one time another boat attempted to ram it. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

William Adams, when word would spread that a Mormon boat full of Mormons was coming, they were insulted wherever they landed for supplies. At one place, the boat was actually set on fire and even fired upon. Adams also noted that one boat on the Mississippi south of Saint Louis tried to run the *Maid of Iowa* down and that Captain Dan Jones avoided a collision only by threatening to shoot the pilot of the other boat.[26]

Several accounts of boat travel in 1858 involve the "Utah War." Over both land and water, Mormons were adversely affected by the unnecessary military expedition to quell a nonexistent rebellion. Elder John E. Hill, returning home from his mission to England, took a Missouri boat from Saint Louis to Omaha which also carried teamsters and supplies for the Utah War. James Bunting may have been on the same boat, for he described his as carrying "Uncle Sam's wagons intended for the Utah Expedition." He noted that at Fort Leavenworth his boat, the *Saint Mary,* received a salute from the *Minihaha,* on which were others bound for Utah. The army supplies were unloaded at Nebraska City and freighted west on the Nebraska City Cutoff Trail.[27]

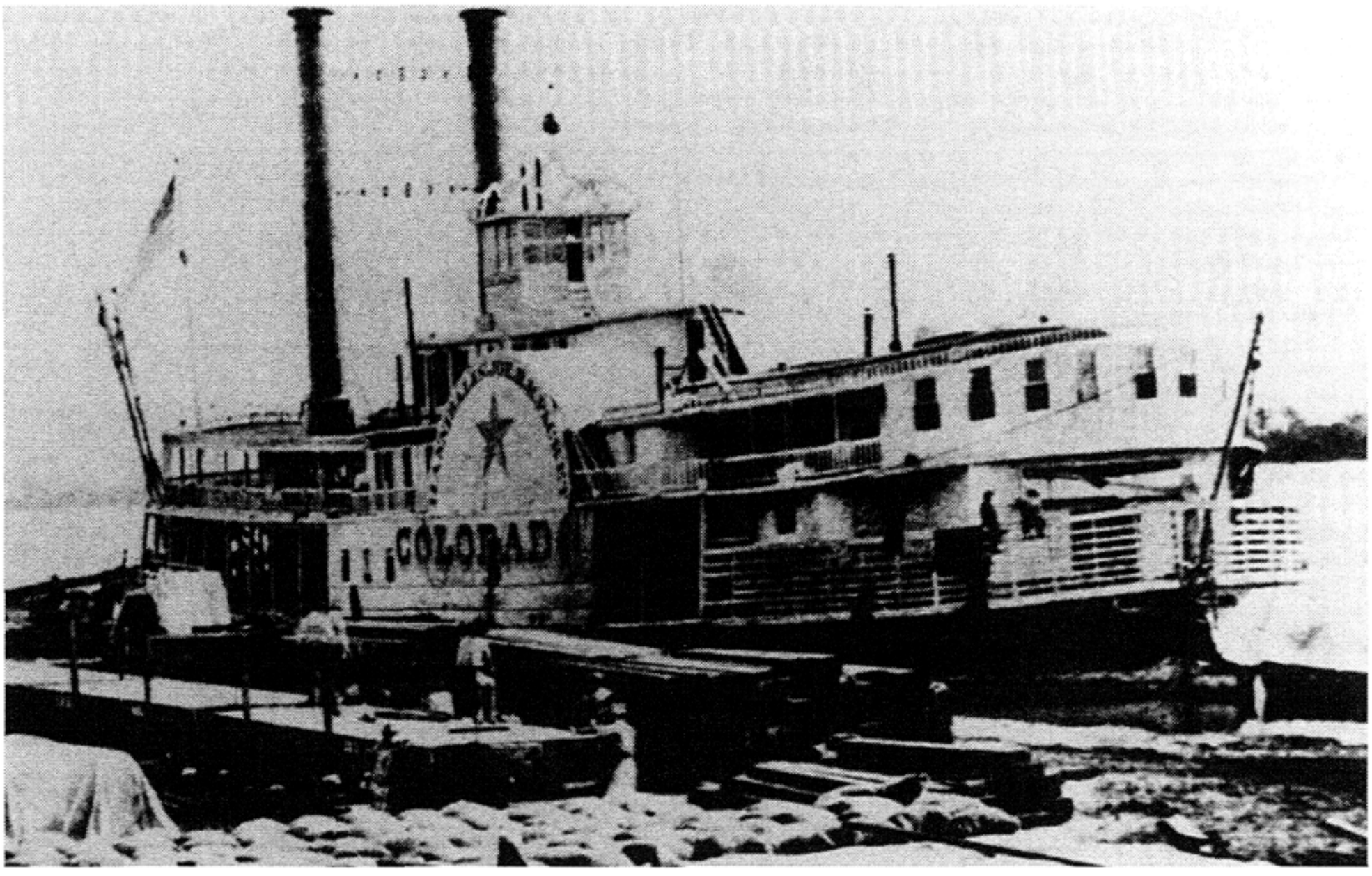
The most dramatic "Utah War" experience was recorded by Martin Luther Ensign. He and other returning missionaries noted that "when they left the [Saint Louis] wharf they fired a cannon and hurrahed for Utah and the G. D. Mormons and said if they knew there was a Mormon on board they would through [*sic*] them in to the river, but we kept mum and they did not find out we were Mormons or give us any trouble."[28]

The Saints, like many others, were also affected by the Civil War. Boat travel, like train travel, was sometimes interrupted, crowded, and even dangerous—especially in Missouri, which not only fought on the side of the Union during the war but also had its own private civil war. Quantrill's Raiders, Bloody Bill Anderson, and other pro-Southern forces in Missouri not only tore up railroad tracks to harass the Union forces but occasionally fired on riverboats.

In 1862 some deckhands refused to work on a riverboat along a stretch of the river where they could hear gunfire, so the captain ordered the strikers off and replaced them with Mormons for one dollar a day plus board. The Mormons were, of course, disliked for being scab labor.[29]

In 1863 a party of Mormons left Saint Louis for Omaha and the West. On board were five hundred mules and horses, one cannon, and troops to protect these military supplies. The troops barricaded the boat as best they could by erecting breastworks of sacks of grain and tobacco.[30] In 1864 some Confederates fired on a boat that carried Mormons, but no one was hurt.

On the positive side, Mormons commented on the natural beauty of the countryside, fields of corn, pumpkins, apple trees loaded with fruit along the Erie Canal, and the forests of tall and stately trees along the lower Mississippi River. In 1842, Richard Rushton noted "the rocks on the right side of the river . . . were enchantingly beautiful." This is most likely a reference to the bluffs on the Illinois side of the river between mileposts 25 and 35 upriver from Saint Louis (between Alton and Grafton). Today they are still "enchantingly beautiful."[31] About ten years later, Jean Pearce,



Missouri River steamboat *Colorado* unloading cargo in Omaha. In 1863 a company of Saints left St. Louis for Omaha on a similar steamboat loaded with military supplies. To protect the five hundred mules and horses and a cannon from attack, federal troops on board barricaded the boat the best they could by erecting breastworks of sacks of tobacco and grain. Courtesy Colorado Historical Society.

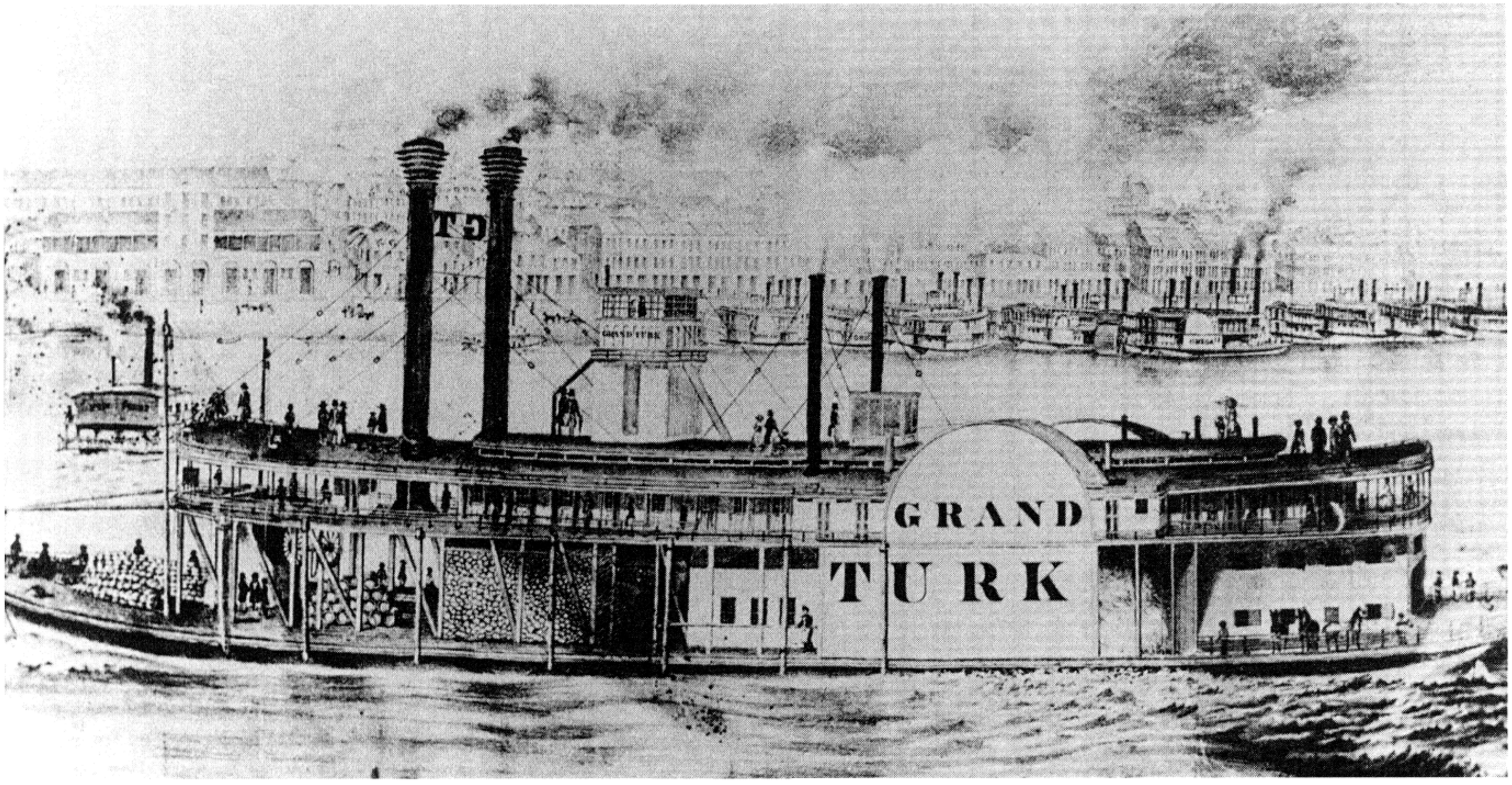
one of my favorite journalizers, commented on these same bluffs: "I cannot describe," she said, "the grandeur of the scenery—it is most appalling!"[32]

One rather interesting and detailed 1854 account of a trip from New Orleans to Saint Louis starts out with a bit of rhymed doggerel:

> WE WAS CROWDED
> Now we are traveling up the river
> Crowded in that little Steamer
> But still we felt to ask the Lord
> For to protect us all on board.
>
> The steam boat a puffing and snorting and pushing hard against the streem, but oh, what a durty watter for us to use. We dip it up for to settle it, but don't get much better. Never mind, we will do the best we can with it. I must drink it, anyhow, because I am very thirsty.
>
> And what a rackety noise, it made me shudder. The Captain a shouting and the watter a splashing and the band a playing and some of us singing and some of the sisters a washing and the babies a crying and the sailors a talking and many of them smoking. And all of us trying to do something and the boat a tuging and snorting when traveling up the Missouri river, also the Mississippi. Indeed it was a great sight to us to see such forests of timber and land.
>
> What a wonderful stream this is going in such a force taking down some very large logs. They some times strike the boat with tremendous blows, but we got through all right. We got to St. Louis about the 10th of April 1854. And was glad to get there. But what a durty looking place this is to be sure.[33]

A few accounts mention church services on the riverboats—naturally enough, with Mormons being eternally alert for an opportunity to preach the gospel. For example, in 1856 returning missionary Samuel Woolley was invited to preach in the ladies' cabin.[34] Mormons, as would be expected, also sang and prayed together. Children played games. One mother in 1851 set her children "to work on perforated papers."[35] Other children played "drafts" (*draughts* or today's checkers) and cards.

Some well-off immigrants had pleasant accommodations. In 1851 on the Mississippi River, Elizabeth Goddard noted, "The Captain and officers and chamber maid were all very kind . . . the colored waiters were quite delighted to wait on the children and also



The Grand Turk riverboat. On April 11, 1849, and May 31, 1854, some Latter-day Saint immigrants arriving at New Orleans transferred to the 688-ton side-wheeler *Grand Turk,* among the largest riverboats on the Mississippi River, to make the trip to St. Louis. Courtesy Missouri Historical Society.

the chamber maid who was also colored."[36] In 1853 returning missionary Joseph W. Young reported that the "crew was very kind" and that his company of Saints were "comfortable."[37]

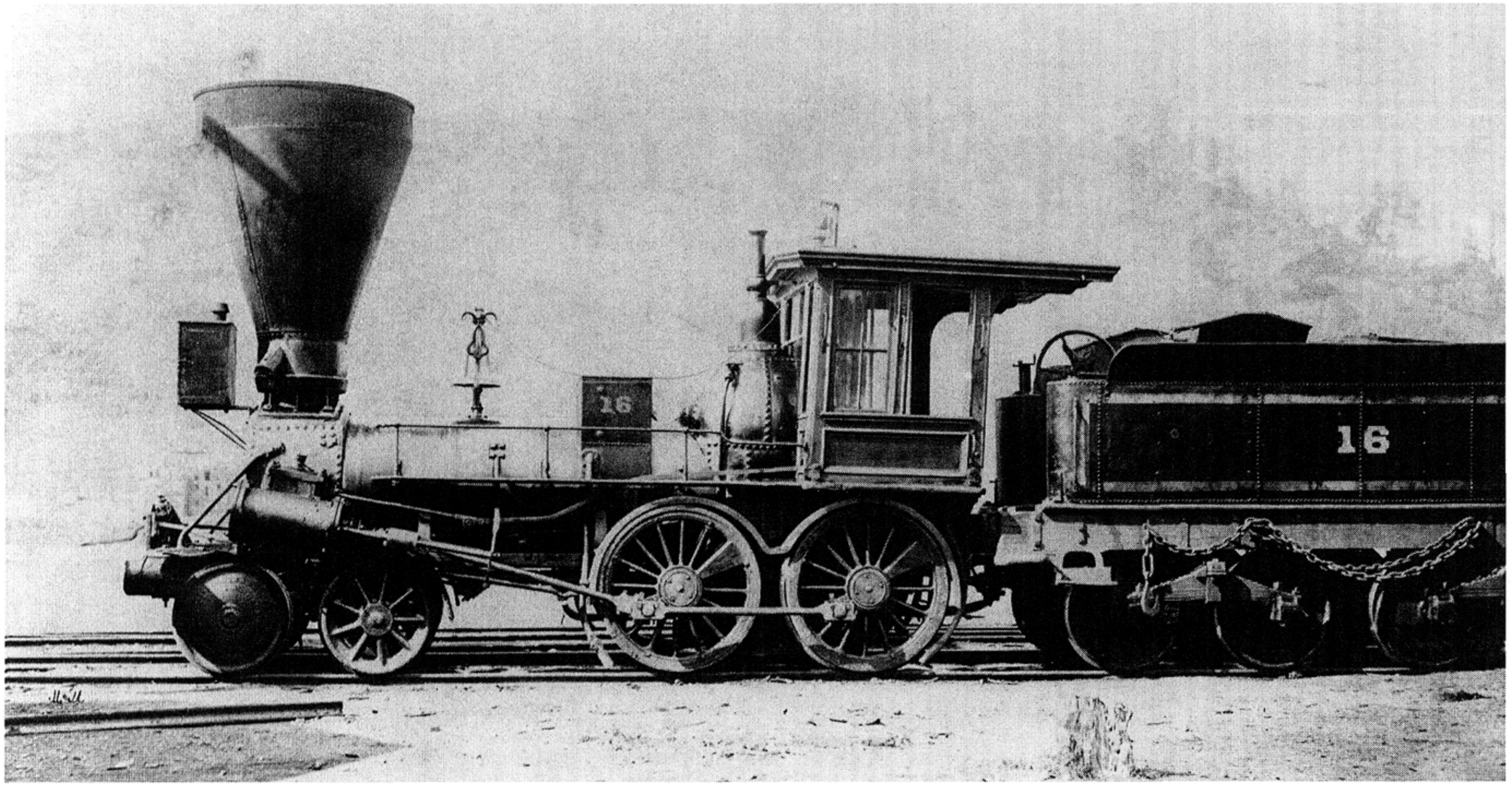
Riverboat phrenologists gave readings. In 1856 Samuel Woolley recorded, "There is a phrenologist on board who wished to feel my head, so I let him do it. He gave me a very fair reading of my head."[38]

Most Mormons probably enjoyed the occasional races between rival riverboats—unless, of course, the boilers blew up from too much pressure. In 1866 one immigrant described how the ship's lifting machinery pushed the boat off a sandbar—a maneuver called "grasshoppering"—which certainly gave the passengers something interesting to observe.[39]

Rail/Trail Pioneers

By 1827, Americans had experimented with railroads, the new form of British and European transportation, and in May 1830 railroad travel effectively commenced in America with the opening of the first division of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Beginning in 1837 and during the next two decades, most Mormons traveled as far west as possible by rail toward Kirtland and Nauvoo, then by water or land to trail heads on the Missouri River usually, and ultimately to Utah.[40] After 1855 railroads ran far enough west that Latter-day Saint immigrants were encouraged by Brigham Young to stop coming through New Orleans and to enter the United States on the Atlantic seaboard. This route offered a faster, cheaper, and safer way of bringing European converts to Utah—cholera, for example, was a constant threat of river travel.

Rail/trail pioneers spent relatively little time on the much faster trains, which could go night and day. In the 1850s, immigrant trains ran about 12 miles an hour, while an "express" averaged 27.5 miles an hour. An immigrant could cross Illinois in fifteen hours and Missouri in twelve. By 1867, when the Union Pacific Railroad reached North Platte, Nebraska, the average time from New York City to that railhead was six days.[41] By 1869 an express took only eighteen hours from Chicago to Council Bluffs. Rail/trail travel, consequently, generated relatively fewer reports of "faith promoting" experiences. Train travel was hardly the great



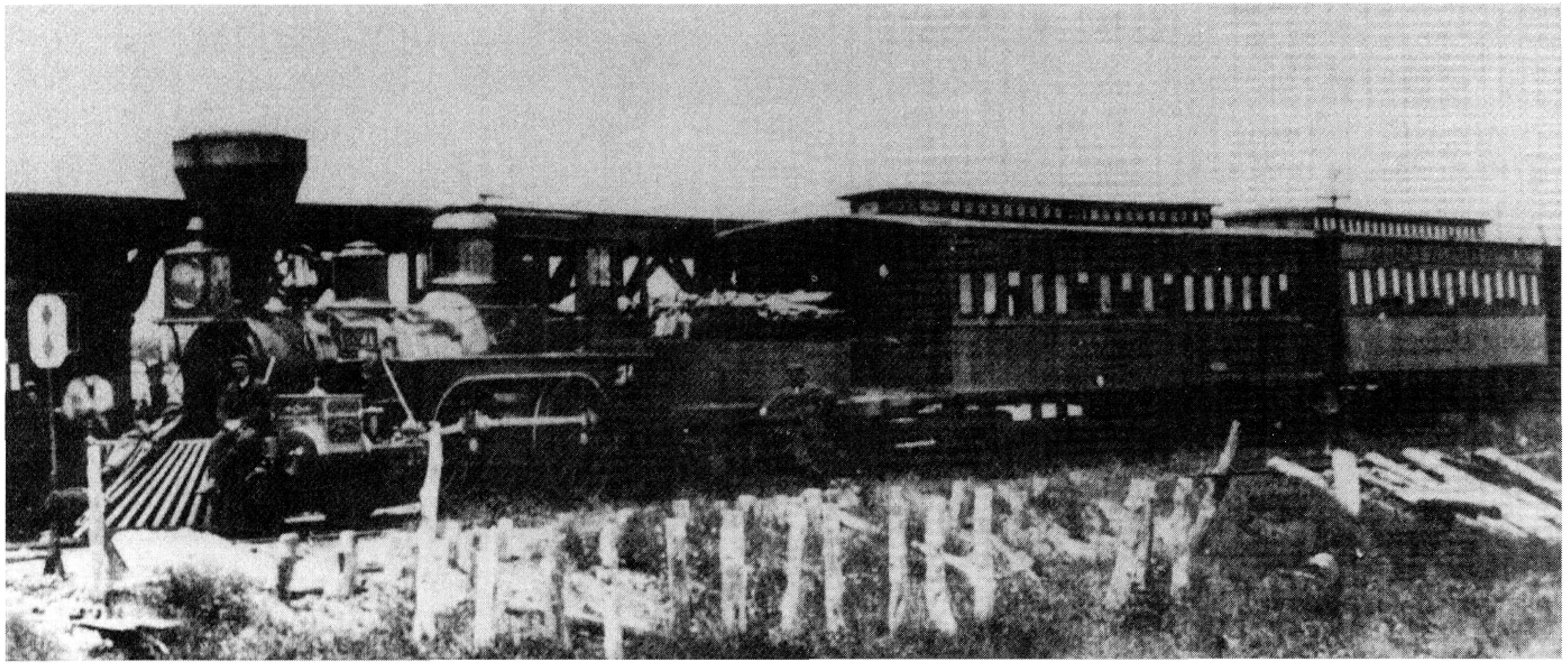
Baltimore and Ohio's #16 Locomotive, 1838. Beginning in 1837 and continuing the next two decades, most Latter-day Saints traveled by rail as far west as possible toward Kirtland and Nauvoo, then by water or land to trail heads usually on the Missouri River, and ultimately to Utah. Courtesy Photo Archives, Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D.C.

test of faith that wagon travel was; therefore fewer immigrants left behind accounts of adventurous rail travel.

Rail/River Routes 1855–1856. After the 1855 switch in ports of entry from New Orleans to the main eastern cities but before the 1856 completion of railways extending to Iowa City, eleven pioneer companies, totaling 4,121 immigrants, had landed at East Coast ports and had taken one of several rail and river routes to the trail head on the Missouri River at Atchison/Mormon Grove, Kansas Territory. Some companies took the Pennsylvania Railroad from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, where they switched to boats on the Ohio, Mississippi, and Missouri Rivers to complete the trip to their jumping-off place. A few took rail and sail via New York City; Dunkirk, New York; Cleveland; Chicago; and Saint Louis. Still others took a mixture of various railroads (especially the Michigan Central) and riverboats and lake boats to Chicago, from whence it was possible to take the Chicago and Alton Railroad to Saint Louis.[42]

From Saint Louis, many immigrants took riverboats on the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers to various trail heads, such as Westport and Independence, Missouri; Fort Leavenworth and Atchison/Mormon Grove, Kansas Territory; as well as Council Bluffs, Iowa.[43] Others continued west from Saint Louis by train. In 1854, for example, some Saints took the Pacific Railroad some 122 miles from Saint Louis to Jefferson City, Missouri, the end of the line, then went by wagon to Independence where they picked up the Oregon Trail to go west.[44]

The Chicago and Rock Island Railroad: 1856–1859. Routinized Mormon immigrant rail travel properly commenced when the Chicago and Rock Island Railroad (C&RI) reached Iowa City in the spring of 1856.[45] It was then possible to take various trains from Boston, New York City, and Philadelphia, via Chicago, all the way to Iowa City—a distance of some one thousand miles. The account of one Mormon company that came this way can be paraphrased as follows: we debarked at Staten Island; got certificates of good health; avoided baggage inspection; cleared immigration at Castle Gardens; a steamboat took us to Piermont, New York, where took railroad for Dunkirk, New York; took Lake Erie steamboat to Toledo (stopping at Cleveland and Sandusky); thence by rail to Chicago and on to Iowa City.[46]



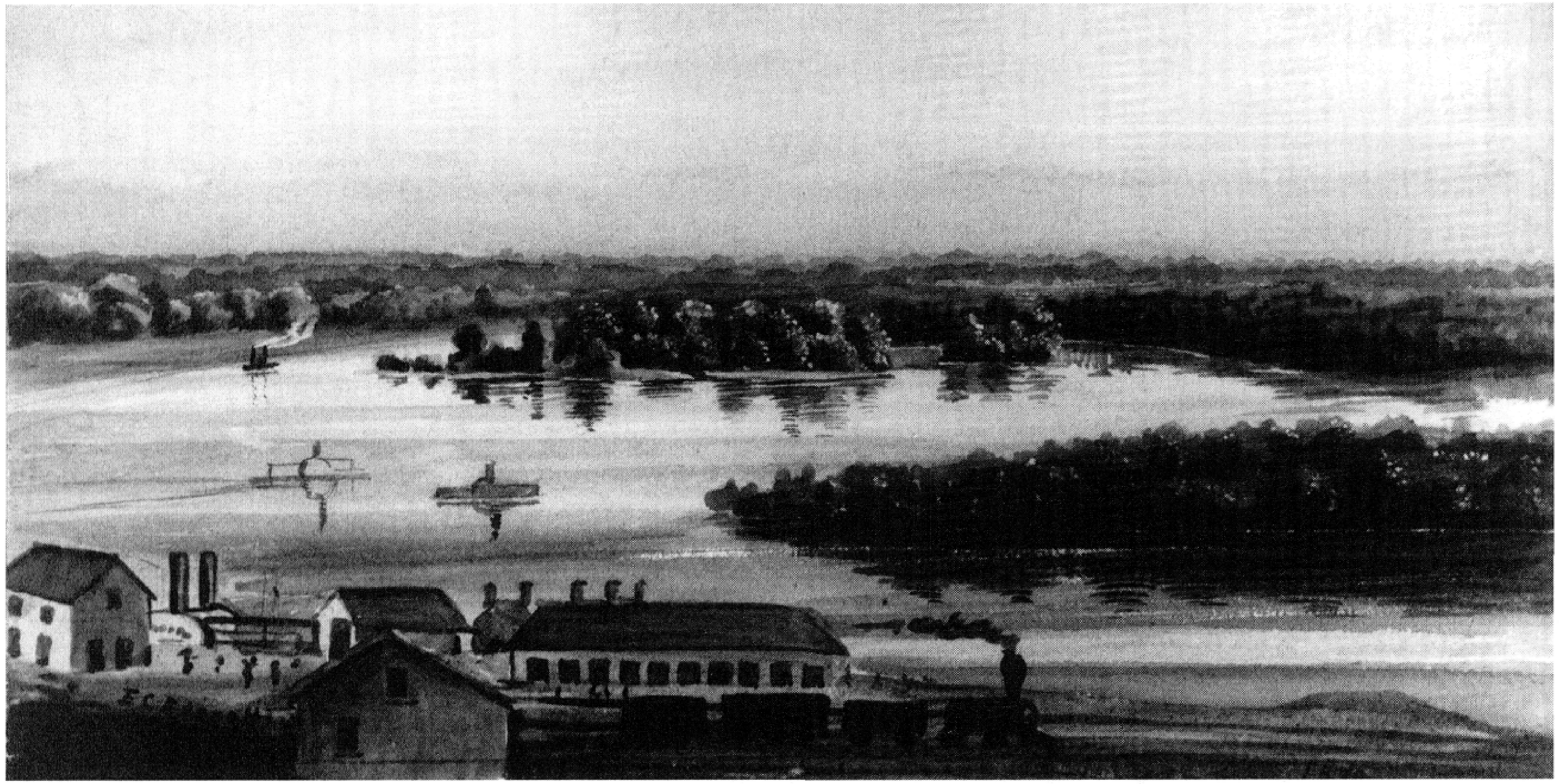
An East Coast passenger train photographed in 1867. After 1855, as railroad lines pushed farther west, Latter-day Saint immigration patterns changed; all European immigrants entered the United States on the East Coast at Philadelphia, New York City, or Boston and traveled on various railroads as far as possible to river ports or trail heads in the Midwest. Courtesy Long Branch Public Library, New Jersey.

Brigham Young (or at least he is given credit for it) initiated this change in the immigration pattern. In September 1855, he wrote the president of the European Mission, "I think the emigration had better come the northern route from New York, or Philadelphia, or Boston, direct to Iowa city" and then travel by handcarts.[47] Brigham Young wrote this instruction seven months before the C&RI Railroad reached Iowa City on April 21, 1856. He was obviously well informed of the railroad's construction plans and needed to alert England before the 1856 immigrant season commenced.

Almost immediately Mormon immigrants began to take the C&RI Railroad west from Chicago to Iowa City. The first to do so were the famous handcart pioneers, whose first immigrant company to go by ship and rail to Iowa was called the "Enoch Train." It sailed from Liverpool on March 23, 1856, and arrived in Boston on April 30 and in Iowa City on May 12.[48] Since this journey was the beginning of the famous handcart immigrant experience, there are many extant rail/trail accounts of this route for the years 1856–57, but all are, regrettably, bare boned.[49]

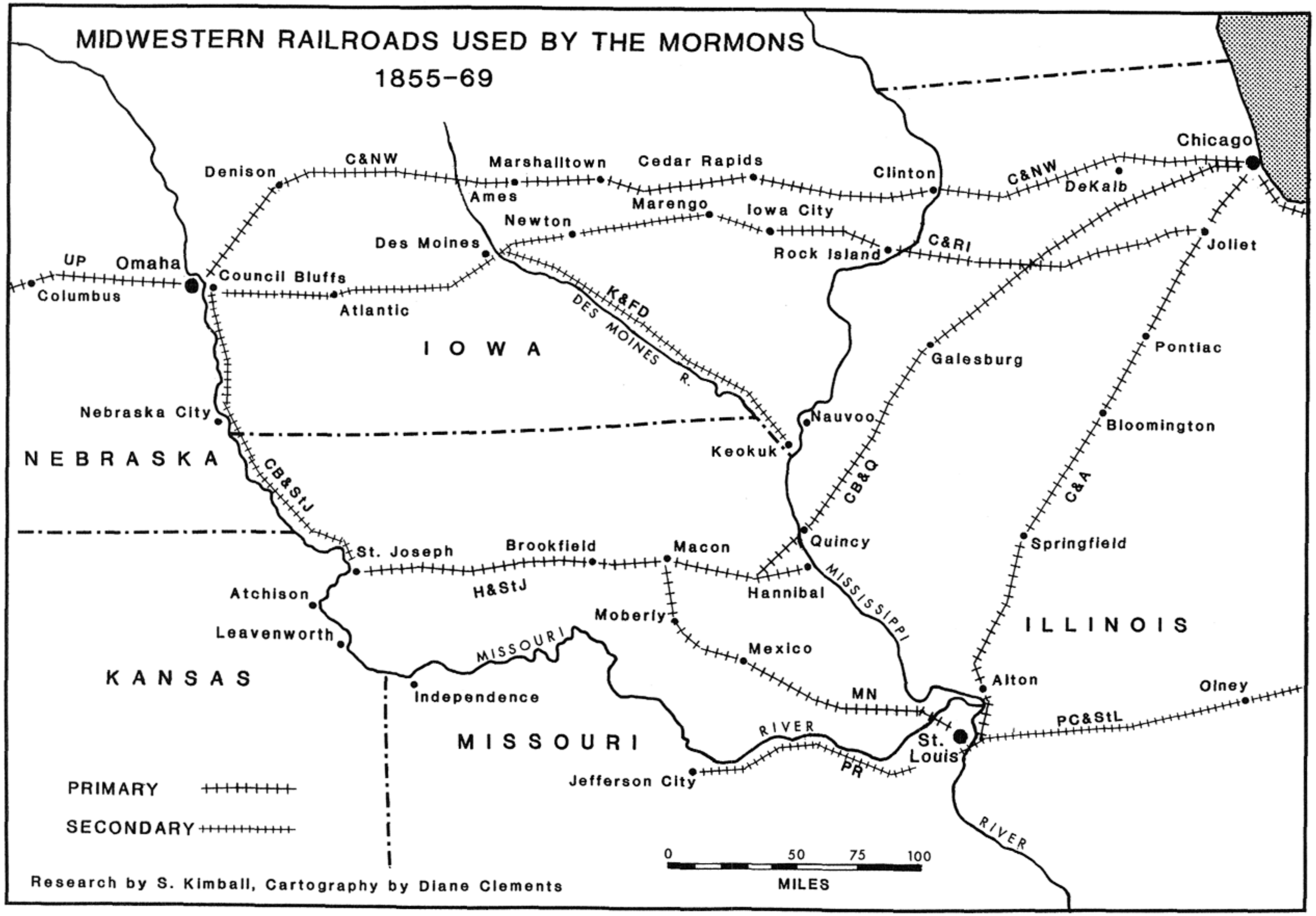
By 1860 the C&RI Railroad had pushed beyond Iowa City to Marengo, and a few Saints or small independent pioneer companies rode to that point and then took stagecoaches or wagons to Council Bluffs.[50] The C&RI Railroad did not reach Council Bluffs until 1869, two years after the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad.

The Chicago, Burlington and Quincy and the Hannibal and Saint Joseph Railroads: 1859–1866. An even more important development in the Mormon rail/trail experience came in 1859, when the Hannibal and Saint Joseph (H&StJ) Railroad reached the Missouri River at Saint Joseph, Missouri (the first railroad to do so). Consequently, the Mormons quickly changed from the C&RI to the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy (CB&Q) Railroad because at Quincy immigrants could take a riverboat some sixteen miles downstream to Hannibal and entrain for Saint Joseph on the H&StJ line. The 288-mile-long CB&Q Railroad, made up of several "short lines," had already reached Quincy in 1855. There was no reason, however, for the Mormons to use it until the completion of the H&StJ in 1859. Riding these two railroads in sequence made immigrating much easier and faster. Saint Joseph, then the westernmost point on the national railway system, was about 240 miles farther west than Iowa City.[51]



Mississippi River from the bluffs at Quincy, Illinois. Edward Everett's contemporaneous view shows the linkage of the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad with the Mississippi River. From here the Latter-day Saints traveled down the river to the Hannibal and Saint Joseph Railroad. Beginning in 1859, riding these two railroads in sequence made immigrating much easier and faster, since Saint Joseph, then the westernmost point on the national railway system, was about 240 miles farther west than Iowa City, the Latter-day Saint trail head then in use. Courtesy Historical Society of Quincy and Adam County.

MIDWESTERN RAILROADS USED BY THE MORMONS
1855–69



Research by S. Kimball, Cartography by Diane Clements

The best, but not very good or even typical, Mormon account of the fifteen-hour CB&Q train ride across Illinois is as follows: "Arrived at, Chicago a fine place, Left there about 12 [noon]. A fine view of the lake, a very many vessels in sight. . . . Illinois appears to be a flat fertile country. Hundreds of cattle grazing on the prairies. . . . Stopped at a village and cleaned them out of bread."[52]

The following non-Mormon account from 1862 is more descriptive:

> The jaunt across Illinois was attended with no particular circumstance worthy of note other than what ordinarily befalls railway travelers. The line of the road was through a beautiful prairie country, tho the sameness of it grew monotonous. The road bed was uniformly level and smooth, and riding not more than unusually [*sic*] tiresome. . . .
>
> The company was congenial and time passed easily and when one tired of looking out over the vast expanse of prairie, and admiring the fine farm houses and sleek cattle everywhere, one could read a book.[53]

In 1860 a spur from West Quincy, Missouri, intersected the H&StJ at Palmyra, Missouri, making it possible for the Saints to avoid steamers to Hannibal by taking a ferry to West Quincy. In 1865 one non-LDS traveler described his experience on this ferry; his experience was probably similar to what the Mormons knew:

> Our ferry-boat was but a placid-looking old scow, moored to posts on the beach, with a single deck, roofed to enclose a small, stuffy cabin, filled to its capacity with a rough-looking, rugged, scrawny crowd—apparently good-natured and quiet enough. . . . We stood so closely packed together that the captain elbowed his way through with difficulty to collect his "one dime" fare, which he did on the voyage over—a matter of twenty-minutes of yawing this way and that, broadside of a strong current.[54]

The 207-mile-long H&StJ railroad, built during the years 1856 to 1859, was the first railroad to cross Missouri and, more importantly, was also the first to reach the Missouri River.[55] The first Mormons to ride the H&StJ formed the eighth handcart company at Florence in 1859, the only one to cross the plains that year.[56] Unfortunately, I have found no good LDS account of traveling by rail across the state of Missouri.[57] However, in 1859 another traveler recorded the following, which may have been representative:

> Today . . . started for St. Joseph. Soil, all along first rate. Timber: oak, honeylocust, bass, cottonwood and buttonwood. Plums and

> crabapple bushes. Grape-vines climb to the tops of the highest trees. Vast prairies of good soil. But little wheat seems to be sown along this route . . . we only crept along; and such jolting . . . sometimes the locomotive seemed to wheeze as if a violent cold has seized it, then it would start ahead as if chased by the coyote wolves.[58]

Another disgruntled passenger dubbed it "The Horrible and Slow-Jogging Railroad."[59]

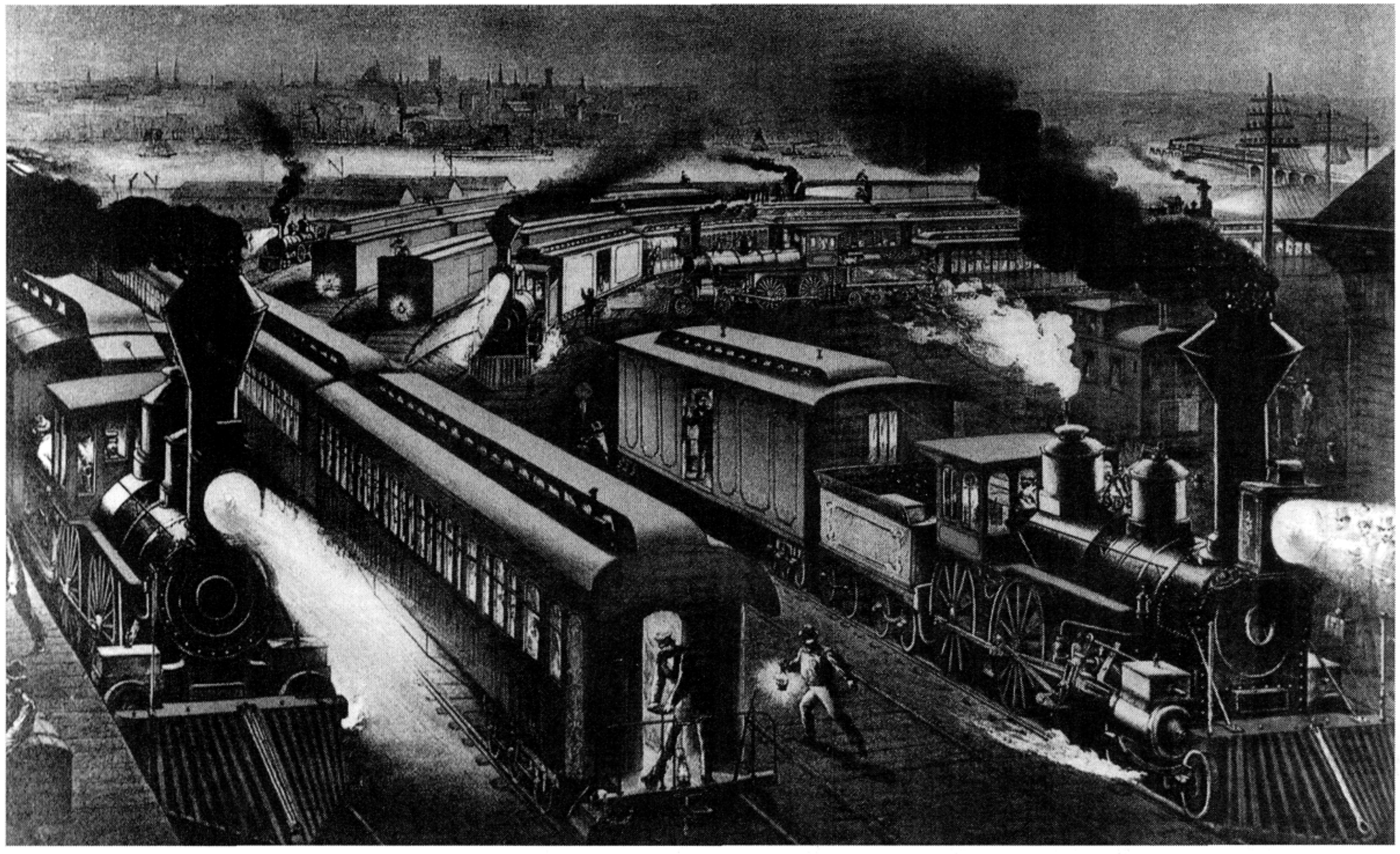
From Saint Joseph, immigrants took riverboats up the Missouri River some 160 miles to the area around Council Bluffs and Florence (North Omaha), where they joined wagon trains west.

In 1859 and beyond, some Saints found it cheaper and more convenient to reach Saint Joseph via Canada. This somewhat unusual routing was by boat up the Hudson River from New York City to Albany and by rail to Niagara, New York; Windsor, Canada, via the southern tip of Ontario; and Chicago via Detroit.[60]

From 1864 to 1866, the preferred jumping-off place for westering Mormons shifted from Florence to the small river community of Wyoming in Nebraska Territory (near Nebraska City) forty-five miles south of Winter Quarters. This shift spared Mormon immigrants the unpleasantries of meeting the apostates and "go-backs" who were then tending to congregate in Council Bluffs. It also shortened the upriver journey to Winter Quarters by forty-five miles and the overland trek by about one day.[61]

A variant on the CB&Q and H&StJ route commenced in 1859, when the Missouri Northern Railroad from Saint Louis connected with the H&StJ at Macon, Missouri. From then on, Latter-day Saint immigrants could pick up the H&StJ via Saint Louis.[62] LDS accounts of using this railroad are very scarce. The religious affiliation of one traveler, Joseph Tod Hunter, is unknown. However, he left behind a brief account of his trip going east from Saint Joseph to New York City in 1868 that seems typical of the experiences of many rail pioneers:

> From St. Joseph by rail we went through fine undulating country, apparently very fertile and most settled. We were delayed for two or three hours in consequence of a train being off the track, not an unusual thing in these parts. After a night in the cars, we stopped for breakfast at Montgomery. . . . After passing through a large tract of oak forest we again came on the Missouri at St. Charles, where the cars were run bodily on to a huge ferry and carried across to the line on the other side, and we soon steamed in to the great city of St. Louis.[63]



Passenger trains at an American railroad junction. This Currier and Ives lithograph shows a night scene sometime after 1867. The Chicago and Northwestern, the first railroad west of Chicago, reached the Mississippi River in 1855 and Council Bluffs on the Missouri in 1867, thus allowing the Saints to travel from the East Coast to their staging ground on the Missouri River. Courtesy New York Public Library.

The Chicago and Northwestern Railroad: 1867–1869. In 1867 another railroad west became available to the Saints. This was the Chicago and Northwestern, the first railroad west of Chicago, started in 1847, the year of the Saints' great trek. This line, five hundred miles long, consisted of several short lines and reached the Mississippi River in 1855 and Council Bluffs on the Missouri in 1867. It was the first railroad to do so. Some Mormons started using this route early in 1868. Thereafter, because it became the preferred carrier between Chicago and Council Bluffs or Omaha, it also became one of the most important rail lines in Mormon immigrant history.[64] It used the ferry to go from Council Bluffs to Omaha, where it linked up with the Union Pacific Railroad. Two years later, in 1869, immigrants could go by train from the Atlantic to Ogden, Utah.[65]

A short account by Zebulon Jacobs, a member of the first company of Mormons to ride the Chicago and Northwestern line to Council Bluffs, is interesting:

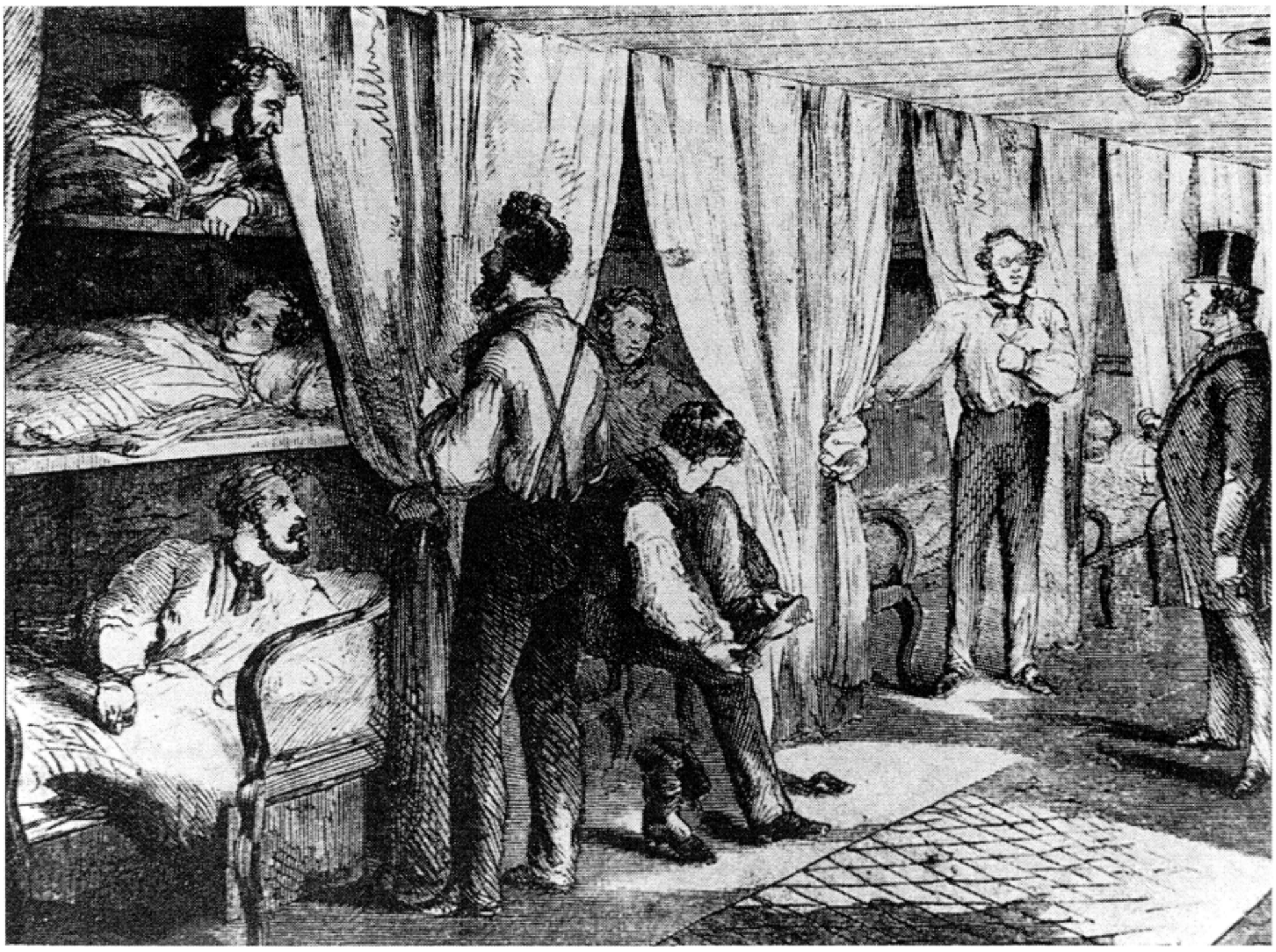
> We are passing through Illinois, the state where our beloved prophet was murdered. Our coming has been heralded in advance with considerable excitement in consequence as we passed through. We are the first company of Mormons ever passing through the country on cars [he means the first company of Mormons on the C&NW]. There is considerable anxiety to see some live Mormons; some were very rough and insulting, some were more civil. Some tried to force their way into the cars to insult us.[66]

The Keokuk and Fort Des Moines Railroad. For a variety of reasons including the Civil War, some Mormons utilized the Keokuk and Fort Des Moines Railroad, beginning in 1857, when the line was still under construction. That year Samuel W. Richards made the journey in reverse, following the Mormon Trail east to Florence and then traveling by wagon and stage to Iowa City, by river and rail to Keokuk, and then by riverboat to Saint Louis. In 1861, William Hart Miles took the CB&Q west to Quincy, traveled by boat down the Mississippi River to Keokuk, Iowa, from where he rode the Keokuk and Fort Des Moines Railroad as far as it went, and thence traveled by stagecoach to Council Bluffs to pick up the Mormon Trail.

A few Saints took other variants of the above-mentioned routes. By 1868 the Council Bluffs and Saint Joseph Railroad

enabled a few Mormons to avoid riverboats between Saint Joseph and the Omaha area.[67]

Experiences of Rail Pioneers. Mormons, because they almost always traveled in "emigrant cars"—that is, the cheap cars rather than the first-class and "palace" cars—experienced most of the discomforts typical of mid-nineteenth-century railroading. Among the standard problems were crowding (up to eighty-four in each car), uncomfortable cars, poor heating, bad ventilation, dim lighting, marginal sanitary facilities, few if any sleeping arrangements, inadequate eating conveniences, and a lack of drinking water; loud noise, strong smells, jolting, shaking, vibration and fatigue;[68] an abundance of dirt, lice, soot, sparks, smoke, and fire; gamblers, thieves, tramps, drunks, marauding soldiers, impolite



An early Pullman railroad car with three-tier bunks, about 1859. Latter-day Saints, because they almost always traveled in "emigrant cars"—that is, the cheap cars rather than the first-class and "palace" cars—experienced most of the discomforts typical of mid-nineteenth-century railroading. However, some immigrants were able to afford nicer accommodations like a "Pullman car." Courtesy Chicago Historical Society.

railroad personnel, and "mashers" who tried to "take advantage" of women; loss of luggage; plenty of snow and ice; and such other inconveniences as sickness, bad breaks, animals on the tracks, derailments, accidents, wrecks, delays, Civil War destruction, deaths, and births. Mormon immigrants understandably tended to highlight such trials and tribulations to accentuate their faithfulness and sacrifice for the gospel. Some specific instances follow.

In 1860 along the H&StJ, a "sister Keller gave birth to a child"; in 1862 on the CB&Q, a sister Spencer "was confined." Children died on the CB&Q and the H&StJ; in 1864 thirty-three immigrants died at the end of the track in Saint Joseph, Missouri, and Joseph W. Young had the sad duty of burying them in the Saint Joseph cemetery. B. H. Roberts tells of a deranged woman, who in 1866 "ran wild in the cattle cars, screaming and clapping her hands; [she] had to be forcibly subdued, tried several times to destroy herself by leaping out of the train."[69]

In 1864 the train in which Mary Ann Webb was riding jumped the track, but she was unhurt. Occasionally, sparks from the engines caused fires which sometimes destroyed baggage.[70] Some immigrants complained of a "bitter spirit in Chicago" and of "cross conductors"; in 1862 one "conductor" (engineer) even opened the throttle to sixty miles an hour and said he would drive the "Mormons to hell."[71]

Most immigrants sat up all night, since few could afford berths or even rented pillows; some, between connections, slept in barns and warehouses. Brigham Young Jr. was delayed by snow. Eating was catch-as-catch-can—grabbing anything handy at short meal stops and buying things from "butcher boys" (vendors on the trains) or from farmers and their wives at train stops.

While immigrant cars were primitive, they were much preferred to the lice-ridden cattle cars that some pioneers traveled in. However, not all of this travel was unpleasant. F. W. Blake wrote: "The conductors are very gentlemanly in their behavior. I have had conversations with several of them and answered their inquires and objections; . . . a spirit of friendship has been shown by all the people." William Yates noted that "railroad people were very kind to us in Toledo, asked many questions about the gospel." John W. Southwell noted that, when the trains slowed down, "young people

jumped off and stole fruit from orchards." In 1857, Jesse B. Martin, en route from Toledo to Chicago, "traveled safely all night in first class carriages which were very comfortable; we retired to our beds made in the seats of the cars."[72]

Whatever troubles immigrants had between 1855 and 1861 paled compared to the travel difficulties occasioned by the Civil War.[73] This was the first time railroads had been used on such a large scale for military purposes. In many instances, railroads provided the only practical means to move troops and supplies; consequently, the condition of civilian travel by rail declined as the war progressed. Increasingly, travel was unreliable, equipment and passenger cars very poor, and schedules erratic. Trains could be halted for hours; routes were interrupted and changed.

In 1863, Mary C. Soffe and her company, for example, had to make eleven changes between New York City and Saint Joseph. Some had to ride in dirty cattle cars. One company in 1862 was rerouted and changed a number of times and finally hustled on board a freight train. The cars had been loaded previously with hogs, and they had not been swept or cleaned out; thus "we were choked with the dust and we could taste it for days afterwards."[74]

Still another party traveled nine days and nights in cattle cars, with doors locked at night, sleeping on straw-covered floors serving as beds. In 1861 some "soldiers tried to force their way into the section where the women were. They used obscene language and the brethren had to keep guard."[75]

Mormon immigrants took real chances on Missouri railroads at this time. In fact, by far the worst immigrant train travel during the Civil War was in Missouri on the H&StJ line. Not only did Missouri fight on the Union side, but Missouri also engaged in its own private civil war and consequently suffered more war action than all other states save Virginia and Tennessee.[76] Because Missouri held a central position controlling much of the Mississippi River, her railroads were exceptionally important to the Union. Southern sympathizers in Missouri preferred to destroy their own railroads rather than let them fall to the Union, and it was at this time "that railroad destruction and restoration became a science."[77] Destruction started June 3, 1861, and rebels made many efforts to destroy Missouri's three main rail lines: the Missouri Pacific, the Hannibal

and Saint Joseph, and the Missouri Northern—all used by the Saints: "Bushwackers tore up the track, ditched trains, Unknown miscreants burned timbers sufficiently to weaken railroad bridges which gave way as soon as a train came upon them."[78] Immigrants also had to guard their baggage from theft by soldiers.

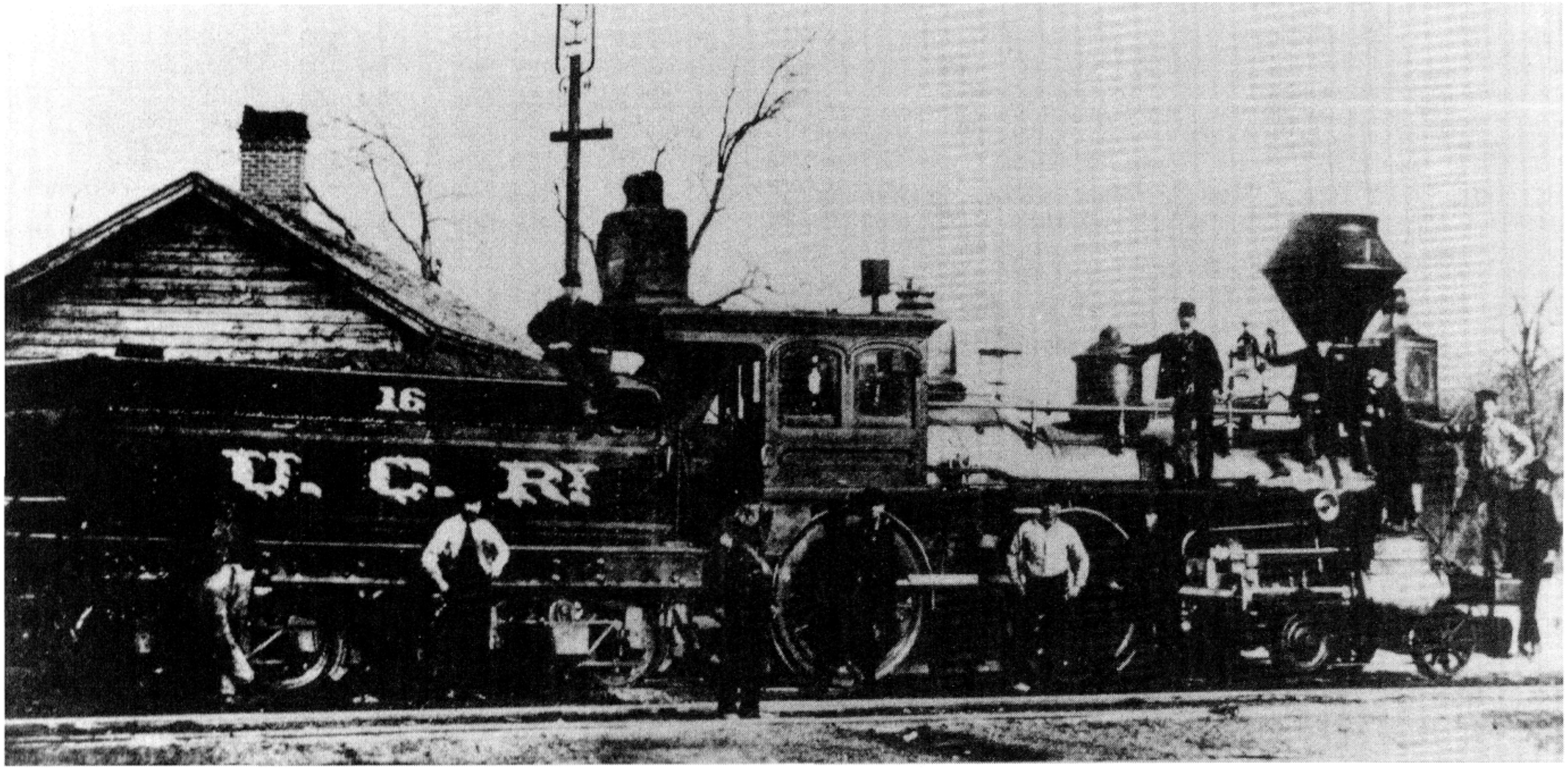
Along the railways, Mormons saw damage, troops on guard duty, towns laid waste by the terrible struggle, burned equipment, torn-up tracks, track relaid without ties, and "places where men had been hanged, tarred and feathered, and where trains had been robbed."[79] In 1864, Jesse N. Smith "commenced a weary journey to Saint Joseph by the wretched [H&StJ] railroad. The engine gave out several times. Saw Union solders at all the stations; heard that the country was full of Rebel guerillas."[80]

Some immigrant trains smashed through barricades on the tracks. Once at Breckenridge in 1861, F. W. Blake said, "We dashed on right over it and I presume it had got completely smashed." In 1863, Mary Soffe noted, "We ran into a place where logs had been placed to disrail the cars. I was standing up when the cars struck the logs and the jolt threw me head formost to the other side of the car among the women and children; everyone was crying and screaming. A few were hurt."[81] In 1864, according to Mary Ann Webb, "There were three sections to our train, one went over an embankment, one jumped the track, ours arrived safely in Saint Joseph."[82]

Sometimes male LDS immigrants were in danger of being impressed by the Confederates, since soldiers could get a one-dollar bounty for each male so compelled. In Saint Joseph, which contained many Confederate sympathizers, the preferred method was to pin a ribbon or a badge on some male "which counted that male as being drafted into the army."[83]

Mormon immigrants had to contend with trouble not only from soldiers and train crews, but also apparently from Missourians themselves. Elizabeth Staheli wrote,

> When we passed through Missouri the people were so bitter against the Mormons that we had to ride in freight cars so that the people would not know that there was anyone on the trains. One night the Missourians heard that the Saints were coming, so they burned a bridge and we had to stay in the cars until the bridge was repaired. We could hear the soldiers tramping along side the train."[84]



Utah Central Railway Company #16. These locomotives were photographed in Salt Lake City in 1870. Too often only those people who experienced the covered-wagon trek to Salt Lake City (pre-1869) are seen as "real pioneers." In reality, Latter-day Saints have a sail/rail/trail heritage, as most pioneers traveled in ways besides wagons and often many "Pullman Pioneers" hit the trail in Utah to begin a new life away from any railroad system in some distant Mormon settlement in Utah, Arizona, Mexico, or Canada. Courtesy Utah State Historical Library.

Conclusion

Mormons have a sail/rail/trail heritage that is important and interesting. It should be appreciated and studied more. All pioneers traveled in ways besides wagons. They used all available means of transportation, whether on water by ship, canalboat, or riverboat, or on land by stagecoach, horseback, railroad, or foot. Many Mormon travelers made great sacrifices and survived harrowing risks as they made their way across America to gather to Zion in the West. Their sail and rail experiences are significant but, unfortunately, often forgotten or discounted in the collective memory and surviving image of the Mormon pioneer.[85]

Stanley B. Kimball is Professor of Historical Studies at Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville. This article is based on two papers presented before the Mormon History Association in 1992 and 1993. The author wishes to thank Conway B. Sonne for critiquing an earlier version of portions of this paper. He expresses appreciation to Howard A. Christy and Steven C. Harper for their editorial assistance.

NOTES

[1]This estimate is based on an analysis of immigrant accounts and statistics—especially those of Andrew Jenson and those printed in the *1975 Deseret News Church Almanac.* Except where otherwise noted, all citations in this paper are to manuscripts in the Archives Division, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.

[2]The following statistics and conclusions are based on an analysis of Andrew Jenson's immigration figures in "Church Emigration Book," and a study of "Latter-day Saint Emigrants Sailing to America" in the *1976 Deseret News Church Almanac,* G2–G5.

[3]During 1840–41, a few other companies en route to Nauvoo, Illinois, entered the U.S. at New York City and Quebec.

[4]Stanley B. Kimball, "The Mormon Trail Network in Iowa, 1838–1863: A New Look," *BYU Studies* 21 (fall 1981): 417–30; and Stanley B. Kimball, "The Mormon Trail Network in Nebraska, 1846–1868: A New Look," *BYU Studies* 24 (summer 1984): 321–36. See also Leland H. Gentry, "The Mormon Way Stations: Garden Grove and Mt. Pisgah," *BYU Studies* 21 (fall 1981): 445–61; William G. Hartley, "The Great Florence Fitout of 1861," *BYU Studies* 24 (summer 1984): 341–71; and Larry C. Porter, review of *Historic Sites and Markers along the Mormon and Other Great Western Trails,* by Stanley B. Kimball, *BYU Studies* 29 (spring 1989): 114–17.

[5]While searching for Mormon rail immigrant accounts, I thought the pickings were slim. Card catalogs, computers, bibliographies, and directories were of little help. Most of my information came from thousands of notes taken while annotating more than 950 Mormon Trail reports—scant, incomplete, vague, and erroneous records mainly. Mormons, furthermore, almost never recorded the names of the railroads they used—one has to puzzle this out from their skimpy itineraries. There are also the complications occasioned by many name changes when rail lines were bought out or merged. The rail section of this paper is based largely on a study of 143 Mormon rail/trail travel accounts of the years 1855 through 1868 and, generally, for the area between Chicago and Omaha—that is, rail travel in Illinois, Missouri, and Iowa. I have only sketched in the Mormon use of railroads east of Chicago simply because there were too many railroads to consider—366 by 1855, according to the *American Railway Guide* (New York: Burroughs Printer, 1855). The Mormon use of the Union Pacific railroad after 1869 is another topic entirely.

Compared to Mormon canal, river, and lake accounts, however, references to rail narratives appeared plentiful. One of the few scholars to treat the Mormon use of water travel is Conway B. Sonne in his excellent and groundbreaking *Saints on the Seas* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983) and his sequel, *Ships, Saints, and Mariners* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987). Most of the sail section is based on notations from 189 immigrant accounts contained mainly in the archives of the LDS Church. I would like to thank Mel Bashore for sharing his notes on water travel with me.

[6]Mormons who debarked at Westport and Jefferson City initially picked up the Oregon Trail. From Fort Leavenworth and Atchison, Mormons at first tramped the Fort Leavenworth Military Road and the Oregon Trail.

[7]Lucy Mack Smith, *The History of Joseph Smith,* ed. Preston Nibley (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1957), ch. 38; see also Lucy Mack Smith, Autobiography, and the accounts of William Smith, Martin H. Harris, and Newell K. Knight.

[8]Smith, *History of Joseph Smith,* 204–5.

[9]This quarantine office was once located on the no-longer-existing Quarantine Island in the Mississippi River just south of Saint Louis. Many Mormon immigrants refer to it in their travel accounts. Here European immigrants were screened before being allowed to land at Saint Louis. Cases of cholera were especially feared.

[10]June Wood Danvers, "The History of the Descendants of Nicholas Wood," 1849, 5–6.

[11]See, for example, Jonathan Grimshaw, Journal; Thomas Evans Jeremy Sr., Diary; and Job Harker, Reminiscences.

[12]Andrew Jenson, "Church Emigration Book," 329.

[13]Lorenzo Hadley, Autobiography, 1863.

[14]Lars Oveson, Autobiography, 1863.

[15]*Times and Seasons* (January 1, 1842): 654. I thank Linda Haslam for drawing this to my attention.

[16]Jean Rio Griffiths Baker Pearce, Diary, 1851.

[17]See, for example, Job Smith, Diary, at Special Collections and Manuscripts, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, and Elizabeth Goddard, Autobiography.

[18]See Reminiscences and Diary of Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner, John Martin, Autobiography, and William Lindsay, Reminiscences.

[19]The 1852 *Saluda* disaster near Lexington, Missouri, in which from 100 to 250 people—most of them LDS immigrants—died, is an example.

[20]Frederick Weight, Autobiography, Utah State Historical Society, 1851, 7.

[21]Rasmus Nielsen, Diary, 1854, 8. Jonathan Grimshaw from England thought the slaves were treated like cattle. The price seems incorrect.

[22]James Henry Moyle, Autobiography, 1854, 10.

[23]Emma Higbee, Autobiography, 1854.

[24]Jean Rio Griffiths Baker Pearce, Diary, March 21, 1851, 7. At about the same time that this sister recorded her views of slavery, a brother from Scotland had a similar experience in Saint Louis:

> I witnessed the sale of Negro slaves at public auction in the slave market several times, and my sympathies went out to them in their forlorn and inhuman condition. Sometimes Husbands and Wives were separated, parents from their children brothers and sisters torn away from each other, sometimes pleading to be sold together to one person, but their remonstrances and wailings fell generally on the ears of hard hearted beings destitute of any kindly or humanly feelings. Sellers, buyers, spectators alike only scoffed and laughed at their entreaties. (Richard Bee, Autobiography, 1850)

The sources reveal a few other relatively unimportant comments about blacks of that time and place. I am pleased to report that only once did the epithet *nigger* surface: it was expectedly in an 1864 account by a native of Saint Louis, who was "waited on by niggers" (Moroni Dunford, Journal; apparently written by a Mormon). In 1867 one English convert used the much less pejorative term "darkies," as in "The crew was all darkies and not very sociable." Charles K. Hansen, Record Books. Thomas Fisher, who sailed from Liverpool in 1854, recorded:

> The passangers underwent medical inspection, the results terminating in the rejection of Sister Jane Hunter, from the London Conference, on the grounds of her being a coloured woman or [of] the Negro race. It appears that [in] New Orleans, the capital of the Slave State, Louisiana . . . colored persons emigrating there are liable of being kidnapped on the plea of being runaway slaves. (Thomas Fisher, Journal)

One might wonder how many "colored people" in Europe became Mormons and were not permitted to emigrate.

[25]See Gibson Condie, Journal, and Christian Munk, Journal. I am constantly amazed, given the difficult travel conditions of the Mormon immigrant period, how many women were either pregnant before they started west or became so en route. Obviously many husbands did not consider pregnancy of great concern.

[26]See William Adams, Journal, 1844. The *Maid of Iowa* regularly traveled the entire distance of the river from Nauvoo to New Orleans. Most other river craft operated only on the upper Mississippi or the lower Mississippi, that is, north or south of Saint Louis. Perhaps they resented competition from the *Maid of Iowa.* See Donald L. Enders, "The Steamboat *Maid of Iowa:* Mormon Mistress of the Mississippi," *BYU Studies* 19 (1979): 321–35.

[27]John E. Hill, Journal, and James L. Bunting, Diary.

[28]Martin Luther Ensign, Autobiography, 1857 (April).

[29]John O. Frekleton, Journal, 1862.

[30]Mary Lightner, Journal, 1863.

[31]Richard Rushton, Diary, 1842, 5.

[32]Surely Pearce meant something like *appealing, awesome, grandiose,* or *thrilling.* Jean Rio Griffiths Baker Pearce, Diary, 1851.

[33]Joseph Curtis, Reminiscences and Diary, 1854.

[34]Samuel Woolley, Autobiography, 1856.

[35]This childhood game/craft is still popular and is known today as "sewing cards."

[36]Elizabeth Goddard, Autobiography, 1851, 62.

[37]Joseph W. Young, Diaries, 1853.

[38]Samuel Amos Woolley, Diary, May 1856. Mormons, like many others of that time and period were amused, bemused, and even serious about the popular Viennese fad of phrenology, which claimed to analyze character by studying the shape and "bumps" of the skull. Heber C. Kimball, Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, Wilford Woodruff, and others all received readings.

[39]John Nielson, Reminiscences, 1866.

[40]See Joseph G. Hovey, Journal, 1837.

One year earlier, in 1836, the editor of the *Messenger and Advocate* traveled east from Kirtland to New York City. He sailed from Fairport, Ohio, to Buffalo, then took an Erie Canal line boat to Utica, New York, "just in time to take the rail road car for Schenectady: the first passengers' car on the new road," and thence to Albany by rail and down the Hudson River by boat to New York City. Oliver Cowdery to His Brother, August 3, 1836, on Board the Steamer Boston, Long Island Sound, *Messenger and Advocate* 2 (September 1836): 372–75.

In 1841, Mary Maughan traveled to Nauvoo from Quebec/Montreal by rail to White Hall, New York; by canalboat to Buffalo, New York; by Lake Erie steamer to Fairport; and by wagon to Kirtland and Nauvoo. That same year, William Appleby took rail and canalboats to Nauvoo. And in 1845, S. J. Raymond traveled from Long Island, New York, to Nauvoo by train, canalboat, and riverboat via Albany, Buffalo, Cleveland, Cincinnati, and Saint Louis.

[41]*Millennial Star* 29 (January 19, 1867): 43.

[42]Furthermore, by 1857 it was possible to reach Saint Louis by train on the Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Saint Louis lines.

[43]See the *Contributor* and the accounts of Matthew Rowan in 1855 and Thomas Evans Jeremy in 1855. Charles Shelton from Canada came this way and "jumped off" from Fort Leavenworth, Kansas Territory; William Empey in 1854 returned home this way from his mission to England.

[44]This was part of the Union Pacific system in 1994. See, for example, Samuel W. Richards, 1854. Beginning in 1859, some Saints also took the Missouri Northern Railroad from Saint Louis to an intersect with the H&StJ Railroad.

[45]By 1854 the C&RI had reached the Mississippi at Rock Island, Illinois, a distance of 181 miles via Joliet and La Salle; and two years later, on April 21, 1856, it crossed the river to Iowa City.

[46]James G. Willie Company, Journal, 1856; compare William Woodward, Journal. Samuel Openshaw took rail from Boston to Greenbush, New York; sailed

the Hudson River to Albany; and took rail to Rochester and Buffalo, changing trains for Cleveland, then Toledo, then Chicago, then Iowa City.

[47]LeRoy R. and Ann W. Hafen, *Handcarts to Zion* (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark, 1960), 30. See also the "Thirteenth General Epistle of the First Presidency," October 29, 1855.

[48]During 1856–58, thirty-six hundred Saints, including the first seven handcart companies, took the C&RI railroad to Iowa City. See "Pioneer Companies Which Crossed the Plains, 1847–68," *1976 Deseret News Church Almanac* (Salt Lake City, 1976), G8–G22.

[49]See, for example, the accounts of Mary Normington, Barbara White, Patience Rosa Archer, Thomas Durham, Peter Madsen, and William Woodward.

[50]See accounts of Lucy Marie Canfield (1862) and George Cunningham (1861).

[51]I have located sixty-three brief LDS accounts of this route. The CB&Q proceeded west via Princeton, Galesburgh, and Macomb, Illinois.

[52]Thomas Memmott, Journal (July 1, 1862).

[53]Randall H. Hewitt, *Across the Plains . . . in 1862* (New York City: Broadway Publishing, 1906), 16–17.

[54]*Across the Plains in '65* (Denver: Privately printed, 1905), 15.

[55]Should anyone wish to follow this route today, there were twenty-nine stations along the line as follows: Hannibal, Barkley, Palmyra, Ely, Monroe, Hunnewell, Lakenan, Shelbina, Clarence, Carbon, Hudson, Bevier, Callao, New Cambria, Bucklin, Saint Catherine, Brookfield, Laclede, Meadville, Chillicothe, Utica, Breckinridge, Hamilton, Cameron, Osborn, Stewartsville, Easton, Saxton, Saint Joseph. *Hannibal City Directory* (n.d.), 176.

[56]See accounts of Carl J. Fjeld, Henry Reiser, William Budge, Thomas C. Griggs, and William Yates.

[57]Under normal conditions, which seldom pertained, the trip took eleven hours, including a thirty-minute lunch stop at Brookfield.

[58]Hozial H. Baker, *Overland Journey to Carson Valley and California* (San Francisco: Book Club of California, 1973), 8.

[59]*Across the Plains in '65,* 16.

[60]See, for example, Andrew Fjeld, *A Brief History of the Fjeld-Fields Family* (Springville, Utah: Art City, 1946) and, especially, an 1868 account by Joseph Tod Hunter, Utah State Historical Society.

[61]At least 6,328 Saints went this way. See *1976 Deseret News Church Almanac.* Among them were, in 1865, Joseph W. Young, Jesse Smith, Per O. Holmgren, and T. C. Grundwig (whose wife was later kidnapped by Indians); compare Kimball (see n. 4); Christian Hansen (1866); William E. Gooch; William Grant (1866); and William Mulder, *Homeward to Zion: The Mormon Migration from Scandinavia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957).

[62]Among those who took this roundabout route were William Wood Sr. in 1862 and John Brown in 1868. The line later became the Wabash, then Saint Louis and Pacific, Norfolk and Western, and, currently, the Norfolk Southern. There were thirty-one stations along the 168 miles between Saint Louis and Macon: Saint Louis, Bellefontaine, Jennings, Woodstock, Ferguson, Grahams, Bridgeton, Section 16, Ferry Landing, Saint Charles, Dardeene, O'Fallon, Perseque, Wentzville, Millville, Wrights, Warrenton, Jonesborough, High Hill, Florence, Montgomery, Wellsburg, Martinsburg, Jeffstown, Mexico, Centralia, Sturgeon, Renick, Allen, Jacksonville, Macon. *Hannibal City Directory,* 176.

[63]Joseph Tod Hunter, 1868.

[64]See Zebulon Jacobs, Journal, 1868. Compare accounts by Brigham Young Jr., and Joseph S. Horn. Its route was via De Kalb and Dixon to Fulton, Illinois (just opposite Clinton, Iowa, on the Mississippi River), and thence via Cedar Rapids, Marshaltown, Ames, Carroll, and Denison to Council Bluffs.

[65]The Union Pacific Railroad started west from Omaha in 1865, but the Mormons generally did not use this railroad until 1867 when the tracks reached as far west as North Platte, Nebraska. In 1868, Mormons took the Union Pacific to Cheyenne, Laramie, and Benton, Wyoming; thereafter, they took it all the way to Ogden.

[66]Zebulon Jacobs, 1868 (July).

[67]John Brown, for example, went this way in 1868 while traveling to Saint Louis to become the emigration agent there. As did William Hart Miles, Mormons, generally missionaries, also went east by railroad. Most of the time they followed the routes we have just noted, but occasionally they used some alternates. In 1856, Joseph Heywood traveled on the Oregon Trail to Atchison, Kansas Territory; took a riverboat to Saint Louis; then boarded the Chicago and Alton Railroad. In 1857, George Q. Cannon crossed Iowa by stagecoach to Burlington, where he picked up that branch of the CB&Q. Martin Luther Ensign followed the Mormon Trail in 1857 to Florence, took the steamboat to Saint Louis, and went by rail to New York City via Cincinnati and Philadelphia. In 1863, George M. Brown followed the Mormon Trail to Florence and took a stage to Des Moines, Iowa, where he caught the C&RI. Brigham Young Jr., going east in 1867, took the Union Pacific to Omaha, then rode the C&NW. Other typical accounts of going east by railroad are those of Samuel W. Richards, Jesse N. Smith, Hiram Spencer, Zebulon Jacobs, and John Brown.

[68]The expressions of the day were "railway fatigue" and "railway spine." See "The Pathology of a Railroad Journey," in Wolfgang Schievelbusch, *The Railway Journey* (Berkeley: University of California, 1986), 113–23—an important, but rather quirky, book.

[69]See accounts of B. H. Roberts, 1866; Henry Reisler; Thomas Memmott; and Joseph W. Young. Elijah Larkin tells of a child dying near Albany.

[70]See Henry Stokes, 1864.

[71]George Isom, 1862. See also William Yeates and Zebulon Jacobs.

[72]F. W. Blake, 1861; William Yeates, 1861; John W. Southwell; and Jessie B. Martin, 1857.

[73]Generally speaking, Mormons were little affected by the Civil War. In 1862, Fort Douglas was established in Salt Lake City to discourage the Mormons from possible rebellion against the Union and to protect the vital overland mail and telegraph systems linking the east and west coasts. Also in 1862, a 120-man LDS detachment guarded the mail route in central Wyoming for ninety days. The best account of Mormons and the Civil War is E. B. Long, *The Saints and the Union: Utah Territory during the Civil War* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1981).

On the wagon trails, immigration companies were seldom bothered by the war. There are occasional references in the sources to Mormons seeing troops guarding these vital lines of communication. Some claimed that the troops "stole cattle, swore, cursed and tried to get the young ladies." See Miles P. Romney, Journal History, August 11, 1865. Some companies were searched for deserters

and draft dodgers, and sometimes at Fort Bridger native-born males had to take an oath of allegiance to the Union, and all foreign male adults were required to swear strict neutrality. Most wagon immigrants, however, were generally little touched by the war. This was not so with the rail/trail immigrants. Their story and Civil War difficulties are a little-known chapter in Mormon history.

[74]William Wood, June 1862.

[75]Thomas C. Griggs, June 1861.

[76]The number of Missouri engagements indicated on official records is 1,162. J. H. and Roberta Haywood, *The Story of Hannibal* (Hannibal, Mo.: Haywood and Haywood, 1970), 55. An excellent account of Missouri during the Civil War is Richard S. Brownlee, *Gray Ghosts of the Confederacy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1958).

[77]Margaret Louis Fitzsimmons, "Missouri Railroads during the Civil War and Reconstruction," *Missouri Historical Review* 35 (October 1940): 190.

[78]Fitzsimmons, "Missouri Railroads," 193. It became a principal objective of the Union to protect the H&StJ railroad, and to this end it deployed ten thousand troops. "On every train at the major bridges, trestles and railroad facilities, soldiers were stationed. The confederates tried to destroy bridges, but were unsuccessful in other than temporary harassment of the line. The trains were frequently shot at by bushwackers, but little damage was done." Haywood, *The Story of Hannibal,* 55.

[79]See Andrew C. Nielson, 1864, and Emma Hill, *A Dangerous Crossing* [Denver, 1924], 3–48; located in the Western Collection of the Denver Public Library.

[80]Oliver R. Smith, *The Journal of Jesse Nathaniel Smith* (Provo, Utah: Jesse Smith Family Assn., 1970), 169.

[81]See F. W. Blake, 1861, and Mary C. J. Soffe, 1863.

[82]Mary Ann Webb, Autobiography.

[83]See Thomas White, July 1863. I know of no Latter-day Saints who were actually so drafted.

[84]Elizabeth Staheli Walker, Utah State Historical Society, 1861, 2. It is quite possible that Walker was mistaken in attributing their troubles to "anti-Mormons." Many immigrants had to ride in non-passenger cars during the Civil War, and the bridge was undoubtedly burned for military reasons.

[85]For those who might wish to follow some of the old rail routes west, their modern names are as follows:

The Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad (CB&Q) is the Burlington Northern.
The Chicago and Rock Island Railroad (C&RI) is several railroads, especially the Iowa Interstate.
The Chicago and Northwestern Railroad (C&NW) is still the Chicago and Northwestern.
The Chicago and Alton Railroad (C&A) is Illinois Central and Gulf.
The Hannibal and Saint Joseph Railroad (H&StJ) is mainly part of the Burlington Northern.
The Northern Missouri (NM) is now part of Norfolk Southern.
The Pacific Railroad (PR) is now the Union Pacific.

Several of these railroads are now part of the Amtrak system and offer passenger service. It is possible today to ride the old Chicago, Burlington, and

Quincy from Chicago to Quincy, Illinois; the old Chicago and Alton from Chicago to Saint Louis; and the old Pacific Railroad from Saint Louis to Jefferson City. A number of books and articles are available to inform the travel-minded amateur or professional about this interesting phase of travel history in western America and of the pioneer Saints.

For further information readers may wish to refer to Richard S. Jensen, "Steaming Through: Arrangements for Mormon Emigration from Europe, 1869–1887," *Journal of Mormon History* 9 (1982): 3–23; Kate Carter, "People Who Came on the First Trains," *Our Pioneer Heritage* (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1965); Dwight L. Agnew, "Iowa's First Railroad," *Iowa Journal of History* 48 (January 1950): 1–16; Dwight L. Agnew, "The Rock Island Railroad in Iowa," *Iowa Journal of History* 52 (1954): 203–22; Homer Clevenger, "The Building of the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroads," *Missouri Historical Review* 36 (1941): 32–47; Fitzsimmons, "Missouri Railroads," 188–206; John F. Stover, *Iron Road to the West: American Railroads in the 1850s* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978); Richard C. Overton, *Burlington Route* (New York: Knopf, 1965): Richard C. Overton, *Burlington West* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941); Robert J. Casey, *Pioneer Railroad: The Story of the Chicago and Northwestern System* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1948); and Andrew M. Modelski, *Railroad Maps of North America* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1987). Especially helpful is a series of articles printed in 1891 in *The Contributor,* a Mormon monthly published in Salt Lake City.

Secular Learning in a Spiritual Environment

Diligence and obedience allow the spirit and the mind to work together to discover, understand, and integrate truth in its various spheres.

Merrill J. Bateman

Twenty-five years ago, I arrived on the campus of Brigham Young University as a newly recruited economics professor. I had received a Ph.D. from one of the more respected graduate programs in the country, completed my military obligation, and was now embarking on an academic career. A few months later, I received a telephone call from a faculty member in another department. The person introduced himself, welcomed me to campus, and then asked if I would answer some questions from a survey he was taking. Although I was somewhat surprised by the call, I agreed. He then asked, "What brand of economics do you teach? Do you subscribe to increased governmental controls for the United States economy? Do sacred truths have any relevance in economic modeling, and do they influence your teaching in the classroom?"

My graduate training helped me answer the first two questions, but I confess that I had trouble with the third. My graduate training had emphasized that the well-being of a nation depends on freedom to trade, freedom to choose, information flows, the development of technology, and the specialization of the factors of production. I also knew that the most efficient combinations of the above require free markets. When government controls are imposed, market signals are disturbed, and efficiency is reduced, causing a reduction of goods and services. Consequently, I understood that capitalism was a much more productive system than socialism or communism.

On the other hand, I understood some economists' concerns regarding capitalism. Some economists believe that capitalism leads to a severely skewed distribution of income. Some members in a free market society may be wealthy while others starve. Advocates of socialism and other forms of market control defend governmental interference on the grounds that income will be more equitable. They argue that inequality is too high a price to pay for an efficient system. Many economists consider efficiency and equity to be mutually exclusive goals.

At that time, such equity arguments concerned me, but I felt strongly that the costs of a socialistic system were too high. Evidence is even clearer today that the loss of economic freedom also brings the loss of political and religious freedoms. In such an economic system, skewed incomes continue, only at a much lower level. But the idea that a sacred truth or principle might resolve the conflict between efficiency and equity had never entered my classroom presentations.

Although the caller's questions might have been asked in a friendlier atmosphere, I have been grateful these many years that the questions were asked and that the last one was disconcerting to me. It forced me to think about the relationship between secular and sacred truths. I noticed that I had compartmentalized my search for secular truth apart from my search for spiritual understanding. Until then, the processes seemed separate and distinct. I had asked the Lord to help me master secular material as I approached examinations as a student and as I entered the classroom as a teacher. But I had never thought about receiving new economic insights as a result of combining scientific and spiritual methods of searching. Did the Lord's instructions to Oliver Cowdery to "study it out in your mind, then . . . ask me if it be right" (D&C 9:8) apply to secular as well as spiritual truth? Was it possible to extend Alma's injunction to "cry . . . in your fields, yea, over all your flocks" (Alma 34:20) to include economic knowledge? After all, economics was my field. Could a spiritual environment increase the rate of learning and the probability of discovering new secular truths? Are secular truths related to spiritual truths? What are the laws governing the acquisition of knowledge and intelligence? What constitutes a spiritual environment? Is it within each person? In one's search for secular truth, what happens if one

abides the conditions that enhance the search for sacred truths? Could spiritual truth resolve secular paradoxes? These and other questions flooded my mind over the years and provide the basis for my presentation.

What Is Truth—Absolute or Relative?

The Lord told Joseph Smith that "truth is knowledge of things as they are, and as they were, and as they are to come" (D&C 93:24). The Lord further states that "truth abideth and hath no end" (D&C 88:66) and "intelligence, or the light of truth, was not created or made, neither indeed can be" (D&C 93:29). If truth is a statement of reality, if truth abides and has no end, and if the manifestation of truth (intelligence) was not created or made, then truth is eternal. There are absolute truths!

As President Spencer W. Kimball stated in a 1977 Brigham Young University devotional:

> There are . . . absolute truths which are the same yesterday, today, and forever—never changing. These absolute truths are not altered by the opinions of men. . . . We learn about these absolute truths by being taught by the Spirit. These truths are "independent" in their spiritual sphere and are to be discovered spiritually, though they may be confirmed by experience and intellect (see D&C 93:30). . . . God our Heavenly Father—Elohim—lives. That is an absolute truth. All . . . of the children of men on the earth might be ignorant of him and his attributes and his powers, but he still lives. All the people on the earth might deny him and disbelieve, but he lives in spite of them. . . . And Jesus Christ is the Son of God, the Almighty, the Creator, the Master of the only true way of life—the gospel of Jesus Christ. . . . That is an absolute truth; there is no gainsaying.[1]

God placed truths in different spheres as the scriptures indicate. As a consequence, there are the sacred truths of the gospel, but also there are truths of mathematics, physics, chemistry, the social sciences, and so on. These secular laws or principles describe the workings of this world. In the search for absolute truth, science often is not able to observe all data or appreciate all the relationships involved. Consequently, scientific discoveries may approach the threshold of truth but not lay claim on the whole truth. Therefore, discovered "truths" are subject to change. This is relative knowledge. Relative knowledge is an approximation of reality or statements based on incomplete information. When scientists attempt to

discover truth in the secular realm, they formulate a hypothesis that relates causes and effects, gather data, and then test the hypothesis. In experiments conducted to determine the accuracy of the hypothesis, scientists invariably add an error term to their models to represent the unknown factors or influences that may have been omitted from the hypothesis. If the test reveals a small error term, scientists will have more confidence in the "truth" they are trying to establish. However, the error term rarely equals zero, which would imply the discovery of an absolute truth. If the error term is large, the hypothesis is normally rejected, and scientists reformulate the hypothesis and begin the testing procedure again.

All absolute truth is consistent. In the Lord's words, "truth embraceth truth" and "light cleaveth unto light" (D&C 88:40). When a scientist uses secular methods to discover law that appears to be inconsistent with gospel truths, I suggest that not all truth about the earthly law is known. What appears to be inconsistent in two or three dimensions as discovered by the scientist will be harmonized eventually by additional knowledge in "n" dimensions. Spiritual truth forms a continuum with gospel truths at the higher end of the scale. Knowledge of and obedience to gospel truths are critical for salvation, but all truth is useful and important for mankind. The application of secular truth produces the benefits of faster transportation, more efficient communication methods, time-saving devices, etc. If wisely used, scientific truth will improve humans' health and well-being and will aid the Lord's servants in spreading the gospel.

But all truth, both relative and absolute, is spiritual. As the Lord says, "All things unto me are spiritual, and not at any time have I given unto you a law [truth] which was temporal" (D&C 29:34). Since all truth is spiritual, the conditions and process for discovering "secular" truth must be similar to the requirements established by the Lord for understanding revealed truth. What are the Lord's conditions for obtaining knowledge and intelligence, and do they apply to secular learning?

The Lord's Requirements for Discovering Gospel Truths

Two principles govern the acquisition of truth and intelligence. They are *diligence* and *obedience* (compare Alma 12:9).

Diligence may be defined as energetic application or mental exertion. The scriptures state:

> Whatever principle of intelligence we attain unto in this life, it will rise with us in the resurrection. And if a person gains more knowledge and intelligence in this life through his diligence and obedience than another, he will have so much the advantage in the world to come. (D&C 130:18–19)

In the gospel context, faith requires diligence. Joseph Smith stated: "When a man works by faith he works by mental exertion instead of physical force."[2] Diligence is one of the laws of heaven that determines the knowledge and intelligence that may be acquired by the earnest truth seeker. Will God bless people disproportionately to their mental effort or faith? No! That would violate an eternal principle. Learning by faith is not an easy road or a lazy means to gaining understanding.

Obedience is the second requirement for finding truth. In a gospel context, obedience brings faith. A new investigator of the gospel must act on the desire to believe by planting the seed, repenting, studying, and seeking the Lord in prayer. Because gospel truths are of a high spiritual order, they are confirmed through the Holy Spirit. In order to receive a witness from the Holy Ghost regarding the truthfulness of gospel principles, one must be striving to live in accordance with gospel truths. One must be living up to the light that is within oneself. This is consistent with Paul's teaching:

> Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him. But God hath revealed them unto us by his Spirit: for the Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God. For what man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of man which is in him? even so the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God. (1 Cor. 2:9–11)

The Principles of Diligence and Obedience Apply to the Discovery of Secular Truth

Again, all truth is spiritual in nature, revealed through the light of Christ. This is the light that "lighteth every man that cometh into the world" (John 1:9) and is

> the same light that quickeneth your understandings; Which light proceedeth forth from the presence of God to fill the immensity of

> space—The light which is in all things, which giveth life to all things, which is the law by which all things are governed. (D&C 88:11–13)

As President N. Eldon Tanner stated in general conference, "We learn from the scriptures that all truth is revealed through the light of Christ. . . . Thus, the *truths* discovered by such men as Sir Isaac Newton, Thomas Edison, and Albert Einstein were actually revealed to them through the light of Christ."[3]

Because all truth comes through the light of Christ, seekers of secular truth must follow the Lord's requirements for discovering gospel truths. Diligence or mental exertion is one of the requirements that must be followed by seekers of secular truth. Scientists study the problem, saturate their minds with it, puzzle over it, and dream about it. Albert Sabin and Jonas Salk spent years searching for a vaccine to immunize people from contracting poliomyelitis. A reporter wrote that once Sabin focused on a problem, he was tenacious and would not let go. He had a voracious appetite for work—for mental exertion.[4]

What about obedience? What is the level of obedience required for the discovery of secular truth? Again, the answer is that everyone must live according to the light they have. When one is seeking a witness of gospel truth and is being taught those truths, one must plant the seed of faith and live according to the higher truths. When one is seeking secular truth, the revealer is the light of the "spirit of man" (1 Cor. 2:11). Thus the scientist must be striving to live according to the light within him so that new light will cleave to the old. Generally the obedience required in receiving secular truth is of a terrestrial order.

To illustrate the role of the light of Christ, consider the common description of many secular discoveries. After studying, puzzling, and dreaming about the problem, the scientist often finds progress stopped, blocked by a seemingly impenetrable wall. Then at last and suddenly, as if out of nowhere, comes a flash of light, the answer to his quest. Recall James W. Cannon's explanation regarding his discovery of how to unknot an infinitely knotted object in high dimensional space—a topology problem in mathematics. After pushing the problem around for many difficult weeks, the solution came:

> One night at 2:00 A.M., my eyes suddenly popped open. I sat up in bed. . . . I knew how to extend Štan'ko's techniques [a solution to

> the infinitely knotted object]. I do not know how the answer came to me. I couldn't sleep. I dressed quietly and went walking on the dark streets of Madison. . . . I checked the ideas for all of their consequences. I checked for absurdities. I couldn't find any. The picture was wonderful.[5]

Parley P. Pratt, one of the original twelve Apostles in this dispensation, explained the spiritual reasons for such inspiration. He wrote:

> When the outward organs of thought and perception are released from their activity, the nerves unstrung, and the whole of mortal humanity lies hushed in quiet slumbers, in order to renew its strength and vigor, it is then that the spiritual organs are at liberty, in a certain degree, to assume their wonted functions, to recall some faint outlines, some confused and half-defined recollections, of that heavenly world, and those endearing scenes of their former estate, from which they have descended in order to obtain and mature a tabernacle of flesh. . . . Spirit communes with spirit, thought meets thought, soul blends with soul, in all the raptures of mutual, pure, and eternal love.[6]

In addition to flashes of insight and the usual procedures of study, observation, and experimentation, truth even comes by accident. Aspartame, the nonnutritive sweetener known as Nutrasweet, was discovered by a chemist in a lab when he accidentally allowed a kettle of amino acids mixed with an enzyme to boil over. In cleaning up the mess, the solution got on his hands and fingers. A short time later, he rubbed his lips with his fingers and noticed a sweet taste.[7] Today, Nutrasweet is a multibillion dollar product.

Given that learning can take place both through study and faith, is Brigham Young University destined to be a leader among the world's institutions of higher learning in discovering secular truth as well as disseminating sacred truth? To the extent that this institution lives up to its mandate of providing a spiritual environment in which learning can take place, the answer is yes.

Spiritual Environment and Secular Learning

I define a spiritual environment as a place inhabited by people committed to living gospel truths. The community members are peculiar in that they are sensitive to spiritual things. They have access to the Holy Spirit because of their faith and works. Their

faith is based on a spiritual witness that Jesus Christ is the Savior of the world and that he restored the Father's plan of salvation through the prophet Joseph Smith. Their faith is more than a testimony of belief; it is a force that propels them to action and provides them with power.

The members of this community are a consecrated people in that they bend their will to that of the Father's. Little disputation exists among them, and unity abounds. They understand that contention is not of Christ, but of Satan, who uses it to stir people to anger one with another. A spiritual environment is a place where respect for others is dominant, where people are honest, supportive, and slow to criticize and where scholars need not fear the motives of their colleagues. Because of faith, scholars do not fear the world. They want to learn from others—both inside and outside of their institution. However, their faith and knowledge of higher truths allow them to sift through secular ideas searching for consistency—for truth which embraces truth. Their faith also provides them with the patience to wait for additional knowledge when secular truth conflicts with eternal truth. The atmosphere which pervades the campus originates within each person. It reflects the quality of life lived by each inhabitant.

In this environment, the words of President Marion G. Romney will be proven:

> I believe in study. I believe that men learn much through study. As a matter of fact, it has been my observation that they learn little concerning things as they are, as they were, or as they are to come without study. I also believe, however, and know, that learning by study is greatly accelerated by faith.[8]

If faith dominates the environment of this university, then secular learning will be enhanced. One should remember, however, that learning by faith depends on the principles of diligence and obedience. These principles are especially important in a spiritual environment because of the higher knowledge given. But when the principles are applied, scholars will link their mental searching with faith and discoveries will increase in frequency. I believe this process is well underway at Brigham Young University and will grow at a geometric rate. Both faculty and students are participating in this process as reflected in the major innovations

and knowledge that have come from the University in the last two decades. Surely, Brigham Young University will be one of the means by which the Lord uses Abraham's seed to bless the nations of the earth.

Integration of Truth

Let me provide two examples of how the Lord's principles for gaining spiritual truth can enhance the search for secular truth. The first is an example of a spiritual truth which solves the economic paradox of efficiency and equity. The second is an insight I received a few weeks ago that integrated one spiritual truth with another and allows me to bear witness of him whom we all serve.

For the first insight, I am indebted to Lindon J. Robison, who has published an article entitled "Economic Insights from the Book of Mormon."[9] Robison points out that righteousness, including caring for others, is the solution to the conflict between economic equity and efficiency. He draws on the lessons taught in the Book of Mormon to illustrate that economic development occurs in a society when people are righteous and care about each other. Economic decline occurs when a nation falls into iniquity and the people become hardhearted and full of pride. When there is righteousness and caring, there is also unity and cooperation. Good feelings among people and nations allow for and increase trading activities. Trading allows workers to specialize and to share new technology.[10] Moreover, when righteous people control the government (for example, King Benjamin and his son Mosiah), there is more freedom of choice and taxes are less burdensome. When the less caring take control (like King Noah), the tax burden increases.[11]

Contrast the trading and specialization that occurred among the righteous people of Lib with the lifestyle of the wicked Jaredites. First, the story of Lib's people:

> And they were exceedingly industrious, and *they did buy and sell and traffic one with another, that they might get gain.* And they did work in all manner of ore, and they did make gold and silver, and iron, and brass, and all manner of metals; . . . and they did have silks, and fine-twined linen; and they did work all manner of cloth. (Ether 10:22–24; italics added)

Now compare Lib's people with the Jaredites, whose wickedness caused their society to disintegrate:

> Wherefore every man did cleave unto that which was his own, with his hands, and *would not borrow neither would he lend;* and every man kept the hilt of his sword in his right hand, in the defense of his property and his own life and of his wives and children. (Ether 14:2; italics added)

Professor Robison concludes that the supposed equity and efficiency paradox of modern economic theory is not supported. In fact, economic prosperity appears to be a companion of equity. He states:

> The Book of Mormon message is that the distribution of income is based on the level of caring and unity among the people. Among the righteous, income is evenly distributed as are opportunities to progress. The distribution of income is simply a reflection of their unity. . . . By voluntarily redistributing their income to the poor, they were able to maintain an economic system that included incentives to work hard because of individual responsibility and rewards for efforts. Moreover, one of the reasons the caring work hard is that they desire to use the product of their work to bless the lives of others.[12]

By applying diligence and obedience to a sacred text revealed by the Lord, Professor Robison has gained truth that solves an important secular problem.

Finally, may I share an experience that occurred at a stake conference I attended as a visiting authority. This experience illustrates the integration of one spiritual truth with another. It was the Saturday evening session (they are almost always the best). The theme was "Keeping the Sabbath Day Holy." As I waited to give my talk, I felt prompted to tell a story my wife had recently shared with me. But I was uneasy because the story did not seem to connect with the theme. Because of the seeming inconsistency, I decided to ignore the prompting. But the prompting came again with more intensity. I asked myself, "How can the story of a little handicapped girl relate to keeping the Sabbath day holy?" And then a thought came, "Why do we celebrate the Sabbath?"

I wrestled with the last question and eventually discovered two answers. The first is that we keep the Sabbath day to celebrate the creation of this earth. The Lord set aside the seventh day to honor the fulfillment of a promise he made to his children

that he would create an earth or second estate where they could come and progress. And then another thought pressed upon my mind. The Sabbath day was changed from Saturday to Sunday following the crucifixion, death, and resurrection of Christ. The change was effected to honor God's fulfillment of a second covenant—providing a Savior to open the door for us to return to his presence. Moreover, a meal was instituted and scheduled for each Sabbath day to remind us of those events. As I used my mental faculties to reflect on the Savior's atonement, I then understood my initial prompting and how Heather's story is consistent with honoring the Sabbath day.

Heather was born into an LDS family sometime in the late 1970s. A short time after the birth, her parents learned that she was physically handicapped and that her spirit would be housed in a body with great restrictions. As she grew, she was confined to a wheelchair, was unable to speak, and could send messages only with her eyes. A direct gaze with a widening of her eyes and a smile meant *yes*. A blink meant *no*. In spite of her handicaps, however, one could feel her vibrant spirit inside.

When old enough, Heather began to attend school, where her teacher was a therapist. One morning as Heather and the teacher visited about the prior weekend, the teacher learned that Heather had attended Primary on Sunday. The teacher then sang for Heather the Primary song "I Wonder When He Comes Again." The expression on Heather's face revealed the delight within her. When the song was finished, the teacher could tell that Heather wanted her to continue. After a few songs, the teacher asked Heather if she had a favorite song. Heather's direct gaze provided the answer and offered a challenge. Through a series of questions, the teacher learned that Heather's song was one she had heard in Primary. She wasn't sure which songbook it was in, but it was about Jesus. The teacher then sang every possible song she could think of. Unfortunately Heather's favorite did not appear, and Heather was not about to quit. For some reason, she needed to share her favorite song.

At the end of the day, the two were still unsuccessful, and the teacher agreed to bring a Primary songbook to school the next day. On the following day, the teacher and student went through all of the songs in the book, but to no avail. Finally, the teacher

suggested that Heather's mother might help her figure out which song it was. Heather came to school the next day with the new Church hymnbook tucked in her wheelchair. The teacher positioned herself next to Heather and, page by page, began making their way through the book singing the first phrase of each song. Page after page Heather's eyes would close in a definite no. Finally, halfway through the book, the teacher began to sing: "There is sunshine in my soul today . . ." Immediately, the little girl brightened and smiled. She looked directly at the teacher, and both began to laugh and rejoice. Success had finally come after a three-day search. As the teacher sang the first verse and began the chorus, Heather mustered all her effort and joined in with occasional sigh-like sounds. After finishing the first verse and chorus, the teacher asked if she wanted to hear the rest of the verses. Heather's eyes opened wide with a firm yes. Again the teacher began:

> There is music in my soul today,
> A carol to my King,
> And Jesus listening can hear
> The songs I cannot sing . . .[13]

The little girl's reaction to the third and fourth lines was so strong that the teacher stopped. As the reality and significance of the words pressed on the teacher's mind, she asked Heather if those lines were what she liked about the song. Could Jesus, listening, hear the songs she could not sing? Heather looked the teacher directly in the eyes, and testimony was borne.

Feeling guided by the Spirit, the teacher asked, "Heather, does Jesus talk to you in your mind and in your heart?" The child's look was penetrating. The teacher then asked, "Heather, what does he say?" The teacher's heart pounded as she saw the clear look in Heather's eyes as the little girl awaited the questions which would allow her to share her insights. The teacher then asked, "Does he say 'Heather, I love you'?" Her radiant eyes widened. The teacher paused and then said, "Does he say 'Heather, you're special'?" Again, yes. Finally, after a pause, the teacher asked, "Does he say, 'Heather, be patient; I have great things in store for you'?" Heather's head became erect, every fiber of her being seemed electrified as her eyes penetrated the teacher's soul. She knew she was loved; she knew she was special; she knew she only needed to be patient because great things were in store for her.[14]

Heather's story helped me to understand why we are asked to keep the Sabbath day holy. Through the Atonement, Jesus can hear the songs we cannot sing and has great things in store for us if we are patient. The Sabbath is a special day to remember his great gift to us.

May the Lord bless you in your search for both sacred and secular truth. May all of us honor him by being diligent and obedient in our efforts to learn and to serve him. In the name of Jesus Christ. Amen.

Merrill J. Bateman, former dean of the School of Management at BYU, is Presiding Bishop of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Shortly before this publication went to press, Bishop Bateman was made a member of the First Quorum of the Seventy and named president of Brigham Young University. This speech was delivered at the third annual Laying the Foundations Symposium on BYU campus and appeared in the written proceedings of that conference.

NOTES

[1]Spencer W. Kimball, "Absolute Truth," in *Devotional Speeches of the Year 1977* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1978), 137–38.

[2]*Lectures on Faith,* 7:3, comp. N. B. Lundwall (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, n.d.), 61.

[3]N. Eldon Tanner, "Ye Shall Know the Truth," *Ensign* (May 1978): 15.

[4]"What the World Owes Dr. Sabin," *Deseret News,* March 15, 1993, A6.

[5]"Mathematical Parables," *BYU Studies* 34, no. 4 (1994–95): 94. James W. Cannon is Professor of Mathematics at Brigham Young University.

[6]Parley P. Pratt, *Key to the Science of Theology,* 10th ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1973), 120–21.

[7]Evelyn Roehl, *Whole Food Facts* (Rochester, Vt.: Healing Arts Press, 1988), 115.

[8]Devotional delivered on June 18, 1968, by Marion G. Romney, "Learn by Faith," *BYU Speeches of the Year 1968* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1969), 4.

[9]Lindon J. Robison, "Economic Insights from the Book of Mormon," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 1 (Fall 1992): 35–53.

[10]Robison, "Economic Insights," 45.

[11]Robison, "Economic Insights," 47.

[12]Robison, "Economic Insights," 49.

[13]"There Is Sunshine in My Soul Today," *Hymns of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1985), 227.

[14]Jean Ernstrom, "Jesus, Listening, Can Hear," *Ensign* 18 (June 1988): 46–47.

This Woman Is Full

This woman is full, a pantry
stocked against winter: acorns,
red apples, roots; a grainsack

stretched at the seams. This woman
has been ripe since September, patient,
biding her time turning bottles

in the cellar. Her children
are wrapped in corn husks.
Her robe is purple: she

has sewn leaves on the hem;
the sleeves are lined with mink
and the pockets are swollen: raisins,

almonds, pears. This woman keeps
the coals hot in her white belly;
she has named the winds and calls

the wild, albino ones to her
and conceals them beneath
her pale blue skirts

where they spin, waiting;
and here there be the thin
wolves and the land be gripped

with a terrible leanness—this woman
is full, and she greets
the first snowfall with laughter.

—Jennie Rae Leishman

"This Woman Is Full" received first place in the 1995 BYU Studies Poetry Contest.

Personal Essay

Spiritual "Reddyness"

Thomas W. Draper

My professional and spiritual identities were nurtured by a home that had its share of troubled water. Some of the trouble percolated from the inevitable miscombinations of a blended family; some flowed from children with difficult personalities. My family's strong commitment to the gospel of Jesus Christ made my parents, both of whom valued intellect, unwilling to make their reasoning or anyone else's the final arbiter of life's goodness. I was grateful for my parents' reservations about reason, for their hesitation left a space for our family to be continually called back to Christ, where we could find the only redemption of our faults that could have worked. Kierkegaard's message, while perhaps overstated, is still worth attending to. Sometimes we simply must be *out of our minds*—separate from reason—if we are to be for Christ.[1]

My father, fifty-five when I was born, was a perpetual Gospel Doctrine teacher and a self-educated judge in northern Utah County. He gave me an appreciation for both the high value and the inherent weaknesses in set principles. Night after night, my father would hold court in the room below my bedroom, discussing the law in unsophisticated terms with those who thought they knew better than the law. Occasionally, as with the slight man who had double-parked so that he would not have to carry his polio-stricken daughter so far in his arms, my father agreed with the breach. But most of the time, he did not condone lawbreaking. Yet he taught that nothing short of disobedience to a direct and personal command of God was inherently wrong.

Although my father did not condone lawbreaking, he often went beyond the strict legal code in sentencing transgressors. His maximum fine was $299/*or*. The *or*s in his sentencing made available to my father a powerful alternative to simple punishment, a

means of gently calling people to repentance: "$299 *or* go to church with your family for six weeks," "*or* join Alcoholics Anonymous," "*or* have prayer with your wife," "*or* read the four Gospels and come back and discuss them." The *or*s were used judiciously—only with those my father thought could be benefited by the choice. He once sentenced a local church official, who had been speeding over the Point of the Mountain, to pay $299 *or* discuss the Twelfth Article of Faith with him. The brother got the message and not only discussed the article, but also spoke on "obeying, honoring, and sustaining the law" in the next conference. Judicious *or*s offered as alternatives to rigidly specified fines were an important part of the good my father was able to do in our small community. He understood that Alma's injunction to "judge righteously" (Alma 41:14) was to be seen not as a commandment to be insufferably correct, according to code in everything, but rather as an injunction to let the prior goodness of charity infuse all of his judgments, even when he erred.

My father was interested in building a better community. He knew that at times strict interpretation of the law would have to bend, knew even that occasionally the truth itself would have to wait until there was sufficient virtue in the hearts of people to sustain it. From my father, I learned about the sensitive relationship between truth and progression. Truth requires not only correct content, but also a correct occasion. A truth stated out of place or time is no truth at all. My father's views of timing, preparation, and charity led him to caution people who wanted to express what was on their minds without regard to whom, how, or where. My father was concerned about the effects of harsh realities on those who were unprepared to hear them. While he was capable of arguing fine points of scripture, philosophy, or law with the best of debaters, he was always aware of who was listening. He worried about offending the "little ones." Those who were given gifts of intelligence or knowledge bore a special obligation to share but to share only so fast and so far as goodness would allow.

My father's regard for the growth and care of "little ones" attracted me to stage theories of child development as an area of professional study. In the developing child, progression is often discontinuous rather than linear. One awareness must build upon

another, and all progress must await readiness. Children need time and space to make mistakes. For example, certain grammatical errors occur in the speech of almost every child during the course of development. The well-known sequence followed by most preschool children from saying *feet* to saying *foots* reflects a progression of inward understanding rather than a regression.[2] The observation that a developing individual may be going forward when she appears to be going backward is an important insight from developmental psychology, worth considering when contemplating all forms of progression. Undue concern with errors and small missteps, demanding perfection for its own sake and too soon, too often, puts development, whether intellectual or spiritual, in jeopardy.

My own experience illustrates my father's lessons about the need to be open to a goodness beyond strictness in order to make the most of the discontinuities of progression. Many steps of my developmental journey have been departures from the place of parental love followed by returns to a familiar place that is never the same. One such odyssey took place the year after I returned from my mission in the East Central States.

As a child, I was raised on Primary tales about voices, voices like the one that commanded Wilford Woodruff to move his wagon in the late night away from the place a tree fell before morning.[3] I longed to hear such voices. I wondered why Heavenly Father didn't just make the tree fall a different way or inspire Brother Woodruff to park his wagon under some other tree in the first place, but I wanted to hear voices, too. And at times I heard voices, often stern, present, knowing voices telling me to do good things. "Take out the garbage without being asked," I was told one time when I was thirteen. I obeyed. The next morning a big truck came, and men with large arms took away the refuse I had left in the barrel on the street the night before. I longed for something more dramatic.

Occasionally, something more dramatic turned up. "Tract this street," I was told as a senior companion in McMinnville, Tennessee. So my companion and I did. And there we met Brother Moleksen, who listened to three discussions and told us two interesting stories about looking for oil in South America. Then he gave up and invited us not to come back. I accepted this experience as

one of Brother Moleksen's important chances at eternity. If he chose not to accept it, the inspiration still stood, unchallenged and unchallengeable.

I heard a variety of knowing voices. I obeyed when convenient. Many good things happened, many that were obviously beyond anything I deserved. But I longed for something more sensational. After a particularly stirring lecture in a BYU religion class, I set out with a new resolve to end the unworthiness that had kept the spiritually dramatic from me. I resolved to obey all of the voices. Filled with determination, I climbed into my red 1964 Dodge with no front grill and set out from Provo for my part-time job reading meters for Utah Power and Light in Salt Lake City.

I got no farther than Eighth North in Orem when I came upon what appeared to be my first opportunity for spiritual heroics. To one side of the road, I noticed an elderly woman who looked like she needed help, leaning awkwardly across the hood of her car. I quickly pulled over and hopped out of the car, resplendent in my polyester, perma-press shirt with Reddy Kilowatt on the left pocket and my viridescent cowboy neckerchief. The woman, surprised to be intruded upon, pulled herself upright, revealing a sketchbook and partially completed pencil drawing of Mt. Timpanogos. Both somewhat embarrassed, we got into our cars and drove off. It was hard for me to tell if goodness had been served in that exchange, but I knew that art had been interrupted. And I knew from my mother that, generally speaking, the interruption of art was not a good thing.

Next, thinking I felt heroic guidance, I turned off Interstate 15, without knowing why, at the American Fork exit. "Where am I going?" I thought to myself. Wherever it was, it seemed right. After about ten minutes of driving, I ended up in the parking lot at the American Fork State Training School. Standing there looking at the giant replica of Swiss cheese on the playground, I had to admit that I really didn't know what I was doing. The only thing I was sure of was that if I continued to move in the wrong direction I would be much later than usual for work. I turned around and drove back to the interstate.

Back northbound on I-15, I felt bad that I had not been listening better. Perhaps I had been making up my own mind and

calling it inspiration—perhaps out of ego. My results had been unsure at best and certainly not heroic. I resolved to listen with keener ears.

Outside Lehi I finally heard it. A clear, knowing voice.

"Stop the car," it said.

I stopped.

"Get out of the car and cross that fence."

This is crazy, I thought, as I looked out at the six-foot, chain link freeway fence. It would take one of my best ever meter-reader, backyard-to-backyard jumps to clear that barrier.

"Do it," the voice said.

I obeyed, taking a running start, grabbing the rough top of the steel supporting pole on my way up, and turning my body over the jagged edge of the top wire in fine form.

Although I had successfully cleared the fence, as I landed on the other side, I twisted my ankle and fell forward in the loose road metal that had been imported from the Geneva Steel slag heap to build up the freeway bank. My ankle hurt, my palms and wrists were scraped, and I had bruised my forehead. But miraculously my clothes still looked great, though I did have to mop up a little blood from my hands and brow with the cowboy bandanna.

A field of weeds lay before me and then a corral with a few old horses.

"Cross that field."

I crossed, favoring my sore ankle as I went, steadily filling my socks with scratchy foxtail seeds. When I came to the rail fence around the corral, the voice spoke again: "Go into the corral."

I stepped up and over this second low fence and went in. Once inside the corral, with some complete stranger's tired horses for company, I found myself standing almost immediately before a good-sized pile of semidry horse manure.

"Take and eat. Take and eat. Dig with your hands," a knowing voice incanted.[4] "What you desire is at the bottom of this pile. It is *your* pearl of great price if you are willing to abandon pride and shame and give all of your best efforts to obtain it." These later words, about abandoning pride and shame and giving all of my best efforts to obtain, echoed what I had been told in religion class earlier that day.

After a moment of stunned indecision, of gazing down and contemplating self-sacrifice, obedience, and equestrian ambiance, I smiled. I wasn't *that* ready to give up pride and shame to obey heroic voices.

I may have been partially crazy, but I was partially healed at that moment.[5] I turned around, stepped up and over the rail fence and out of the corral, walked back across the field, reclimbed the freeway fence—more slowly this time—and this time tearing my shirt in a little, jagged half cross opposite Reddy Kilowatt. Back in my car, I folded the cowboy bandanna so that the blood stains would not show and replaced the neckerchief. I repaired the corner tear in my shirt from the inside with a roll of black electrical tape retrieved from the Dodge glove compartment. Finally, one by one, I pulled the foxtails out of my socks, placing the last sticker in the shirt pocket behind Reddy Kilowatt as a remembrance.

While I had not yet given up on the spiritually heroic, I had learned something important about the difference between being called and being chosen, as well as something about the developmental error of trying to precipitate premature revelation. An untamed journey into strangeness had been redeemed by a retrograde movement away from seeming revelation and into progress. I completed my journey to Salt Lake City without further incident. I limped all day on my sore ankle, over eight miles from light meter to light meter and dog to dog, not yet knowing why, in my pain, I felt so happy.[6]

That was twenty-four years ago. Since then, I have read how the twentieth-century martyr Dietrich Bonhoeffer felt compelled to warn of the hazards of cheap grace.[7] I of the revelatory tradition had needed to be warned about the hazards of cheap revelations. But it is important to note that the "cheapness" of the revelation was not so much in my having it as in my failure to see and appreciate it for what it was: something less than the truth, something more than dull sameness. Progress did not lie in the direction of acting indiscriminately on the promptings of strange voices. But there was more to be learned from the corral experience than simply closing the door on odd motivational calls to unexpected possibilities.

For better or for worse, cheap revelations still make unbidden and odd appearances in my mind. But I have learned to be cautious

and to better appreciate their uneven nature. I have learned to be more responsible—but not completely self-responsible—for what I do in the name of inspiration. Other developmental lessons have arisen along my path when I have ventured out into strangeness, breached the truth, and found hidden progress through retrograde motion. Some of these lessons have been difficult and filled with searing pain.

Some of the lessons have been dangerous. Had I been a better writer, I would have placed in print some of the bad ideas that I needed to have in order to progress, and those publications may have hurt others. But God was good to me. I was given a space—an extension of spiritual childhood—by the charity of God. Within that artless, silent space,[8] my worst false moves could be redeemed and turned to progress.

As I look at others whose spiritual turmoil is moving them to the margins of the Church, I wonder: Was I spared their pain simply because I lacked their gift of expression? Where would I be now if I could have written well enough to irritate people? Where will these articulate and troubled friends and their children be ten years from now if they forsake the gospel for thoughts they truly need to think but will later abandon if they stay on course?

I do not have a single answer to the dilemma created by the empathy I feel for those having strange and troubled voices, those who seem in retrograde motion away from the sacred. On the one hand, I note how doubt, anger, and fear are linked in opposition to faith in the scriptures (see D&C 60:2, 7). On the other hand, I see heaven's tolerance for questions, even stupid questions (Gen. 18:22–33; John 3:4). Some appear to be asking questions in an attempt to get out of the Church, but others appear to be asking questions in an urgent attempt to stay in. Because I cannot always tell the motivations of the questioners, I need to exercise generosity toward all of the hearers of strange voices, particularly those whose ideas call me into question. They may bear messages that heaven means for me to hear in order to call me from stagnation.

But as a steward of the good, I also need to exercise a protective generosity toward the "little ones" in my care, including myself.[9] I am forced to take protective action if the torch that was welcomed into the Church as a light starts burning worshipers.

I don't think there is a rational set of principles that can guide me to correct judgment in every challenge to my stewardship. I must constantly pray, "Father help me, guide me." The best moments of life—the most significant moments of progress—often transcend the abstract operating rules. Though principles are necessary, highly useful, and not to be scoffed at, the final step of every good action requires openness to that which is often beyond the strict specification of rules: $299/*or*.

Since my encounter in the corral, little of heroic moment has happened to me. Prayers have been answered, revelations and creative insight have been bestowed, but nothing has happened to call me into the spiritual heroics I once longed for. Rather, much of the longing has ceased. I now understand better than I used to the violence that can be involved in attempting to lay claim to revelation's miracles when desire gets ahead of faith.[10] I am now more prone to seek to know in quieter ways—finding in paradox that the more quietly one asks the questions the more openly one receives the answers. I find solace in the wisdom of the good book: "Whoso hearkeneth unto me shall dwell safely, and shall be quiet from fear of evil" (Prov. 1:33); "the words of wise men are heard in quiet more than the cry of him that ruleth among fools" (Eccl. 9:17). I find counsel in Paul's ironic instruction "that ye study to be quiet" (1 Thes. 4:11). And I find contentment in the unheralded *spiritual usual.* For now, that is enough.

Thomas W. Draper is Associate Professor of Family Sciences at Brigham Young University.

NOTES

[1]Søren Kierkegaard, *Philosophical Fragments; Johannes Climacus* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985), 108–9.

[2]In learning to speak, children will often first learn from context to use specific words, such as *feet,* correctly. As they progress, children learn to apply general rules of grammar, such as using an *s* to form plurals. This step in progress produces an apparent regression. For a time, typical children will form and speak plurals like *foots.* Eventually children master both the general rule and its exceptions and say *feet* again. See David McNeil, "The Development of Language," in

Paul H. Mussen, ed., *Carmichael's Manual of Child Psychology*, 3d ed., 3 vols. (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1970), 1:1101.

[3]G. Homer Durham, ed., *The Discourses of Wilford Woodruff* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1969), 295–96.

[4]"And suddenly I heard a voice from some nearby house, a boy's voice or a girl's voice, I do not know: but it was a sort of sing-song, repeated again and again." Frank Sheed, trans., *The Confessions of St. Augustine* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1942), bk. 8, 146.

[5]"Thus, step by step, he came to recognize the difference between the . . . spirits that moved him." Ignatius Loyola, *St. Ignatius' Own Story: As Told to Luis González de Cámara,* trans. William J. Young (Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1956), vita 8, 10.

[6]"The pain was so great that I screamed aloud, but simultaneously felt such infinite sweetness that I wished the pain to last eternally. It was the sweetest caressing of the soul by God." Santa Teresa of Avila as quoted in Kenneth Clark, *Civilisation: A Personal View* (New York: Harper and Row, 1969), 191.

[7]Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *The Cost of Discipleship,* rev. ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1963), 45.

[8]"A rest to [the] mind, a cheerer of spirits, . . . a diverter of sadness, a calmer of unquiet thoughts, a moderator of passions." Izzak Walton and John Cotton, *The Compleat Angler* (New York: A. L. Burt, 1655), pt. 1, ch. 1.

[9]"We are all responsible for all. For all the 'babes,' for there are big children as well as little children. All are 'babes.'" Fyodor Dostoevsky, *The Brothers Karamazov,* ed. Ralph E. Matlaw, trans. Constance Garnett (New York: Norton Critical Edition, 1976), 560.

[10]Compare Emmanuel Levinas' section on "Spirit and Violence" in *Difficult Freedom,* trans. Seán Hand (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), 6–7.

Strand

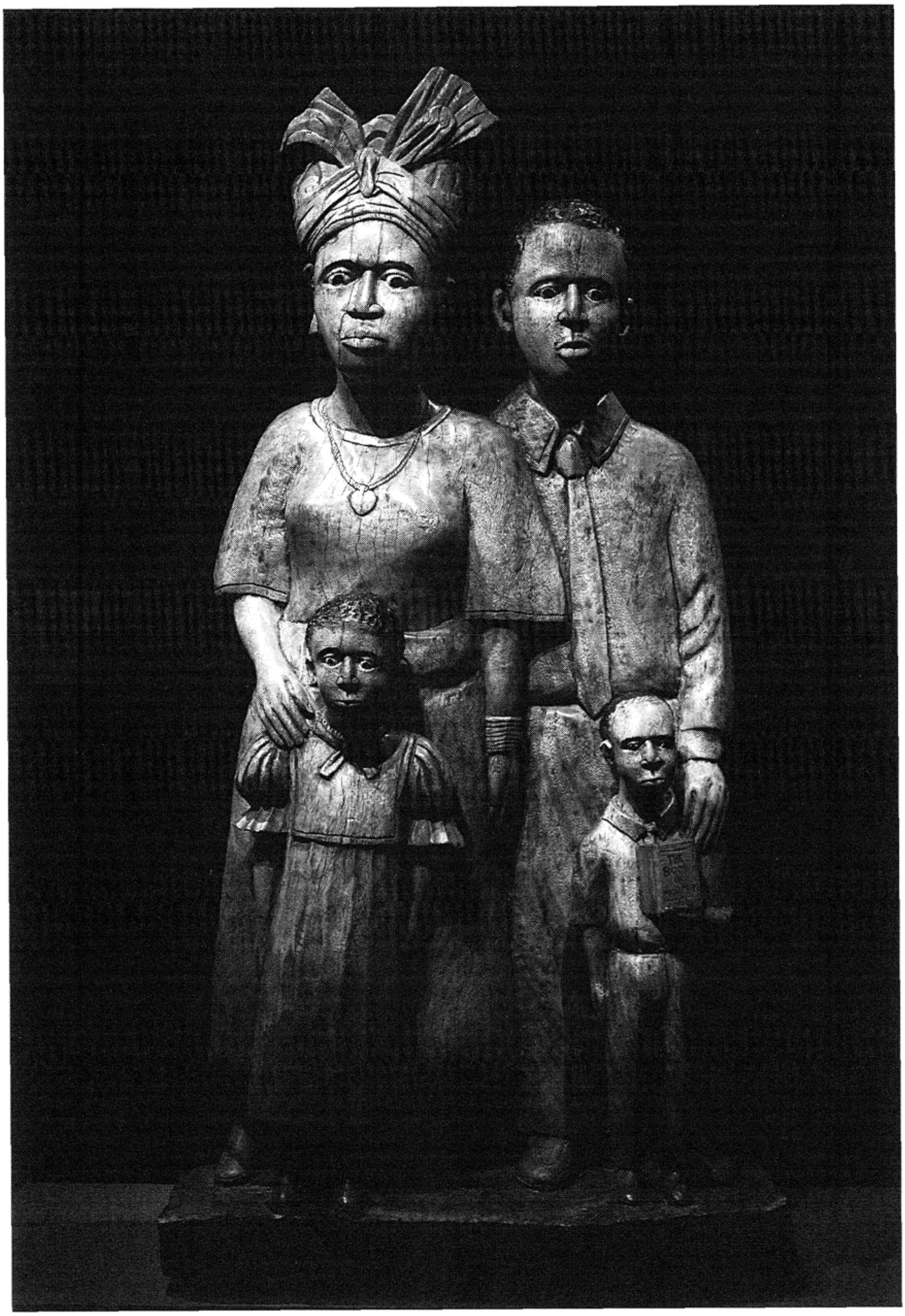
What looked like muted colors of rock
stacked in river bottoms
is alive
with old movement—
stubbed slow-motion paddles
from the stony shoulders of sea turtles
overlapping three-deep in shallows.
Far back, we'd thought to cross them, quick-jumping
through the small currents
of our wanderings down the shore.
Now we are astonished
before them—
the antique finish of splendid shells,
that moment we halted—caught
in their slow flex inside the ripple
of rising gulf tides.

The beached landmarks of words
turn strange
on our tongues, ritual bearings gone awry.
What we cannot enter
looms in us like stones.
We've read of their map sense,
compass cues scanned by some instinct
from magnetic stripes
on the ocean floor.
When the heavy lids part,
we look into deep slotted eyes
toward the grit
of slow enduring.

The sea swells around them
and engulfs our feet, soft shells
of our skins suddenly vulnerable.
We make our tribal way
around the ancient island,
wondering at the long years of navigation
before this return,
the feeding meadows of legend
where ships are caught and swallowed
in tangled kelp—the gulping deep blue
and salt life of the Sargasso Sea,
which has no shore for any man
to stand upon.

—Dixie Partridge

"Strand" received honorable mention in the 1995 BYU Studies Poetry Contest.



Lawrence Enigiator, *The Family.* Okheum wood, 48" x 24" x 16", Nigeria, 1993. Sculpted in the traditional style of Benin, this piece won a purchase award at the Third International Art Competition sponsored by the Museum of Church History and Art. Note the Book of Mormon carried by the little boy. Courtesy Museum of Church History and Art.

Personal Essay

Brother Wiseman

Tessa Meyer Santiago

He appeared in our midst suddenly one Sunday morning. Hopped off a double-decker bus across the road from Wayne's Bakery just as they were pulling the first buns, five cents apiece, from the oven. Although, *hopped* is not exactly the word. More like he shuffled his little black body across the street and up the seven stairs outside the Mowbray Chapel, corner of Grove and Main, Cape Town, South Africa. Our problem was that he shuffled up those stairs, his three-piece suit folding dove gray around his ankles, about two years before the priesthood was restored to all worthy members, and twelve years before apartheid ended.

He had shuffled his slow way from Sea Point, a wealthy Jewish enclave on the sea front, from a small dark room in the basement of a tall apartment building where he was the night watchman. I've seen those rooms in the basements of tall buildings or out back next to the dumpsters and the storage sheds—used to look in while playing hide-and-seek in friends' apartment buildings. Windowless brick walls, paraffin stoves to heat meals and water in blackened tin cans, a thin-mattressed bed in one corner, maybe a broom or a row of clothes hooks in the other, but always an adult black face that stared as my white curiosity invaded his privacy.

Apparently, Brother Wiseman found a Book of Mormon in a dustbin (before it was the fashionable way to find a Book of Mormon). He took it back to his windowless room to read. It took him awhile, years, I think—the book was in English; he was Xhosa. Then one morning he appeared in the white suburbs, at what seemed to be a white church, and holding that book in his hands, asked to join.

My friends and I thought he was a beggar at first, albeit quite a nicely dressed beggar. Or perhaps he had lost his way—the

Methodist church, where red-cassocked, black lady deacons kept audiences in check every Sunday afternoon, was just behind us and started services in the afternoon. So we slid off the iron railings and ran, calling for the branch president to deal with him. He was no beggar; neither was he lost. He just wanted to be a member of our church.

I was young, still in Primary but at the stage where I would be embarrassed by Primary programs. I heard only snatches of his story: found book—read it—wrote to Salt Lake City—read more books—wife and children in Transkei, sees them once a year—gets only one Sunday off every two months—saved money for bus fare—wants to be baptized.

And he was. Then he took his seat, three seats from the back door. A perfectly round, black head, melting slightly at the jowls, atop a short, black body. As I passed him on his Sundays, he would nod his head, stick his pink palm out to be shaken, and smile, showing three teeth and startlingly red gums. "Yes . . . yes," he smiled to me. "Yes . . . yes" became his refrain as we spoke at him at deaf-person's volume, as if louder English would help this Xhosa man understand. I think it helped him see only how awkward we were with him there.

His presence reminded us simultaneously that this church must really be true and that our lives were pharisaical. Why else would an elderly black man spend precious time, even more precious money to spend time with people he had nothing in common with, linguistically, socially, legally? How else could he climb to the pulpit one fast Sunday morning to bear his testimony in broken English: "I love God's church. I know Joseph a prophet. I know Book Mormon. I love church. I happy." He became a talisman of sorts. Our Brother Wiseman. Our black member of the Church.

But his membership only confused us white members living comfortably in that prejudiced land: his worthy black hand took the sacrament from the same tray as ours; his pittance of worthy tithing paid Brother Martin, suffering from black lung, to care for the chapel; then his legally unworthy body climbed to the top of the bus and returned to his windowless basement, a paraffin stove, and a plodding night watch while the white people slept.

Once after church, waiting in the parking lot for the missionaries, I asked Brother Rigby, the most vocal bigot in the branch, what was wrong with black people. "They're just different, inferior, not capable," he replied almost jokingly, as if he had an "I didn't really mean it" waiting in the wings should I take offense.

"But what about Brother Wiseman? Is he inferior?" I asked, pushing the point.

His face straightened for a minute. "No, he's different. He's just a man like the rest of us."

Brother Wiseman had to be different for us. There was no other way we could allow him to stay. In South Africa at the time, we had a legal label: *honorary white.* It was granted to visiting dignitaries, to foreign ambassadors, to blacks who needed to be in white-only places without fear of harassment or arrest. I think we made Brother Wiseman an honorary white for the few short hours he worshipped in Mowbray chapel. If not, then all other blacks must be just like him: worthy, faithful children of the same God, brothers and sisters. And if that were true, our white lives were ethically and morally repugnant.

The lessons weren't so clear then. I never saw Brother Wiseman as a pioneer for black membership in South Africa. I just saw a little black man in my peripheral vision, sometimes there, sometimes not. But once I think I saw Christ.

It was about two Sundays after the proclamation in 1978. Brother Wiseman had been interviewed, found worthy, and ordained to the office of a deacon in the Aaronic Priesthood. That Sunday he took a place in the front row by the sacrament table along with the other deacons in the ward. A short black man, a Xhosa patriarch, stood alongside three white twelve-year-olds. His black hand gripped the silver handle of the bread tray, and he turned to the stand: the branch president, the first counselor, the second counselor, the speaker for the two-and-a-half-minute talk, the chorister, Sister Laverne in her stockinged feet on the organ bench. He served them all, shuffling his way up steps and down, nodding his thanks as the tray returned to him.

The scene should have been familiar to us: black serving white. This was different. Our eyes followed the man, hoping he

would walk to our end of the pew. I think we all wanted to eat the bread from Brother Wiseman's tray. We would somehow be more cleansed, more holy, more capable of seeing clearly after drinking from his cup. I think we believed this man was bringing us the real offering of Christ, a miraculous transformation of bread and water to holy elements, not just the homemade, whole wheat bread Sister Pearl insisted on supplying every week. I think for a moment each heart in that chapel believed utterly that every soul was equal in the eyes of God, and perhaps one more than any other. And maybe, just maybe, we might all make it to heaven.

After a rather longer sacrament than usual, Brother Wiseman returned to his seat, third from the door. Silently after church he shuffled across Main Road to the bus stop. I suppose when the bus came he slowly climbed to the upper deck. There he must have sat, his gray hat with the satin hatband and pheasant feather on his perfectly round head, until he disembarked outside the tall apartment building that sat atop his windowless basement room, in which he waited until night fell. Donning his uniform, taking up his truncheon, he must have walked his route while we slept—keeper of our night. I wonder if he knew he had been that day, for white members in a white suburb, our keeper of the gate.

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David White Rogers of New York

Rogers overcame a mob and physical hardship to aid those whose paths he crossed, including Joseph Smith, Mary Fielding Smith, and the Parley P. Pratt family.

Naida R. Williamson

"If it is the will of the Lord and the decision of His servants who have the authority to appoint, endow me with the power and let me have your faith and prayers, and I will go and do the business or be found dead trying."[1] David White Rogers—like Nephi—responded to the calls of his Church leaders with faith and courage when others even flinched from fear. Baptized when he was fifty, Rogers devoted his remaining forty-four years to building the kingdom of God.

Early Life

David White Rogers was born on October 4, 1787, in Morristown, Merrimack County, New Hampshire, to Samuel Rogers and Hannah Sinclair.[2] Alone as a youth, Rogers began trapping along the northeastern rivers between Canada and the United States. After trapping beaver, mink, and other animals, Rogers prepared the skins and sold the furs in Montreal. It was in Montreal that Rogers met Martha Collins and married her on December 5, 1811. While living in Canada, David and Martha had four children.[3]

Susanna, the oldest child, often accompanied her father as he set traps and collected the animals. She felt it was cruel to kill the animals and pleaded with her father to give up the fur business. He agreed the killing was difficult, but he felt the high profits made up for the distasteful task.[4]

Years later, however, Rogers gave up trapping for homesteading. He cleared some virgin land on the shores of Lake Champlain,

an area that became known as Rogers's Rock. Then, in the early 1820s, Rogers decided to become a carpenter, eventually moving his family to Dunkirk, New York, where four more children were added to the family. After a few years, Rogers temporarily left his family to establish a carpentry business in New York City. The business soon prospered, and a year later, he sent for his family.[5]

Conversion to Mormonism

In 1837 while returning home from church, David White Rogers overheard some preaching in a building where he and some friends had held meetings in the past. Rogers was attracted by the speaker's sincerity and by the apparent truths of which he spoke. He became interested in the scriptures that were quoted and believed the explanation of the scriptures to be correct.

Wanting to know more, David entered the building and sat down to hear the rest of the sermon. The man sitting next to him explained that the speakers were Mormons. As a devoted member of the Methodist sect, David was surprised that Mormons, who had such unfavorable reputations, could explain the scriptures so well.[6]

After their sermon, the elders—Parley P. Pratt and Elijah Fordham—informed the congregation that there would be no more meetings, as few showed interest in their message. When David heard this announcement, he stood up and invited the elders to his home. He stated that the men were speaking the truth, and he thought there were others in the city who would like to hear the elders' message. Rogers's offer helped fulfill the elders' earlier impression that people would be raised up to aid them in the work there.[7]

When the elders arrived at the Rogers home the following afternoon, David's wife, Martha, answered the door and saw two men: "One was large and dark, with a pleasant, intelligent countenance [Parley P. Pratt], while the other was a small man, but very earnest [Elijah Fordham]." The elders asked for her husband, but she informed them that David was not there. They promised to return in the evening, telling her that they had a very important message for him. This visit from the elders startled Martha because she had dreamed earlier about this very event.[8]

A few years before the missionaries' visit, David, like Martha, had had a dream. In the dream, David was "taken by a guide to a point where he was shown a terrible, swift destruction which seemed to embrace the whole face of the land. He was told by his guide that he would learn more about the terrible event when he was fifty years of age."[9]

David was in his fiftieth year when the missionaries sat with the Rogers family and explained the gospel to them. Martha immediately accepted their message, but David needed more time. He retired to his room for four days, reading the Book of Mormon, praying, and fasting. When he read about the terrible destruction that had taken place in the Americas after the Savior's crucifixion, he recognized it as the destruction he had witnessed in the dream. David's seclusion ended with his receiving a testimony by revelation. He later stated that "the room was a blaze of light as the noon day sun. I saw Joseph Smith sitting at a stand in the corner of the room with a Book of Mormon in his hand."[10] Soon after this spiritual confirmation, Parley P. Pratt baptized the Rogers family in New York City's East River on December 19, 1837.[11]

After the Rogers family was baptized, Parley P. Pratt left for a short time and then returned to New York with his wife, Mary Ann Stearns, and her daughter (Mary Ann had previously been widowed). Before the Pratts left New York in April 1838, they spent many evenings around David and Martha's fireplace sharing experiences and teaching the Rogers family the principles of the gospel. Lasting ties developed between the two families.[12]

Dedication to the Growing Church

To provide the elders with a meeting place, David Rogers arranged a large room with chairs from his warehouse. The room filled with interested investigators. Seeing the growth, Rogers joined with another member to rent a small "place" and furnish it for regular meetings. This meeting place, too, was usually crowded. The crowds and the spiritual manifestations experienced by the Rogerses and other converts were seen as fulfillment of the promise to Elders Pratt and Fordham that "His Holy Spirit should give the people visions and dreams concerning us and the

work of the Lord. . . . [C]rowds, who could not get in, should stand in the streets and about the entrance to try to hear us."[13]

Again, trying to meet the needs of the growing number of Saints in New York, Rogers decided to publish a hymnal since they were so scarce in the "outlying branches of the Church."[14] Using Emma Smith's hymnal for a format and a source for nearly half of the hymns, Rogers completed his book with other hymns of Latter-day Saint authorship.[15] The last hymn is David's dedicatory poem, part of which explains why he published the hymnals:

> Father, to Thee I dedicate
> The work that I have done,
> And now, I pray, accept of it,
> Through Jesus Christ thy Son.
>
> For as it was by His command,
> Given to me in dream,
> At first I took this book in hand,
> I now present for Him.[16]

Joining the Missouri Saints

The following September, David, Martha, and five of their children headed west to join the Saints in Missouri. They shared a wagon belonging to the Wandle Mace family, also of New York City. After passing through the Allegheny Mountains, the two families continued through Ohio and Indiana. They met some travelers headed eastward who warned the families that they could not continue to travel west and survive the conditions. Undaunted, the small party continued and reached Quincy, Illinois, where they met the Saints who had fled from Missouri. David's daughter Caroline described the scene:

> We found a good many teams there loaded with families with just what they could pick up and throw into their wagons and leave in a hurry to get away from the mobs which infested the country. It was a sorrowful sight to see a people turned out of houses and homes in the dead of winter, little babies and aged and sick all turned out without mercy.
>
> Father and Brother Mace went to work to help all they could, but of course, they were obliged to earn their own living as well. They rented a house for both families to live in. Upstairs was a large room that covered the rooms below. Under the lower rooms was a

basement with a large room also. The house was called the committee house.

There was a committee set apart to see after those that came from Missouri. They all came to the Committee House and were cared for. . . . Father was put in charge of the Commissary.[17]

The Land Committee

The Church established a committee to look for an area of land that could be obtained for the settlement of the scattered Saints. The committee was asked to "reconnoitre the upper river country in the State of Illinois and the then territory of Iowa. In order to ascertain if there was any chance for the Saints to find shelter from the inclemency of the season."[18] The committee members were David Rogers, S. Bent, and Israel Barlow; only Rogers and Barlow were able to complete the assignment.[19]

The committee traveled for nine days locating several potential dwelling sites for the Saints in the Commerce area.[20] They also crossed the Mississippi River into Iowa and found the deserted barracks of old Fort Des Moines.[21] The land had originally been preserved as a reservation for half-breed Sac and Fox Indians and became known as the "Half-Breed Tract."[22] The committee concluded that the fort could house many families and sought to find how they might purchase the land. Rogers and Barlow located Dr. Isaac Galland, who owned parts of the land,[23] and obtained from him documents listing the terms of sale for the property. Unable to make an immediate purchase without consulting the Church leaders, the committee returned to Quincy to report their mission, which Rogers did formally in a conference held February 1839.[24]

Confrontation with a Mob

The Church authorities in Quincy wanted to send the Galland documents and information to Joseph Smith, who was in Liberty Jail, for a decision. They tried to find someone familiar with the Jackson County area to take the material to Joseph, sell the Church lands in Jackson County, and help the needy Saints move to the Quincy area. No one seemed willing to return to Jackson County, fearing the mobs. Finally, David Rogers was approached by Bishop

Edward Partridge to fulfill the assignment. Rogers agreed, writing in his report:

> Although I had heard of the threats that the Jackson folks had made against the Mormons in case they should come there to sell or take possession of their lands, (I was a stranger in Mo. and also to the Saints, having as it were, just arrived from the City of New York, on my way to gather with the Saints), notwithstanding, I was not intimidated and therefore, replied: "If it is the will of the Lord and the decision of His servants who have the authority to appoint, endow me with the power and let me have your faith and prayers, and I will go and do the business or be found dead trying." Accordingly, the necessary power of attorney, directions written out, on the tenth day of March, 1839, I left Quincy, Illinois, for Jackson County, Mo.[25]

Selling Land in Missouri

On March 15, Rogers arrived at Far West and met with the committee on removal, which appointed Charles Bird, who was familiar with Jackson County and had already performed some services for the committee, to assist him. The two men visited Parley P. Pratt and others in the Richmond Jail and Joseph Smith in the Liberty Jail, giving the Prophet some letters and the Galland documents. After the Prophet sanctioned the purchase of Galland's lands in the "Half-Breed Tract," Rogers and Bird traveled to Independence, Missouri, to sell the Church lands. The two men sold a quarter section of land known as the Whitmer farm to a young man named Mason for $700 and sold other property worth $100.[26]

The next day, while crossing the public square, Rogers and Bird were surrounded by a posse of about forty men. Soon the square was congested with three hundred people. James King, brother of the sheriff, Thomas King, informed Rogers and Bird that they had to give up the money and property obtained from the sale of the land and leave the county before sunset; otherwise, they would be killed. Rogers replied, "You have pronounced sentence upon me. Can I be allowed the privilege granted to condemned criminals in courts of law? They are asked if they have any cause to show why the sentence of the law should not be executed upon them."

Some men in the posse yelled, "Let him speak! Let him speak!" After a pause, King told him to go ahead but to make it short. Rogers then spoke:

> A few years ago the God of Israel sent a few of His servants to settle in Jackson County, Mo. (and He had but few at that time on the earth who would acknowledge themselves His servants to obey). They came forth, and in conformity with the Laws of the United States and the State of Missouri they made selections and entered some twenty thousand acres, upon which they settled some 1400 or 1500 souls in the space of three years, at which time the people of the county arose simultaneously, almost en masse and drove those servants of God from their homes and from the county in violation of the law. Those servants of God then settled in other counties, and subsequently were driven from the State, under the exterminating order of Governor Boggs. Among those servants of God there were some very old, some cripples, some sick, some widows and many orphan children . . . and the Lord will not that they should be exterminated. And, therefore, the God of Israel has ordered that the lands from which his servants were first driven shall be sold, and the means used in helping those helpless ones out of the state. And I am sent here to perform that business, and in the name of the Israel's God, and by His power, I shall accomplish the work. And in no way can I be prevented only by committing wilful, cold-blooded murder.

At this point, Rogers unbuttoned his coat and vest, bared his chest, and said:

> And if any one present is prepared for that, now is the best time you can ever have, in the blaze of this beautiful, morning sun and in the presence of this large concourse of witnesses, that the honor and glory of the deed may descend to the latest posterity. That is all I wish to say.

Silence fell over the crowd. Bird had disappeared. One by one, the other people left, leaving Rogers standing by himself. He returned to the business of disposing the land, selling all save one undesirable piece and collecting about $2,700 over a forty-day period.[27]

Traveling from Jackson County, Rogers stopped in Far West where an apostate, Lael Maynard, presented him with a writ of attachment for $350 plus five yoke of oxen, three horses, a wagon, and $300 of dry goods. Though Rogers believed Maynard's claim was groundless, Rogers paid off the attachment with money to retain the use of the property for helping the Saints leave

Missouri. About the same time, a Brother Ripley arrived in Far West to obtain some cash for the Prophet, who was being moved to another prison. Rogers gave him $150 of the money collected in Jackson County. [28]

Traveling to Quincy

Leaving Far West shortly afterward, Rogers brought with him some Saints who were among the last to leave Missouri, including Parley P. Pratt's family and Brigham Young's daughter Caroline and his mother-in-law. When they were in Paris, Missouri, Rogers met Brigham Young and others of the Twelve, who were traveling to Far West to start their mission to England and to lay the corner-stone of the temple; Rogers gave them $12.[29]

When Rogers's group reached the Mississippi River, he traveled several miles downstream to find a place where the bottom lands were not flooded and a ferry was available. Once on the river's Illinois side, the group had to ford "a large slough . . . where the water came up to the wagon bed." When they reached the bank on the other side of the slough, Rogers looked back and saw what seemed to be a bundle of clothing floating in the water. He yelled to Sister Pratt, who recognized the clothing to be that of her daughter, Mary Ann. Rogers rescued the little girl, and they were able to revive her. In the meantime, the spirited horses dragged the wagon forward on a full run into the trees, where the wagon became entangled, causing the animals to halt.[30]

After Joseph Smith escaped from Missouri,[31] he reunited with his people and arranged for the first purchase of Commerce lands for the Saints to settle. On the Iowa side of the Mississippi was a small town known as Montrose, the area which David Rogers and the land committee had earlier located. Many of the Saints chose to settle temporarily in the old Montrose area. Caroline Rogers described Montrose and some of its early Mormon settlers:

> The river ran on one side of Montrose, the East, the Barracks ran on the three other sides of the town. The buildings were soon occupied by the families of the homeless saints and proved a blessing to the people. They lived in those rooms until they moved to Nauvoo or located elsewhere.[32]

> Brigham Young was our nearest neighbor on one side of us and the other side a number of families lived at different times. President Woodruff and Brother A. O. Smoot and Ma Smoot lived there for some months together in the one room. Soon they both moved in the country a few miles away where they lived till they moved to Nauvoo.
>
> . . . In those days there was no Sunday meetings to go to on that side of the Mississippi River but everyone was eager to go to Nauvoo to meetings which were held in a grove on the hill near where the Temple was afterwards built. They did not stay home for rain or anything else. We used to cross the river in all kinds of boats. The river was between one and a half or two miles wide in the summertime and in the winter we went on the ice in sleighs and wagons or on foot. I have walked over the river many a time. We never tired of going to meetings in those days.[33]

In Nauvoo

Early in 1844, David Rogers purchased lots on both sides of Joseph Smith's Mansion House and started building a brick home.[34] Rogers experienced the hardships of post-Martyrdom Nauvoo and was one of the men who guarded the city of Nauvoo by night. Later, in Nauvoo on February 5, 1846, he was set apart as a senior president of the Thirty-Fourth Quorum of the Seventies by President Joseph Young and remained in that position for thirty-four years.[35]

After joining the Church, David and Martha Rogers sent letters via various missionaries to their eldest daughter, Susanna, who had married and moved to England. They told her about the Church, and she expressed great interest, but her husband's disapproval prevented her from joining. Then Susanna learned her marriage was invalid because her husband's first marriage had not been legally annulled. She eventually joined the Church, returned to America with some of the London Saints, and reunited with her parents. Susanna soon married William Pickett, a young widower. After the martyrdom of Joseph Smith, her husband separated from the Church, leaving her to care for her son by her first husband and an unborn child. She moved with the Saints to Council Bluffs, where she gave birth in a damp cave, with her young son and a little girl watching over her.[36]

Moving West

As the Saints left Nauvoo and moved west, President Young asked David Rogers to delay going west in order to assist those needing help to prepare for the journey. In compliance with the request, David and his son Ross Ransom stationed themselves in Montrose and then in Oskaloosa, Iowa, to assist others moving to Council Bluffs, Iowa. Having worked as cabinetmakers and joiners, David and Ross Ransom were able to help the Saints by making ox yokes, ox handles, and wagons.[37] One of the women Rogers helped was Mary Fielding Smith, the widow of Hyrum Smith; he supplied her with oxen so she could make the trip. Because of the kindness shown to the Smiths, "Brother Rogers was ever gratefully remembered by the family."[38]



David White Rogers (1787–1881) later in life. Courtesy Naida Williamson.

After the departure of most of the Saints, a few were left in Nauvoo due to sickness, lack of money, and other problems. One sad occurrence touched the Rogers family at this time. Amelia Rogers Telle, David's daughter, was one of those left in Nauvoo. Nauvoo "had become a very lawless place to live in. Almost every night some house was broken into and robbed of money, if there was any. The people were in constant fear for their lives." One night, as Amelia was walking in her garden, her husband mistook her for an intruder after his money, grabbed the loaded gun from the head of the bed, and shot her; she died four months later from the injuries, leaving three children.[39]

In 1852, David's family and Susanna's family began their long, uneventful trip to Utah. By this time, most of David and Martha's children were married and settled throughout the West.[40]

During the grasshopper siege in Utah, the David Rogers family came close to going without bread, but Martha had been promised by Parley P. Pratt years earlier in New York City that "if she never turned a stranger from her door hungry, she would never want for bread."[41] Because wheat was so scarce in Utah, one hundred pounds of milled flour cost thirty dollars. Martha ran out of flour, but the family had only a five-dollar gold piece, far short of the going price. Nevertheless, Rogers took it to the mill, where the miller exchanged one hundred pounds of flour for the cash.[42]

Rogers's Mission and Journey Home

David Rogers turned sixty-five the year he settled in Provo, Utah. Two years later he was called on a mission to New Hampshire and Canada, serving from 1854 to 1856. During his mission, Rogers traveled through many cities, locating his parents, brothers, sisters, and other family members who had not heard of Mormonism. Rogers was able to collect a great deal of genealogical information through his mission travels.[43]

On his journey home, Rogers joined the Jesse Bigler Martin wagon company somewhere west of Iowa City in June 1857; two other missionaries also traveled with the company. During this trip fraught with problems, seventy-year-old Rogers often took a turn standing guard during the night to prevent the oxen from being scattered by vindictive apostates and Indians traveling through the area; as it was, the company lost eleven head of cattle because of a stampede. Also, when one young man fell under the wheel of a wagon and suffered a broken arm, Rogers set the bones, easing the boy's pain. On another occasion, Rogers spent two days with a group of men searching for lost cattle.[44] In September 1857, when the Martin wagon company arrived in Salt Lake, Rogers returned to his family in Provo. At the Church's October conference, he reported briefly on his mission.[45]

"Doctor Rogers"

Rogers worked for the Provo Water Company and carried out other city responsibilities. Many of the residents of Provo called David "Doctor Rogers" because of his expertise in helping those with health problems. Rogers demonstrated his medical knowledge even when treating himself. While on a trip to the mountains with two young men, Rogers nearly severed his foot. He sent one boy to get help while instructing the other to pour cold water on the injury until help arrived. He also told the boy to instruct his rescuers not to cut off his foot. When help arrived, they wanted to amputate the foot, due to the seriousness of the wound. Rogers had passed out, but the boy kept his promise, telling the men that Rogers didn't want them to amputate. They obeyed, sewing up the foot; Rogers completely recovered from the injury. On another occasion, Rogers was at the lumber mill and broke his leg. He instructed some men to help reset his leg, which he did successfully.[46]

Later Years

As one of the Saints who practiced polygamy, Rogers married Ellen Bennett sometime in the 1860s; she bore him five children, two of whom survived.[47] In a letter to Brigham Young, Rogers mentioned a third wife, Elizabeth Anderson Bent, but exact details of this marriage are not known.[48] He was also set apart by Wilford Woodruff in 1873 to serve as a patriarch in the Provo area, and he continued to serve as senior president of the Thirty-Fourth Quorum of the Seventies.[49]

As the years passed, David White Rogers corresponded with his children, though it became difficult for him to write. His right hand became unsteady, so he would place his left hand over the right one to steady it. In one letter to his oldest daughter, Susanna, he offered her one or two hundred dollars for a trip she and her son Horatio planned to southern Arizona, although he advised against them traveling alone. In a letter to his grandson Joseph Knight Rogers, the son of Ross Ransom, he encouraged Joseph to be faithful and prayerful in his work as a representative in the Arizona

legislature. The affection he felt for his children is demonstrated by his greeting to Susanna—"My dearly and beloved daughter."[50]

In the summer of 1881, Rogers felt too poorly to work. His wife Martha was also very ill and died in June of that year. At one point, Rogers was sick for several nights with pain so severe he could not eat, sleep, or talk. Some visiting priesthood brethren asked if he wanted a blessing. He replied, "I would if *you* have faith." After the blessing, the pain went away and did not return.[51]

David White Rogers died at the age of ninety-three in September 1881 at the residence of his daughter Hester Beebe, in Provo, Utah.[52] Although he was not introduced to the gospel until his fiftieth year, he had devoted the rest of his life, some forty-four years, to building the kingdom of God.

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NOTES

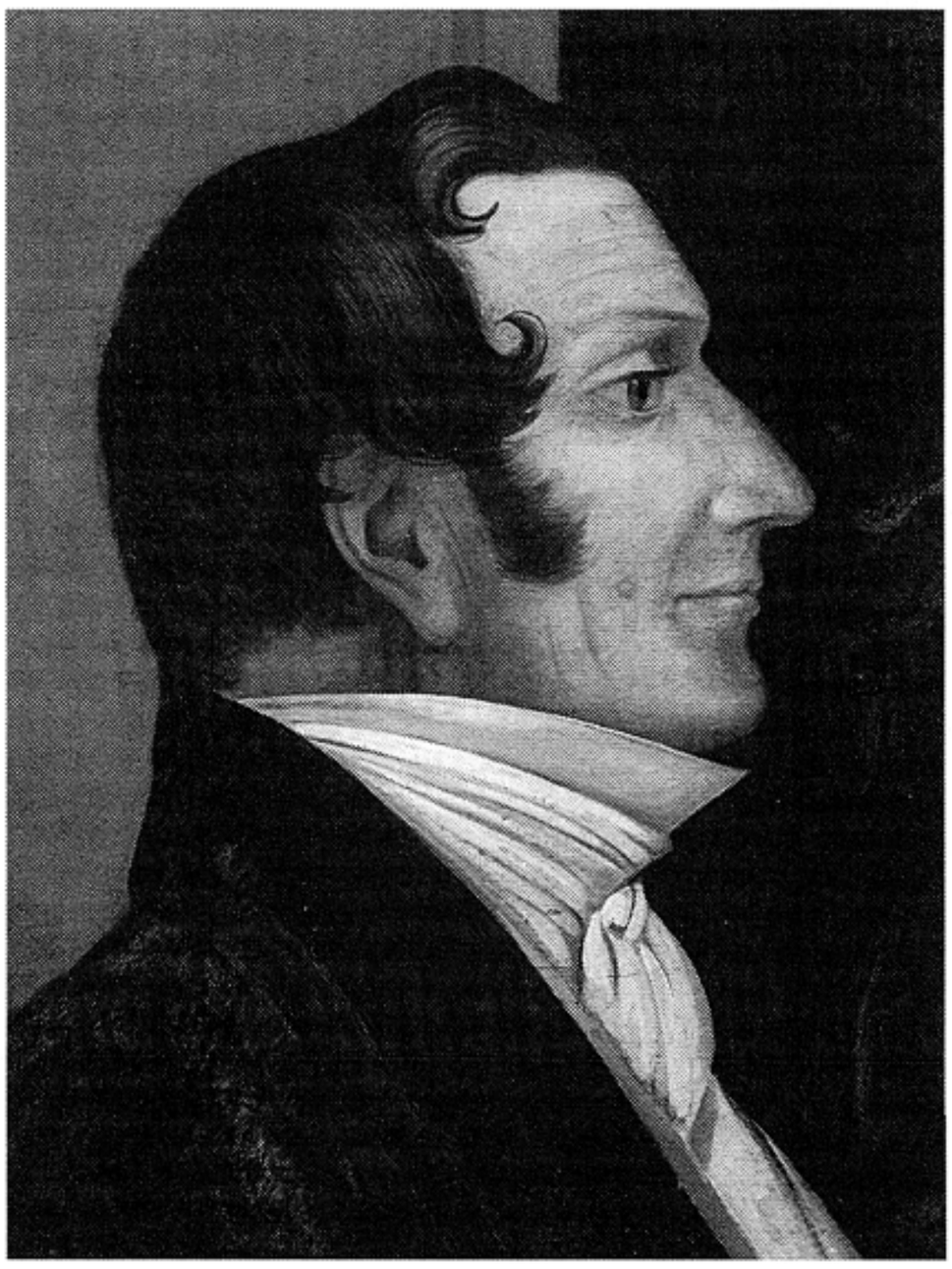
[1]David White Rogers, Report, p. 1, typescript copy, Archives Division, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives). There are two typescript copies of Rogers's report in circulation. The report cited here is in the LDS Church Archives and titled "copy."

[2]For generations the family of David White Rogers has declared that Rogers kept a sketchbook and painted Joseph Smith. As others have been credited for some of Rogers's experiences, this article strives to show that he knew many of the early Church leaders and helped them as the need arose. I personally believe that Rogers painted the Prophet because a report of an early party declares that the profiles of Joseph and Hyrum shown in the reproductions below (now located in the Museum of Church History and Art) were the work of "David Rogers of New York" ("Returned Missionaries' Party in the Social Hall," *Deseret News,* November 29, 1855). This statement agrees with what the Rogers family has always claimed. Although Brigham Young was not present at the party, he has been attributed as the source of the information about the artist. Jules Remy and Julius Brenchley also attribute the profiles of Joseph and Hyrum to "D. Rogers, pinx. Nauvoo 1842" (pinx.: the original painter) in their book, *A Journey to Great-Salt-Lake City,* 2 vols. (London: W. Jeffs, 1861), frontispiece. (The caption states the engraving, done by "W. Edwards sculp." [engraver], was based on "the original painting in the palace of Brigham Young.") There is a question as to

whether David White Rogers of New York and David Rogers of New York are the same person. I am continuing to research these issues; my final conclusions are forthcoming.



Joseph Smith Jr.



Hyrum Smith

[3]Martha was born to Ebenezer Collins and Ann Stow on August 22, 1793, in Berkshire, Vermont. She died on June 18, 1881, in Provo, Utah. Susanna Mehitable Rogers was born July 5, 1813, in Montreal, Quebec. Her first husband was Benedetto San Giovanni; she died January 9, 1905, in St. George, Utah. Edward William Rogers was born December 5, 1814, in Montreal, Quebec, and died September 9, 1815. Charles Addison Rogers was born July 28, 1816, in Queenstown, Ontario, married Rebecca Keen, and died November 29, 1845. Amelia Ann Rogers was born April 21, 1818, in Queenstown, Ontario. She married Josiah Lewis Telle and died November 29, 1847. After David and Martha moved from Canada to the United States, they had seven more children. Ross Ransom Rogers was born February 11, 1821, in Pomfret, New York. His first wife was Helen Moffett Curtis; he died March 13, 1897, in Pima, Arizona. Glezen Filmore Rogers was born December 2, 1822, in Dunkirk, New York, and died as an infant. Esther (Hester) Ann Rogers was born March 23, 1825, in Dunkirk, New York, and married George Beebe. She died June 25, 1885, in Provo, Utah. Hannah Caroline Rogers was born March 20, 1827, in Dunkirk, New York. She first married Aaron Daniels and later Abraham O. Smoot. She died March 14, 1915, Salt Lake City, Utah. David Preston Rogers was born July 7, 1829, in Dunkirk, New York, and died December 13, 1832, in New York City. Sally Maria Rogers was born January 10, 1832, in New York City and died October 23, 1832. Henry Clay Rogers was born October 19, 1833, in New York City. He married Emma Higbee and died March 7, 1902, in Lehi, Arizona. Family Ancestral File, Family History Library, Salt Lake City.

[4]Ethel J. Bennett, "An Interesting Little Biography from the 'Rank and File,'" 3, copy in possession of the author.

[5]Bennett, "Interesting Little Biography," 4; "Treasury of Pioneer Stories," in *Our Pioneer Heritage,* comp. Kate B. Carter, 20 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1958–77), 4:192; Jane Rae Fuller Topham, *In Search of Living Water* (Bountiful, Utah: By the author, 1995), 7, 9; F. T. Pomeroy, "Mormon Pioneering and Settlements in the Salt Lake River Valley," *The Genealogical and Historical Magazine of Arizona* 4 (January 1927): 32.

[6]Caroline Rogers Daniels Smoot, Autobiography, 3, copy in possession of the author; Ross Ransom Rogers, Autobiography, 5, copy in possession of the author.

[7]Parley P. Pratt Jr., ed. *The Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt,* 4th ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1985), 145; Ross Ransom Rogers, Autobiography, 5.

[8]Pomeroy, "Mormon Pioneering and Settlements," 34.

[9]Pomeroy, "Mormon Pioneering and Settlements," 34.

[10]Smoot, Autobiography, 4.

[11]Smoot, Autobiography, 5.

[12]Smoot, Autobiography, 3–4.

[13]Pratt, *Autobiography,* 146.

[14]Peter Crawley, "A Bibliography of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in New York, Ohio, and Missouri," *BYU Studies* 12 (summer 1972): 525.

[15]Crawley, "Bibliography," 525. Rogers's hymnal was brought into question when his family moved to the Nauvoo area. During general conference in October 1839, it was decided "that a new edition of Hymn Books be printed immediately, and that the one published by D. W. Rogers be utterly discarded by the Church." Joseph Smith Jr., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,* ed. B. H. Roberts, 2d ed., rev., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1971), 4:14 (hereafter cited as *History of the Church*). Though this firm action was taken against Rogers, publishing a hymnal and "selling it as the one compiled and published by Sister Emma Smith" was one of three charges considered in the April 1840 general conference. The other two charges were "writing a private letter to New York City, casting reflections on the character of Elder John P. Greene" and "administering medicine unskilfully, which had a bad effect." He was "forgiven" and "the hand of fellowship . . . continued towards him." *History of the Church* 4:105–6.

[16]*A Collection of Sacred Hymns for the Church of the Latter Day Saints* (New York: C. Vinten Printer, 1838), 118, Special Collections and Manuscripts, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. Only stanzas one and two are reproduced in this article.

[17]Smoot, Autobiography, 5–6.

[18]Rogers, Report, 1.

[19]Rogers, Report, 1. S. Bent became ill and was unable to fulfill the assignment. Though Rogers's report does not give a full first name for Brother Bent, it is likely that S. Bent was Samuel Bent, a prominent figure in the settlement of Nauvoo. Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia: A Compilation of Biographical Sketches of Prominent Men and Women in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830–1848,* 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History, 1901–36), 1:368.

[20]Rogers, Report, 1.

[21]The *History of the Church* indicates that Israel Barlow had previously met Isaac Galland when Barlow lost his way while leaving Missouri in the fall of 1838 (*History of the Church* 3:265). In "Isaac Galland–Mormon Benefactor," *BYU Studies* 19 (spring 1979): 267, Lyndon W. Cook blends some of the experiences of the land committee with Barlow's earlier misadventure.

[22]Cook, "Isaac Galland," 267.

[23]Galland's ownership of the land was disputable because of the "questionable legality of the land transactions in the Half-Breed Tract." For a detailed explanation of Galland's purchase of the "Half-Breed Tract," see Cook, "Isaac Galland," 264–65.

[24]Rogers, Report, 1; *History of the Church* 3:260. Some confusion can arise because Rogers inexplicably begins his written report with the date February 1, 1839, implying that that is the date of the report. However, the dates within the report are later and are consistent with the conference date listed in the *History of the Church.*

[25]Rogers, Report, 1.

[26]*History of the Church* 3:262, 263; Cook, "Isaac Galland," 269; Rogers, Report, 2.

[27]Rogers, Report, 2–3.

[28]Rogers, Report, 3.

[29]Rogers, Report, 3; Clark V. Johnson, ed., *Mormon Redress Petitions: Documents of the 1833–1838 Missouri Conflict* (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center; Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1992), 95. Parley P. Pratt states that the man who helped his family was David W. Rogers of New York, a descendant of the martyr John Rogers of Smithfield, England.

[30]Rogers, Report, 4. Parley P. Pratt's version of this account differs from Rogers's eyewitness report. Pratt notes that Sister Pratt left the wagon to cross the "swollen stream" on a "foot bridge." Upon reaching the other side, she looked back at the wagon to see if it had arrived safely. Sister Pratt saw a child's bonnet floating in the water and discovered her daughter was no longer in the wagon. She then yelled to Brother Rogers, who leaped into the water to rescue the child. Pratt also notes that the child's hands caught the wagon spokes, which brought her to the surface. Although she survived, "the marks of the wheel were distinctly seen on both her thighs, which were seriously injured and nearly broken." Pratt, *Autobiography,* 208.

[31]Joseph Smith escaped while being taken from Liberty Jail to another county for trial. Joseph had a change of venue from Liberty to Gallatin and then another change of venue from Gallatin to Columbia in Boone County, Missouri. It was while traveling from Gallatin to Columbia that Joseph made his escape.

[32]Smoot, Autobiography, 7.

[33]Caroline Rogers Daniels Smoot, "Testimony of Knowing Joseph Smith," 1–2, copy in possession of the author. Others who lived in the barracks included Orson Pratt, John Taylor, Erastus Snow, Jacob Yates, Bates Noble, and the Elder Fordham David Rogers had known in New York.

[34]On February 6, 1844, David Rogers bought lot pt. 4, blk. 146. This purchase was recorded on June 4, 1847, in the *Hancock County Land Records,* Book S, p. 194. On April 2, 1847, Rogers sold blks. 146 and 148. This sale was recorded

on March 28, 1848, in the *Hancock County Land Records,* Record Book U, p. 119. He built his home either on blk. 146 or on a small portion of blk. 148; a foundation located on blk. 146 may be from that home. As early as 1843, Rogers's daughter Amelia reported that her father was making bricks for the house that was being built in Nauvoo. Amelia Rogers, note to her sister Susanna, appended to Martha Rogers's letter to Susanna dated Nauvoo, November 18, 1843, copy in possession of the author.

[35]"The Biography of David White Rogers," Records of the Seventies Quorums, 34th Quorum, vol. 2, p. 19, LDS Church Archives.

[36]Topham, *In Search of Living Water,* 81. "Treasury of Pioneer Stories," 4:194.

[37]Topham, *In Search of Living Water,* 111; Ross Ransom Rogers, Autobiography, 6.

[38]*The Heroines of "Mormondom": The Second Book of the Noble Women's Series* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1884), 26.

[39]Smoot, Autobiography, 11–12,

[40]Ross's and Caroline's families had preceded their parents west. Ross settled in Provo as did David eventually. Caroline, Hester, and Susanna stayed in Salt Lake City for a while. Henry Clay Rogers, the youngest, moved to Springville, Utah. Charles A. was in New York when he heard of Joseph and Hyrum Smith's death. He knew that the Saints had traveled west but was unable to contact his family for several years. After his mission, Charles located his family when he finally came to Utah.

[41]Ross Ransom Rogers, Autobiography, 6–7. An addition to the Ross Ransom Rogers Autobiography, pages 6–7 were written by David John Rogers and his sister Caroline Rogers Watkins as they retell memories of their parents and grandparents.

[42]Ross Ransom Rogers, Autobiography, 6–7.

[43]David White Rogers, letter to his wife Martha, Lock-port, June 18, 1855, 1–4, copy in possession of the author.

[44]Jessie Bigler Martin, Diaries, 1853–1857, 96–97, 99, 106–107, Special Collections and Manuscripts, Brigham Young University. The *Deseret News* reported on August 19, 1857, that "Elder Jesse B. Martin's wagon company was traveling on the Northside of the Platte, and was about 36 miles below Laramie on the 3d of this month. They . . . were pursuing their journey at the rate of 15 miles a day. Elders Charles R. Dana, David W. Rogers, and James Carrigan were in Elder Martin's company" (p. 188). The Martin company record in the Journal History of the Church states the "only unpleasant feature" of the journey was the "loss of 11 head of cattle in a stampede," and all members of the train arrived safely in Salt Lake City. Andrew Jenson, Journal History of the Church, September 12, 1857, 3.

[45]"Minutes of the Semi-Annual Conference . . . October 6, 1857," *Deseret News,* October 14, 1857, 255.

[46]Ross Ransom Rogers, Autobiography, 7. He was the attending physician when Col. William Madison Wall passed away. Provo City Cemetery, Book 1.

[47]The two daughters, Mary Elvira and Martha Ella, grew to maturity, but John David and the twin boys, Samuel and Lemuel, died in infancy. Family Group Record-208, LDS Ancestral File.

[48]David White Rogers, letter to President Brigham Young, undated but after his mission, copy in possession of the author.

[49]Wilford Woodruff, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833-1898, Typescript,* ed. Scott G. Kenney, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1985), 7:140. David White Rogers was one of five patriarchs ordained at a stake conference in Provo.

[50]David White Rogers, letter to Susanna, Provo, May 3, 1881, copy in possession of the author; David White Rogers, letter to Mr. Joseph K. Rogers Esquire, Provo, February 22, 1881, copy in possession of the author.

[51]David Rogers, letter to Susanna; italics added.

[52]"Biography of David W. Rogers"; Family Ancestral File.

Short Study

How Large Was the Population of Nauvoo?

Susan Easton Black

Various estimates have been given by many historians for the population of Nauvoo from 1839 to 1846. Admittedly, demographic descriptions of that era are riddled with statistical inadequacies, yet while these difficulties have been recognized by historians, they have not been resolved to the extent possible through research.

While historians all agree that the population of Nauvoo rapidly increased between 1839 and 1846, they either describe this growth with undocumented figures, avoid mentioning any concrete figures, or cast doubt on the figures they have cited. For example, Robert Flanders simply states, "The population of Illinois trebled during each decade between 1820–1840 and doubled between 1840 and 1850."[1] When describing the LDS population, he quotes others: "The Mormons reported a population of ten thousand by late 1842; Thomas Ford in his *History of Illinois* wrote that there were by the end of the year sixteen thousand Mormons altogether in Hancock County."[2] On another occasion, he quotes from an October 1843 issue of *The Nauvoo Neighbor,* in which Nauvoo is designated "the great emporium of the West, the center of all centers . . . a population of 15,000 souls congregated from the four quarters of the globe."[3]

Two other historians, David Miller and Della Miller, accurately assert that "when the Mormons first arrived there in the spring of 1839, approximately 100 persons occupied the whole peninsula. By 1845 the official Illinois census showed that the city had grown to nearly 12,000." But they offer the caveat that "most contemporary

accounts (both Mormon and non-Mormon) regularly over-estimated the population, sometimes stretching the figure up to more than 20,000."[4] The Millers mistakenly cite the January 7, 1846, issue of the *Warsaw Signal,* which they interpret as saying that the population of Nauvoo was 22,599 (the *Signal* was actually reporting on all of Hancock County).[5]

Church historian B. H. Roberts left room for a range of population sizes: "Early in 1843 [Nauvoo's] population was variously computed from twelve to sixteen thousand."[6] Later he concludes, "When the exodus of the Saints was enforced, Nauvoo had a population variously estimated from twelve to twenty thousand."[7] Roberts's overestimation is even further exceeded by the Illinois Department of Conservation, which announced that "Nauvoo was Illinois' largest city with a population of 27,000" in 1844.[8]

As Nauvoo's Mormon era is recalled by historians, one is left wondering if more precise and informative statistics about Nauvoo's population from 1839 to 1846 can be found. Since numbers range from 12,000 to 27,000, a need for greater accuracy is evident.

Due to the highly transient nature of Nauvoo's population from 1839 to 1846, a precise yearly count of its residents is nearly impossible. An approximation was once made by the Prophet Joseph Smith. Esquire Butterfield asked the Prophet in January 1843 "to prophesy how many inhabitants would come to Nauvoo." Joseph replied, "I will not tell how many inhabitants would come to Nauvoo; but when I went to Commerce, I told the people I would build up a city, and the old inhabitants replied 'We will be damned if you can.' So I prophesied that I would build up a city, and the inhabitants prophesied that I could not; and we have now about 12,000 inhabitants."[9]

The census records of the 1840s fill out the picture somewhat. For example, the 1840 Hancock County census recorded 2,450 people as residents of the Nauvoo Precinct.[10] The Church leadership conducted a Nauvoo census in 1842 indicating under 4,000 people living in approximately eight to nine hundred households.[11] In 1845 the Illinois State census counted 11,000

people living within the Nauvoo city limits, and that number was confirmed by another account that year placing the city of Nauvoo at 11,036 inhabitants.[12]

Numerous records of Nauvoo's history from 1839 to 1846 have long been available to historians. The documents also generally corroborate these population figures. Several years ago, the Church compiled a cumulative list of the Latter-day Saints who, at any time, had been residents of Nauvoo. That list contains the names of 12,642 Nauvoo citizens. In addition, information on those who attended four Nauvoo wards and early Relief Society meetings has also been preserved. The records of those who vicariously performed baptisms for the dead in the Nauvoo Temple and those who received their endowments and were sealed to their spouses are found in the Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register from December 10, 1845, to February 7, 1846. Moreover, Nauvoo tax records exist for each year (although they are incomplete for 1844), and Nauvoo property lists have also survived.[13] As journals, branch records, ship lists, ordinance data, and parish records are searched, increased data provides a more comprehensive, objective, and believable basis for accounting.

From over one thousand sources,[14] I recently compiled a fifty-volume work entitled *The Membership of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830–1848.*[15] It acknowledges, highlights, and reconstructs the contribution and commitment of a total of 23,200 known people who were members of the Church at any time during the years from 1830 to 1848.

A synthesis of all these noncensus data indicates that the population of Nauvoo grew from 100 in 1839 to about 4,000 in 1842, rose to about 12,000 in 1844, and stood at around 11,000 in 1845. Births, deaths, immigration, apostasy, transiency, and many other factors present in frontier river towns like Nauvoo, of course, make it difficult to pin down this moving target, but these numbers are based on the best available demographic information and should replace the older assumed or previously estimated population figures for Nauvoo.

NOTES

[1]Robert Bruce Flanders, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1975), 16.

[2]Flanders, *Nauvoo,* 56; Illinois governor Thomas Ford actually placed the population of Nauvoo at "about 15,000 . . . scattered over about six square miles," not at 16,000; see his *History of Illinois, from Its Commencement as a State in 1818 to 1847* (Chicago: S. C. Griggs; New York: Ivison and Phinney, 1854), 403.

[3]Flanders, *Nauvoo,* 176–77.

[4]David E. Miller and Della S. Miller, *Nauvoo: The City of Joseph* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: Peregrine Smith, 1974), 5.

[5]Miller and Miller, *Nauvoo,* 75.

[6]B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,* 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1930), 2:179.

[7]Roberts, *Comprehensive History of the Church* 3:23.

[8]*Illinois Department of Conservation: Life and Land Together* (Springville, Ill.: State of Illinois, issued by Land and Historic Sites, n.d.).

[9]Joseph Smith Jr., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,* ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1973), 5:232.

[10]United States Federal Census, 1840.

[11]1842 Church Census of Nauvoo, Archives Division, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.

[12]Illinois State Census, 1845; *Times and Seasons* 6 (November 15, 1845): 1031; and Glen M. Leonard and T. Edgar Lyon, "The Nauvoo Years," *Ensign* 9 (September 1979): 12.

[13]Nauvoo City Records, LDS Church Archives, and Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

[14]Sources included journals, biographies, historical records, periodicals, minutes, census records, ship lists, Church records, land records, rosters, cemetery records, tax and property lists, dissertations, civil records, and genealogical records. Information on each member is divided into four sections: vital statistics, Church ordinances, temple ordinances, and biographical information.

[15]Susan Easton Black, *The Membership of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints 1830–1848,* 50 vols. (Salt Lake City: Corporation of the President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1990). This work was compiled at the invitation of Earl Olsen, director of the Church Historical Department, in 1982. James Rosenvall and his colleagues at Brigham Young University developed a computer program to store, index, search, and analyze this data.

Picturing the Nauvoo Legion

Now out of favor as a subject for artists, the Nauvoo Legion was in the last century both vilified and commemorated in images where some uniforms and settings are surprisingly accurate.

Glen M. Leonard

The Nauvoo Legion filled important military, ceremonial, social, and symbolic roles for the Latter-day Saint community in western Illinois during the 1840s. The Legion's participation in regular drills, parades, mock battles, and special activities such as those on Independence Day and at the cornerstone ceremonies of the Nauvoo Temple gave the militia considerable visibility. For those concerned with social standing, dinner parties for staff officers and their wives following some field exercises provided personal access to Nauvoo's governing circle.[1] Some residents of nearby communities feared the Legion's presence in Hancock County as an offensive force, but Nauvoo's leaders maintained that the Legion existed only for defensive purposes. Whatever the interpretation of its intent, the Nauvoo Legion left an indelible impression on the memories of Latter-day Saints and other residents of western Illinois.[2]

When artists sought to visually depict the history of Nauvoo, they not surprisingly included images of the Nauvoo Legion and its officers. Most of the Legion artwork centered on Joseph Smith himself or on his involvement with the militia as it prepared for self-defense. These images ensured a place for the twenty-five hundred Legion members in the visual history of Nauvoo, but also they raise interesting questions about the historical accuracy of the portrayed information, including the setting and the militia uniforms. However, careful examination of the visual record and other independent sources provides some assurance of the historical validity of these early illustrations. Each picture not only

imparts a particular interpretation of the person or event it portrays, but also communicates significant information.

Portraits of Uniformed Military Leaders

American men often chose to be identified socially by their military positions because of the status these represented in Jacksonian society. Many officers of the Nauvoo Legion and many militia leaders in western Illinois were known in civic discourse by their military titles instead of by their civilian titles.[3] In addition, Joseph Smith, John C. Bennett, and Brigham Young had portraits painted of them in military uniform.

Processes Used by Maudsley and Campbell. Sutcliffe Maudsley (1809–1882) created carefully detailed portraits—always in profile and usually full-length—of many Nauvoo residents. He portrayed Joseph Smith both in civilian best dress and in military uniform (the images discussed here).[4] Little attention has been paid to Maudsley's technique although his precisely drawn portraits have been widely published and exhibited.

In late-eighteenth-century Europe, and soon afterward in North America, artists and inventors developed a method for creating inexpensive, miniature profile likenesses in a neoclassical style as substitutes for more expensive oil portraits. An artist first traced an image from life onto paper, using a mechanical device incorporating a pantograph, which could copy a design, map, or drawing in any size. The more complicated of these devices included seats, head braces, and special viewing lenses. But with a simple pantograph attached to a wall an artist could create an accurate, reduced outline. The artist merely traced around a subject's head and upper torso with a rod extending from the pantograph. The device dramatically reduced the image to a small outline on paper.

Like other profile artists of his time, Maudsley certainly used a mechanical drawing aid. In England, before he emigrated to Nauvoo in 1841, Maudsley or his associates may have used a pantograph or a *camera lucida*[5] in the textile mills of Accrington, Lancashire, where he worked as a pattern designer for calico and cotton cloth weavers and printers. His brother Ashworth carved the patterns into wood blocks for printing, so Sutcliffe certainly

understood that process of reproduction. Maudsley's Nauvoo profiles have a two-dimensional character that is consistent with his training in England and that hints of the mechanical process used in their creation.[6]

According to one second-hand report, Maudsley stood his subject against a wall, traced an outline on a large piece of paper with a pencil attached to a long stick, and then reduced the images. Maudsley's poverty may have prevented him from owning a large mechanical device and the quantities of tracing paper it required.[7] Most likely the long stick referred to a simple pantograph, perhaps homemade, attached to the wall. With this simple device, Maudsley could have traced the head and upper body of his subjects, a typical approach for profile artists.[8] A number of Maudsley bust profiles of this type exist, including one of Joseph Smith in military uniform (figure 1). This image, an enhanced outline of the head and torso, is only lightly finished with some shading and a touch of red on the cheeks and lips.[9]

Some artists added the full figure, usually through freehand sketching. Likewise, Maudsley's bust profiles were not his only final product. After adding internal details to the drawing, and sometimes enhancing it with white and black chalk, the artist would have the image engraved on a lithographic stone or copper plate. As a final touch, artists usually finished the lithographic line prints produced in this way with black



Fig. 1. *[Lieut. Gen. Joseph Smith],* by Sutcliffe Maudsley (1809–1881). Pantographic (?) drawing, enhanced with ink (?) and color highlights, on paper, size unknown, ca. 1842. Privately owned. Photo courtesy Museum of Church History and Art.



Fig. 2. *Lieut. Gen. Joseph Smith, Mormon Prophet,* by Sutcliffe Maudsley (1809–1881); engraved by O. Pelton. Engraving on paper, 4 5/8" x 3", 1842. From John C. Bennett, *The History of the Saints* (Boston: Leland and Whiting, 1842). Photo courtesy LDS Church Archives.

and white chalk, a black-and-gray ink wash, or black ink and watercolor. Miniature profile likenesses were widely available in the United States by the 1790s, as were silhouettes created by a similar process. The technique was not limited to expert artists. Anyone could buy and use inexpensive versions of the pantograph.[10]

Others in Nauvoo who undoubtedly understood the workings of a pantograph include Robert Campbell (1810–1890), who provided lithographic services for Sutcliffe Maudsley's patrons. An English schoolteacher who immigrated to Nauvoo sometime in 1842 or 1843, Campbell worked as a clerk, draftsman, copperplate engraver, and stone lithographer. He joined with Nauvoo surveyors to create maps and helped William W. Major create paintings for a Mormon history panorama (discussed below). Campbell is known to have made stone lithographic prints of Maudsley's portrait profiles. In 1845, Hosea Stout paid Maudsley to do his likeness, then arranged for Campbell to transfer the image to sandstone with his lithographer's crayon and to make prints. Campbell would have traced the drawing from paper to the stone with a pantograph. Campbell's work on maps and murals may also have employed mechanical drawing instruments or a *camera lucida.*[11]

Nauvoo-Period Militia Images of Joseph Smith and John C. Bennett. With an understanding of the processes used by profile artists such as Sutcliffe Maudsley, it is possible to propose a relationship between the six Nauvoo-period militia portraits of Joseph Smith illustrated in this article. All of them were created by Maudsley or drawn from his works. These images were copied by others to create a wax seal and two woodcuts.

The first published portraits of the Nauvoo Legion's top two leaders, John C. Bennett and Joseph Smith, appeared in Bennett's *History of the Saints,* an exposé published in late 1842.[12] The expertly crafted drawings of Bennett and General Smith in military uniform are credited to Boston engraver Oliver Pelton (identified by the abbreviation "sc" for sculptor/engraver). For his full-figure portrait of Joseph Smith (figure 2), Pelton used a work of art "delineated" (drawn) by Sutcliffe Maudsley. An artist identified as A. Clark created the John C. Bennett military portrait (figure 3). This image was likely drawn specifically for Bennett's book in 1842, after he left Nauvoo.[13]

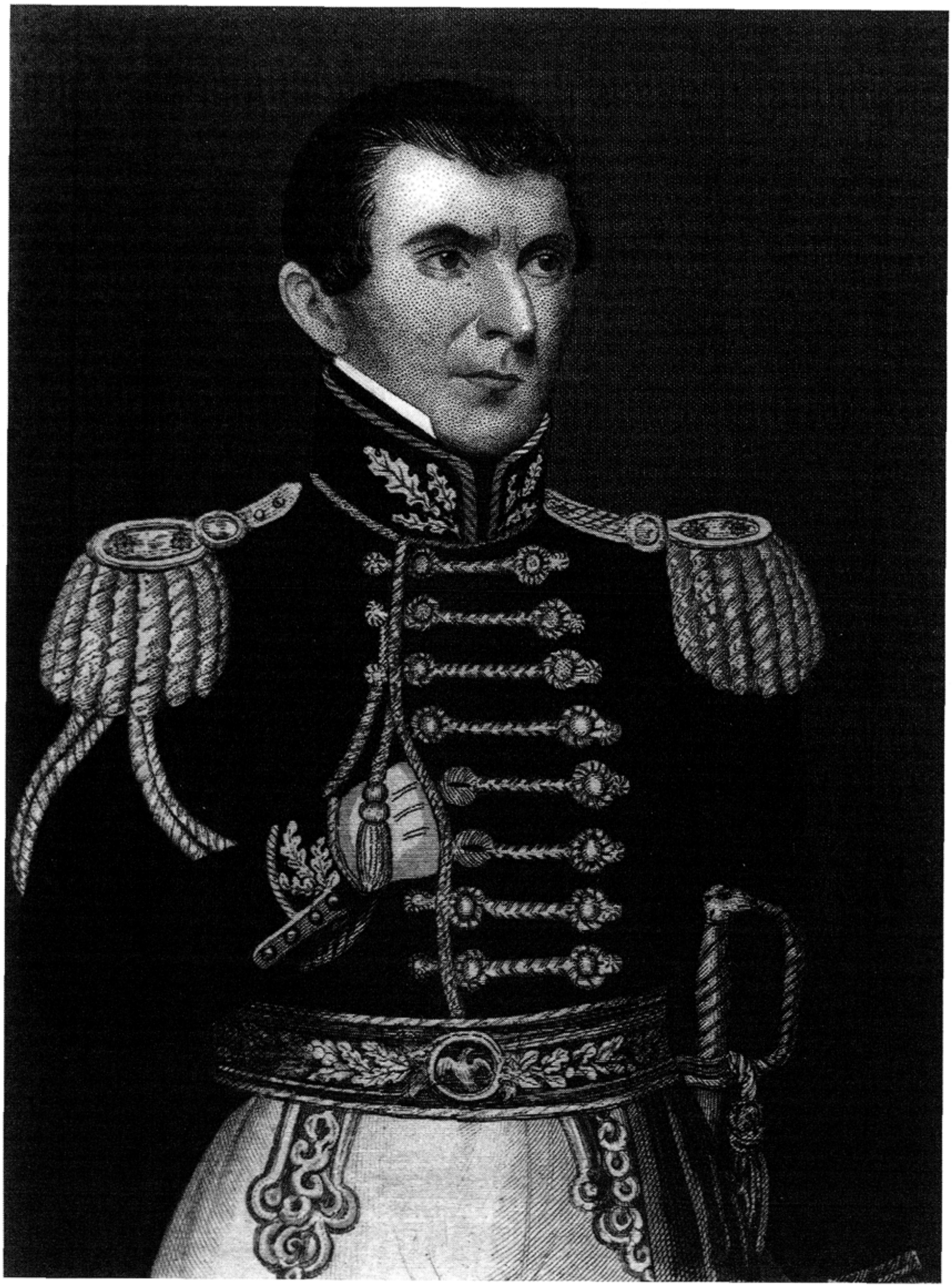


Fig. 3. *Gen. John C. Bennett, Doctor of Medicine,* by A. Clark, engraved by O. Pelton. Engraving on paper, 5" x 3 3/4", 1842. From John C. Bennett, *The History of the Saints* (Boston: Leland and Whiting, 1842). Photo courtesy LDS Church Archives.

Pelton probably worked from one of Maudsley's finished color portraits of Joseph Smith in military uniform. Two such paintings from the Nauvoo period are known.[14] The larger of the two, executed in egg tempera or watercolor (see colorplate 1 at the end of this article) was painted with a matching portrait of Emma Smith. Maudsley's profile of Joseph's face is so exact that it matches almost exactly the outline of the death mask made by George Cannon in June 1844, further evidence that Maudsley used a mechanical or visual aid.[15] With a precise initial outline in place, Maudsley added details inside the borders using freehand work. For instance, in unfinished areas in the epaulet on Joseph's shoulder and in the coattail decorations, he left telltale pencil lines and a light yellow paint to guide him in applying the final colors.

The second surviving color portrait (colorplate 2) also by Maudsley shares many distinctive features with the first and larger image but has notable differences as well.[16] The two may have originated from separate sittings or from a common source—an outline created from life using a pantograph. Or the smaller may have been reduced from the larger. The two are most alike in the head and torso, while, as might be expected for the pantographic technique, the most significant differences are found from the chest down. For example, the artist changed the angle of the arm so that the hand in the smaller drawing appears above the level of the nearby tabletop instead of just below it.

Joseph Smith's clerks documented a sitting associated with one or both of these portraits. The Prophet's Illinois journal records that on June 25, 1842, he "sat for the drawing of his profile for lithographing on the city chart."[17] A lithograph print of Joseph in military uniform eventually appeared as an inset on the *Map of the City of Nauvoo* compiled by Gustavus Hills (colorplate 3). Hills, a Nauvoo musician, newspaper employee, and watchmaker, collected the information and illustrations for the map in 1842, but the New York City printer, John Childs, did not deliver the finished map for nearly two years. Brigham Young offered the map for sale at his home in May 1844.[18]

The entire sheet—including the map and the illustrations of the temple and Joseph Smith—was probably printed from a

lithographic stone. The printer's credit line on the Nauvoo map reads "Lith. of J. Childs, 90 Nassau Cor. of Fulton St. N.Y." In addition, maps were known to have been produced using this method in the 1840s.[19]

Close similarities between Maudsley's small watercolor portrait and the lithograph print on the map immediately led to the conclusion that the art work was the source for the map.[20] It seems plausible to surmise that the original watercolor was returned to Brigham Young by the map's printer. The piece has distinct folds that suggest it was inserted into a small envelope. Whether these folds were made during the Nauvoo years or while the profile was tucked away in Mary Ann Young's papers cannot be determined with certainty.

Perhaps anticipating multiple requests for his image of Lieutenant General Joseph Smith, Maudsley (or one of his clients) arranged for Robert Campbell to create lithographic outline prints based on one of the paintings. Nauvoo area resident John L. Smith preserved one of these prints, and early in the twentieth century, his daughter Clarissa Gillette, of Declo, Idaho, presented the image to the LDS Church Museum on Temple Square (figure 9, facing colorplate 1). The angle of the arm in the outline print matches the same detail on the small watercolor and on the map, and other details match as well. While this angle of the arm points to the small watercolor as the basis of the outline print, this relationship is nevertheless uncertain, because some details from the large watercolor that were not carried over to the small watercolor do appear in the outline pattern. Such minor artistic variations make it almost impossible to determine a chronological relationship between the outline print and the two watercolors.

That there is an influence of one or more of these images upon the others is confirmed by comparing nearly two dozen specific details that differ on one or more of the military profiles. The engraving published in Bennett's book and that on the map share a dozen specific points in common. Most of these shared details can be found as well on the small watercolor. All three are almost exactly the same size. If the small watercolor served as the source for the Nauvoo map (a widely accepted premise), was it also the source for the engraving in Bennett's history? That the engraver Pelton had

temporary access to the watercolor is a reasonable conjecture, especially since the other two options—that Pelton copied either from the map itself or from an independent source—are both untenable. The map and the engraving have many details in common. But because Brigham Young did not receive the printed map until April 1844, it seems unlikely that Pelton copied from the map (unless he obtained an early proof). Barring the creation of a second duplicate watercolor, the only independent source known would be a copy of the outline print, and such a copy can easily be eliminated from consideration—the Pelton engraving and the outline print share none of the distinguishing factors used in the comparison.

Since the remaining option is that the small watercolor is the source for both the map and the Pelton engraving, how could John C. Bennett have temporarily gained access to the watercolor? Circumstantial evidence suggests a possible scenario. Bennett lost his Church, civic, and Nauvoo Legion positions in Nauvoo in May 1842 after confessing to adultery. During the summer, he published letters against the Church in Illinois and headed east to find a publisher for his book. In August, Bennett tried to get James Arlington Bennet to help him arrange his materials for publication. When that friend of the Saints declined, John C. Bennett next turned to another Mormon sympathizer, James Gordon Bennett, publisher of the *New York Herald.* That tentative copublishing arrangement failed as well. Then Boston publishers Emerson Leland and Willard J. Whiting, who had read some of John C. Bennett's newspaper articles, met with him in New York City in late August and agreed to facilitate the publication. They became primary publishers and had the book printed in Boston, but two other companies, one in New York City and the other in Cincinnati, shared publication costs.[21]

Like John C. Bennett, Gustavus Hills, the Nauvoo map maker, lost his standing in the Church (in November 1842) for immoral conduct. Hills had justified his actions using the same "spiritual wife" heresy as Bennett.[22] This defense suggests Hills was influenced by Bennett and was perhaps even his friend. Perhaps through this acquaintanceship, Hills loaned the small watercolor to Bennett in July 1842 for use in his anti-Mormon book.[23]

If Bennett had the drawing for a time, that may help explain not only the engraving, but also a variant printing of the Nauvoo map. The maps offered for sale in Nauvoo contain the Joseph Smith lithograph in the lower left corner. A rare variant printing lacks this image. In its place, the engraver has continued the Mississippi River through the space. It may be that the variant printing was struck in a very few copies as proofs for review in the belief that the Joseph Smith image would not be available.[24] Perhaps significant in this regard is that Willard Richards saw John C. Bennett on Fulton Street (where Foster had his daguerreotype shop) during one of Richards's trips there in connection with the map of Nauvoo.[25]

Adaptations of Pelton's Military Portrait. Soon after John C. Bennett published his exposé, Pelton's impressive engraving of Maudsley's Joseph Smith began to be copied by others.[26] The most interesting adaptation from Bennett's book is found on a letter dated October 24, 1843, from James Arlington Bennet, Esq., in New York City to General Smith in Nauvoo. Bennet impressed onto the letter a bright red (vermilion) wax seal depicting the uniformed bust of Joseph Smith (colorplate 7).

Nauvoo officials had honored James Arlington Bennet in April 1842 with an honorary law degree from the University of the City of Nauvoo and with appointment as inspector general of the Nauvoo Legion with the rank of major general. (In 1844 they would invite him to serve as vice-presidential candidate in the 1844 U.S. presidential campaign.)[27] These honorary positions allowed Bennet to be known in Nauvoo society by two prestigious titles. He honored those who had honored him by using Lieutenant General Smith's image on his personal seal.[28] The Pelton engraving is the obvious source for the seal and was certainly available to Bennet.

The military portrait in Bennett's book may also have been the source for a woodcut in the January 4, 1845, issue of Samuel Brannan's New York City newspaper, *The Prophet* (figure 4). Joseph Smith appears in a formal suit, but three clues point to an adaptation from the Pelton engraving. First is the distinctive shadowing around the eye. Second, the woodcut retains a slightly modified high military collar and has no evidence of the white tie found in portraits of Joseph Smith in civilian clothing. Third, the

loose lock of hair that hangs over the right side of the forehead appears in all of Maudsley's military images of Smith but in none of the Nauvoo-period civilian poses. (It reappears in the Piercy engraving and a few other images of that period, including an unsigned oil painting at the LDS Museum attributed at various times to William W. Major or David W. Rogers but clearly influenced by Maudsley.)[29]



Fig. 4. *[The Prophet Joseph Smith],* by Sutcliffe Maudsley (1809–1881), engraver unknown. Woodcut on paper, ca. 3" x 3", 1845. From *The Prophet* (New York City), January 4, 1845. Probably based on O. Pelton engraving in Bennett, *History of the Saints* (1842). See figure 2.

John Taylor criticized Brannan's woodcut and promised handsomer portraits of the Prophet by Nauvoo's talented portraitists. He named Major and Seal Van Sickle. In July a new image based on one of Maudsley's civilian profiles appeared in the New York paper as an editorial page logo.[30] Since that time, artists and publishers within the Church have preferred to show Joseph Smith in his Sabbath-day suit rather than in military uniform. This trend reflects an interest in emphasizing his prophetic role rather than his civic involvement as military commander.

Historical Accuracy of the Officers' Uniforms. If the map's production is a story with many unknown aspects, the accuracy of the precisely detailed clothing worn by Maudsley's subjects is not. Historical sources verify that Maudsley took few artistic liberties in his profiles. His precision can be demonstrated by looking at the military uniform worn by Lieutenant General Joseph Smith. The portrait of Major General Bennett, by a different artist, survives

similar scrutiny. Under Illinois law, militia officers were required to wear blue coats and pantaloons patterned after the regular U.S. army military uniform. The uniforms worn by the two top officers of the Nauvoo Legion for their militia portraits meet this standard (figures 2 and 3). The white pants seen in the Nauvoo portraits had been standard through the early 1800s and, especially for formal or ceremonial events, continued to appear for many years thereafter, even after the blue pants became the authorized standard. The various accouterments and the adornments, though personalized, fit the expectations of the times.[31]

An officer could purchase an entire outfit, if desired, from one of hundreds of suppliers. A fully equipped officer in 1843 would pay more than $200 for his hat and feathers, coat, epaulets, pantaloons, sash, belt, gloves, and sword. Equipping his horse would add another $185 to the bill.[32] Local tailors often made the uniforms to order from patterns secured from one of dozens of commercial suppliers of military clothing, patterns, and pieces. John Bills, a Nauvoo tailor and brigade major on the Legion's general staff, made coats for several of the Nauvoo Legion officers, including Joseph Smith and John C. Bennett. He used a pattern secured from Philadelphia by Hyrum Smith, possibly from the Army's quartermaster corps administrative center in that city. The accuracy of Bills's work is evident throughout the officer's coat he made for the Prophet. For example, he adjusted the length of the tails to fit his customer, placing them at the required midpoint between the knee and the crotch.[33]

Because officers were allowed wide latitude in how they finished and decorated their uniforms, differences can be expected. Even though he held the higher office, Joseph Smith's uniform had much less adornment than John C. Bennett's, perhaps a clue to the differences in personality of the two men. Additionally, Joseph Smith's portraits reveal minor differences from one to another and from the customary standard. The large watercolor presents the most traditional uniform. Artistic production techniques and a penchant for modernizing influenced certain changes in the other images. For instance, the nine-button coat signified major general, but since Smith's office of lieutenant general had not been used since George Washington's death, no convention for more buttons

existed. Nine buttons appear in the large watercolor and in the outline print (one button is hidden under the belt), but only seven can be seen in the other images (an eighth is hidden), because the coat has been foreshortened in the small watercolor and in all subsequent images influenced by it. Smith's coat appears to have a single row of buttons, a pattern authorized for positions of major or below. Bennett used the double row found on uniforms of the higher ranks and personalized the uniform with gold bars and braids.[34]

The uniforms of both officers begin with the required blue officers' coat topped with a stiff collar. Both men wear a white shirt under the dress coat, gold epaulets on the shoulders, and white dress trousers (also known as pantaloons—an earlier term—or breeches). The trousers extend to just below the top of the boots, with knee-length stockings below. Smith's high, black leather boots, buttoned down the outside, are typical.[35]

Bennett wears a colored sash under the belt, while Smith has opted to ignore this conventional placement. Another part of the sash hangs the standard length from the belt down to just above the knee. The color of the men's sashes would have varied to indicate affiliation with different combat branches, such as infantry, artillery, and cavalry. In the large watercolor, Smith sports a gold sash, a color reserved for the highest officers; in the smaller painting and on the map, the color is red, an indication of affiliation with artillery. Red is also a generally popular color. All of the images show Smith wearing a garrison belt buckle that would not have been approved; in contrast, Bennett's "leaning eagle" buckle and leather belt meet military expectations for an officer.[36]

Smith has removed his sword from its scabbard; the attached pommel cord and patterned bluing are visible. Bennett's sword hangs in its scabbard at his left hip, while he places his gloved hand into his vest (no gloves are shown in Smith's portrait). The sword patterns are typical.[37] Smith holds a straight, double-edged ceremonial sword used in signaling to the troops during a formal review. Bennett's sword has a fancy guard and a lamb (or lion) head.

Smith's chapeau, a French-style military hat, adorned with a black ostrich feather plume and personalized gold brocade, sits on an adjacent table; Bennett would have worn a similar one, decorated to his taste. The style of this hat was popular in colonial America and was not abandoned by military leaders until the Civil War.[38]

The eight-pointed stars on the hat in the large watercolor reflect the traditional choice to identify a head of state in Europe and high-ranking military officials in the United States. At the center of each star would be found an eagle, or, for mounted infantry, a horse. The eight-pointed star appeared on many American flags as well as early uniforms. By the early nineteenth century, the five-pointed stars seen in the other portraits had become popular. In the large watercolor, the coattails are turned back on both sides and held correctly by the standard six-pointed star (but simplified to four points in the other drawings).[39]

Certain adornments indicate rank or assignment, while others are merely decorative. Designations of rank would have appeared on the top of the epaulets (not visible in the Smith portraits) and on the sleeve. The small insignia on Smith's upper arm indicates a special interest in artillery. The image represents flames shooting out of a cannon ball—the Legion had three cannons. Bennett's epaulets are decorated with eight-pointed stars. Both men wear the more expensive epaulets with large curls. Smith's have been slipped under a blue and gold keeper and buttoned at the top. Bennett's appear fastened with two buttons and a round keeper. The bars on Smith's collar, sleeve, and coattail are merely decorative—an 1833 dragoon pattern—as are the commonly used oak leaves on Bennett's collar and cuff.[40]

Bennett had been cashiered from the Nauvoo Legion on June 30, 1842, several months before he published his anti-Mormon *History of the Saints.* That he chose to depict himself in military dress reinforces the status that association with the militia gave him in Jacksonian America. The captions of both portraits include the subject's military title and name, a signature, and a profession ("Mormon Prophet" for Joseph Smith, "Doctor of Medicine" for Bennett).[41]

Artifacts at the LDS Museum of Church History and Art offer physical evidence for comparison with the artistic image of Joseph Smith. The museum collection includes epaulets, swords, and sashes associated with the Nauvoo Legion. These items are consistent with the period; some are also similar to those in the paintings. Two of the sets of epaulets, preserved by the Hyrum Smith family, feature the larger metallic braids seen in the portraits. Those chosen for display in the Joseph Smith exhibit have the

smaller, less expensive braids but were a gift from the Prophet to Albert Rockwood, one of his bodyguards. The handsome field sword in the exhibit does not match the ceremonial piece in Maudsley's drawing nor do two other swords in the collection attributed to Joseph Smith (one of them donated by Wilford Woodruff). Swords were often presented to prominent militia officers as gifts. Lieutenant General Smith no doubt received several from friends, and it is known that he gave away at least one sword. The donor of the exhibited sword said that the Prophet wore the sword and later gave it to Orrin Porter Rockwell. None of the museum's red military sashes are attributed to Joseph Smith, but two of them follow closely the pattern of the knotting visible in the Maudsley drawings.[42] The epaulets and sash depicted by Maudsley were no doubt those preserved by Emma Smith. Joseph's ceremonial sword resembles one handed down through Hyrum Smith's family. (See colorplate 4.)

Military Portrait of Brigham Young. After Joseph Smith's death, the Nauvoo Legion filled the position of lieutenant general by electing Brigham Young to the premier position in August 1844. He had served previously for a time as an assistant chaplain, an appointment without uniform. The Illinois legislature rescinded the Nauvoo city charter the following January and with it the Nauvoo Legion. However, in territorial Utah, Young once again served as titular head of the militia. He knew of Joseph Smith's military portraits and owned one of them. That knowledge may have convinced him of the appropriateness of acquiring a uniform and allowing William M. Major to create a small oil portrait (see front cover). As a later commentator noted, "It is said that about the only purpose his elegant uniform ever served was to have his picture taken in."[43]

William W. Major (1804–1854) arrived in Nauvoo from England late in 1844 and painted a number of portraits (including group portraits) and other works there. He continued his painting career in Utah after 1848 and died while on a mission to England in 1854. Major painted Young's portrait after the Provisional State of Deseret created the Utah militia in 1849 and named it the Nauvoo Legion. The painting has been dated to around 1850, about the time Major was finishing a fine portrait of Young with his wife Mary Ann and their children. In later years, Brigham Young Jr. preserved the canvas, and it now hangs at the Pioneer Memorial

Museum of the International Society of Daughters of Utah Pioneers in Salt Lake City.[44]

Major was no less careful than Maudsley in capturing details in his delicately rendered portraits. Even though Major often created full figures in miniature size, unlike Maudsley he seldom used profiles. A self-trained artist of limited experience, he understood the techniques of his trade. He employed those proprietary secrets to create faithful likenesses, though the images are often stiff and sometimes awkward. Nevertheless, Young's uniform reflects the same authentic details found on the portraits of Smith and Bennett. For example, like Bennett, Young wears his sash under the belt as well as hanging at his side. Young's hat features an eight-pointed star and his belt an eagle. One interesting detail is the number of buttons in the two-row pattern on the coat. Including those on the stand-up collar, eleven buttons are visible in each row, with a twelfth hidden under the red sash. This number exceeds the nine used by Lieutenant General Smith; perhaps Young was attempting to have the number of buttons reflect this unusually high rank. Young differed from his predecessors in selecting boots with knee protectors and large gloves known as gauntlets. His military sword, an 1841 pattern common through the Civil War years, is attached with saber chains to leather rings at his belt. All of these details are appropriate for an officer of the 1840s; the uniform depicted in Major's painting can be trusted for its historically accurate detail.[45]

Celebrating Joseph Smith's Last Address to the Legion

On June 18, 1844, Joseph Smith and several associates from the Nauvoo Legion climbed atop Porter Rockwell's partially built home across from the Mansion House. From this makeshift speaker's platform, the Prophet addressed the assembled Legion for the last time. A number of men who heard him kept notes of the address. Most commonly they remembered his challenge to them to defend their families and beloved Nauvoo from mob threats.

One of those who heard the last address was Robert Campbell, the British lithographer and collaborator with Sutcliffe Maudsley. Campbell not only made notes of the talk, but also accepted an invitation a few months later from Philo Dibble to memorialize this and other events in a proposed multiple image panorama.[46] For

Joseph's last address, Campbell first created a small pencil drawing, which he finished in watercolor and ink (colorplate 5). Barely visible around the edges of the finished drawing are lightly penciled hatch marks and numbers that reveal its use as a pattern for a larger image. The hatch marks correspond exactly to the proportions needed for the corresponding 128-square-foot mural, which was shown publicly for the first time in Nauvoo's Masonic Hall in September 1845. The watercolor carries the hand-lettered title *General Joseph Smith Addressing the Nauvoo Legion,* as presumably did the canvas.[47]

Dibble enlisted William W. Major and other painters to execute the large canvas. This partnership also produced a painting memorializing the murders of Joseph and Hyrum Smith at Carthage Jail, exhibited first in April 1845 at Nauvoo. It was Dibble's desire to "make a Joseph and a Hyrum appear and speak to the eye and the heart of the thousands of Saints, assembled at Nauvoo." The two mural-sized oil paintings were shown again in Winter Quarters and at Council Bluffs. Dibble lectured throughout Utah Territory for thirty years with the Nauvoo paintings, plus busts of Joseph and Hyrum Smith and a third mural of the Mormon Battalion.[48]

As might be expected from Campbell, the landscape and architectural renderings of the buildings shown in the watercolor capture details with historical precision. The perspective is accurate, and the scattered homes on the hillside resemble the reality of the sparsely populated Davison Hibbard lands. At the far left, Parley Street climbs the hill to join the road to Carthage beyond the horizon. Campbell verifies the presence of a cupola atop the Mansion House. Previously known, but contradictory, evidence includes both David Hyrum Smith's idyllic picnic scene, which includes the cupola, and an 1843 Hancock County map, drawn by Campbell and two others, which excluded the cupola. The evidence of Campbell's reliable painting means that the ladder hidden in a second story closet directly under the cupola was used by the Smith family to gain access to the rooftop lookout, not to a hiding place for the Prophet, as previously surmised. In the painting, two tin rain gutter spouts on the front of the house approximate the shape of the actual pieces, with their sun and six-pointed-star decorations. The "Nauvoo Mansion" sign advertising the building as a public inn resembles one in Campbell's drawing on the county map.[49]

Two adjacent homes and Theodore Turley's log cabin appear where they should be to the east along Water Street. Beyond that is a long, log building that looks very much like one suited for a rope-making operation. At the right of the picture, in the block where Joseph Smith stands delivering his address, the log home of Joseph Smith Sr. and Lucy Mack Smith occupies the corner lot. The unfinished Rockwell home serves as a speaker's platform, and the new brick stable that served guests at the Mansion House forms a backdrop. The white picket fences in the foreground identify the lots where Joseph's log homestead and an adjoining home stood. The artist may have stood atop that second home, with the Red Brick Store just behind him. One wonders if Campbell used a *camera lucida* to obtain the perspective and architectural details and relationships shown in this expertly drafted watercolor. That certainly would have been the easiest way to accomplish his objective.[50]

Upwards of a year passed before Campbell began his panorama for Dibble. Of necessity, he added the people in the scene from memory. Each major figure served a purpose—the mural was a visual aid for use by a lecturer telling the story of Joseph Smith's last address. The specific narrative has not survived, but Hosea Stout understood Dibble's intent and objected that his own portrait would be seen with the officers and civilians who betrayed Joseph Smith and the Church.[51] One of these traitors may be the blue-suited officer on horseback in the left foreground who waves to a mounted colleague in white pantaloons at the center of the crowd, possibly a coconspirator. Are the three well-dressed civilians by the picket fence other opponents? Perhaps additional research into the event could identify these and other major participants.

Visually the men in the foreground demand attention, but the story's central player is Joseph Smith, seen on the stand, his profile a clear borrowing from Maudsley's uniformed portrait. Immediately behind Joseph is a companion also dressed in white trousers, presumably Major General Charles C. Rich (second-in-command of the Legion) or possibly Brevet Major General Hyrum Smith, a staff officer. Three other officers with plumed hats stand on the platform (along with a distinguished civilian), while eight other high-ranking officers look on from horseback in the crowd. The Prophet tips his hat in a gesture of friendship to his associates

(and traitors) in Nauvoo's respected army, a paradoxical symbol of what is soon to transpire.

While the uniforms of the militia leaders meet government standards, two American flags on the speaker's platform curiously appear with red and blue stripes and no field of stars. Of greater interest to historians are the brightly colored coats and diagonal sashes shown on members of the Nauvoo Legion. Historical evidence points to a poorly outfitted militia. As Hamilton Gardner notes, "The high-ranking officers probably appeared in colorful and flamboyant dress, while the enlisted men made shift with such homemade accouterments and clothing as they could piece together."[52] Campbell seems to contradict the evidence by giving every soldier a full uniform, including the standard tall, narrow-rimmed hat and bayonetted rifle. His purposes may have been educational rather than historical, didactic rather than accurate.

Campbell puts a large number of the men (at the left and back) in all-blue uniforms and smaller contingents (in the middle and at the right) in yellow-orange or light blue coats with pale blue trousers. Two officers on the stand and three below on horseback wear green jackets. By using these colors, the artist may have been identifying the men as staff officers (dark blue), mounted dragoons (yellow-orange), infantry (light blue), and medical aids (emerald green). These were the standard sash colors for these assignments, but local units could alter their meaning. The large number of blue-uniformed officers seems an accurate reflection of the Nauvoo Legion, known for its unusually top-heavy organization. Only a few of the men wear sashes, perhaps an indication of rank, perhaps a measurement of wealth.[53]

Campbell had no doubt seen Nauvoo's junior legion. These boys, known as the Sons of Helaman, paraded in colorful uniforms made by their mothers. Each boy sported white pants, a colorful blouse, and palm hat. They marched with banners and wooden guns. The reported completeness of the youthful uniforms seems projected inaccurately upon the adult militiamen, but such idealized costuming for militias in art was not uncommon.[54]

No one voiced objection to the uniforms given the Legion forces in the mural that Campbell and Major created for Dibble. But in April 1845, the *Nauvoo Neighbor* spoke disparagingly of

the way an artist hired by Sam Brannan provided full uniforms for Missouri mobs at Far West. The hand-colored lithograph, *The Extermination of the Latter Day Saints from the State of Missouri in the Fall of 1838,* was the first of an intended series issued from the office of *The Prophet,* Brannan's newspaper for Latter-day Saints in the northeast.[55] The Nauvoo editor contended that only men acting in their capacity as militiamen should be depicted in uniform. Members of a mob acting outside the law should be represented in civilian clothes.

Early illustrations of the Martyrdom followed this convention. In the William Daniels-Lyman O. Littlefield pamphlet of 1845, the Carthage Greys arrive late at the scene in full uniform while the mob flees in workingmen's clothing—and the murdered Joseph Smith lies at the well curb dressed all in white.[56] This visual language, typical for the times, ignores actual clothing worn by the participants in order to communicate to the viewer. In this light, Brannan's extermination drawing and Campbell's portrayal of the Prophet's address both echoed artistic conventions of the times. So did other drawings of the Latter-day Saint experience in Missouri and Illinois.

More than thirty years passed before a Latter-day Saint artist again interpreted the June 1844 discourse. The mural-sized Dibble-Campbell-Major painting circulated widely in Utah before its retirement in the 1880s, no doubt well worn from use. John Hafen, born in 1857 in Switzerland and an immigrant to Utah six years later, may have seen it. The new interpretation was occasioned by a reunion of the veterans of Utah's militia, who encouraged Hafen to create a new painting of the 1844 discourse (and one other Nauvoo Legion painting, discussed below). The Utah territorial militia, which had been called the Nauvoo Legion since its creation in 1849, had been deactivated seventeen years earlier by a territorial governor and had just been disbanded by Congress.[57]

Along with his earlier work, *Lieutenant-General Joseph Smith, First Commander of the Nauvoo Legion,* Hafen's oil painting the *Last Public Address of Lieut.-Gen. Joseph Smith* (figure 5) was published as a poster in 1888 for the reunion. *Last Public Address* echoes the historical setting of the 1845 drawing but offers an artistically more sophisticated composition. While Campbell drew upon his experience as a draftsman, Hafen offered the talents of a young

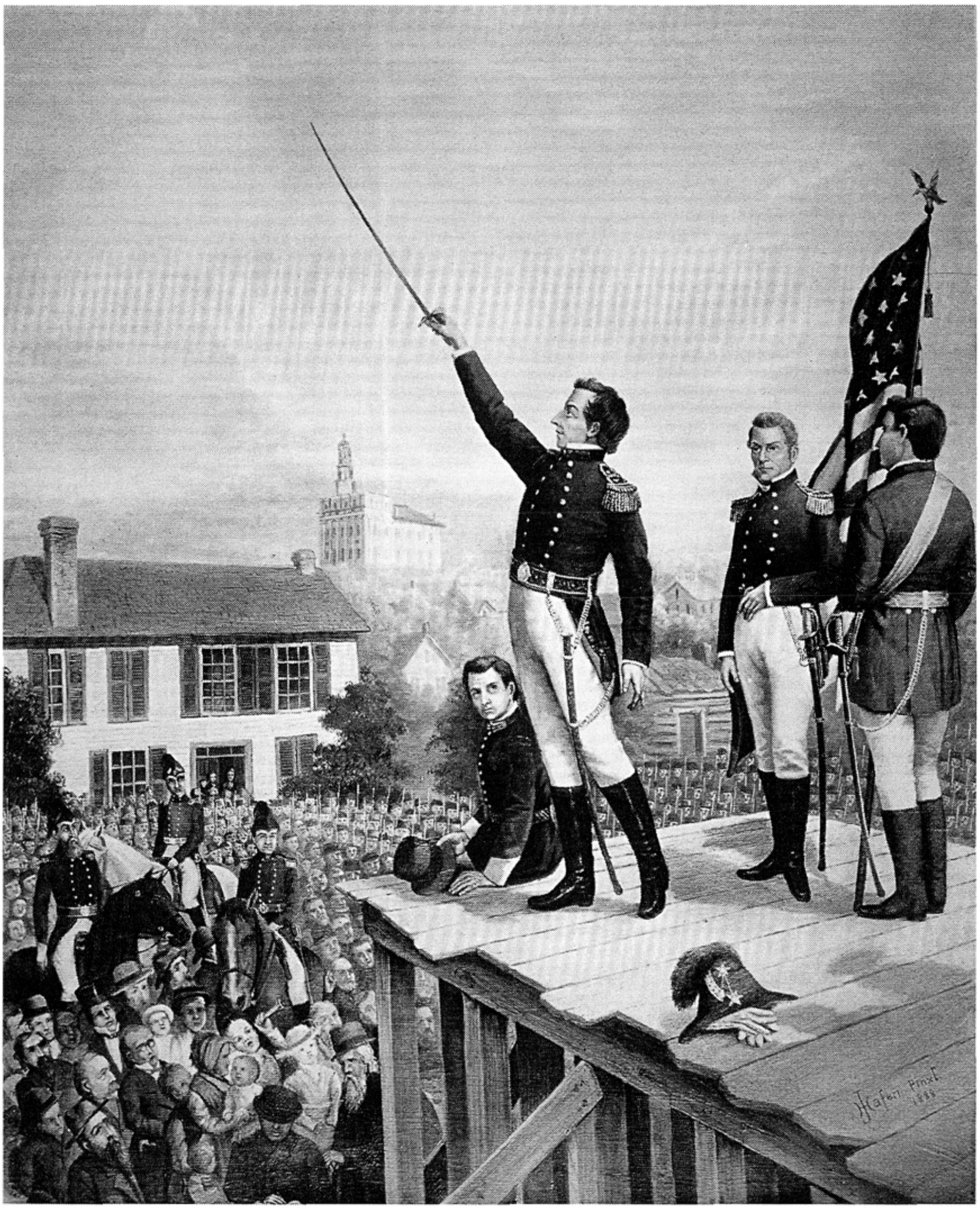


Fig. 5. *Last Public Address of Lieut.-Gen. Joseph Smith,* by John Hafen (1857–1910). Photolithographic print on paper, 16" x 12 3/4", published to commemorate the Utah Nauvoo Legion reunion, 1888. Courtesy Museum of Church History and Art.

but skilled artist. Because of the attention to photographic detail, the early watercolor emphasizes the setting. In contrast, Hafen gives Joseph Smith the commanding position. Instead of his hat, the Prophet lifts his sword to the crowd. Hafen clearly wished to memorialize the famous call to arms issued during the address. Joseph Smith's words appear as a quotation in a printed caption below the picture: "I call upon God and angels to witness that I have unsheathed my sword with firm and unalterable determination that this people shall have their legal rights and shall be protected from mob violence, or my blood shall be spilt upon the ground."[58]

In the painting's detail, Hafen memorialized the officers of the Nauvoo Legion but was less careful than Campbell in his historical information. All of Hafen's officers wear white pantaloons in imitation of Lieutenant General Smith's uniform. Sutcliffe Maudsley's portrait remains the model, but Hafen added a second row of buttons on all the uniforms and gave the men fancy belts and buckles. Joseph and Hyrum Smith dominate the platform, with Joseph's two aides-de-camp given secondary roles. The seated youth holds his own tall military hat. Similar hats and some less formal caps appear on the heads of the solidiers in the crowd (and similarly in the 1845 watercolor), but Hafen allows only their heads to be visible. Through this visual device, he carefully avoids the question of uniforms for the men. Ordinary Nauvoo citizens of all ages cluster at the foot of the frame preaching stand, a feature absent from the 1845 mural.

Emphasizing people, Hafen uses buildings only to define the setting—Joseph on a framed platform located across from the Mansion House and on the flat below the Nauvoo Temple. In the most dominant architectural features, accuracy is ignored. Hafen's Mansion House is shuttered (the way B. H. Roberts photographed it in 1885).[59] The Nauvoo Temple on the far horizon appears the way it looked months after the Prophet's death. Its presence in the painting is as a symbol of Nauvoo's purpose rather than a statement of strict historical detail. Hafen created his handsome work in shades of black, white, and grey for reproduction as a photolithographic print. The image continues to appear in publications telling the Nauvoo story.

Remembering the Legion's Military Might

The art portraying Joseph Smith's last address to the Nauvoo Legion celebrated his commitment to preserve the rights of his people. Another series of images of the Prophet as military leader place him on horseback at one of the annual reviews of the militia (for example, figure 6). The earliest of these drawings adopts the perspective of the Mormon militia as a threat, an image created by the opponents of Nauvoo's growing political strength. The engravings link the Prophet's religious and civic roles and create a negative image of a militaristic leader bent on conquest. This interpretation is subtle in the drawings but supports the texts of the publications in which they appear—articles and books in Great

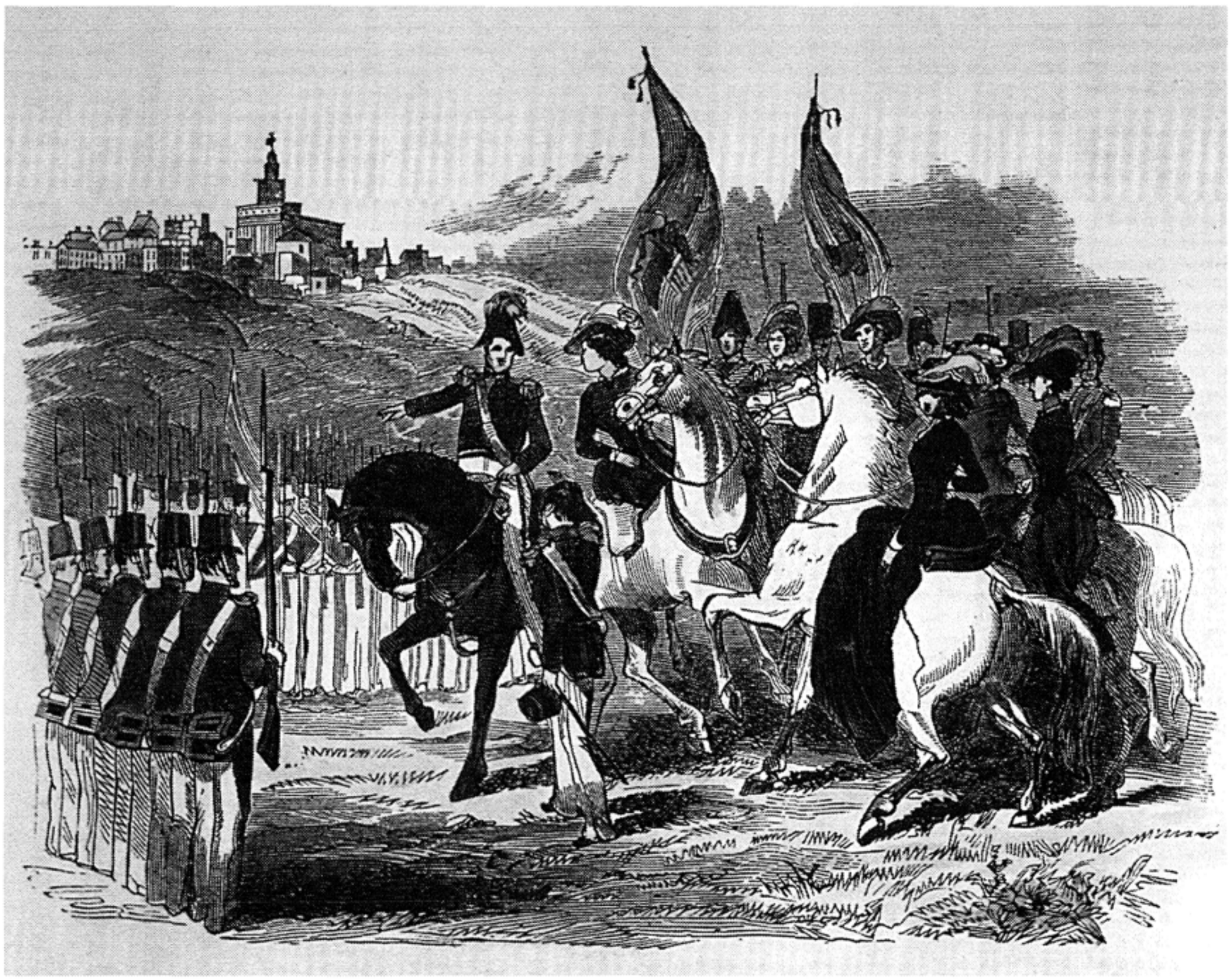


Fig. 6. *"Lieutenant General" Joseph Smith Reviewing the Nauvoo Legion,* by unknown artist and engraver. Engraving with watercolor highlights on paper, 3" x 4", 1870. From J. H. Beadle, *Life in Utah* (Philadelphia: National Publishing, 1870), facing p. 76. Appeared in other publications as early as 1851. Courtesy Museum of Church History and Art.



Fig. 7. *Lieutenant-General Joseph Smith (Prophet, Seer, and Revelator),* by unknown artist and engraver. Engraving on paper, 6" x 4", 1873. From T. B. H. Stenhouse, *The Rocky Mountain Saints* (New York: D. Appleton, 1873). Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

Britain and America from the 1850s through the 1870s. Because of the "historical look" of the engravings, they continue to be used, sometimes without an awareness of the implied visual message. All of these nineteenth-century images present well-equipped troops in full uniform led by Joseph Smith dressed in the uniform that Sutcliffe Maudsley first illustrated in Nauvoo.

One of the most widely published of the drawings of Joseph Smith reviewing the Nauvoo Legion (figure 6) was used as early as 1851 in England and was copied by many subsequent publishers.[60] The unnamed artist skillfully presents his anti-Mormon message. Surrounded by a bevy of young women on prancing white horses, Lieutenant General Smith directs his well-trained, formally uniformed troops on the flats below the city of Nauvoo. A Massachussets lecturer who had visited Nauvoo in 1843 reported seeing at a military parade "six ladies on horses, with white feathers or plumes waving over black velvet, riding up and down in front of the regiment."[61] A finished temple atop the hill reminds the viewer that Joseph Smith is both a military and religious leader. Almost hidden behind the women are officers carrying two local militia flags, decorated with eagles sitting atop shields. This drawing defined for all subsequent artists the visual components of a memorable experience for Nauvoo's residents and neighbors—those times when Joseph Smith rode his black steed, "Joe Duncan," while reviewing the Nauvoo Legion.

An artist for author T. B. H. Stenhouse shifted the focus even more to the prophet-general duality in an engraving of Joseph Smith riding a white horse. This image, published in *The Rocky Mountain Saints* in 1873 (figure 7), only hints of the men being reviewed and in a subtitle draws attention to Joseph Smith's religious role. In two tiny engravings that illustrate a map of the city, Stenhouse presented the broader view of officers reviewing the Legion. In the miniature views, Joseph Smith lifts his sword to signal to his men, who appear in the straight lines typical of the formal review.

Two Latter-day Saint artists responded to these images and adapted them in subtle ways to present a positive message. Beginning in the late 1870s, C. C. A. Christensen created his popular Mormon Panorama. The Danish immigrant artist had not experienced

any of the events he portrayed. As a visual historian, he drew from existing illustrations as well as the reminiscences of participants. In his panorama, Christensen included a view of *Joseph Mustering the Nauvoo Legion* (colorplate 6). This large canvas reinterprets the event to give it a celebratory emphasis.

Like Campbell, Christensen sought for historical accuracy in his cityscape. The scene is a parade ground south and east of Nauvoo. A prosperous, industrial city forms the backdrop (smoke rises from mills along the Mississippi), and an unfinished temple sits barely visible on the far horizon. On the parade ground, a red-coated military drum corps heads the straight line of soldiers. Christensen generalizes the soldiers into a steady blur. They stand at strict attention in blue and white uniforms. Presumably Joseph Smith rides the black horse, although his companion on the white horse appears to be a mirror image. Christensen tellingly includes only one woman in the entourage (is it Emma?) and avoids any innuendo of plural wives. He replaces the militia flags with the stars and stripes, an emphasis on loyalty to nation rather than to the city-state.

When Christensen's son traveled with the panorama, he reminded audiences of the Legion's existence for self-defense against mobs. Curiously, his oral narrative centered on Lieutenant General Smith's last address, which Christensen said took place on the parade ground with the troops formed into a hollow square. In effect, Christensen used one painting to tell two stories.[62]

In 1887, not long after Christensen's Mormon Panorama began its tour of Mormon country, John Hafen created the first of his two black-and-white oil paintings of the Nauvoo Legion—*Lieutenant-General Joseph Smith, First Commander of the Nauvoo Legion* (figure 8). This painting picks up on Stenhouse's portrait of a military leader on horseback, with American flags as a backdrop. For Hafen, as in his painting of the last address, a finished temple offers a more important symbol than the flags. And Lieutenant General Smith becomes the central figure, with everything else receding into the background. Hafen's ultimate source, Maudsley's profile portrait of the revered leader, is given life and energy, and the alert steed adds to the drama. While Stenhouse's Joseph rides with his hat in hand, dropped to his side, Hafen gives Lieutenant General



Fig. 8. *Lieutenant-General Joseph Smith, First Commander of the Nauvoo Legion,* by John Hafen (1857–1910). Oil on canvas, 25" x 19", 1887. Courtesy Museum of Church History and Art. Published with above title as a 15" x 12" photolithographic print on paper for the Utah Nauvoo Legion reunion, 1888.

Smith an authoritative pose—sword lifted in a salute to his mounted dragoons. In *First Commander,* Hafen came as close as anyone since Maudsley to a formal military portrait of Joseph Smith.

At a gathering in Salt Lake City in the first decade of the twentieth century, veterans of Utah's territorial militia gathered for a photograph. They were members of the Nauvoo Legion Association of Utah, organized in 1904. They wore commemorative ribbons on their chests and held aloft a banner celebrating the militia that was no more.[63] Because Utah's new volunteer militia carried the name Utah National Guard, these veterans were concerned that with their deaths, memories of the Nauvoo Legion would fade. The visual images on their badges and banner were directly from John Hafen's painting of the Nauvoo Legion's first commander.

Dan Weggeland painted this banner and several others for various Nauvoo Legion veterans groups. His large parade banner for the Nauvoo Legion Benevolent Association corrects Hafen's depiction of the Nauvoo Temple by showing it under construction in June 1844 (see colorplate 8). In other respects, the banner is a direct imitation of Hafen's more ably painted portrait. The memorial ribbon (see back cover), manufactured in Newark, New Jersey, uses a photographic image of Hafen's *First Commander* under a central glass button and reproduces an 1868 drawing of the Nauvoo Temple (with its misshapened attic-level windows).

These commemorative items, like Hafen's paintings, marked the end of the pioneer generation and the beginning of a new era. For more than a hundred years since Hafen redefined the visual image of the Nauvoo Legion, Latter-day Saint artists have failed to create new works of similar significance about this citizens' militia. Picturing the Nauvoo Legion has apparently lost its appeal, this subject being replaced by other stories from Joseph Smith's life that are of greater application to modern gospel living.[64] Perhaps an invitation for the creation of new illustrations of the Nauvoo Legion story is found in a message on the reverse side of the memorial ribbon. It is from the Nauvoo Legion Association (N.L.A.), and reads, "N.L.A.: Not Dead But Sleepeth."[65]

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NOTES

[1]*Nauvoo Wasp,* April 23, 30, 1842.

[2]For historical overviews, see Hamilton Gardner, "The Nauvoo Legion, 1840-1845: A Unique Military Organization," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 54 (summer 1961): 181-97; and John Sweeney Jr., "A History of the Nauvoo Legion in Illinois" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1974).

[3]John Lee Allaman, "Uniforms and Equipment of the Black Hawk War and the Mormon War," *Western Illinois Regional Studies* 13 (spring 1990): 5-6. Other titles of status widely used at the time include *esquire* (to identify attorneys), *professor,* and *reverend.* For examples of the use of military titles, simply scan Joseph Smith Jr., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,* ed. B. H. Roberts, 2d ed., rev., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1971), vols. 3-7 (hereafter cited as *History of the Church*), and note the various titles given both Latter-day Saints and their neighbors.

[4]Noel R. Barton and Stephen K. Kendall, "Profiles of Nauvoo: The Life and Paintings of Sutcliffe Maudsley," typescript, copy in research files, Museum of Church History and Art, Salt Lake City, 3-4.

[5]A small portable box that used a lens and angled mirror to reflect the desired image onto a piece of ground glass on the camera's top. The artist traced the reflected image. It was a difficult process, used most commonly by landscape artists. This device was still in use when permanent photographic images were developed in the 1830s. Photography, which allowed the reflected image to be captured on a chemically sensitized surface, would not be available in Nauvoo until just after Joseph Smith's death. Lucian R. Foster, who is mentioned later in this article, set up a daguerreotype portrait studio in August 1844, after moving to Nauvoo from New York. John Hedgecoe, *The Book of Photography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976), 18-19; *Nauvoo Neighbor,* August 14, 1844.

[6]Barton and Kendall, "Profiles of Nauvoo," 2-3; Hedgecoe, *Book of Photography,* 20.

[7]"New Portrait of the Prophet Joseph," *Juvenile Instructor* 45 (April 1910): 154-55; Noel Barton, telephone conversation with the author, Farmington, Utah, July 15, 1995.

[8]William B. McCarl speculated that Maudsley may have added the body after first creating a profile head. See McCarl, "The Visual Image of Joseph Smith" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1962), 17-18; Elizabeth Harris, Division of Graphic Arts, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, confirmed that most profile artists of the early nineteenth century worked this way. Harris, telephone conversation with author, July 19, 1995.

[9]This image is in a private collection. Several institutions and individuals own head-and-torso drawings of Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith, Hosea Stout, and others in formal dress.

[10]Harris, telephone conversation; Arthur Mayne, *British Profile Miniaturists* (Boston: Boston Book and Art, 1970), 28-31; Ellen G. Miles, *Saint-Memin and the Neoclassical Profile Portrait in America* (Washington, D.C.: National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 1994), 39-42.

[11]"Brief Sketch of the Life of the Late Elder Robert Campbell," *Millennial Star* 52 (July 21, 1890): 459-60; Juanita Brooks, ed., *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout, 1844-1861,* 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1964), 1:51-52, 93-94, entries of July 7, 9, 11, and November 21, 29, 1845. The Stout profile appears in *Utah Historical Quarterly* 30 (fall 1962): 332-44. Campbell is sometimes

confused with Robert Lang Campbell (1825–1874), an immigrant from Scotland to Nauvoo in 1845, whose career in Utah as a clerk and public official parallels that of Robert Campbell, the English engraver.

[12]John Cook Bennett, *The History of the Saints: or, An Exposé of Joe Smith and Mormonism* (Boston: Leland and Whiting; New York: Bradbury, Soden; and Cincinnati: E. S. Norris, 1842).

[13]The only clue to the dating is that by mid-1841 tailor John Bills had made an officer's coat (presumably this one) for Bennett in Nauvoo. See advertisement, *Times and Seasons* 2 (June 15, 1841): 454. It is possible that the portrait reflects the military uniform of Bennett's pre–Nauvoo Legion days.

[14]These two portraits descended through the families of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young until purchased by collectors and eventually acquired by the Museum of Church History and Art.

[15]For a reproduction of Emma's portrait, see Museum of Church History and Art, *Images of Faith: Art of the Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1995), 7, plate 8. Ephraim Hatch has convincingly demonstrated the match between the profiles and death mask. See Hatch, "What Did Joseph Smith Look Like?" *Ensign* 11 (March 1981): 66.

[16]This portrait was preserved by Brigham Young's wife Mary Ann Angell Young and sold following her death in 1882. It came into the Church Museum collection in June 1984.

[17]Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Papers of Joseph Smith: Volume 2, Journal, 1832–1842* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 391 (punctuation corrected); and compare *History of the Church* 5:44.

[18]Advertisement, *Nauvoo Neighbor,* May 1, 1844.

[19]Information on printing methods provided by Elizabeth Harris, telephone conversation with the author, July 17, 1995. Both Gustavus Hills and Robert Campbell listed themselves as engravers, and Campbell made small stone lithographs, but the map was probably too complicated for them to attempt in Nauvoo.

The contract to produce the map was given to John Childs by Willard Richards. Richards and John M. Bernhisel visited Child's shop on July 24, 1842, and Richards returned at least three times during the following three weeks. On one of those visits, he mentions his dissatisfaction with "Bro. Foster's proof." (Lucian Foster, who later moved to Nauvoo, had a daguerreotype shop in the neighborhood and may have worked for the printer.) Richards mentions in his diary that he could not pay for the lithograph. That may explain the two-year delay in getting it printed. Richards filed for the map's copyright on behalf of Joseph Smith in Illinois District Court in Springfield on December 17, 1842. It is not known if he submitted any visual images with the filing, but he may have brought back to Nauvoo a proof for that purpose. Willard Richards, Diary, July 24, August 8, 16, 17, 19, and December 17, 1842, Archives Division, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives); *History of the Church* 5:206–7.

At the Church Museum, an original copy of the map is displayed with a metal printing plate for the map. The map and printing plate can be seen in the Nauvoo section of the *Covenant Restored* exhibit. The plate was found in the home of Oscar B. Young, who moved to Provo in 1890; it was delivered to Brigham Young University in the late 1930s. The story of the plate's preservation is told in W. H. Snell, Appendix D, "Old Nauvoo Engraving Restored," David E. Miller and Della S. Miller, *Nauvoo: The City of Joseph* (Santa Barbara and Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, 1974), 251–53. Because the metal in this plate has been identified as zinc (zinc is mentioned by Lorie

Winder, "In Search of the Real Joseph Smith," *Sunstone* [November–December 1980]: 34) it is probably not the plate used by Childs, who most likely created the heavy plate in New York and then erased the image and refurbished the stone for use with another job. If the plate on display is indeed zinc, it dates to the late nineteenth century as the product of a photolithographic technique. Grinding patterns in the relief portions of the plate confirm a time after 1880. The *Times and Seasons* job press had a stereotype foundry, but the zinc plate was not produced by that process. It may have been an attempt in Utah to reissue the map, probably as a souvenir item.

[20]Don L. Searle, "Painting of Prophet Is Probable Source of Likeness on Map," *Ensign* 15 (April 1985): 78–79; Linda Jones Gibbs, "Images of Joseph Smith," exhibit text, Museum of Church History and Art.

[21]*History of the Church* 5:112–13, 163–64; Bennett, *History of the Saints,* publishers' foreword and information on the title page.

[22]Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy: A History* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1986), 24. Unlike Bennett, Hills regained fellowship in the Church, remained in Nauvoo, and continued to function in business and civic circles.

[23]William B. McCarl wondered if Bennett "absconded with another copy of the drawing for the Map." McCarl, "The Visual Image of Joseph Smith," 16. Hills or Campbell might have produced the lithographic stone for the map in Nauvoo, and then Hills might have struck an image for Bennett's use. However, the factors already noted, the timing of Bennett's publication, and credits on the map make this scenario unlikely.

[24]Another possibility is that this edition was struck without Joseph Smith's image for use after the Saints left Nauvoo. Engravers' marks at the edge of the altered section and the rarity of the imprint suggest otherwise. A copy of the variant printing is preserved at the LDS Church Library, Salt Lake City, donated June 14, 1897, by Charlotte Higbee of Salt Lake City.

[25]Willard Richards, Journals, 1836–1853, August 19, 1842, LDS Church Archives.

[26]McCarl mentions a three-quarter-view drawing of Joseph Smith in uniform in the *Illustrated London News,* August 31, 1844, but a copy could not be located for the present study. McCarl believed it to have been influenced by the Nauvoo map profile. See McCarl, "The Visual Image of Joseph Smith," 25–26.

[27]*Nauvoo Wasp,* April 30, 1842; *History of the Church* 6:231–33.

[28]To understand why Bennet did this, see his letter to President Joseph Smith, October 24, 1843, *History of the Church* 6:71–73.

[29]Piercy is influenced by sources in Salt Lake City, including, perhaps, the unsigned oil painting or the small watercolor.

[30]Taylor's criticism is in the *Nauvoo Neighbor,* April 30, 1845, under the heading "The Portraits and Pictures"; the talented portraitists are named in the *Nauvoo Neighbor,* June 4, 1845, under the heading "Fine Arts"; Brannan's paper was renamed the *New-York Messenger.* The new woodcut appeared in the *New-York Messenger,* July 12, 1845, and subsequent issues of the paper.

[31]Allaman, "Uniforms and Equipment," 11–12; Gardner, "The Nauvoo Legion," 184; Jess McCall, curator, Fort Douglas Military Museum, interview with author, July 7, 1995. McCall looked at military portraits of Joseph Smith, John C. Bennett, and Brigham Young and compared them with authoritative reference works, generously sharing his findings.

[32]From an accounting for parade equipment from John M. Bernhisel to Joseph Smith, March 8, 1843, equipment anticipated for James Arlington Bennet, Inspector General of the Nauvoo Legion, Newell K. Whitney Collection, Special Collections and Manuscripts, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

[33]Advertisement, *Times and Seasons* 2 (June 15, 1841): 454; McCall, interview, July 7, 10, 1995.

[34]McCall, interview, July 13, 1995.

[35]McCall, interview, July 13, 1995.

[36]McCall, interview, July 13, 1995.

[37]McCall, interview, July 13, 1995.

[38]McCall, interview, July 13, 1995.

[39]McCall, interview, July 13, 1995.

[40]McCall, interview, July 7, 13, 1995.

[41]*History of the Church* 5:49, 112–13.

[42]The epaulets in the *Presidents of the Church* exhibit at the Museum of Church History and Art were donated in 1912 by Charles W. Rockwood. The Smith-Rockwell sword was donated the same year by George W. Lufkin, who received it from Rockwell. The museum acquired sashes and epaulets from the Joseph Fielding Smith family in 1982. Jess McCall provided information on swords as gifts in the interview with the author, July 7, 1995.

[43]"Lieut.-General Brigham Young," *Contributor* 9 (December 1887): 79–80, a commentary on a reproduction of the painting facing page 41.

[44]Linda Jones Gibbs, *Masterworks: From the Collection of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1984), 18–19.

[45]Gibbs, *Masterworks,* 18; McCall, interview, July 7, 1995.

[46]*History of the Church* 6:497, 7:390; Philo Dibble to Orson Pratt and Orson Spencer, July 11, 1848, *Millennial Star* 11 (January 1, 1849): 11–12. Dibble filed a copyright notice on March 11, 1845, in Illinois District Court for eight scenes of persecutions in Missouri and Nauvoo; copy in Artists File, Museum of Church History and Art.

[47]Brooks, *Diary of Hosea Stout* 1:61–62, entries of September 8, 10, 1845. The watercolor, part of the Church collection for an undetermined number of years, has been linked with Campbell and Major only recently through the author's own Nauvoo research combined with information about Dibble's panorama project collected by Richard G. Oman and Jennifer L. Lund.

[48]*Millennial Star* 11 (January 1, 1849): 12; *Nauvoo Neighbor,* April 16, 1845; Wilford Woodruff, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833–1898, Typescript,* ed. Scott G. Kenney, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1985), 3:337–38. Dibble's illustrated lectures in Utah are noted in Andrew Jenson, Journal History of the Church, November 18, 1878, 4–7, LDS Church Archives (hereafter cited as JH); JH, October 20, 1883, 11 (*Territorial Enquirer,* October 30, 1883); JH, May 27, 1895, 7–8 (*Deseret Evening News,* May 28, 1895); and Amy Brown Lyman, *In Retrospect: Autobiography of Amy Brown Lyman* (Salt Lake City: General Board of Relief Society, 1945), 3.

[49]*Map of Hancock County, State of Illinois, Drawn from Original Surveys by Messrs. Hill, Ripley and Campbell 1843,* copy in research files, Nauvoo Restoration Inc., Salt Lake City; David Hyrum Smith, "Nauvoo—A Painting," *BYU Studies* 15 (summer 1975): 498 and cover illustration; information about the Mansion House was given by Alma Blair in a conversation with the author on June 23, 1995. Surviving gutter spouts are displayed in the *Joseph Smith* exhibit at the Museum of Church History and Art and in Nauvoo.

[50]James L. Kimball Jr., Church Historical Department, helped identify the buildings from property records compiled by Nauvoo Restoration Inc.

[51]Brooks, *Diary of Hosea Stout* 1:61–62, entries of September 8, 10, 1845.

[52]Gardner, "The Nauvoo Legion," 193–94.

[53]McCall, interview, July 21, 1995.

[54]Mosiah Hancock, Autobiography, 25, LDS Church Archives; William Byram Pace, "Diary of William Byram Pace and Biography of His Father, James Pace," LDS Church Archives, 2.

[55]*Nauvoo Neighbor,* April 30, 1845. Charles W. Carter's 1886 photographic reproduction of the lithograph has been widely published. For recent uses, see *Church History in the Fulness of Times: The History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1989), 205; and Max H. Parkin, "Missouri Conflict," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism,* ed. Daniel H. Ludlow, 5 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 2:930.

[56]This image and two other early examples can be seen in Davis Bitton, *The Martydom Remembered: A One-Hundred Fifty-Year Perspective on the Assination of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Aspen Books, 1994), 48, 88.

[57]Gibbs, *Masterworks,* 58; Gardner, "The Nauvoo Legion," 197.

[58]Hafen is quoting from the consolidated synopsis of the address found in *History of the Church* 6:499.

[59]The photograph can be seen in B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Century One,* 6 vols. (Provo, Utah: Corporation of the President, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1965), 2: facing page 178; a similar view can be seen in Miller and Miller, *Nauvoo: The City of Joseph,* 123.

[60]The engraving can be seen in Charles Mackay, ed., *The Mormons; or, Latter-day Saints* (London: Office of the National Illustrated Library, 1851), 123; Benjamin Ferris, *Utah and the Mormons: The History, Government, Doctrines, Customs, and Prospects of the Latter-day Saints from Personal Observation during a Six Months' Residence at Great Salt Lake City* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1854), 101; *Harper's New Monthly Magazine,* 35 (April 1853): 611; and J. H. Beadle, *Life in Utah: or, The Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism* (Philadelphia: National Publishing, 1870), facing 76. Mackay may have borrowed the engraving from an earlier publication.

[61]*Times and Seasons* 4 (June 15, 1843): 234, quoting the *Salem (Mass.) Advertizer and Argus.*

[62]A copy of C. J. Christensen's dialogue, recorded after he was no longer touring his father's art, is on file at the Museum of Church History and Art.

[63]Photograph by Johnson, Association of Veteran Artillerymen of Nauvoo Legion, 1908. LDS Church Archives.

[64]A recent exception is the sketch by S. Monroe Hart, *Joseph and the Nauvoo Legion,* illustrating Roger K. Peterson's poem on Joseph Smith's death in H. Dean Garrett, ed., *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History: Illinois* (Provo: Department of Church History and Doctrine, Brigham Young University, 1995), 23–26. Both the sketch and the poem draw loosely from the Mackay-Hafen-Christensen-Weggeland visual tradition of Joseph Smith astride a black horse.

[65]The Nauvoo Legion Benevolent Association banner and memorial ribbon described here are found in the collection of the Museum of Church History and Art.

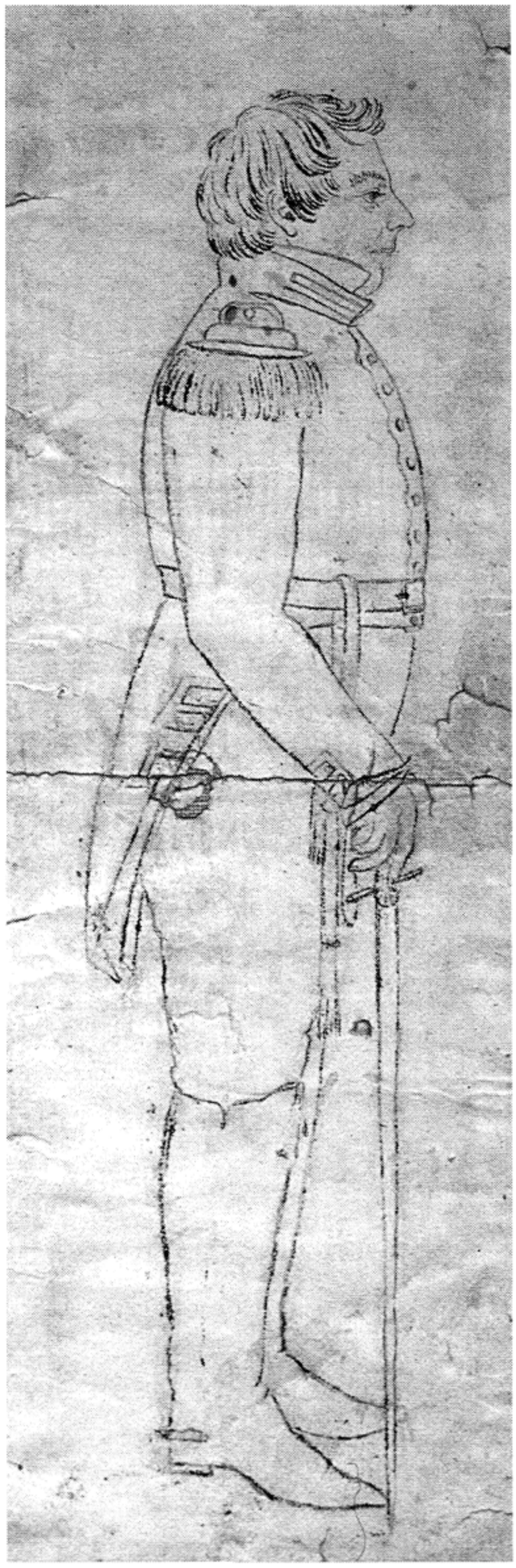


Fig. 9. *[Outline Drawing of Joseph Smith in Military Uniform],* by Sutcliffe Maudsley (1809–1881), lithograph by Robert Campbell (1810–1890). Stone lithographic print on paper, 8" x 3", ca. 1842. Preserved by John L. Smith and Clarissa S. Gillette. Courtesy Museum of Church History and Art.

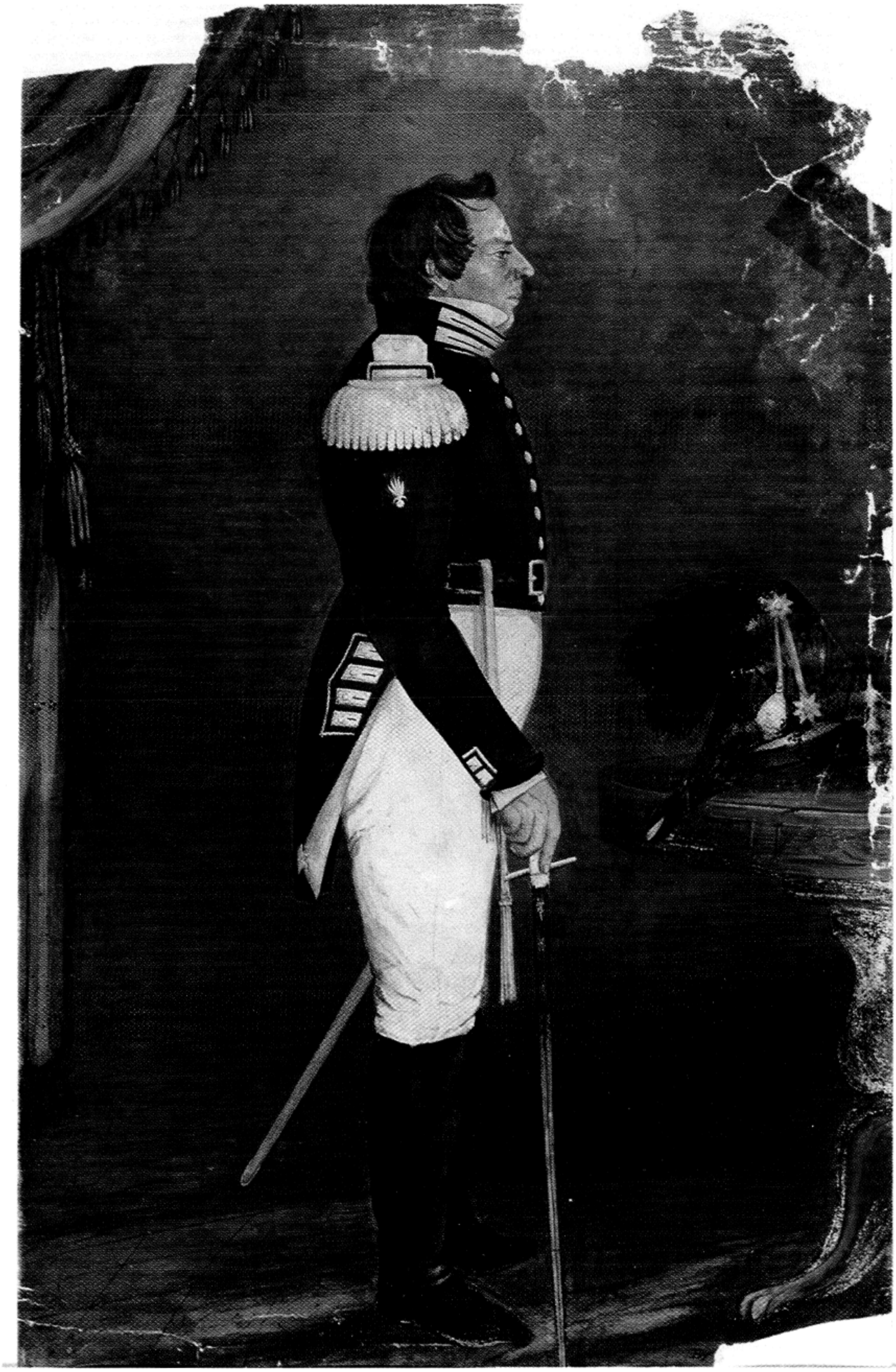


Plate 1. *[Lieutenant General Joseph Smith],* by Sutcliffe Maudsley (1809–1881). Egg tempera and ink on paper, 12" x 7", ca. 1842. Preserved by descendants of Alexander Hale Smith. Courtesy Museum of Church History and Art.

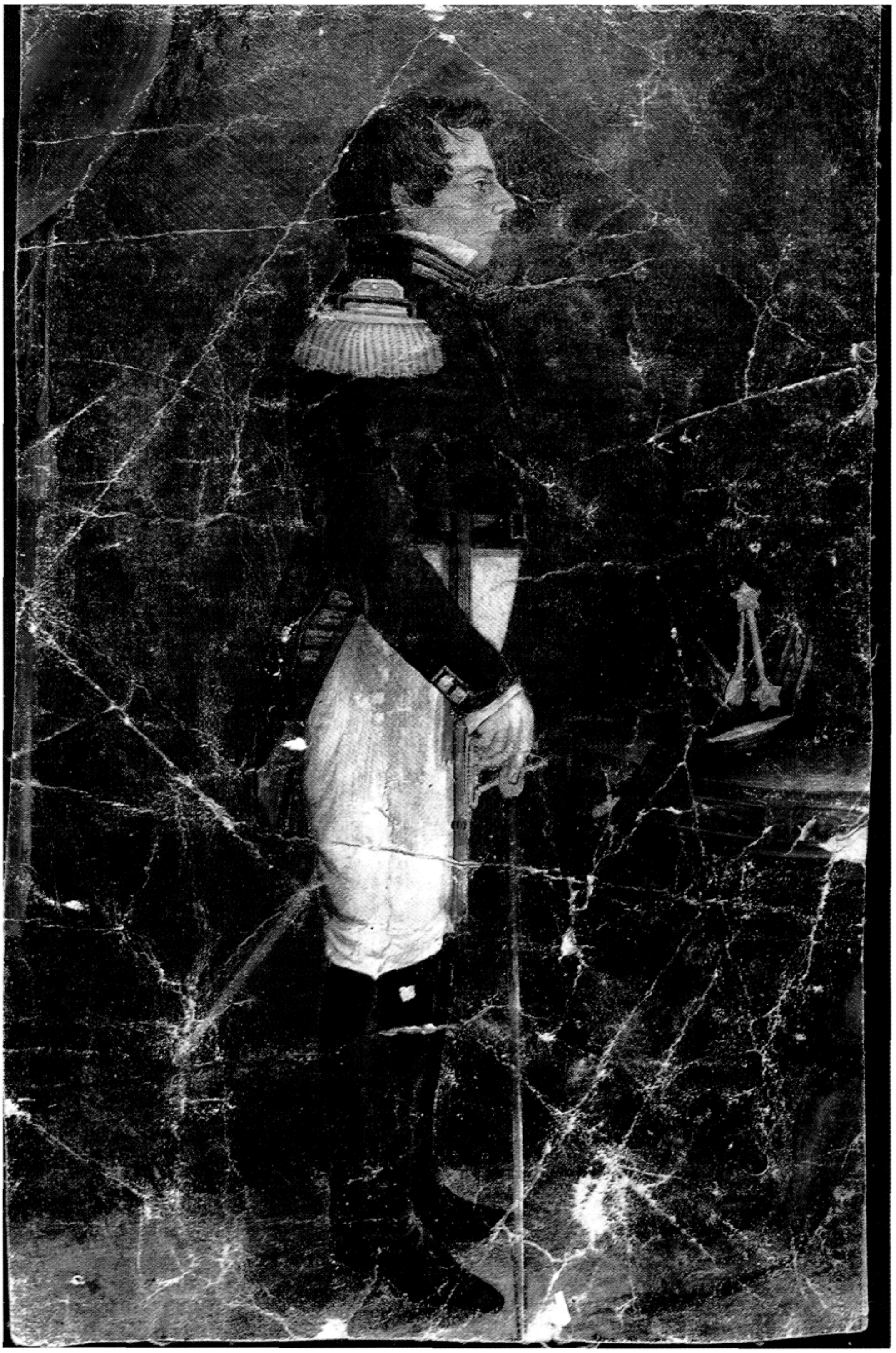
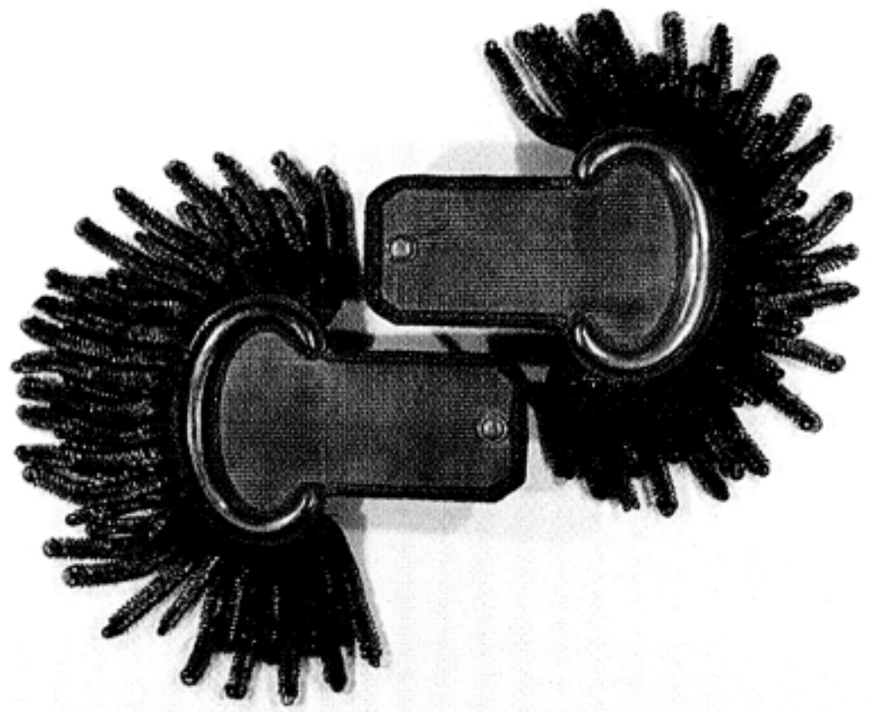


Plate 2. *[Lieutenant General Joseph Smith],* by Sutcliffe Maudsley (1809–1881). Egg tempera and ink on paper, 8" x 5", 1842. Created for Gustavus Hills, *Map of the City of Nauvoo.* Found in the papers of Mary Ann Angell Young. Courtesy Museum of Church History and Art.



Plate 3. *Lieut. Gen. Joseph Smith,* by Sutcliffe Maudsley (1809–1881), 1842; rendered on lithographic stone by [J. Childs?]. Lithographic print and watercolor on paper, map inset 9" x 6", 1844. From Gustavus Hills, *Map of the City of Nauvoo,* printed by J. Childs, lithographer, New York, 1844. Courtesy LDS Church Historical Department Library. Photo courtesy Museum of Church History and Art.



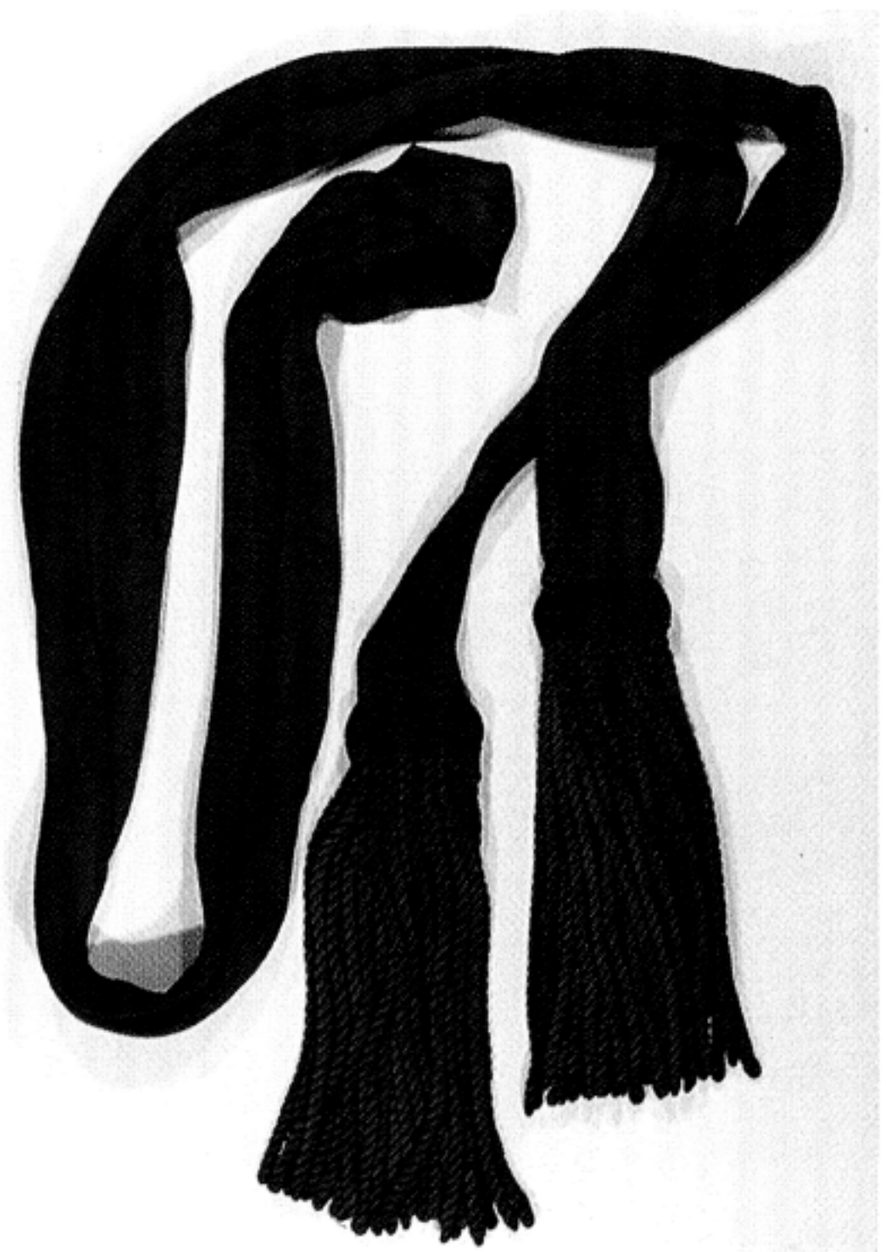




Plate 4. *Top left,* Joseph Smith's Nauvoo Legion uniform epaulet. Courtesy RLDS Archives, Independence, Missouri. *Bottom left,* Joseph Smith's Nauvoo Legion uniform sash. Courtesy RLDS Archives, Independence, Missouri. *Right,* Hyrum Smith's Nauvoo Legion sword and scabbard. Courtesy Eldred G. Smith, Salt Lake City.

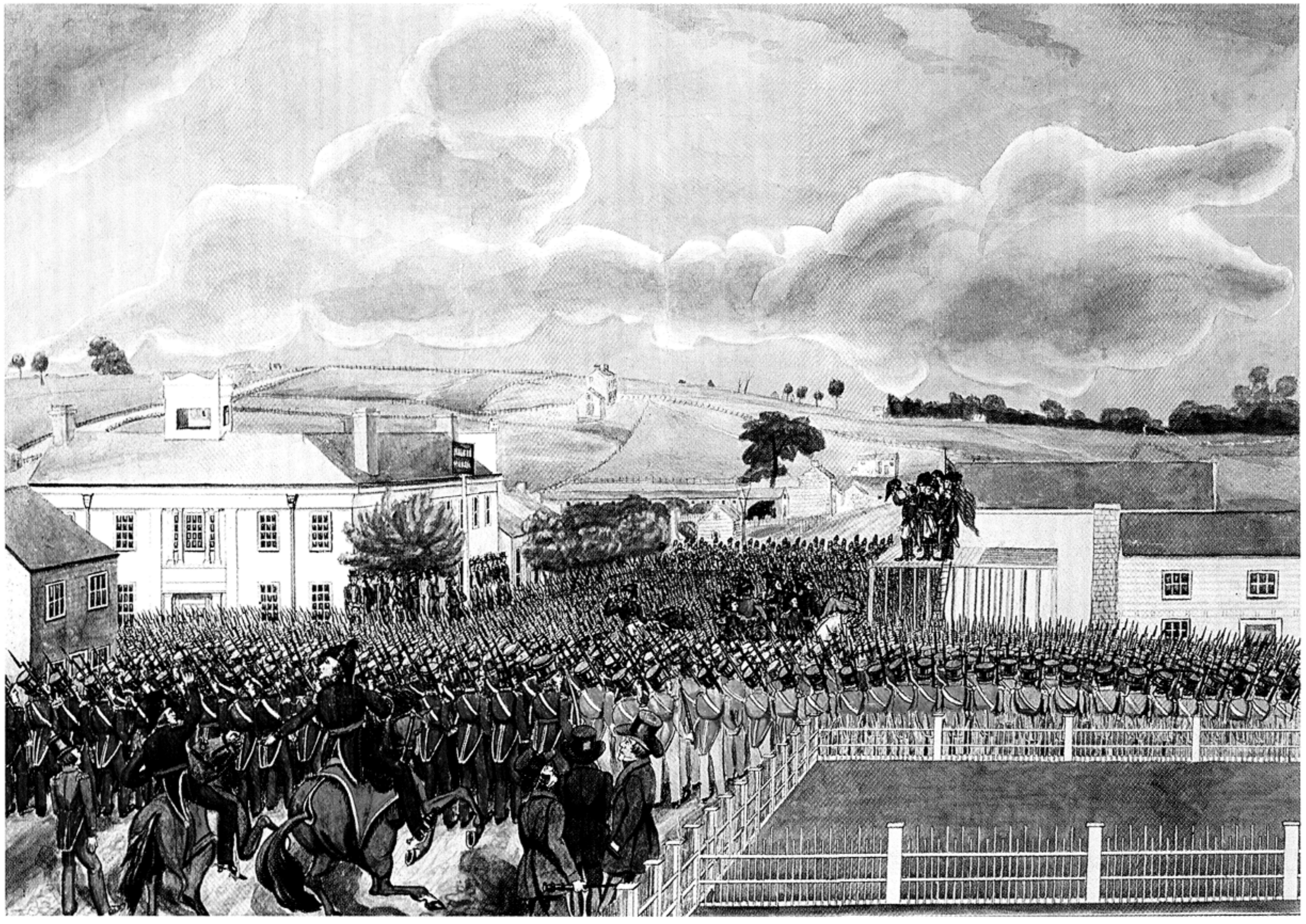


Plate 5. *General Joseph Smith Addressing the Nauvoo Legion,* by Robert Campbell (1810–1890). Watercolor and ink on paper, 11 7/8" x 16 3/4", 1845. Study for oil mural by William W. Major, 1845. Courtesy Museum of Church History and Art.

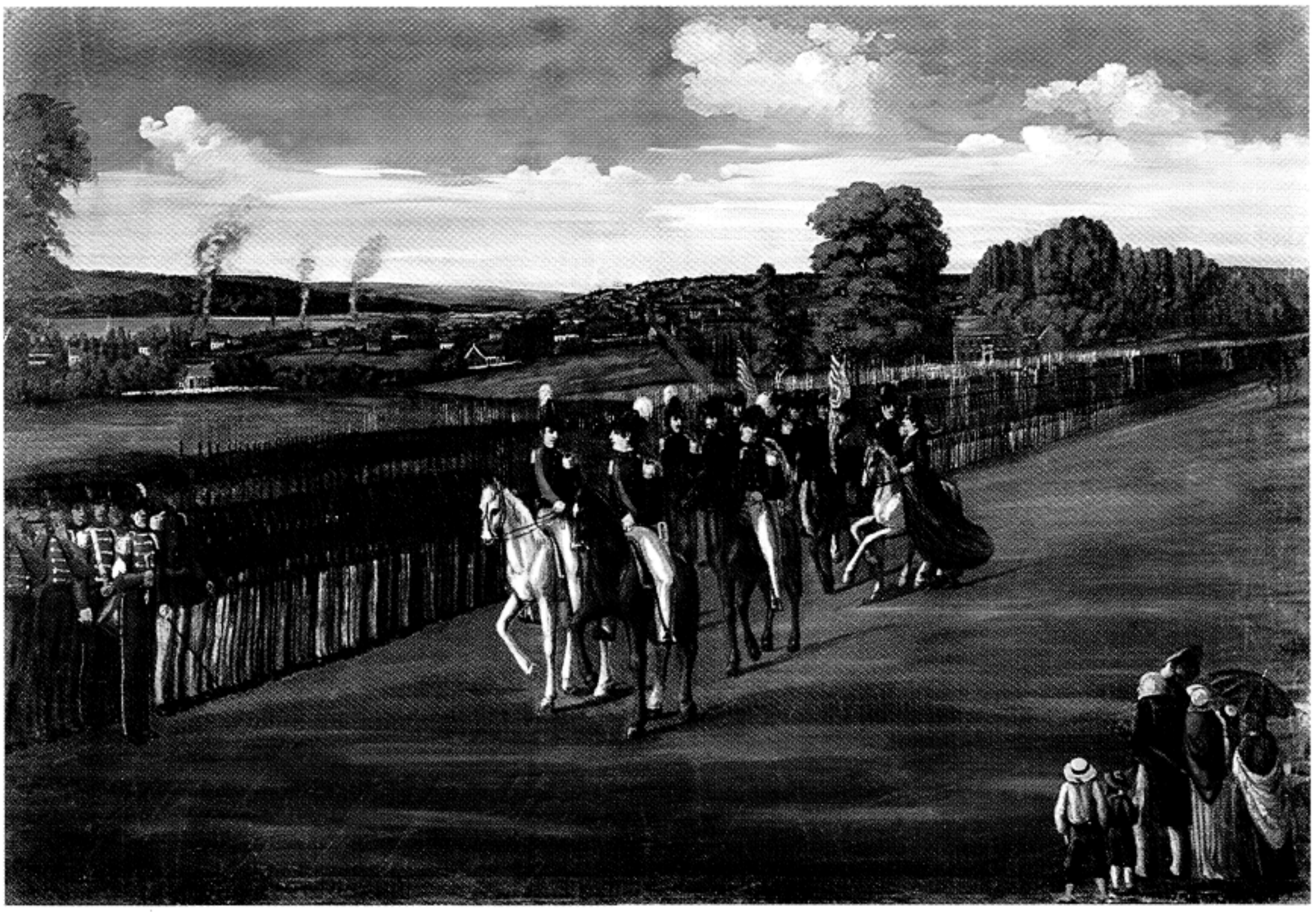


Plate 6. *Joseph Mustering the Nauvoo Legion,* by C. C. A. Christensen (1831–1912). Tempera on canvas, 6'6" x 9'9", ca. 1880. Number 13 in "Mormon Panorama." Courtesy © Museum of Art, Brigham Young University.



Plate 7. *[Wax Seal Featuring Lieutenant General Joseph Smith],* by [Thomas Brown]. Sealing wax and vermilion coloring, 1843. Courtesy LDS Church Archives. Photo courtesy Museum of Church History and Art.

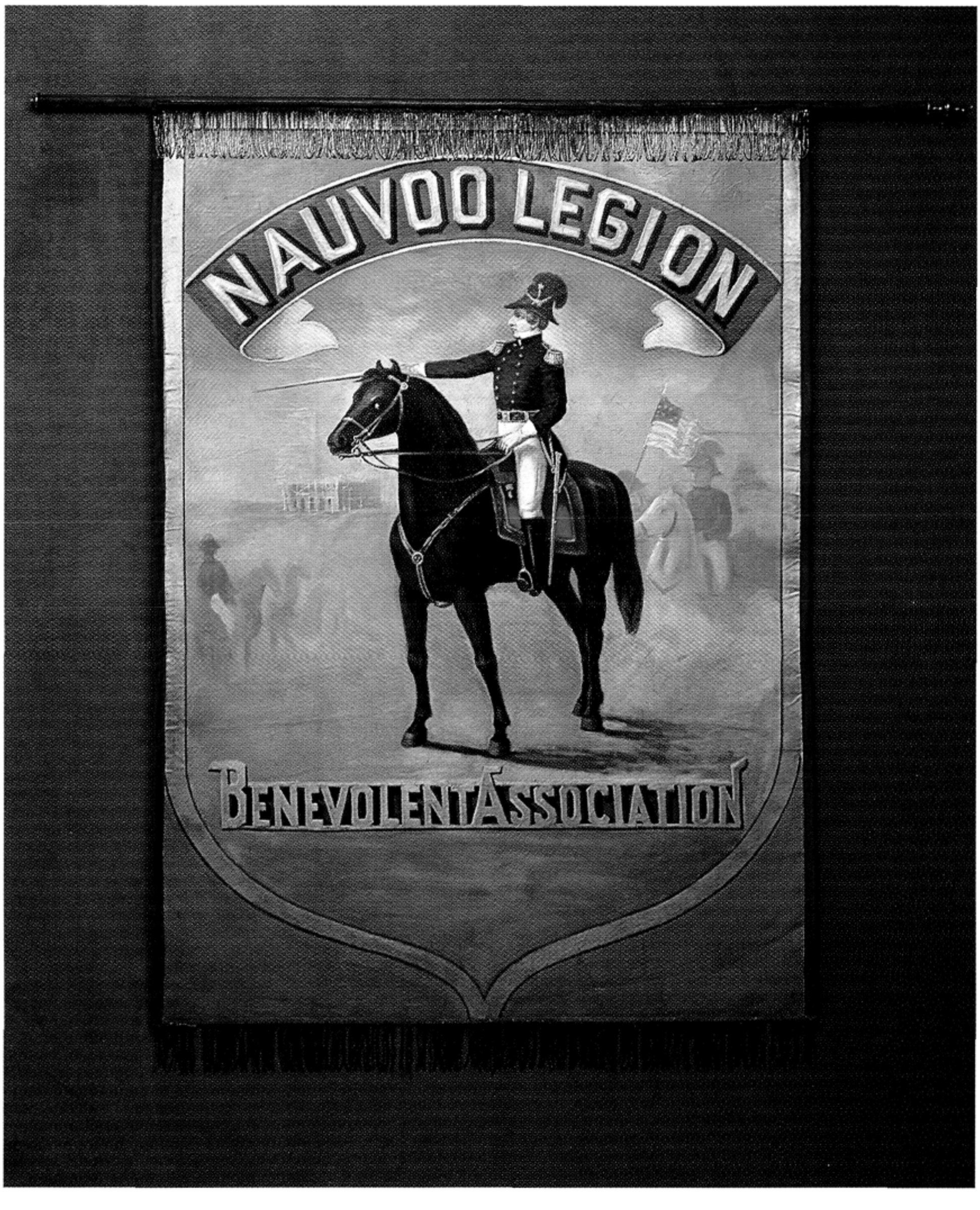
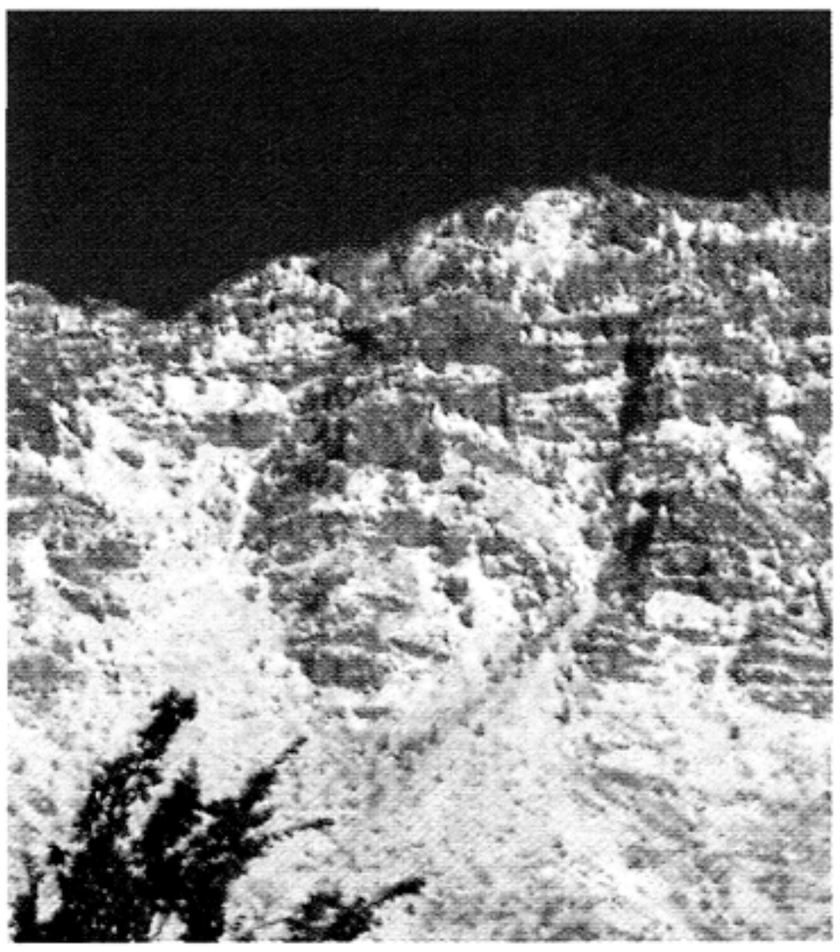


Plate 8. *Nauvoo Legion Benevolent Association [Banner],* by Danquart A. Weggeland (1827–1918). Paint on silk, with metal fringe and wooden pole, 60" x 44", ca. 1903. Courtesy Museum of Church History and Art.



Face on Y Mountain. The face, left of center in the photo, is most visible when viewed from north Provo or south Orem after a snowfall. As far as the author knows, his father was the first person to see the face, noticing it in 1993 while trying to locate the snow-covered Y. Photo courtesy of Mark Philbrick.



Seeing Joseph's Face on Y Mountain

My father saw him first,
Searching in vain for the Y.
Snow had unveiled Joseph's face,
Eyes quickening in dream—or vision.

Ironic that my father, who said,
"If I see the gold plates, I'll believe,"
Saw—at once—the face of The Prophet
Engraved in granite and crystal,

While I, eyes opened by testimony,
Looked at the mountain a thousand times,
And saw only snow, rock, and the letter
That brands this place as Brother Brigham's.

As he built Nauvoo and walked with saints and angels,
In vision, Joseph saw his people grow mighty in the mountains—
Then steadfast mourners bore his death mask to these valleys,
The Seer's eyelids shrouded in white plaster.

Fitting that The Revelator, winter of his life
Cut off by rabble with black-painted faces,
Has his visage revealed in ice and stone,
Chiseled from mountain without hands.

—David Dollahite

STATE SOVEREIGNTY NATIONAL UNION

THOMAS FORD,

GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF ILLINOIS,

To all to [illegible]nom these presents shall come-- [illegible]reeting:

Know Ye, That Wandle Mace **having been duly elected to the office of** 2d Lieutenant of the 1st Company 2d Battalion of the 5th Regiment and 2d **Cohort of the Nauvoo Legion of the Militia of the State of Illinois, I, THOMAS FORD, Governor of said State, for, and on behalf of the People of said State, do commission him** Second Lieutenant as aforesaid **to take rank fro n the** month **day of** September **. He is, therefore caref** **discharge the duti[illegible]d office, by doing an[illegible]ng all manner of things thereunto belonging; and I do strictly requ re all officers and soldiers under his command to be obedient to his or lers; and he is to obey such orders and directions as he shall receive from time to time, from his Commander-in-Chief or his superior officer.**

In testimony whereof, **I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Great Seal of State to be affixed. Done at Springfield this** 9th **day of** October **in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and** forty-three **and of the Independence of the United States the sixty-** eighth

Thomas Ford

By the Governor,

Thompson Campbell Secretary of State.

Nauvoo Legion Commission. The commission is signed by Thomas Ford, governor of Illinois from 1842 to 1846. Wandle Mace was a convert to Mormonism in 1837 and moved to Quincy in 1839 with the David White Rogers family. He was a commissioned officer in the Nauvoo Legion. Courtesy R. Q. Shupe, San Juan Capistrano, California.

Document Corner

Officers and Arms: The 1843 General Return of the Nauvoo Legion's Second Cohort

The Nauvoo Legion was probably more a skeleton organization than the fully manned and impressively equipped force memorialized by popular artists and writers.

Richard L. Saunders

Just prior to the deaths of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, Illinois governor Thomas Ford recalled the state weapons that had been issued to the Nauvoo Legion in 1840. Although Ford later claimed, in his *History of Illinois,* that "there was no evidence in the quartermaster-general's office of the number and description of arms with which the Legion had been furnished," he determined from Wilson Law, a Mormon apostate who had recently commanded the Legion, that the "Legion had received three pieces of cannon and about two hundred and fifty stand of small arms."[1] One of the more valuable original documents of the Nauvoo era, a tally of arms and troop strength for half of the Legion, titled "General Return of the Second Cohort or Brigade of the Nauvoo Legion of the Illinois Militia for the Year 1843," has resurfaced a century and a half later in the holdings of Southern Utah University's Special Collections.

No precise record of provenance for this document is available, but it was apparently acquired by SUU in the early 1960s. Glen Leonard first noted this document in his research on Nauvoo. It was brought to light publicly in 1989 during a manuscripts cataloguing project in a collection of mid-twentieth century biographies and clippings.

This document, probably compiled in the opening days of 1844 as part of a full annual report of the local militia to the state capital, provides a contemporaneous look at the actual structure

and materiel strength of the popularly feared Mormon militia, the Nauvoo Legion.[2] The "General Return" reveals a different picture from the artistic renditions of this unit as a splendidly attired, well-trained, and amply equipped fighting force.

To date, little has been published on the Legion and its function in Nauvoo beyond well-known accounts of particular actions.[3] Scholarly publications have typically treated the Legion or its members only as background to other issues.

The Nauvoo Legion first existed as an unofficial militia force. It came into official existence in 1840 under the provisions of Section 25 of the Nauvoo charter that was enacted by the Illinois legislature on December 16 of that year.[4] As a delegated agency of Illinois, the Nauvoo Legion was permitted to receive public arms from the state arsenal. Officers in militia units were popularly elected and then commissioned as agents of the state. By July 1841, the Legion's two brigade-size "cohorts" had been organized to the extent that the First Cohort ("horse troops" or cavalry) numbered at least two regimental staffs and six companies, and the Second Cohort ("foot troops" or infantry) numbered five regimental staffs and as many as sixteen companies. One of the infantry regiments had been reorganized into an artillery unit.[5] It is interesting to note that Church leaders chose to give a Roman image to their militia by calling Nauvoo's division-size force a *legion* and its two brigade-size organizations *cohorts.*[6]

Almost immediately after the issuance of the charter, non-Mormons in the surrounding area voiced concern over the existence of the Legion. In April and May 1841, Legion officers, attempting to calm the situation, hastened to declare that the Legion was not a threat. Stephen A. Douglas was asked to review and comment on the charter. His supportive report to Major General John C. Bennett, second-in-command of the Nauvoo Legion, was incorporated with a general order dated May 4, 1841, and signed by Lieutenant General Joseph Smith, which stated:

> The Legion is not, as has been falsely represented by its enemies, exclusively a "Mormon" military association, but a body of citizen soldiers, organized (without regard to political preferences or religious sentiments) for the public defense, the general good, and the preservation of law and order. . . . No other views are entertained or tolerated. . . .

> . . . The militia companies of Hancock county, and citizens generally, are respectfully invited to unite with the Legion, and partake of its privileges."

Later in the same order, Smith stated that "the officers and troops of the Legion are directed to treat with proper respect and decorum, all other officers and troops in the service of this state, or of the United States." Nevertheless, they clearly intended to defend their city and themselves "against misrule, anarchy, and mob violence."[7] Thus, while the Saints were striving to be conciliatory, they were also seeking to control the county's existing militia structure to preclude a recurrence of the violence experienced three years earlier at the hands of the Missouri militia.

As tabulated in the "General Return," the Second Cohort of five regiments was overseen by a general staff under the direction of a brigadier, whose staff of ten consisted of a brigade major, quartermaster, aides-de-camp, commissary, surgeon, and five chaplains, who probably were further assigned to the five regiments. Within the cohort, the troop strength of each regiment varied, but the officer corps was identical for each (with one exception as noted below). Each regiment was commanded by a colonel, who was assigned a headquarters staff that included a lieutenant colonel, major, quartermaster sergeant, and sergeant major. The regimental officer complement also included six captains and six each of first, second, and third lieutenants (excepting the "2nd Reg. Rifle," which had only five of each, and the "3rd Reg. Rifle," which had an additional quartermaster and surgeon).

The numbers of noncommissioned officers and private soldiers varied. In the five regiments reported on the "General Return," the number of sergeants and corporals varied from 23 to 28 and 16 to 27, respectively. The Fourth Rifle and Fifth Infantry Regiments had nine pioneers between them, and the First Artillery and Third Rifle Regiments shared the cohort's seven musicians. The greatest disparity occurred among the corps of privates. In rank order, the five regiments of the Second Cohort included 195, 257, 388, 230, and 272 men. The Nauvoo Legion's Second Cohort thus totaled 1,751 men, of which 159 were line officers and members of the general staff.

No mention is made in this document of organization at battalion or company levels, although it is apparent that counts of captains and lieutenants correspond to companies, which probably numbered twenty-nine as of the date of the return.[8]

Although the Second Cohort's aggregate strength of 1,751 in 1843 is revealing—the entire Legion had numbered 1,490 "pretty well disciplined troops" on September 11, 1841[9]—few solid conclusions or extrapolations can be drawn from this data. At first look these numbers appear to be surprisingly low, but in actuality they may fairly correspond with estimates of the total Nauvoo population at the time. That is, if in late 1843, Nauvoo had a population of about 10,000–12,000,[10] then a militia of able-bodied men would have been limited to about 3,000—estimated numbers that would be at least roughly consistent with a military force of two brigades, each numbering in the vicinity of 1,500 men yet totalling well below the traditional number of 5,000 men the Mormons were assumed to have fielded. Population estimates are complex, and militia records are at best incomplete; but without question, all able-bodied men of Nauvoo between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, with few exceptions, were required by law to serve in the Legion.[11] Therefore, if an accurate estimate of the total number of Mormon men between eighteen and forty-five can be made, that total should approximate the potential size of the Legion.

Unfortunately, the "General Return" is merely a tabulation. Other than the name of the reporting brigade major, John Bills, no other names are given on the document besides "Scriptist" Thomas Bullock, Joseph Smith's secretary, who signed the docket. The document tabulates only the line strength of the Second Cohort and therefore does not list the officers of the lieutenant general's divisional (legion) headquarters staff. However, the tabulations of officers correspond closely to the enumerations listed on another document (also given at the end of this article), titled *Rank Roll of the Nauvoo Legion,* a broadside roll printed in Nauvoo (dating probably to mid-May 1842) that listed officers in the order of seniority by commission dates.[12]

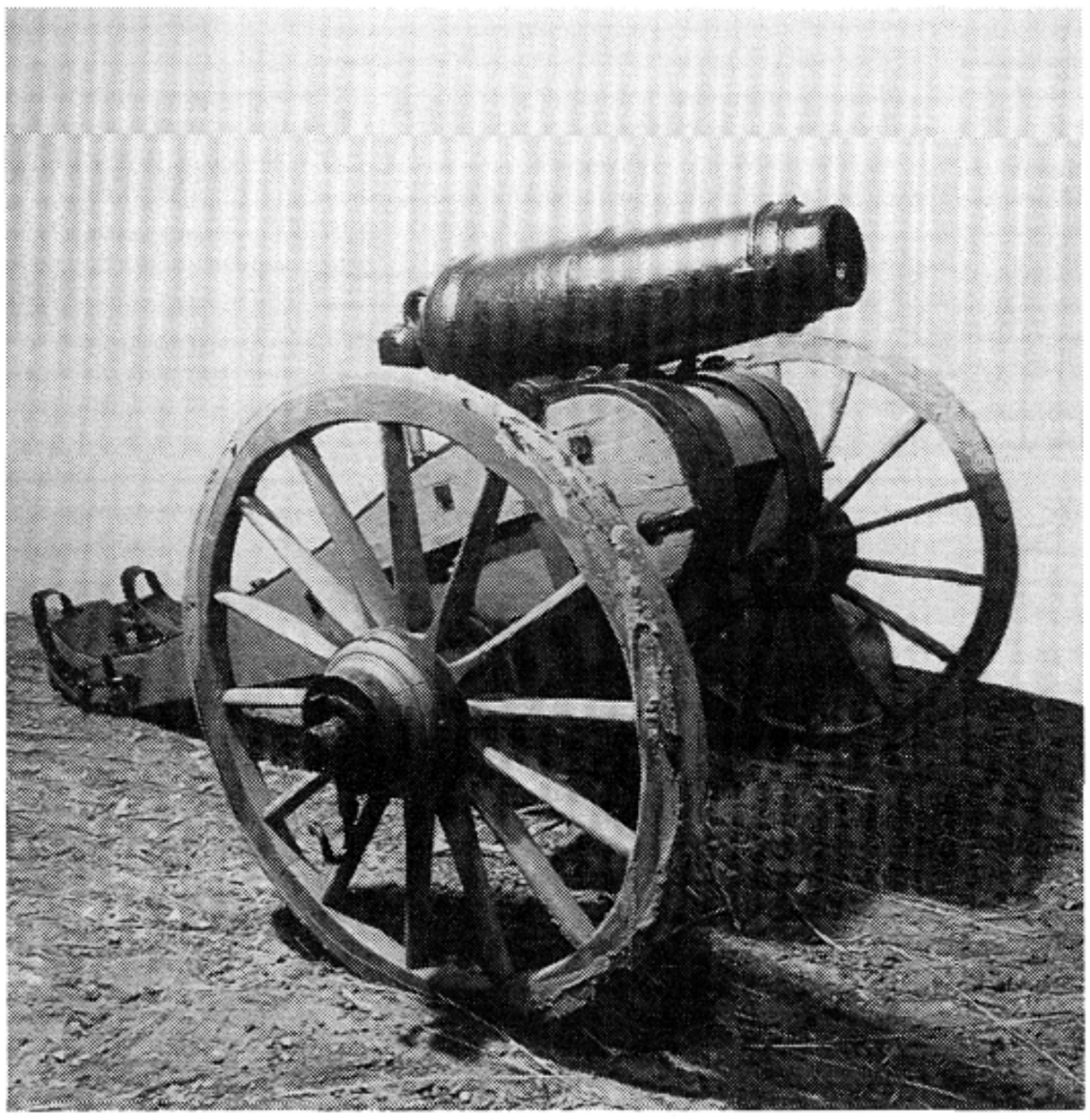
The general picture of the Nauvoo Legion at the close of 1843 extrapolated from the details given in the "General Return" and the *Rank and Roll* is one of a militia staffed from the top down, with

a popular levy that filled in the ranks of corporals and private soldiers.[13] To this extent, the return well corroborates other evidence. Although it indicates that the Legion could put forces of multi-company size into the field, it also indicates that much of the staffing, particularly at legion and brigade level, anticipated substantial further mobilization if a serious threat arose. Further, the high ranks and large and showy unit designations may have been intended to impress local citizens that Nauvoo was serious about defending itself. Thus, this civilian militia in early 1844 seems to have been organized but not fully mobilized, and its rank and file members had probably not moved far beyond basic drill commands.

Another value of the "General Return" lies in its explicit tabulation of arms. In early May 1841, as state quartermaster general, Bennett advised the Legion to apply immediately for an issue of public arms, stating that most available weapons had been distributed and that further applications would be filled in the order received. Consequently, the Legion received a very small issue of arms soon after it was organized.[14] In September 1843, Legion commander Joseph Smith appointed W. W. Phelps, Henry Miller, and Hosea Stout to ask the governor for more equipment.[15] That additional arms were delivered cannot be verified by evidence at hand.

The increasingly tense situation in Hancock County was complicated late in 1843, probably as this "General Return" was being compiled, when the legislature (possibly in response to the arms petition of Phelps, Miller, and Stout) cut the Legion loose from state aegis and declared that "it is entirely independent . . . , may make laws for its own government & seems evidently designed to sustain the Municipal authorities of Nauvoo."[16] In the eyes of non-Mormons suspicious of the kingdom on the Mississippi, this action formally made the Legion the religiously controlled threat they had always assumed it to be. Still, supposition, more than fact, ruled.

Comparing the disparate numbers between the tabulations of men and arms, it is apparent that most Legion soldiers, like most other state and territorial militias at the time, necessarily equipped themselves with personally owned weapons. In the "General Return," arms are divided into columns for muskets, rifles, swords, pairs of pistols, and "cannons & equipage." Bennett had early advised that the Legion be organized into companies named for



Courtesy Museum of Church History and Art, Salt Lake City.

Left: **One of the Nauvoo Legion cannons.** This sow cannon was originally manufactured for use in the War of 1812. It was used in Nauvoo and eventually brought west by the Latter-day Saints, who continued the Nauvoo Legion in Utah.

Bottom: **Nauvoo Legion arsenal.** Located on the south side of Young Street between Wells and Durphy Streets, the arsenal was proposed as early as 1843. Construction of the building continued through 1845, when the roof was being finished. The Catholic Church eventually purchased the property and added a tower and porch to the original limestone building.



Courtesy Harold Allen, Chicago.

the weapons they were to carry, that is, rifles for rifle companies, cannon for artillery companies, etc.[17] A glance at the "General Return" confirms that the force was organized around that advice and expectation. Obviously, the three cannons were enumerated in the arms of the First Artillery, as well as the lion's share (two-thirds) of the swords listed. With the minor exception of six rifles listed in the First Artillery, only the three rifle companies carried state-provided rifles, though they were unevenly distributed. The Second and Third Rifle Regiments held 59 and 40 each and between them had four pistol pairs, while the Fourth's 28 rifles were supplemented by a third (21) of the muskets. The Fifth Infantry Regiment shouldered state-provided muskets solely. Since no such weapons are listed for members of the general staff, it can be assumed that these officers were expected to procure their own arms (swords and pistols)—likely a common practice throughout the United States at the time. To this day, all officers procure their own swords.

All in all, the "General Return" essentially corroborates reports of the small numbers of arms provided to the Legion by the state. It was not much. Rather it was apparently a token allotment, which left the Legion to make up the difference with privately owned weapons.[18] Just how completely and well the Legion was thus able to equip itself is unknown, and is, of course, undeterminable from the return. All that is known is that weapons in the general amounts indicated in the return were returned to the state upon demand in 1844; they were all collected in a few hours on the afternoon of June 24, 1844, by an Illinois militia detachment under written orders of Governor Ford.[19]

Despite the low numbers of arms reported, the document is complete. Numbers of each rank and totals for each regiment are carefully given. Significantly, where no enumerations are made (that is, where the rank is not filled in a regiment or no arms of the type are held), the space is filled with a dot, not left blank. Thus, the "General Return" is an accurate assessment of public arms fieldable by the Legion. It conforms with the statement of Governor Ford that the total included "three pieces of cannon and about two hundred and fifty stand of small arms and their accouterments. Of these, the three pieces of cannon and two hundred and

twenty stand of small arms were surrendered."[20] After the death of Joseph Smith three days later, the Nauvoo citizens were left to arm themselves privately. Eventually, the Legion played a major if unofficial role in the defense of the Mormons prior to the flight of 1846.[21]

In light of its reduced armament, however, the value of the Nauvoo Legion seems to have been less a combat-ready multiregimental force than a skeleton organization prepared for full mobilization when the need arose. Nevertheless, what was known of the Legion, true or otherwise, seriously worried Hancock County residents. Though the Legion's armaments may have been weakened, the very availability of a mobilized force in a climate of increasing hostility and suspicion worried Hancock County residents. Fear and suspicion outside Nauvoo were compounded by rumor or outright deception, mostly on the parts of individuals violently opposed to the Mormons. "A large portion of the people, by pure misrepresentation," wrote Ford, "had been made to believe that the Legion had received of the state as many as thirty pieces of artillery and five or six thousand stand of small arms."[22] Such falsehoods and rumors led to disaster in the summer of 1844. The editor of the *Quincy Whig* probably expressed the anti-Mormon sentiment best: "So long as they [the Mormons] are banded together under the direction of one head . . . so long will they be looked upon by the people of the State with mistrust and suspicion."[23]

The "General Return of the Second Cohort" offers valuable contemporaneous information about the status of the Nauvoo Legion. Further historical treatment touching anti-Mormon perceptions in the area should be considered in the light of this new documentary evidence.

Richard L. Saunders is an academic librarian living in Bozeman, Montana.

NOTES

[1] Joseph Smith Jr., *The History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,* ed. B. H. Roberts, 2d ed., rev., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book,

1971), 7:9–10 (hereafter cited as *History of the Church*). Interestingly, the state's quartermaster general who issued the allotment of arms to the Nauvoo Legion was John C. Bennett, who joined the LDS Church and quickly rose to political and military prominence in Nauvoo. He was Joseph Smith's second-in-command of the Legion upon his excommunication in 1842.

[2]Documents in the Illinois governor's papers include a list of officers elected for commission, but these concern the Legion before it was actually organized. They are, therefore, antecedent and not descriptive.

[3]The only substantive secondary work that has been published is "The Nauvoo Legion," in George W. Givens, *In Old Nauvoo: Everyday Life in the City of Joseph* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1990), 131–41. The best scholarly study of the legion is John Sweeney Jr.'s unpublished treatise, "A History of the Nauvoo Legion in Illinois" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1974). Neither Marvin Hill and Dallin Oaks in *Carthage Conspiracy: The Trial of the Accused Assassins of Joseph Smith* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975), nor Robert B. Flanders in *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965), has much to say about the Legion. Paul Bailey, *The Armies of God* (New York: Doubleday, 1968), is a journalistic commentary possessing major flaws.

[4]*Times and Seasons* 2 (January 1, 1841): 266–67; *History of the Church* 4:239, 244.

[5]Information is sketchy, but see *History of the Church* 4:354–55, 363, 382, and 582; and 5:422, 430–31, and 443. Although there are several references to battalions in *History of the Church,* whether such headquarters (between regiment and company) were ever actually staffed is unknown.

[6]Designations of some company-size units are also colorful. In addition to normal designations such as "infantry," "light infantry," "riflemen," and "cavalry," there were "life guards," "flying artillery lancers," "invincibles," and "dragoons." Additionally, the Legion had an officially designated "band of music, not exceeding twenty men," which apparently performed often. See *History of the Church* 4:300, 401, and 502.

[7]*Times and Seasons* 2 (May 15, 1841): 417–18; *History of the Church* 4:354–56.

[8]Assignment of company-level officers is clarified by Section 12 of Ordinance no. 1, dated March 12, 1842. *Times and Seasons* 3 (March 15, 1842): 734. See the commission given to Second Lieutenant Wandle Mace (p. 138 of this essay). Note that he was assigned to the "First Company, First Battalion of the Fifth Regiment and Second Cohort of the Nauvoo Legion." See also Legion General Orders of December 20, 1841, which in part directed the "Brigadier-Generals [the two cohort, or brigade, commanders] . . . to require the Colonels of Regiments to order Battalion Parades, some time prior to the General Parade, within the bounds of their respective commands—the Colonels will act as reviewing officers, and the Lieutenant-Colonels, and Majors, will command their respective Battalions." *Times and Seasons* 3 (January 1, 1842): 654. This indicates that the regiment, at least for parade purposes, would organize into two battalions, one under the lieutenant colonel and the other under the major indicated by the "General Orders" as being in each regimental commander's staff.

[9]*Times and Seasons* 3 (January 1, 1842): 654; *History of the Church* 4:415.

[10]Susan Easton Black, "How Large Was the Population of Nauvoo?" in this issue, p. 93.

[11]*History of the Church* 4:300.

[12]*Rank Roll of the Nauvoo Legion* (Nauvoo, May 1842), broadside. Copies are held by the Chicago Historical Society, Beineke Library at Yale, BYU, and the LDS Church Historical Dept. The general orders of December 20, 1841, specified that from that date "the officers will take post according to the rank assigned them by the date of their commissions, agreeably [*sic*] to the rules and regulations of the United States Army, and the rules heretofore adopted of ranking by grade of companies is hereby abrogated." *Times and Seasons* 3 (January 1, 1842): 654.

Minor discrepancies exist between the totals of officers listed as commissioned on the *Rank Roll* and the numbers tallied in the "General Return." For example, the counts of first, second, and third lieutenants do not quite total the tally given on the "General Return." Rank also does not correlate to staff assignment. The chaplains, as members of the general staff assigned to the cohort, held rank as majors. The adjutants, quartermaster sergeants, and adjutant majors (and probably the surgeons) were captaincies, despite the titles given to the appointment. With two exceptions, the senior line officers of the Second Cohort's first four regiments correspond to the *Rank Roll* precisely. The two quartermasters, the sergeants, the single aide-de-camp, and commissary in the general staff, and the adjutant of the First and one sergeant major of the Second Regiment remain the only officer positions unknown. Of the remaining officers from the four regiments, 17 captains, 18 first and third, and 20 second lieutenants of the twenty-three regimental positions for each rank then available are listed by name on the *Rank Roll.*

[13]The *Rank Roll of the Nauvoo Legion* shows that the Second Cohort—the infantry brigade—was much more completely staffed than the First Cohort—the cavalry brigade. The higher ranks were staffed completely. Majors and captains were divided fairly evenly, but of the various lieutenants, only 23 of the 79 names enumerated—barely 29 percent—belonged to the First Cohort's corps of line officers. See *History of the Church* 4:293–96, 300, 309–10, 353, 382, and 502 for lists of ranking officers by name in the general, brigade, and regimental staffs.

[14]*Times and Seasons* 2 (May 15, 1841): 419; *History of the Church* 5:201. In December 1842, William Smith argued that the Legion had "not even that equal portion of arms that they are entitled to by law." *History of the Church* 5:203.

[15]*History of the Church* 6:31.

[16]*Nauvoo Neighbor*, December 9, 1843. This may be why the "General Return" is not found in the Illinois archives today.

[17]*Times and Seasons* 2 (May 15, 1841): 419.

[18]*History of the Church* 5:201–3.

[19]*History of the Church* 6:553–57.

[20]Quoted in *History of the Church* 7:10.

[21]Givens, *In Old Nauvoo,* 132–33, 138–39.

[22]*History of the Church* 7:10.

[23]Oaks and Hill, *Carthage Conspiracy,* 23.

General Return of the Second Cohort or Brigade of the Nauvoo Legion of the Illinois Militia for the Year 1843

	General Staff	1st Reg. Artillery	2nd Reg. Rifle	3rd Reg. Rifle	4th Reg. Rifle	5th Reg. Infantry	Aggregate
Brigadier Generals	1						1
Colonels		1	1	1	1	1	5
Lieutenant Colonels		1	1	1	1	1	5
Majors		1	1	1	1	1	5
Brigade Major	1						1
Quartermasters	1			1			2
Aids-de-camp to the Brigadier General	1						1
Commissary	1						1
Chaplains	5						5
Surgeons	1			1			2
Adjutants		1	1	1	1	1	5
Quartermaster Sergeants		1	1	1	1	1	5
Sergeant Majors		1	1	1	1	1	5
Captains		6	5	6	6	6	29
1st Lieutenants		6	5	6	6	6	29
2nd Lieutenants		6	5	6	6	6	29
3rd Lieutenants		6	5	6	6	6	29
Sergeants		23	25	28	27	27	130
Corporals		16	20	27	22	19	104
Pioneers					3	6	9
Musicians		1		6			7
Privates		195	257	388	230	272	1342
Total commissioned	11	30	26	32	30	30	159
Total noncommissioned Officers and Privates		235	302	449	282	324	1592
Aggregate	11	265	328	481	312	354	1751
Muskets					21	42	63
Rifles		6	59	40	28		133
Swords		63	2	20	13		98
Pairs of Pistols				1	3		4
Cannons & Equipage		2					2
Total Arms		71	61	61	65	42	300

John Bills
Brigade Major

Legion Officers of the Second Cohort as Given on the *Rank Roll of the Nauvoo Legion*

Rank	Unit	Name
Brigadier General	General Staff	Charles C. Rich
Colonel	1st Regiment Artillery	Titus Billings
Colonel	2nd Regiment Rifle	Francis M. Higbee
Colonel	3rd Regiment Rifle	Samuel Bent
Colonel	4th Regiment Rifle	Jonathan H. Dunham
Lieutenant Colonel	1st Regiment Artillery	John Scott
Lieutenant Colonel	2nd Regiment Rifle	N. Higgins
Lieutenant Colonel	3rd Regiment Rifle	George Morey
Lieutenant Colonel	4th Regiment Rifle	James Brown
Major	1st Regiment Artillery	Hosea Stout
Major	2nd Regiment Rifle	A. H. Golden
Major	3rd Regiment Rifle	William Neiswanger
Major	4th Regiment Rifle	J. P. Harman
Brigade Major	General Staff	John Bills [not on "Rank Roll"]
Chaplains (Majors)	General Staff	William Marks, George A. Smith, William Smith, Willard Richards, Wilford Woodruff
Adjutant (Captain)	2nd Regiment Rifle	John G. Hasson
Adjutant (Captain)	3rd Regiment Rifle	Timothy Foote
Adjutant (Captain)	4th Regiment Rifle	E. L. Brown
Quartermaster Sergeant (Captain)	1st Regiment Artillery	William D. Pratt
Quartermaster Sergeant (Captain)	2nd Regiment Rifle	P. Cahoon
Quartermaster Sergeant (Captain)	3rd Regiment Rifle	Jonathon H. Hale
Quartermaster Sergeant (Captain)	4th Regiment Rifle	Joel S. Miles
Sergeant Major (Captain)	1st Regiment Artillery	Lewis Robison
Sergeant Major (Captain)	3rd Regiment Rifle	E. Potter
Sergeant Major (Captain)	4th Regiment Rifle	Edwin D. Woolley
Captains	*unit not specified*	Levi Bracken, B. S. Wilbur, Theodore Turley, Peter W. Canover, Alva L. Tippets, William Huntington, James Worthington, Darwin Chase, William M. Alred, John H. Tippets, O. M. Allen, C. D. Barnum, Samuel Mosic, Charles R. Dana, John Pack, Moses Clauson, Andrew M. Hamilton

1st Lieutenants	*unit not specified*	S. Winchester, Stephen Chase, Hiram Clark, Peter Lemon, A. Williams, William Aldridge, Alexander Badlam, P. Colton, P. Wells, H. Herriman, Andrew Lytle, Lewis Robins, Lucius N. Scovil, Warren Snow, Horace M. Alexander, Stephen Williams, John J. Degraw, Ira E. Lincoln
2nd Lieutenants	*unit not specified*	Stephen H. Goddard, Asahel Perry, Allen Taylor, William Wirick, O. M. Duel, Tarlton Lewis, William Munjar, Horace Evans, John S. Higbee, Lyman O. Littlefield, Edson Barney, J. G. Luce, Wesley Knight, George Woodward, John Bair, Josiah Bois, Andrew Palmer, John P. Smith, George W. Vorus, Daniel Carn
3rd Lieutenants	*unit not specified*	E. Marsh, A. Johnson, Truman O. Angel, D. Cathcart, Isaiah Whiteside, John M. Ewel, William Miller, Jacob F. Abbot, Harvey J. Moore, William C. Perry, John Ellis, William Heap, Lorenzo D. Driggs, William Garner, Alvin Horr, Martin Ewel, John Anderson, Appleton M. Harmon



Sunken baptismal font with mosaics symbolic of life in the water, in the air, and on the ground. Below the water level are pictured a dolphin, fish, and anchor—symbols for the crucified Christ, Christians, and the cross respectively. Courtesy The Liturgical Press.

Reviews

Re-examining Baptismal Fonts: Baptismal Space for the Contemporary Church. The Liturgical Press, St. John's Abbey, P.O. Box 7500, Collegeville, MN, 56321-7500 (Order of St. Benedict). 1991. 36 min. Videocassette. $59.50.

Reviewed by M. Catherine Thomas, Assistant Professor of Religion, Brigham Young University.

This richly colorful video encourages the Christian community to reexamine the significance of baptism and redesign the space where their baptisms are performed in view of an awakened interest in the theology of baptism. It pleads for visual enhancement of the baptismal experience in order to teach the many-layered symbols of baptism in greater depth. But of greater interest to Latter-day Saints is the video's treatment of the decline of baptism by immersion in the early Christian period. Before reviewing the video, however, I will consider briefly the history of baptism as a background for the video's presentation of ancient Christian baptismal sites and baptismal symbolism.

Historical Background of Christian Baptism

Water was widely used in the ancient world as a means of ritual purification.[1] The law of Moses required washing as a cleansing of certain impurities before participation in religious acts (Lev. 14–15; Num. 19), and the temple of Solomon had a brazen sea in which the priests washed prior to their temple service. A significant passage in the Mishnah, at the end of the tractate Yoma, deals with the Day of Atonement, a fast day which included the solemn immersion of the high priest in waters of purification: "Blessed are ye, O Israel. Before whom are ye made clean and who makes you clean? Your Father in heaven: as it is written, *And I will sprinkle clean water upon you and ye shall be clean.*"[2] Because sprinkling

as well as immersion was used for ritual purification in the law of Moses (see Num. 19:9–13), some early Christians may have concluded that sprinkling was as valid as immersion for baptism.[3] The rabbis linked Ezekiel 36:25 with Jeremiah 17:13, which contains a play on the word for the baptismal water and the word for hope: "*O Lord the hope* (mikweh) *of Israel;*—as the *Mikweh* cleanses the unclean so does the Holy One, blessed be he, cleanse Israel."[4] Another rabbinic saying links baptism with the coming of the Messiah: "To receive the spirit of God, or to be permitted to stand in the presence of God (His Shekinah), man must undergo Baptism . . . , wherefore in the Messianic time God will Himself pour water of purification upon Israel in accordance with Ezek. xxxvi:25."[5]

In addition, the Jews built synagogues near sources of water which could be used for ritual purifications. In the period before A.D. 70, they built immersion pools (*mikvaoth*) for performing ceremonial washings.[6] *Mikvaoth* generally consisted of two pools connected by a channel to permit pure or "living" water to flow into the bathing pool to purify it. Rabbinic literature specified a minimum capacity (seventy-five gallons) and size that would permit covering the entire body. These regulation pools appear amid the ruins of Herodian Jerusalem near the temple mount as well as at Qumran, where they were used for ritual washing by the Jewish Essenes. Finally, Gentiles converting to Judaism were required to immerse themselves as part of their initiation into the Abrahamic covenant.[7]

That the Jews may have had a vague memory of baptism and an expectation that the Messiah would restore baptism may be inferred from their asking John the Baptist if he was the Messiah (John 1:19–23). At some uncertain point in Israelite antiquity, baptism by immersion had disappeared, even though baptism had been revealed to Adam as an essential ordinance (Moses 6:64–65). God laments to Abraham the loss of ordinances such as baptism:

> My people have gone astray from my precepts, and have not kept mine ordinances, which I gave unto their fathers; And they have not observed mine anointing, and the burial, or baptism wherewith I commanded them; But have turned from the commandment, and taken unto themselves the washing of children, and the blood of sprinkling; And have said that the blood of the righteous Abel was shed for sins; and have not known wherein they are accountable before me. (JST Gen. 17:4–7)

Whereupon, the Lord gave Abraham circumcision as a token of the covenant between God and Israel. The relationship between circumcision and baptism as covenants is not clarified in the Bible.

John the Baptist restored baptism by immersion to Israel. New Testament baptisms were performed by immersion as biblical language and metaphor indicate. Various scriptures describe baptism as being buried or planted in the water (Rom. 6:4–6) and coming up "out of the water" (Matt. 3:16). The Greek word *baptizo* is given in the standard lexicons of the Greek New Testament as "dip" or "immerse," not "pour" or "sprinkle."

From these simple beginnings, however, the ordinance took on more elaborate forms. In the second century, Tertullian reported the practice of the *trine* immersion (also mentioned in the *Didache*), or one immersion for each person of the trinity, but acknowledged that it was more than the Lord prescribed in the Gospel.[8] This triple practice was abandoned by some because heretics practiced baptism with three immersions to indicate a division of the Godhead, which division the mainstream church had renounced. Nevertheless, the single and triple forms persisted, the eastern churches preserving the triple immersion and the western having various practices.[9]

The substitution of pouring or sprinkling for immersion was probably late and gradual and finally triumphed in the West.[10] The only indication of pouring in the second century comes from the *Didache,* which says:

> 1. . . . "Baptise in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit," in running [or living] water; 2. but if thou hast no running water, baptise in other water, and if thou canst not in cold, then in warm. 3. But if thou hast neither, pour water three times on the head "in the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit."[11]

This passage from the *Didache* may be an interpolation from a later period, probably the third century.[12]

It also became customary to exorcise the converts previous to their receiving baptism. This exorcism, which at first only called on them to renounce the devil and all his works, was subsequently modified so as to include certain prayers; adjurations in the name of Christ, commanding the demons to quit the persons about to be baptized; and imposition of hands.[13] Breathing upon (insufflation)

the catechumen (prebaptism convert) was next added and was administered both before baptism to signify the expulsion of the devil and after immersion to symbolize the gift of the Holy Ghost. Cyril of Jerusalem exhorted his catechumens to receive exorcism with diligence in the time of catechising; for whether it was insufflation or exorcism, it was thought to be salutary to the soul.[14]

Tertullian described an additional practice of his time in which the newly baptized person was given a portion of milk and honey to denote his entrance into the promised land of Canaan and his belonging to the spiritual Israel.[15]

Another addition included anointing the breast of the baptismal candidate with oil before baptism and with unguent (ointment) after. The custom developed of the convert wearing white garments, usually for eight days following baptism. These were metaphorically called the garments of Christ or the mystical garments. Among the added customs was the washing of the feet of the baptized neophyte (new convert). The additions of dismissing the devil, anointing the initiate with oil, and donning white garments suggest that residues of the temple endowment may have persisted in the memory of these later Christians as they merged elements of temple ordinances with baptism.

Visualizing Baptism

In the video, Sister Anita Stauffer points out that water is the stuff of creation and of life; in other words, life begins in the water in the womb, and nothing can endure without water. But water also has destructive powers as in Noah's flood and the closing of the Red Sea over Pharaoh and his soldiers (both of which represent baptisms; see 1 Pet. 3:20–21 and 1 Cor. 10:2). Baptism partakes of both these aspects of water in that the person being baptized descends into the water of death, a watery tomb, and there receives new life as in a womb. Her allusion is to Romans 6:4–6:

> Therefore we are buried with him by baptism into death: that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life. For if we have been planted together in the likeness of his death, we shall be also in the likeness of his resurrection: Knowing this, that our old man is crucified with him, that the body of sin might be destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve sin.

The believer is crucified and buried (planted) with Christ and spiritually resurrected into a newness of life.

Sister Anita traces the decline of the centrality of baptism in Christianity as manifested by the changing shape and size of baptismal fonts, illustrating her lecture with photographs of archaeological remains. She begins in the first three centuries, showing that baptisms were most frequently performed in natural, "living" bodies of water—rivers, lakes, and streams—where an abundance of water supplied the life and death symbols of baptism. With the end of Christian persecution at the conversion of Constantine in A.D. 313, the fourth to sixth centuries saw baptism move indoors to large pools dug into the ground, often in separate buildings adjacent to cathedrals. These buildings were constructed separately for greater privacy because those being baptized were required to be nude. Adult baptism, the norm, was most commonly performed at Easter in large pools where affusion (pouring) or immersion could be practiced. For example, Ambrose baptized Augustine of Hippo by affusion in Milan in an octagonal pool (still extant). The pool measures twenty feet across with two steps on each of seven of the sides. Leading down into shallow water, the steps represent the descent into a watery grave and then the ascent on the opposite side to new birth.

Sister Anita praises a font from a catacomb in North Africa that capitalized on the meanings of baptism with beautiful mosaics of a dolphin (symbolizing the crucified Christ), an anchor (the cross), and little fishes (Christians). The depiction apparently alludes to a statement by the third-century Tertullian, who wrote, "We being little fish, as Jesus Christ is our great fish, begin our life in the water. And only as we abide in the water are we safe and sound."

In the seventh to ninth centuries, the pools were built *upon* the ground and came to be used primarily for infant baptism, apparently because of the infant mortality rate as well as the emerging doctrine of original sin. Expanding on the video's discussion of infant baptism, one may note that the first explicit evidence for baptism of very young children appears in Tertullian's *On Baptism,* written approximately A.D. 200. In this instruction, Tertullian objected to infant baptism: "Let them become Christians when they have become able to know Christ."[16] Nevertheless, by the mid-third century, baptism of infants was accepted as a

well-established tradition supposedly dating from the earliest period of Christian history. In his sermons, Origen cited this tradition to prove that infants inherited sin and guilt.[17] At about the same time, Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, wrote that, although infants have not committed willful acts of sin, as descendants of Adam they have "contracted the contagion of the ancient death" at the instant of birth and thus must receive forgiveness, not of their own, but of Adam's sin.[18] Later, original sin was to be the principal basis for infant baptism.[19] From the mid-third century on, baptism of infants was standard practice in both East and West.[20] The emperor Justinian I made infant baptism compulsory in the sixth century. By contrast, the early Christian documents contain frequent reference to the *sinlessness* of children.[21]

From the tenth to sixteenth centuries, the now much smaller fonts were built on stands primarily in the narthex (entry or gathering place) of the church, that is, outside the worship area proper. During this period, font covers were fashioned and even locked onto the fonts (because the covers were frequently stolen for use in witchcraft). Here the symbols of baptism had almost completely disappeared—even the small amount of water cannot be seen, nor its symbolism appreciated.



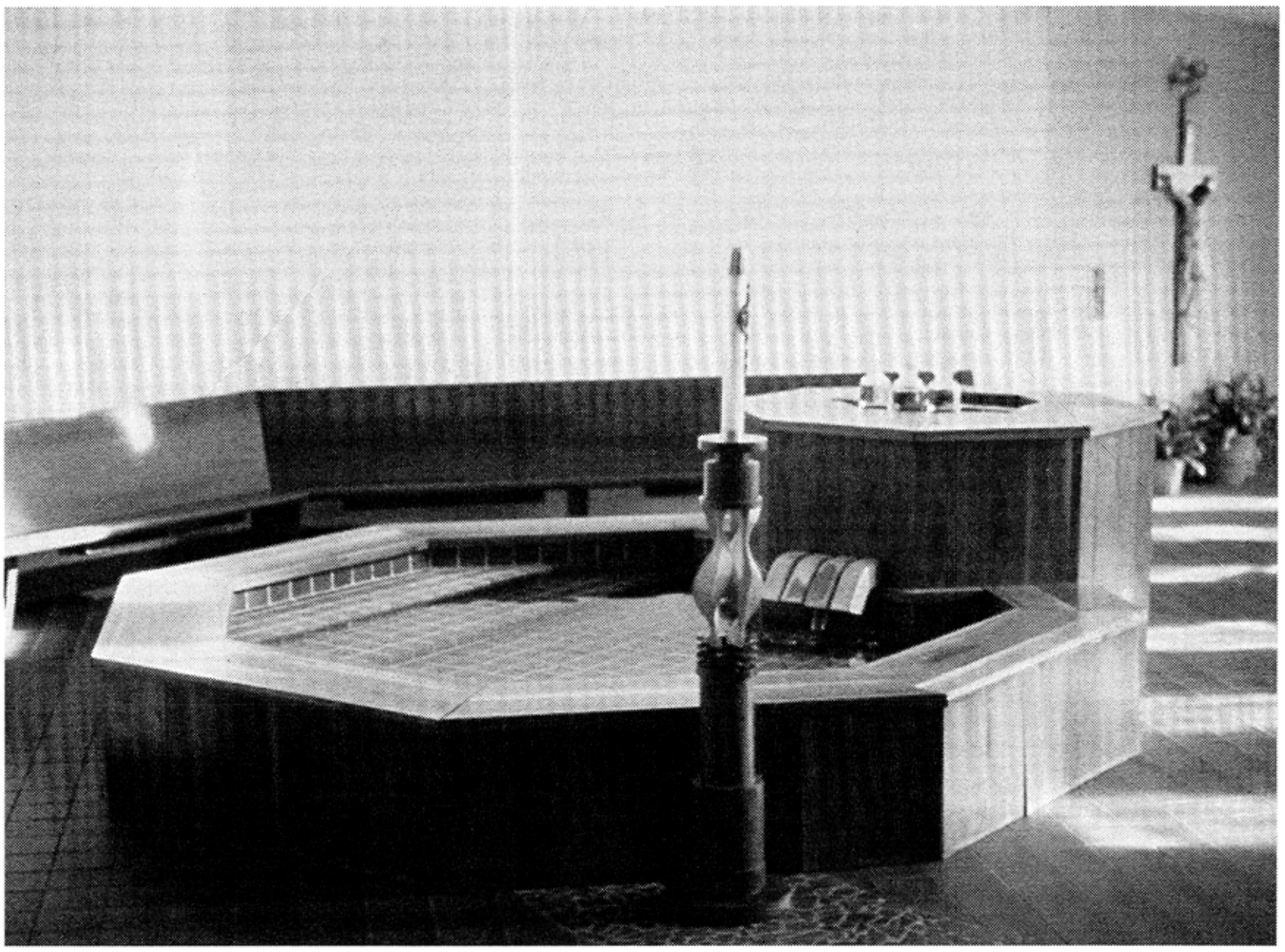
Font for immersion of infants. Placed above the ground, this font is made of engraved stone. Courtesy The Liturgical Press.

From the seventeenth century to the present, increasingly smaller fonts were constructed that came to look like birdbaths in which, Sister Anita observes, baptism approaches "dry cleaning." She makes a plea for fonts that allow for *immersion,* a method she defines as water

poured over the neophyte; that is, by her definition, affusion is a form of immersion. She uses *submersion* to mean being placed beneath the water.

She pleads as well for the realization that the font is not a piece of furniture, but should be architecturally part of a well-defined space in the worship area. She shows striking views of modern churches in which the font has been constructed on an axis with the altar. In one new church, the octagonal font is 3 1/2 feet deep, has steps down into the water, and holds 10,000 gallons of water. Painted aquatic imagery appears along the passageway leading to the font at a level low enough for children to see. Splashes of color, which stream through stained-glass windows set up high above the font area, play on walls and water. A shelf area on the top of the font walls holds anointing oils.

Latter-day Saints interested in promoting a deeper understanding of the development of modern Christianity from the early Christian period, as well as an enhanced awareness of the scriptural symbols attached to baptism, could find this video worthwhile.



An unusual baptismal pool in a modern Catholic building. This large font holds 10,000 gallons of water. Courtesy The Liturgical Press.

NOTES

[1]See Hugh Nibley, *The Message of the Joseph Smith Papyri: An Egyptian Endowment* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1975), 93–96, which discusses Egyptian ceremonies of ritual purification. See also Robert A. Wild, *Water in the Cultic Worship of Isis and Sarapis* (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 143–48.

[2] Herbert Danby, *The Mishnah* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1933; reprint, 1983), 172; italics in original.

[3]See Thomas F. Torrance, "The Origins of Baptism," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 11 (1958): 158–71.

[4]Danby, *Mishnah,* 172; italics in original.

[5]Quoted in "Baptism," *Jewish Encyclopedia,* 12 vols. (London: Funk and Wagnalls, 1902), 2:499.

[6]See William Sanford LaSor, "Jewish Miqva'ot and Christian Baptism," *Through Their Eyes* (November 1986): 14–15.

[7]See Torrance, "Origins of Baptism," 167–71.

[8]Tertullian, *De Corona,* 3, translation in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers,* 10 vols. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1978–81), 3:94 (hereafter cited as *ANF*).

[9]"Baptism," *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity,* ed. Everett Ferguson (New York: Garland, 1990), 132.

[10]*The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia,* ed. Geoffrey W. Bromiley, 4 vols. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1979), 1:416.

[11]*Didache,* 7:1–3, in *The Apostolic Fathers,* trans. Kirsopp Lake, Loeb Classical Library Series, vols. 9–10 (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1912), 9:319, 321.

[12]I thank John Gee for this suggestion.

[13]Tertullian, *Apology,* 23, translation in *ANF* 3:37-38.

[14]Cyril of Jerusalem, *Procatechesis,* 9, translation in the *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers,* 14 vols. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1978), 7:3; see also Nibley, *Message of the Joseph Smith Papyri,* 279–83.

[15]Tertullian, *De Corona Militis,* 15, translation in *ANF* 3:94.

[16]Tertullian, *On Baptism,* 18, translation in *ANF* 3:678.

[17]See Origen (about A.D. 250) in *Commentary on Romans,* 5.9.

[18]Cyprian, *Epistle,* 58.5, translation in *ANF* 5:354.

[19]"Baptism," *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity,* 133.

[20]Joachim Jeremias, *Infant Baptism in the First Four Centuries* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1960); G. R. Beasley-Murray, *Baptism in the New Testament* (London: Macmillan, 1963), 306–82; Paul K. Jewett, *Infant Baptism and the Covenant of Grace* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1978).

[21]Hermas, *Similitudes,* 9.29.1–3, translation in *ANF* 2:53; *Epistle of Barnabas,* 6, translation in *ANF* 1:144; Athenagoras, *The Resurrection of the Dead,* 14, translation in *ANF* 2:156.

GRANT UNDERWOOD. *The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993. iv; 213 pp. Notes, index. $24.95.

Reviewed by Milton V. Backman Jr., Emeritus Professor of Church History and Doctrine, Brigham Young University, and Director of BYU Semester Program in Nauvoo.

Grant Underwood, associate professor of religion at Brigham Young University—Hawaii, wrote *The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism* after years of research, during which he wrote a doctoral dissertation on and published a number of scholarly articles concerning Mormonism and millenarianism. *The Millenarian World* is not only a polished formulation of Underwood's previous research that supersedes many of his earlier writings, it is also the only comprehensive work that places Mormon beliefs regarding the last days and the Millennium in a historical setting.

After briefly discussing the history of the "end times" from the early Christian era to the early nineteenth century, Underwood concentrates on Mormonism and millenarianism in the early nineteenth century. He concludes with a brief description of patterns of millenarian thought today, including the Latter-day Saint response to secularism and "scientific" history that challenges traditional millenarian beliefs.

According to Underwood, millenarianism is more than a belief in the imminent second coming of Christ and the Millennium. The term *millenariansim* is used to refer broadly to people's ideas about "the final events in individual human lives as well as the collective end of human history" (2). In addition to describing Latter-day Saint beliefs regarding the last days, the Second Coming, the Millennium, and judgments, this book "probes many related aspects" of the "mental universe" of Latter-day Saints, "and, in the process, demonstrates how one of the most satisfactory models for understanding Mormonism during its earliest phase (1830–1846) is from the standpoint of millenarianism" (2). Although some might argue that Underwood's expanded definition needs further qualifications, he notes:

> So central was the restoration of Israel to the meaning of the Mormon mission that it even influenced what they valued most about

> their new scriptures. Early Saints stressed that one of the prime purposes for the coming forth of the Book of Mormon and other revelations was to identify Israel and to locate the place of gathering. (67).

Underwood considers two main streams of millennial thought that were popular during the early nineteenth century—premillennialism and postmillennialism. He avoids the oversimplification that premillennialism was a belief that Christ would return before the Millennium and that postmillennialism was a school of thought that specified that Christ would return after the Millennium. These two schools of thought, he asserts, disagreed not only in "respect to the time and manner" in which the Millennium would be established, but also in "regard to its nature and the way Christ" would "exercise control" (4; quoting Robert G. Clouse). Postmillennialists held that there would be one general resurrection and one day of judgment and that "both would coincide with Christ's return to earth at the end of the thousand years." Premillenialists believed "there would be two comings, two judgments, and two resurrections—one at the time of Christ's coming and one after" (4). Postmillennialists further believed that "the thousand years represented the culmination of the gradual Christianization of the entire world and would be achieved largely through successful evangelists." Premillenialists "merely hoped to convert a relative handful before Christ came personally" (5).

Although some writers have reasoned that many early Latter-day Saints embraced basic postmillennial ideas, Underwood insists that Mormon theology from the days of Joseph Smith to the present has been more in harmony with views held by premillennialists than postmillennialists. He further suggests that postmillennial thought, as expressed in the teachings of influential leaders of the early republic, such as Alexander Campbell, was more popular in the early nineteenth century than premillennial thought.

One of Underwood's significant contributions is his comparison of the millennial beliefs of Latter-day Saints with popular teachings of early nineteenth-century religious leaders. A major difference existed between the theology of early Latter-day Saints and that of their contemporaries— "Mormonism added one more literal gathering spot [America] and several more literal gathering groups" (66). Latter-day Saints taught (and continued to believe)

that before the general destruction of the wicked and the coming of Christ, God would gather his people in a Zion, a place of refuge. The Saints included in this gathering not only the lost tribes of Israel and the Jews, but also the Native Americans.

Underwood also addresses the challenge early Latter-day Saints faced in remaining faithful while living in a world ripe for destruction. Some of their attempts to avoid worldliness fostered differences. As they became a "peculiar" people, they faced the challenge of knowing which behaviors were appropriate and which were undesirable. They had to resolve questions relating to slavery, politics, government, and economic practices as well as the propriety of drama and social dancing.

Underwood suggests that the early Latter-day Saints' stance on these issues led to increased persecution. Nevertheless, he notes, the Saints' belief in the imminence of the Second Coming and the peace that will follow helped them endure some of the trials they encountered in northeastern Ohio and western Missouri.

While one cannot fully understand the beliefs and actions of early Latter-day Saints without emphasizing their attitudes toward the imminence of the Second Coming and the millennial reign of Christ, one should understand these attitudes in context. Latter-day Saint millenarian thought was only one of many forces that fostered persecution and molded the Saints into a peculiar people. Moreover, many other Christians, some of whom did not embrace popular millennial ideas, were also trying to resolve the questions involved in forsaking the sins of the world. Many of these Christians became enthusiastic supporters of reform movements, and some gathered in utopian communities. The Latter-day Saint peculiarity was in part a product of this environment. In addition, not all of their new revelations and scriptures related directly to millennial ideas.

Readers also need to cautiously explore Underwood's account of how the revelation of the three degrees of glory gradually impacted early Mormon thought prior to the early 1840s. While the dualism of heaven and hell continued to be found in early Mormon writings following the 1832 publication of what is now known as Doctrine and Covenants 76, writings of early Latter-day Saints—such as W. W. Phelps, Warren Foote, Philo Dibble, Wilford Woodruff, Levi Hancock, George Laub, Zera Pulsipher, and

George Morris—provide examples of converts who rejected the traditional belief in hell and readily accepted the Prophet's vision of glories. Thus, although a belief in heavenly mansions was not emphasized in the 1830s by Latter-day Saint missionaries, it was a belief understood and embraced by many early converts. Additional study of the impact on early Latter-day Saints of the doctrine of the three degrees of glory is still needed.

Underwood's endnotes include an excellent listing of works that relate to the history of millennial thought, although Underwood did not gather them into a separate bibliography.

Underwood has blended his extensive research on early Mormon history and doctrine into a significant exploration of millenarianism. Recognizing the importance of Underwood's contribution, the Mormon History Association in 1994 gave its "best book" award to *The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism*.

GEORGE D. SMITH, ed. *An Intimate Chronicle: The Journals of William Clayton.* Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1995; hardback edition, 1991. lxxii; 580 pp. Illustrations, maps, appendixes, bibliography, index. Paperback, $17.95.

Reviewed by James B. Allen, Senior Research Fellow, Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Church History, Brigham Young University.

The personal journals of William Clayton poignantly reflect the experiences, concerns, and attitudes of one of the many faithful Latter-day Saints who, though not leaders, were essential to the strength and success of early Mormonism. After 1842, however, Clayton was particularly close to Joseph Smith, and his journals provide some important insight into the life of the founding prophet of the LDS Church. They also shed significant light on the history of the Church in England, in Nauvoo, during the exodus from Nauvoo to the Great Basin, and during part of the early Utah period.

An Intimate Chronicle consists of abridgements of five journals written by William Clayton, the full text of another, and three appendixes. As detailed below, most of the items have been published before, but two appear here for the first time. The editor, George Smith, has written a fine introduction in which he reviews Clayton's life and accomplishments and adds several miscellaneous facts about Clayton undiscovered by previous writers (including this reviewer). Footnotes provide other important insights into Clayton and his times, and Smith has done a credible job of editing the material available to him. The main value of this publication is that it brings together in one volume significant portions of Clayton's journals, along with some other writings.

Despite its strengths, several problems are inherent in this publication. "Journal 2" is so incomplete that it cannot be relied upon to provide a full or balanced perspective. "Journal 3" is not a William Clayton journal at all, but, rather, a Heber C. Kimball journal. And the abridgements of two previously published Clayton documents, "Journal 1" and "Journal 4," are so severe that the serious student of Mormon history will want to look at the originals anyway.

"Journal 1: England and Emigration, 1840–1842" is an abridgement of the journal Clayton began on January 1, 1840, while

serving as a missionary in Manchester, England. The entire journal was previously published—with profuse annotation—in 1974 by this reviewer and Thomas G. Alexander as *Manchester Mormons: The Journal of William Clayton, 1840 to 1842.*[1] It provides important information on the activities of the LDS Church in England in 1840, casts light on the emigration process, and illuminates the story of Zarahemla, an LDS settlement in Iowa that ultimately failed. The original journal is housed in the library at Brigham Young University.

Of the 273 daily entries in this journal, Smith eliminated forty-one, or 15 percent. In addition, nineteen entries are incomplete. Though editors have the right to determine what to eliminate, it is unfortunate in this case that some seemingly significant entries were excluded while some relatively insignificant passages were retained. Sunday, March 8, 1840, for example, was a very eventful Sabbath day for Clayton. In the morning, he prayed with a Sister Burgess, who had a serious infection on her breast. He also recorded where he had breakfast; who spoke at Church meetings during the day and evening; the ordination of certain men to the priesthood; some baptisms and confirmations; visits he made to members of the Church; gifts he received of oranges and money (he often recorded such things as a reflection of his gratitude for people who supplied him with food and other needs while he was working without purse or scrip); and, finally, a cryptic comment about using "liberty" toward Alice Hardman. In his abridgement, however, Smith kept only about one-sixth of the total entry: "Sister Burgess came. Her breast is very bad. I prayed with her. . . . Supper at Hardman's. Used great liberty toward Alice Hardman" (33). By including only the somewhat titillating material and leaving out the much more important information about Clayton and what he was doing as a missionary, this "abridgement" does little but distort the day's activity.

The most problematical document in this collection is "Journal 2: Nauvoo, Illinois, 1842–1846." The original three volumes which comprise this journal are owned by the LDS Church and cover the period of November 27, 1842, to January 30, 1846. They constitute an immensely valuable source for understanding the life

of Joseph Smith as well as the history of the Church during its final years in Nauvoo. Clayton made significant observations, for example, on the tender relationship between Joseph and Emma Smith, as well as some of the tensions between them. He also wrote of Joseph's relationship with other people (both friends and enemies), efforts to institute plural marriage, and the recording of the revelation on plural marriage. Clayton kept the accounts related to building the temple, kept other Church records, took care of many of Joseph Smith's business transactions, was involved in the Prophet's political activities, participated in Nauvoo's cultural life, observed and helped out in the solution of the many problems that followed Joseph Smith's death, and was deeply involved in the preparations for leaving Nauvoo.[2]

Scholars should be wary of this "abridgement," however, for the editor did not have access to the original journals. Instead, he relied, for the most part, on highly selected excerpts compiled in 1979 by Andrew Ehat as notes for his specific research interests. Unfortunately, and through no direct fault of Ehat's, these excerpts were purloined and copied in an unauthorized way by yet another person, who illicitly shared them with friends. Like the proverbial feathers tossed to the wind, duplicates spread rapidly. The excerpts were eventually published, unapproved and with no editing, in photoduplicate form by Jerald and Sandra Tanner's Modern Microfilm Company of Salt Lake City. Smith's abridgement is based almost entirely on that source, with some additions from a few other sources.

Smith's introduction to this journal leaves some misleading impressions about its full content. He says, for example, that the Ehat excerpts comprise "approximately one-half of the original holograph journal" (lvi, note). Since he never saw the holograph, however, he had no way of knowing that there are actually 1170 daily entries in the three journals. Smith provides a full, or nearly-full, reproduction of 102 entries (8.7 percent) and partial reproductions of another 254 (21.7 percent). Considering all the omissions from the partial entries, it is safe to estimate that less than 25 percent of the whole is included in this publication. Scholars should be very cautious when they try to interpret what is there, for 75 percent of the whole is missing.

Moreover, in the case of the Nauvoo journals, George Smith took no real part in the "abridgement." All he had before him were Ehat's excerpts, which were never intended as an abridgement. They were merely verbatim notes to be used in Ehat's writing; they were not meant to be published as a collection. What was finally published by Modern Microfilm, unfortunately, was an agglomeration of unconnected (except as they related to Ehat's studies) and out-of-context excerpts that piqued the interest of the curious because they seemed somewhat sensational.

Smith correctly observes that Clayton's journals were the source for many entries in the documentary *History of the Church,* edited by B. H. Roberts, but he wrongly suggests that most of the 1843–45 entries are present in edited form in that *History* (lvii). Actually, for the period before the death of Joseph Smith, only about twenty-five of the daily *History of the Church* entries are clearly drawn from the Clayton journals. The same is true of the period after the Prophet's death. Clayton wrote in his journal almost daily, but only a very small number of entries in volume seven of the *History of the Church* are based on that source. In nearly every instance, moreover, his journals are much more extensive than the excerpts used in the *History.*[3]

The result, so far as *An Intimate Chronicle* is concerned, is an abridgement that leaves the worst kind of imbalance. It is not a scholarly abridgement based on a consistent rationale concerning what is important enough to include or insignificant enough to leave out. For example, Ehat's excerpts reveal some problems between Joseph and Emma, but the original journals show with equal clarity that the two were very close and very much in love. Clayton saw the problems, but he also saw the Prophet and his wife working together for a common cause in a variety of ways. The excerpts largely obscure that fact.

For example, an entry in *An Intimate Chronicle* for June 30, 1843, mentions a speech given by Joseph Smith after he was arrested in Dixon, Illinois, then freed on a writ of habeas corpus. Missing, however, are what Clayton must have considered the much more important parts of what he wrote that day. He reported Joseph Smith's dramatic entry into Nauvoo amid throngs of Saints grateful to see him. Part of the story, based on Clayton's

journal, is recounted in the *History of the Church*, but Clayton observed some intimate, heartwarming particulars that did not appear in the *History*. Emma was at the Prophet's side, and Clayton described in beautiful detail the love that was apparent at the reuniting of Joseph and his family: "Prest J. left the buggy and mounted old Charley he called for sister Emma & his brother Hyrum who when they came up and took him by the hand all wept Prest. took hold of the hand of his partner in sorrow and persecution. Surely it would have moved any thing but the heart of an adamantine." Clayton also commented on the non-Mormons who had accompanied Joseph Smith to Nauvoo, "who all gazed with astonishment & rapture to see the enthusiastic attachment of the Mormon people to their beloved leaders." Entries such as these cast quite a different light on Joseph Smith than do out-of-context excerpts that tend to focus on the tensions.

The excerpts bypass many personal entries that reveal the deeply spiritual nature of Clayton himself. They also say little about Clayton's multitudinous daily activities or about the vibrant social life of Nauvoo, yet the journals are filled with notations regarding business affairs, concerts, plays, parties, and other activities that rounded out the lives of Clayton and his friends. In short, the excerpts provide insights into some aspects of Nauvoo history, but they do not reveal the warm, positive image of the Church and of Joseph Smith that pervades the journals themselves. They also distort the real character of William Clayton and fail to provide some very important information about the period after the death of Joseph.

All these issues raise questions about the propriety of republishing the excerpts at all. Working without permission to study the original documents doomed their editor to the production of a manifoldly flawed volume.

"Journal 3: Nauvoo Temple, 1845–1846," in this reviewer's opinion, has no place in a publication of Clayton journals, for it is really the journal of Heber C. Kimball, as George Smith himself recognizes (lvii). The Kimball family deposited it in the Church Archives in 1903 along with several other Kimball journals. It fits exactly, chronologically, with the other journals in the set and carries a handwritten inscription on the first page indicating that it is the journal of Heber C. Kimball. Smith justifies including it with

the Clayton journals simply because the major portion of this particular volume, from December 10, 1845, to January 6, 1846, is in Clayton's handwriting.

Anyone who has studied the keeping of journals in Church history must know that Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and other Church leaders often called on their scribes and secretaries to record their journals for them. No responsible historian presumes to publish such journals as part of the papers of the scribes who wrote them. Such journals are the journals of those for whom they were written. Smith correctly observes that when Stanley B. Kimball published the journals of Heber C. Kimball, he left this one out. That still does not legitimize publishing it here. If such a journal could be called a Clayton journal, then so could the journal Clayton wrote for Kimball while crossing the plains in 1847. That journal has been published twice—as a Heber C. Kimball journal. The temple journal is in exactly the same category. If it is to be published at all, it should be published with a Kimball collection, not a Clayton collection.

The occasion for Clayton's involvement in writing this portion of Kimball's journal is found in Clayton's personal journal entry for December 10, 1845. That morning Clayton was in his office but feeling "quite unwell." Nevertheless, he wrote, Brigham Young "said he wanted me up in the Temple and would not take no for an answer." Accordingly, the faithful Clayton quit work and found his way to the attic of the temple, where several of the brethren were assembled. At that point, "Er Kimball requested me to write his private journal to day."[4] The activities that follow clearly explain why Kimball wanted Clayton (who had performed similar duties for him in England in 1840) to write his journal, for Kimball spent the rest of the day busily preparing the temple for the sacred ordinance work that was about to commence. As a Church leader, Kimball was one of the key figures in administering those ordinances to the hundreds of Saints who flocked to the temple, day and night, over the next few weeks. Sometimes working until the early morning hours, he had no time to write in his journal. Clayton, too, was busy, but during all that time he wrote in his own journal as well as Kimball's. He continued the dual journal writing until January 6, while Kimball was in the temple daily. On

many of those days, Clayton was also there, but after December 21, he spent most of his days working at the office. Clayton never thought of Kimball's journal as his own.

A significant difference exists between the Clayton journal and the Kimball journal for the days that Clayton was in the temple. In his own journal, Clayton told of the people who received the sacred ordinances, but he gave no details. In Kimball's journal (probably under Kimball's instruction), he gave enough detail that faithful Mormons reading it today might rightly feel uncomfortable, for it too openly reflects things they consider deeply sacred. Clayton saw no need, and perhaps even thought it improper, to place such details in his personal journal.

Nevertheless, the Kimball journal gives a heartwarming perspective on the dedication of the Saints who streamed to the temple during this crucial, hectic period just before the exodus from Nauvoo. The journal shows Church leaders working tirelessly day and night, even though they were being hounded by their enemies, to give the Saints the blessing of the temple endowment and to give husbands and wives the blessing of being sealed together for eternity. In addition, Church leaders and other high priests met regularly for fervent prayer. If the reader tries to imagine all that was happening to the Saints and all that must have been going through their minds in this time of trouble, the temple story is indeed inspiring. Unfortunately, Smith does little in his commentary to magnify this important theme.

Smith's abridgement, for the most part, eliminates long lists of names of those conducting or participating in the ordinances or of those who took part in the many prayer circles and meetings that were held in the temple during those days. In a few places, the abridgement leaves some things unclear. The entry for December 30, for example, deletes several lists of names. At the same time, however, it deletes a reference to a prayer meeting, which makes it impossible to understand to whom the journal is referring when it says that "they united in prayer, for the preservation of President Brigham Young and his Council" (244).

As in the case of "Journal 2," the Kimball journal is owned by the LDS Church, which has not given permission for its publication. Smith may have felt justified in publishing it because an

"underground" copy has been circulating for a few years. In 1983, Modern Microfilm printed a photographic reproduction, apparently taken from a microfilm that had been spirited away from the LDS Church Archives without permission. Apparently Smith worked from this "photographic copy" in making his transcription.

"Journal 4: Pioneer Trek West, 1846–1847," is an abridgement of Clayton's well-known pioneer journal, published by his family in 1921 and republished at least twice since then and readily available. The original manuscript is in the Clayton collection in the Church Archives. Some differences exist between the text as published by Smith and that published by the family, but they are neither extensive nor serious. In a few instances, Smith corrects some errors in the original publication. In his abridgement, however, he deleted numerous daily entries and condensed many more, resulting in the elimination of close to 50 percent of the original text. On the other hand, Smith provides a few entries at the end that, for some unknown reason, the family did not include in the 1921 publication.

"Journal 5: Visit to Utah Settlements, 1852" is the first of two documents in this collection that have not been published in some form elsewhere. It is short but interesting. Because of its brevity, Smith has not abridged it at all. Unfortunately, he only briefly explains the significance of the expedition covered by this journal. This was the occasion of Brigham Young's second annual visit to the settlements in southern Utah, but the group's mission also included "exploring the country, ascertaining the situation of the Indians, making roads, building bridges, killing snakes, preaching the gospel, and doing and performing all other acts and things needed to be done, as they may be led by the Good Spirit."[5] Clayton was assigned to go along as the official scribe. The expedition traveled over 300 miles southward, visiting all the Mormon settlements between Salt Lake City and Parowan. The journal, which begins on April 21, comments on the Native Americans the group encountered, gives Clayton's impressions of some of the communities themselves, and provides several other interesting insights. The original manuscript is owned by the LDS Church.

"Journal 6: Polygamy Mission to England, 1852–1853," also in the Clayton collection and owned by the Church, is the other document that has not been published previously. Clayton was one of

nearly a hundred missionaries sent out immediately after the special conference in August 1852, in which Orson Pratt made the first public announcement of the doctrine of plural marriage. These new missionaries were not just to preach the gospel as usual, but also to make the new doctrine known to the world. Clayton's journal tells of the trip eastward across the plains; the many doctrinal discussions held around the campfire; his disappointment when, in St. Louis, he saw the doctrine of plural marriage roundly rejected by some of the Saints as well as other people; and his missionary work for the short time he was in England. Misunderstanding and some personal conflicts led to his temporary suspension as a missionary, though he was soon reinstated after an investigation by the mission president. The facts are incomplete in the diary, but on February 4, 1853, Clayton wrote a letter to Thomas Bullock explaining them in detail. The letter is in the Bullock papers in the Church Archives; unfortunately, Smith did not see fit to either reproduce or summarize it in a footnote.[6]

Since this journal is brief, Smith did not extensively abridge it. Nevertheless, several ellipses in the text tend to diminish the value of the publication. The entry for Saturday, September 25, 1852, for example, is gone, yet it reveals much about Clayton's faith. It would have taken only a few more pages to reproduce the journal completely.

Smith provides three worthwhile appendixes. The source used for the first, "Extracts from William Clayton's [Private] Book," is a handwritten manuscript located in the papers of L. John Nuttall at Brigham Young University. Nuttall's source was apparently a private journal kept by Clayton in which he recorded excerpts from several sermons of Joseph Smith. The extracts are interesting, but they say nothing specific about Clayton. Moreover, whether Clayton actually heard these sermons or whether he copied them from someone else's transcription is unclear. One short entry, titled "A key by Joseph Smith Dec 1840," deals with the "key" by which someone may determine whether a messenger is a "spirit from God" or from the devil.[7] On February 9, 1843, Clayton was with the Prophet in Nauvoo when he repeated the same instructions, as recorded in Doctrine and Covenants 129:4–9. That passage is actually

a word-for-word duplication (except for one minor difference) of Clayton's Nauvoo journal entry for that date. This entry was the source for the official transcription when it was prepared for the Doctrine and Covenants. The editor of *An Intimate Chronicle* could not have known this, since he had access only to the sketchy, highly selected excerpts from the Nauvoo journal.

The second appendix, "An Interesting Journal," is a historical essay, penned by William Clayton, on the building of the Nauvoo Temple. The original handwritten manuscript is in the Nauvoo collection in the Church Archives, but Smith's source was the *Juvenile Instructor,* which published the essay serially in 1886. The editors of the *Instructor* made numerous grammatical and punctuation changes to the original, shortened some sentences, and reconstructed others. The changes are not serious in terms of historical understanding, but some scholars would have preferred a faithful reproduction of Clayton's original account. The most disappointing thing about the *Instructor* version is that it does not reproduce the entire original. It stops on page 85 of a 100-page manuscript. Even though the original does not tell the story of the Nauvoo temple through its completion, it would be nice to have the full document published.

The last appendix is William Clayton's account of how he was introduced to the doctrine and practice of plural marriage and his recording of the revelation (Doctrine and Covenants 132) as it was dictated by Joseph Smith. George Smith's source is a version published by Andrew Jenson in 1887.[8] The original handwritten manuscript is in the Clayton papers in the Church Archives. There are minor differences in terms of punctuation, but for all practical purposes both published versions are true to the original.

An Intimate Chronicle brings together, mostly in abridged fashion and often relying on secondhand sources, several documents produced by William Clayton. Most of the collection has been published elsewhere, but having it available in one volume, even though the abridgement sometimes leaves misleading impressions, provides students of Mormon history with a modest tool for studying some aspects of Clayton and his times. But it must be used with caution.

NOTES

[1]James B. Allen and Thomas G. Alexander, eds., *Manchester Mormons: The Journal of William Clayton, 1840–1842* (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, 1974).

[2]These events are all discussed in detail in James B. Allen, *Trials of Discipleship: The Story of William Clayton, a Mormon* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1987), chs. 4–7.

[3]In another misleading statement, Smith says that the journals contain Joseph Smith's "translation" of ancient characters from the Kinderhook plates (xxiv). This is inaccurate. Clayton simply wrote that he had seen the plates and claimed that Joseph Smith had translated a portion of them and had described their content and author. This report appears to be based on hearsay, and no translation was ever given. See Stanley B. Kimball, "Kinderhook Plates Brought to Joseph Smith Appear to Be a Nineteenth-Century Hoax," *Ensign* 11 (August 1981): 66–74.

[4]Interestingly enough, Smith does not include this entry for December 10 in Clayton's Nauvoo journal although it is among the Ehat "excerpts."

[5]Andrew Jenson, Journal History of the Church, April 22, 1852, LDS Church Archives.

[6]The reader who is interested in what Clayton had to say should try to see it in the Bullock collection or see the discussion in Allen, *Trials of Discipleship,* 290–92.

[7]The key is that if the spirit is from God he will not offer you his hand, but if from the devil he will "either shrink from you or offer his hand, which if he does you will feel nothing, but be deceived" (514). Significantly, the same idea is recorded in Wilford Woodruff's journal under the date June 27, 1839. It was among the instructions Joseph Smith gave to the Twelve before they left on their mission to the British Isles. It is also noted in Willard Richards's "Pocket Companion," a notebook that contains many of those instructions. Since Richards was in England when they were given in June 1839, it is apparent that he got his information from notes shared with him by the Apostles when they arrived in 1840. George Smith suggests that Clayton heard the idea from Joseph in Nauvoo in an otherwise unknown December 1840 sermon (514). Others have assumed that Clayton got his note either from Richards or Woodruff and recorded it in his book during the month of December. It is possible that the Prophet spoke on the subject on several occasions.

[8]"Plural Marriage," *Historical Record* 6 (May 1887): 224–26.

MAREN M. MOURITSEN, ed. *Woman to Woman: Selected Talks from the BYU Women's Conferences.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1986. viii; 215 pp. Index. $9.95.

MARY E. STOVALL and CAROL CORNWALL MADSEN, eds. *A Heritage of Faith: Talks Selected from the BYU Women's Conferences.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1988. ix; 198 pp. Index. $10.95.

MARY E. STOVALL and CAROL CORNWALL MADSEN, eds. *As Women of Faith: Talks Selected from the BYU Women's Conferences.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989. xi; 257 pp. Index. $10.95.

MARIE CORNWALL and SUSAN HOWE, eds. *Women of Wisdom and Knowledge: Talks Selected from the BYU Women's Conferences.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1990. ix; 269 pp. Index. $10.95.

DAWN HALL ANDERSON and MARIE CORNWALL, eds. *Women and the Power Within—to See Life Steadily and See It Whole: Talks Selected from the 1990 BYU Women's Conference.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 199l. vii; 276 pp. Index. $12.95.

DAWN HALL ANDERSON and MARIE CORNWALL, eds. *Women Steadfast in Christ: Talks Selected from the 1991 Women's Conference Co-Sponsored by Brigham Young University and the Relief Society.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992. vii; 312 pp. Index. $13.95.

DAWN HALL ANDERSON, SUSETTE FLETCHER GREEN, and MARIE CORNWALL, eds. *Women and Christ—Living the Abundant Life: Talks Selected from the 1992 Women's Conference Sponsored by Brigham Young University and the Relief Society.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1993. vii; 263 pp. Index. $13.95.

DAWN HALL ANDERSON and SUSETTE FLETCHER GREEN, eds. *Women in the Covenant of Grace: Talks Selected from the 1993 Women's Conference Sponsored by Brigham Young University and the Relief Society.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1994. vii; 280 pp. Index. $14.95.

Reviewed by Kathryn H. Shirts, who holds a master's degree in theological studies from Harvard Divinity School.

The first eight volumes of selected speeches from the women's conferences at Brigham Young University provide a unique perspective on the concerns of Latter-day Saint women during the past two decades. They also represent a continuing dialogue between the Women's Research Institute at BYU, whose goal is to publish scholarly articles on women's issues, and Deseret Book, whose goal is to attract a wider readership by featuring sermons and personal essays. Despite the tension between these goals—or perhaps because of it—the result is a unique blend of quality scholarship on compelling religious and social issues and highly intelligent personal statements from women of diverse backgrounds. These women's conference books are both challenging and readable. It would be difficult to find a more appealing combination of faith and scholarship on the variety of issues important to Mormon women.

The History of Women's Conference Books

Brigham Young University has sponsored a women's conference every year since 1975. The first conferences were relatively small student events, which quickly became popular among women of all ages wanting to discuss issues affecting their lives and which moved from student sponsorship to joint BYU–Relief Society endeavors. Because of the great interest in the women's conference sessions, selected talks have been published since 1980, first in paperbound volumes and, starting in 1986, in hardbound volumes from Deseret Book.

The first hardbound book, *Woman to Woman,* is unusual among the BYU women's conference books not only because it is a compilation of the earlier, paperbound publications, but also because it draws from an entire decade of conferences. The next three volumes, *A Heritage of Faith, As Women of Faith,* and *Women of Wisdom and Knowledge* are also compilations but include selections from fewer conferences. Beginning with *Women and the Power Within* (1991), each new book in the series draws from a single conference, is professionally edited under the direction of the Women's Research Institute, and is published the following year.

Significant differences exist between the conferences and the women's conference books, even in the years when the books are edited by the same women who chaired the conferences. On the whole, less than a quarter of the conference presentations in any given year are represented in the published volumes. The conferences include panels, talks given from outlines, question-and-answer sessions, dramatic performances, and casual discussions in the hallways. The more informal aspects of the women's conferences are not reflected in the books, which highlight keynote addresses and fully crafted presentations. Speakers who wrote out their talks or were willing to transform their notes into a complete essay were more likely to be included in the earlier books of the series. In later books of the series, editors were given the resources to spend more time transcribing valuable presentations from spontaneous speakers and helping first-time authors create polished manuscripts.

Conference Themes in the First Decade

The women's conference is a conversation, Marie Cornwall writes (1990: 3); the conference presentations can, in fact, be seen as an extended conversation about the issues that matter most to Mormon women. Thus the primary focus of *Woman to Woman* is essays by prominent Mormon women addressing women's social concerns of the preceding ten years. Although rarely mentioned directly, the national controversy over the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment was obviously on the minds of the women's conference presenters, who express the need to sift through the issues of home versus career or public service (1986: 7, 30–31, 85, 115) and carefully evaluate the pluses and minuses of the women's movement. An appendix in *Woman to Woman* features a 1974 talk given by Belle Spafford, former general president of the Relief Society. Sister Spafford praises the efforts of nineteenth-century women to enhance their social and political status yet expresses concern that the goals of the contemporary women's movement were compromised by "shifts in some of the traditional values of life" (1986: 207).

Although the national debate over the Equal Rights Amendment was about women's legal, but not religious, status, persistent

questions about equality prompted women's conference essays on women and priesthood. Themes of these essays include the administrative roles and saving blessings of the priesthood (1986: 56), the balance between the responsibilities of motherhood and sisterhood and those of fatherhood and priesthood (1986: 76), and the ultimate spiritual equality inherent in the conviction that the Savior is the main role model for women as well as for men (1986: 101–13, 46).

Conference Themes in the Second Decade

The complex commitments and questions that shaped the lives of contemporary Mormon women in the second decade are reflected in essays on such topics as achieving unity in a culturally diverse and increasingly international Church, balancing women's roles, learning from women in scripture and Church history, dealing with adversity, and understanding the Atonement and developing one's relationship with the Savior.

Achieving Unity. The most common recurring theme in women's conference books since 1988 is the challenge of achieving unity among diverse Mormon women of the eighties and nineties. Underscoring the Savior's admonition, "If ye are not one ye are not mine" (D&C 38:27), sociological and linguistic studies suggesting that women are especially conscious of interpersonal relationships give insight into the dynamics of women's conference presentations. For example, Cheryl Brown, BYU linguistics professor, notes that unlike men, who generally speak in order to establish self-worth and independence, women generally use language to establish intimacy (1993: 237–46). This tendency among women to focus on relationships may partially explain the persistent women's conference themes of unity and community.

In "The Faithful Heritage of a Convert," Carolyn Rasmus affirms that the most important factor uniting Mormon women should be a realization of their common commitment to the Lord Jesus Christ and to his Church (1988: 40). Patricia Holland urges women to unite through a mutual appreciation of an "eternal female identity." Since Eve was designated the "mother of all living" (Gen. 3:20) long before she had borne a child, women must not let the word *mother* divide them. The title is first and foremost a

statement about women's nature, not a headcount of their children (1988: 26). Julia Mavimbela, a convert from South Africa, feels that women can unite to meet "our common enemies—illiteracy, poverty, crime, disease, and stupid unjust laws that have made women feel so helpless as to be hopeless" (1990: 63).

Delmont Oswald describes the power of labels and stereotypes we commonly use to harm one another and to fracture our sense of community (1992: 288–96). "We can perceive polarity where it doesn't exist," observes Donlu Thayer, "seeing ourselves in competition with something we are actually part of, thus destroying any possibility of real community with others" (1993: 139).

Often when we have been labeled by others, authors note, we bear the burden of healing the rift and remaining in the community. Even though being in the minority may be painful sometimes, Kate Kirkham insists, "We need to claim the right to be different and to be present" (1993: 213). Hattie Soil, an African-American convert from inner-city Chicago, describes her experiences in an LDS branch among college students who assumed that she would not understand their conversations. This rejection enabled her to evaluate who she was—the daughter of heavenly parents—and she "survived this period with testimony and a truckload of tact" (1992: 283). Lisa Boswell tells how an infertile woman surrounded by prolific Mormon mothers felt "like a blind person who was a member of a Church that worshipped sight" (1992: 201). She considered leaving the Church but decided to stay. Now her presence helps remind members of the Church that not everyone fits typical patterns (1992: 201).

In the international Church, sensitivity to cultural differences creates a spirit of unity. For example, anthropology professor John Hawkins cautions that behavioral differences are similar to language differences and that Latter-day Saints need to be aware of what they are communicating, perhaps inadvertently. Allowing teenagers to go to youth activities unchaperoned in Guatemala, for example, is equivalent to saying that Mormons do not care about the morals of their young people (1988: 161). In the effort to achieve greater unity and understanding, Hawkins advises, "Say what is truth in the distinctive behavior and distinctive language of every region" (1988: 168).

The key to bridging the gaps that divide us, Emma Lou Thayne asserts, goes beyond superficial congeniality. We need to know the details that form another's life and perspective; "we need to hear each other's stories" (1994: 175). "However, if we disbelieve someone's experience," observes Kate Kirkham, "or if our hearts are blind to what another has been experiencing, we will be unable to reach that wholeness that is the community of Zion" (1993: 219). Tammy Heaton addresses the special importance of listening with respect to victims of abuse in order to allow such victims to regain a sense of their place in the community (1991: 250).

The essay by Allen Bergin is one of the few that deals with the way organizational principles can foster unity. He suggests the principles of Church government recorded in Doctrine and Covenants 107 allow both Church councils and marriage partners to act in unity (1990: 125). Noting that the Relief Society was organized "under the priesthood after a pattern of the priesthood," Jannath Cannon and Jill Derr use historical examples to demonstrate how women can use that priesthood pattern to achieve unity in their collective endeavors (1989: 122–23). Younger Relief Society board members advocating standardized lesson plans worked sensitively with older members who feared that standardization would lessen spirituality. Relief Society sisters worked with bishoprics in coordinating the transition from separate Relief Society halls to Relief Society rooms within ward chapels (1989: 125–26, 141–42).

Balancing Women's Roles. Women's conference contributors have also continued to be concerned with women's choices regarding work and mothering. Cheryl Preston suggests that the variety of opportunities available to contemporary women make women's choices more difficult, and the difficulty of their own choices can make women less tolerant of other women (1994: 177–85). Donna Lee Bowen expresses dismay that the degrees after her name disqualify her from being a "real" woman in the eyes of some women. Could such women relate to her more if they knew of her dreams and her joys, her difficulties and insecurities, if they knew of her battle with breast cancer, her miscarriages, and her divorce? Do profession, clothing, education, income, appearance, or other factors that do not represent our whole selves need to distance us from one another (1992: 268–79)?

Interestingly, as Mormon women explain their positions and tell their whole stories, they seem much less different from each other. The women writers, such as Camilla Kimball, who emphasize the crucial role of the mother in nurturing children also recognize the need for women to prepare for a vocation where they can serve the community and be financially independent in a family emergency (1986: 1–11). Women like Ida Smith, who emphasize the need to prepare for circumstances which might require work outside the home also stress the prime importance of building a home where all who live there can thrive (1989: 203–22). Again and again, it becomes obvious that women with advanced degrees value the role of wife and mother. Their decision to pursue professional careers often comes with difficulty, after careful thought about how to move on productively with their lives (1992: 222–30).

The authors discuss not only how women with different roles relate to each other, but also how women relate to the different roles they fill in their own lives. Leanna Ballard writes honestly of her great difficulty balancing interests in biology with the attention she wanted to give her young family (1994: 231–40). Emma Lou Thayne, from the perspective of a lifetime, writes more comfortably about mingling education and family so that each enriches the other. Thayne went back for a master's degree in creative writing when her youngest daughter started school and found that she came home to her children "better able to talk their language, having talked a grown-up tongue" for a while (1990: 101). Her insecurities about entering the work force were allayed when she realized how much she had learned in her twenty-five years out of school. Quoting Rilke, she affirms "All the things that I lavish myself on, grow rich and lavish me" (1990: 102).

Like Emma Lou Thayne, Karen Davidson (1993: 17–27) and Ann Finlayson stress the ways in which the normal activities of a Mormon mother can prepare her for valuable service in the community when her children are grown. Finlayson, chair of the Pocatello schoolboard, comments that Latter-day Saints do not realize what marvelous leadership training they receive by fulfilling Church callings. Mormon women are unusually prepared to become involved in community affairs when the time is right in their lives (1990: 73–76).

One way women can balance education and family is to be aware of the varying stages in their lives and to appreciate the value of each. "Don't wish away your years of caring for small children," admonishes Marjorie Hinckley. "This is a time of great opportunity for you to build the kingdom. . . . When you teach children to love their Heavenly Father, you have done one of the greatest things you will ever do" (1989: 5). Helen Stark and Camille DeLong affirm the importance of women paying attention to their own needs even in the "busy-ness" of rearing families (1991: 155–63; 118–24). As DeLong notes, her children are sensitive to her stresses, and when she allowed herself to care for her own needs, her daughter's "lights came back on" too (1991: 121–22).

Janet Lee and Kathleen Jensen caution against the kind of discouragement that comes when a woman measures herself against an imaginary Patti Perfect or Mormon Supermom. Louise Plummer, a talented creative writer and popular conference speaker, presents witty essays about her lack of homemaking skills. With humor, Plummer broadens the ideal of the successful Mormon woman to include the intuitive "grasshoppers" as well as the organized "ants" (1988: 185–91; 1993: 125–28).

Several conference essays deal with men joining women in the important task of nurturing children. A panel entitled "Equal Partners: Two Versions" shows how husbands with either flexible or structured careers can sustain and encourage their families (1991: 93–117). Alan Hawkins and Kathryn Sargent demonstrate how a father's involvement with his children is not only good for the children, it is also essential to the father's own growth and maturity (1994: 127–39). Sociologist Stephen Bahr points out that parent aloneness is the most constant variable in struggling families. For homes without fathers, he suggests the importance of teams such as "mother-grandmother" (1989: 223–41).

The continuing conversations on learning, parenting, careers, life stages, and unity and diversity can be seen as one aspect of a woman's search for identity in the hectic and demanding twentieth century. What does my life-style say about who I am? When my life-style changes, how do I stay the same? What do I have in common with other Mormon women at different places in their lives? Alongside these conversations, women's conferences provide forums for a deeper look at women's essential identities.

Learning from Women in Scripture and Church History. Conference organizers invite speakers with expertise in scripture study and history to lead rigorous discussions; contributions by women are especially encouraged. Consequently, the women's conference volumes contain some of the best contemporary Mormon scriptural exegesis regarding women.

Several women's conference authors are drawn to the story of Adam and Eve and find it pivotal to any discussion about women. All of them give a favorable account of Eve's role in bringing about the conditions of mortality. This interpretation might be expected, given the Mormon emphasis on the positive aspects of the Fall. Interestingly, however, all of the writers emphasize aspects of the story which deal with achieving unity among women and men—a more unusual reading but consistent with the themes of BYU women's conference presentations.

In "Becoming Bone of Bone and Flesh of Flesh," Eugene England focuses on the ways in which both men and women are created in the image of God. He believes the revelations of Joseph Smith indicate that scriptural references to "God" mean the eternal partnership of heavenly parents; thus both men and women are indeed created in the divine image. Furthermore, the Book of Moses affirms that both male and female were created in the image of the Only Begotten (Moses 2:27), who came to reveal to both men and women what they could become together (1989: 107–21).

Suzanne Lundquist points out the richness of the Adam and Eve story in the Latter-day Saint tradition. Four versions—in Genesis, the book of Abraham, the book of Moses, and the temple endowment—illuminate each other in meaningful ways. All four accounts describe how men and women become separate from each other and require mutual repentance and a healing of their relationships in order to become whole again (1989: 88–106).

With "Eve's Role in the Creation and the Fall to Mortality," Jolene Rockwood makes an invaluable contribution to our understanding of the primordial unity of Adam and Eve by analyzing critical phrases from the Hebrew text of Genesis. Such understanding challenges the assumptions of the Judeo-Christian culture that has placed the blame for sin in the world entirely upon Eve, thus establishing the inferiority of women. For example, in Hebrew *'adam*

refers to humankind, both male and female. The words *'ish* (man) and *'isha* (woman) were not used in the story until after the account of the Fall (1991: 56).

Along with the story of Adam and Eve, authors explore the New Testament as a primary source on women. In "Choosing the Good Part," Rockwood notes that for Christ "women were to have the same spiritual priorities as men" (1991: 109). Christ invited Mary to sit at his feet and study the law, and he pairs male and female examples in his parables to make sure that both women and men see his teachings as relevant. Rockwood indicates that, in general, women were active participants in the early Church—praying, prophesying, and exercising spiritual gifts. Given his Jewish background, Paul was "much more than a moderate" in his affirmation that "there is neither male nor female in Christ," according to Keith Norman (1990: 206).

While we are not as influenced by Old Testament models today, Carol Madsen points out the richness of the concept of "mother in Israel" for women in the nineteenth-century Church. Motherhood was the major source of authority for Israelite women, and the judge Deborah identified herself as a "mother in Israel" because she had unified her people in throwing off their oppressors (Judges 5:6–7). Among the Puritans and later among the Mormons, this special title "linked the spiritual and domestic spheres, identifying both as natural and desirable areas for female ministry" (1990: 170-201).

In "A Latter-day Saint Theology of Suffering," Francine Bennion explains how we go beyond scriptural analysis of individual topics to formulate broader concepts which help us deal with our whole life experience. She writes, "Theology provides a framework that binds diversity and complexity into a more simple net with which we can make sense even of things we don't fully understand" (1988: 55).

Overcoming Adversity. Expressions of theology need not necessarily be systematic. Women's conference speakers use both the personal essay and the sermon to affirm their faith despite adversity. The atmosphere of the BYU women's conferences provides an opportunity for participants to speak personally in their sermons and rigorously in their personal essays, acknowledging

their own circumstances and trials. The authors are especially effective because they combine honesty about the difficulty of adversity with faith in the sustaining influence of the Lord and the community of believers.

Carlfred Broderick's essay, "The Uses of Adversity," summarizes succinctly the theme of many essays: "The gospel of Jesus Christ is not insurance against pain. It is resource in the event of pain," which will inevitably come to us in mortality (1989: 172–73). For example, Martha Beck expresses the difficulty she had accepting the birth of a handicapped child. She realized that what she really needed was not a change in her son's condition, but freedom from the great distress she felt about his condition. This freedom came through her increased understanding of his inherent worth (1993: 159–61).

Richard Ferre and Marian Bergin describe the pain of having wayward children. As Ferre poignantly observes, God "suffers for us in our agency. We suffer for them in their agency" (1990: 165). Bergin refers to psychologist M. Scott Peck, who likens pain to going into the desert for self-discovery, as did the Savior. Pain makes us aware of what we value and more capable of experiencing joy. Accepting a child who has made wrong choices does not mean that we give up, but that we free ourselves to make appropriate responses (1990: 153–58).

Marjorie Conder and Craig Conder write from the perspectives of mother and son regarding Craig's withdrawal from the Church in the aftermath of a personal tragedy. Both emphasize the importance of patience in allowing children to come to terms with their own experiences and of prayer to the Lord that he will provide appropriate help at the appropriate time (1994: 145–54). In "Staying Together Despite Not Praying Together: Families Dealing with Inactivity," Edward Kimball stresses the importance of maintaining our own standards, keeping lines of communication open, appreciating the admirable qualities of inactive family members, and praying for wisdom and patience (1993: 167–74).

Several authors discuss the financial, legal, and emotional hardships caused by divorce. According to Elaine Sorensen, time alone will not heal the pain of divorce, and women going through a divorce must evaluate their needs and discover the ward and

community resources available to them (1994: 46–50). Neither the process of divorce nor the absence of the father need remain permanently devastating, maintains Suzanne Dastrup. The way remaining family members function is what determines either turmoil or success (1994: 58).

Anne Horton, Grethe Peterson, Tammy Heaton, and Warren Nielson address the problem of child abuse (1988: 100–109), and Lynda Driscoll describes her journey from victim to survivor. Driscoll reports how honestly working through her feelings and learning from other survivors helped her to evaluate her experiences and gain control of her life (1991: 247–67). Catherine Thomas, the adult child of an alcoholic father, observes that those who do not have a model for consistent and mature love when they are growing up often struggle when they themselves become parents (1991: 186–90). Through the gospel of Jesus Christ, however, "we can mature spiritually and make up for those deprivations" (1991: 187).

Midge Patrick and Carol Clark write eloquently and candidly about the value of forgiving and the challenges of doing so. Patrick, who was driving the car at the time of an accident that disabled her and killed her son and husband, decided she was not willing to let her children suffer because she could not forgive herself and get on with life. "I was able to forgive myself," she says, "because I literally felt the Lord's kind, gentle arms around me during this time. . . . My soul was touched, my spirit healed, and I came to feel at peace with our circumstance as it was" (1993: 120). Clark describes an intense three-year effort to learn to forgive, which involved praying, searching the scriptures, and talking with supportive friends. She concludes. "Never have I felt the Atonement more personally than when I worked for years to forgive someone who had wounded me to my very core" (1993: 175–78).

Understanding the Atonement and Developing One's Relationship with the Savior. The focal point of women's conference sermons, as well as that of the personal essays, is the atonement of Jesus Christ. In "A Perfect Brightness of Hope," Elaine Jack, Relief Society general president, affirms that the basis for faith and hope in the midst of life's real challenges is not wishful thinking, but our understanding of the Atonement and the

restored gospel (1992: 6–18). Karen Davidson, who gave the keynote address of the 1990 conference, maintains, "Once a woman comes to understand the Atonement, she knows she does not have to live with past mistakes. Disadvantage and injustice need not drag us down" (1991: 15). The message of the Atonement, insists Marybeth Raynes, is that "we are not beings who are irreparably harmed" (1991: 178).

In a joint presentation, "'Eve Heard All These Things and Was Glad': Grace and Learning by Experience," Bruce and Marie Hafen focus on Adam and Eve as role models who together teach us how to receive the Atonement. Through our covenantal relationship with the Savior, we overcome not only the effects of our sins, but also all the other negative consequences of the Fall—physical disability, death, and the harm which others may do to us as a result of wrong choices (1994: 16–33).

Cheiko Okazaki of the Relief Society general presidency gave the powerful concluding talk of the 1993 conference, "Grace and Glory: Strength from Our Savior" (1994: 241–52). Christ is not like a man waiting on the shore with a life preserver on a rope, calling that he will save us after all that we can do. Christ is the master of wind and wave, yet "he is in the water with us, feeling the batterings of the same current. He lends us strength so we can try. He gives us his vision so that we can see the shore. . . . It may be true that we can always do more—but not because *we* have no limits. It's because *he* has none" (1994: 249).

When we understand the willingness of the Lord to be with us and sustain us in the particular circumstances of our own lives, assures Ardeth Kapp, "our service becomes customized by the Spirit" (1991: 34–35). Cecile Pelous, who balances a job as a fashion designer with work among disadvantaged children in India and Nepal, affirms that in the hands of the Lord "I have been able to do much more than I thought possible. I see that what I accomplish is a part of the work of the Lord and that I am his instrument. He guides me and opens doors for me, sometimes in unforeseen ways" (1993: 15).

Elder Dallin H. Oaks encourages women to seek after spiritual gifts, which can lead us to God and compensate for our inadequacies (1988: 38). Maureen Beecher affirms, "The sacred spirituality

that graced the Nauvoo Relief Society is still our birthright. It is generated among us, in answer to our own needs" (1992: 61). In her keynote address, "In the Covenant of Grace," Carol Madsen invokes the blessing of Zina Young, taken from her testimony at a 1874 women's meeting: "The spirit of God is here, and when we speak to one another, it is like oil going from vessel to vessel" (1994: 14).

Looking Ahead

The themes discussed over the last ten years at the BYU women's conferences have remained remarkably constant. However, as an ongoing record of the conferences, the women's conference volumes have changed format and will undoubtedly continue to change. *To Rejoice as Women,* the most recently published volume, indicates decreasing emphasis on scholarship and increasing emphasis on sermons and personal narratives.[1] Undoubtedly, this trend will continue, reflecting Deseret Book's interest in promoting the books to a wider readership.

In the preface to *Women and the Power Within,* BYU president Rex E. Lee acknowledges that maintaining a forum for the discussion of issues relevant to Mormon women will never be easy nor free from controversy. But he concludes that "few things that are really worthwhile enjoy either of those luxuries" (1991: 3). Over the years, the BYU women's conference books will remain a storehouse of insights for women seeking to pursue wisdom and knowledge and to reinforce their faith in the gospel and in themselves.

NOTE

[1]Susette Fletcher Green and Dawn Hall Anderson, eds., *To Rejoice As Women: Talks from the 1994 Women's Conference* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1995).

ARMAND L. MAUSS. *The Angel and the Beehive*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994. xvii; 257 pp. Charts and tables, appendix, bibliography, index. $29.95.

Reviewed by Roger Finke, Associate Professor of Sociology, Purdue University.

The Angel and the Beehive is the story of Mormons vacillating between acceptance and rejection of the surrounding American culture. The beehive serves as the symbol of worldly enterprise, including economic, educational, cultural, and political success—the enterprises that help accelerate the process of assimilation. In sharp contrast, the angel represents the otherworldly spiritual dimensions, such as latter-day prophets, redemption of the dead, and proclaiming the faith to all—the dimensions that serve to separate Mormons from Gentiles and make Mormonism distinctive from other religions. The story is about Mormons seeking assimilation into the surrounding culture until the 1960s, then striving for distance when the culture becomes too receptive. They reevaluate their progress, gradually reverse the trend, and rebuild their barriers. Today, Mauss reports, the "angel is alive and well, and the church is anxious for the world to know it" (199).

But this book is more than a story about the Mormons' struggle with the larger culture. As a sociologist, Armand Mauss assesses this struggle using theory and research on the sect-to-church transition.[1] He explains how sectarian tension can increase religious commitment, and eventually he concludes that the LDS Church has defied the standard drift from sect to church by choosing to increase sectarian tension rather than reduce its demands on the faithful. Finally, the book reports on the personal journey of the author. Mauss describes the book as "an effort to help me understand my own changing relationship to the Mormon institutions and people" (xiii).

The Angel and the Beehive begins by devoting attention to the "successful assimilation" of Mormons prior to the 1960s. Chapters two through five provide evidence of the assimilation process. Drawing on Shepherd and Shepherd's analysis of rhetoric in general conference sermons[2] and on a variety of historical accounts, Mauss argues that until the 1960s Mormon leaders and the laity

were gradually de-emphasizing the distinctive features of Mormonism and attempting to bring the Church into the mainstream. Here, he turns to his own surveys of California and Utah Mormons in the 1960s and compares his findings to Stark and Glock's 1960s surveys of a wide range of denominations.[3] At the end of chapter four, he concludes that by the 1960s Mormons were highly assimilated, except in the area of "life-style," where he reported a "lagging assimilation."

Chapters six through eight then review the response of LDS Church officials and the laity to this process of assimilation. He describes this response as retrenchment. He narrows his review to five areas of retrenchment: the principle of continuous revelation through modern prophets, genealogy and temple work, the missionary program, family renewal, and religious education. He returns to Shepherd and Shepherd's work to demonstrate that these themes have received increased emphasis in general conference sermons and cites the General Social Surveys[4] to show that Mormons score higher than non-Mormons in these areas and numerous other measures of religiosity.

The final chapters argue that fundamentalism is on the rise within Mormonism. But the definition used for fundamentalism strays from standard LDS usage. Rather than referring to groups espousing polygamy, Mauss defines Mormon fundamentalists as those believing in scriptural inerrancy, salvation by grace, authoritarian leadership, and strict obedience to pastoral injunctions. Using this definition, he cites the use of a lay clergy, a movement toward centralized management, the turnover in the First Presidency, the reaction to a new class of intellectuals, and the disproportionate conversion of southerners as sources for this rise in fundamentalism. Again, Mauss illustrates how this trend is apparent in the belief and behavior of both Church officials and the laity. The final chapter closes the book by offering a few predictions and cautionary notes for the future.

The contributions of this book are many. Though not a historian, the author provides a historical backdrop to contemporary issues and draws on a variety of historical sources. This approach allows the author to include the variable of time in his analysis and argument. The book also addresses several theoretical issues by

demonstrating how the LDS Church defies the traditional sect-to-church drift and by offering perceptive insights on the institutional sources for what he calls fundamentalism. Though the author's personal support does not fall in the fundamentalist camp, he draws on rational choice theory to acknowledge the benefits of strict demands and a distinctive identity for the commitment of members and the growth of the organization. Finally, for those not familiar with the Mormon religion, this book provides an insider's knowledge on Mormon institutions and beliefs.

The limitations of the book are primarily limitations of the data. My most serious concern is whether the data support the basic trends the book is designed to explain. Were the Mormons highly assimilated in the 1960s, and have they reversed this trend since the 1960s? I am convinced by the arguments and the evidence that Church officials have made substantial strides toward keeping assimilation in check and promoting a distinctive identity. But I am less convinced that Church officials and the laity made a sharp turn in the 1960s. First, and perhaps most importantly, the level of assimilation in the 1960s is reviewed from only one side of the assimilation relationship—the Mormon side. Though LDS achievements reflected the achievements of the nation and the members identified with the culture around them, most Latter-day Saints were still regionally isolated, and tensions remained. Mauss concludes that only in the area of "life-style" was there evidence of "lagging assimilation." But as I review the tables, I see Mormon distinctiveness going beyond life-style, and I view life-style as a difference that makes a difference. Because life-style differences—such as religious endogamy, high birth rates, and abstinence from alcohol, tobacco, coffee, and tea—are highly revealing of a person's religious commitment, they are differences that draw effective boundaries. My reading of the data is that assimilation was far from complete in the 1960s.

Second, I am only partially convinced that there has been a noticeable retrenchment. I am persuaded that the rates of temple work, mission activity, and participation in family home evenings are increasing, but the surveys used to demonstrate a widening gap between Mormon religiosity and that of others are plagued with problems. In contrast to the surveys of the 1960s, which

focused on church members from selected regions, the General Social Surveys of the 1970s and 1980s were based on the entire adult population, and respondents were asked to list religious affiliation rather than membership. By using affiliates, the latter surveys include large numbers of inactive Catholics and Protestants in the non-Mormon category, sharply reducing the reported level of commitment for non-Mormons. Mauss acknowledges the resulting potential for distortion when he comments in a footnote: "It must be conceded here that juxtaposing the sixties data with the eighties data might well exaggerate the widening gap between Mormons and others" (156).

Beyond the issue of data, other readers will challenge the explanations offered for recent changes. Is the increasing rate of temple work, mission activity, and participation in family home evenings a retrenchment, or is this a response to the increasing Mormon growth outside the Utah sphere? As Mormons find themselves a local minority in the Midwest, the South, and around the world, are they being forced to take a sectarian stance and change their relationship with the larger culture? This book represents just one viewpoint on this intriguing issue.

Despite these concerns, Mauss's research will be of interest to a wide range of audiences. For social scientists, the book offers an inside look at recent changes in the LDS Church and applies these changes to key theoretical insights. For insiders, the book provides an application of theoretical insights to important Church issues. For anyone interested in American religion, the book reviews a diverse collection of data sources on American religion. And, for Mauss, the book has provided a journey in the ongoing quest for understanding. I'm sure many will want to join him on that journey.

NOTES

[1]In the sect-to-church theory, "churches" are religions that "have grown worldly and comfortable with the surrounding culture"; "sects" are groups that want to focus on otherworldly issues and therefore break away from churches (6).

[2]Gordon Shepherd and Gary Shepherd, *A Kingdom Transformed: Themes in the Development of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1984).

[3]Rodney Stark and Charles Y. Glock, *American Piety: The Nature of Religious Commitment* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968).

[4]The General Social Surveys are federally funded, annual surveys conducted by the National Opinion Research Corporation (NORC). See James A. Davis and Tom W. Smith, *General Social Surveys, 1972–1990* (Chicago: National Opinion Research Corporation, 1990).

VALERIE M. HUDSON and KERRY M. KARTCHNER, eds. *Moral Perspectives on U.S. Security Policy: Views from the LDS Community.* Provo, Utah: David M. Kennedy Center for International Studies, 1995. xiv; 178 pp. $24.00.

Reviewed by Robert E. Riggs, Emeritus Professor of Law, Brigham Young University.

What helpful insights can the gospel offer to those concerned with the conduct of public affairs? This is a question many LDS people undoubtedly have wrestled with as they have tried to find political ground that is both practically defensible and morally responsible. In this small book, published by BYU's David M. Kennedy Center for International Studies, a group of LDS scholars and foreign affairs practitioners have undertaken a collective exploration of ways the gospel can be made relevant in public policy discussions.

Exploring a subject with no easy or obvious gospel answers, the book contains edited papers and extended remarks presented at a symposium of the same title at the Kennedy Center in the fall of 1993. Moral principles have relevance to national security decisions, as in every area of public policy, but general principles usually leave room for disagreement as to the effectiveness and moral superiority of particular policies. Should the United States intervene militarily in Bosnia? Should Russia be admitted to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization? Should the United States destroy all of its stocks of nuclear weapons and rely on conventional weaponry for military security? Is any kind of U.S. military action short of defense against an actual armed attack on the country justified? Such questions typically raise a host of practical issues that tend to overshadow moral considerations, but when the moral issue is faced, what does the gospel tell us?

From time to time, General Authorities of the Church have made pronouncements on issues affecting national security. (A few of these are summarized by Steven A. Hildreth in a short chapter entitled "An LDS Moral Perspective on Security Policy.") Church leaders have decried war, armaments, and reliance on the "arm of flesh" for secular security. Yet they have encouraged Church members to accept military service when called and have seldom

publicly opposed any specific American military involvement abroad (121). Until the demise of the Soviet Union, anti-Communism was perhaps the most consistent foreign policy theme voiced by Church leaders. Also, Elder J. Reuben Clark Jr. opposed U.S. membership in the League of Nations and later regarded the United Nations as a threat to U.S. security and sovereignty.[1] Elder Ezra Taft Benson likewise disapproved of the United Nations,[2] although other Church leaders have treated the organization with greater respect. Such pronouncements are always heard with interest by Church members and sometimes the general public, but they rarely provide any comprehensive moral guidance for U.S. security policy. This stance is not surprising, since Church authorities in all prudence have ordinarily not desired to commit the Church to specific positions on particular questions of foreign and security policy.

The authors in this book, nevertheless, have ventured where General Authorities fear to tread. They can do so with good conscience, knowing that no one will hold the institutional Church accountable for anything they say. They also do so quite well. These committed Latter-day Saints are nearly all thoughtful academics, government officials experienced in the area of national security, or both. One author has since been called to the Second Quorum of Seventy.

This collection of papers comes at a time when the passing of the Cold War has made obsolete the former national security consensus, which was based on containing Communism by various deterrence strategies, and a new consensus is yet to emerge. Taking account of this changed situation, the papers are organized under three general topics: (1) U.S. national security objectives after the Cold War, (2) the emerging international security environment, and (3) the utility and morality of military options in the new environment. As a practical matter, most of the authors are not constrained by the topic assignment. They range over ends, means, the international environment, and the morality of it all—largely as their interests dictate. This is less a flaw in various papers and more an acknowledgment that the three topics are highly interrelated.

The most interesting aspect of the various pieces, certainly to members of the Church and probably to others who will read the book, is the attempt to find relevance for gospel principles. Others

writing in the field of national security policy are as well qualified as these authors and have treated the subject in much greater depth, but this group is uniquely qualified to bring an LDS perspective to bear on such issues. For that reason, I appraised each article in terms of how well it achieved that purpose. By this test, three of the fifteen articles failed, yet even they had thoughtful comments on the political aspects of national security policy. Two of the three appear to have been informal remarks at the conference, perhaps later edited, rather than prepared papers.

Kerry M. Kartchner, one of the editors of the volume and an official with the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, provides an introductory essay that achieves a nice balance between analysis of the changing national security agenda and the moral challenges posed by the altered circumstances. He identifies five key issues with deep moral ramifications: (1) What is the proper role of America in the post-Cold War world? Should we still strive for "primacy"? (2) Is secular "peace" attainable? Has peace been taken from the world for the duration of this dispensation? (3) How significant are internal security threats, including terrorism? Will the Lord fight our external battles if we can resist internal decay? (4) What is the moral responsibility of individual leaders for bloodshed and destruction in the world? Should we hold them personally accountable, and if so, how? (5) When is the use of military force abroad appropriate? Is military action ever morally justified or required? Kartchner raises questions rather than providing answers, undoubtedly the safe course when convincing answers are so elusive, but he places the discussion into a scriptural context that makes Church teachings appear genuinely relevant rather than merely parochial.

Valerie Hudson, coeditor and associate professor of political science at Brigham Young University, had the much tougher assignment of concluding and summarizing what was said at the conference. As might be expected, a fair amount of agreement emerged on a few general objectives of national security policy as well as many of the threats we need to guard against. Disagreement set in, however, on the specifics of what the United States should do to attain security and on the moral justifiability of particular policies. The emphasis again is on questions rather than

answers, but Hudson manages to raise some very thoughtful and pointed issues. I was particularly impressed with her characterization of the dilemma faced by Mormons in government. "As an LDS national security professional," she asks, "how do you keep one foot in the world and one foot in the gospel? When do you fall on your sword over principle, and when do you seek for credibility by telling your superiors what the wisdom of the world would advocate?" (177). Put in terms of salt with savour, she adds, "How do you figure out what is enough savour and what is too much for those worldly leaders with whom you associate?" (177). The same question, posed perhaps in slightly different forms, raises a moral challenge for all of us.

Between the introduction and conclusion, most of the intervening chapters offer useful and occasionally challenging insights. Two, in my opinion, stand out from the rest and alone make the book worth reading. Robert Wood's keynote address, "Rendering unto Caesar: Moral Responsibility and Civic Duty in a World of States," was superb. Any summary of this article will necessarily understate the symmetry and profundity of the whole, which joins a broad understanding of the history, theory, and practice of international affairs with an equally profound appreciation of scriptural concepts and ethical principles. Exploring the relationship between the "things which are Caesar's" and "the things that are God's," as Professor Wood observes, requires both theological and political reasoning (54). The piece exhibits a high quality of both types of reasoning, along with a deep sensitivity to the moral question.

A second superior contribution is Paul Hammond's "Security and Morality in a Contingent World," which provides a compelling analysis of the complexity encountered by anyone, in or out of government, trying to decide which foreign policies are likely to be moral in their motivations and consequences. One especially telling comment addresses "the behavioral limits of the morally aware person responding to modern environments in which the mass media shrinks distances and demands attention to an agenda of morally significant things that need fixing" (143). Hammond continues,

> Ignorance once kept our individual moral agendas short. Now they become long with our wider awareness of the world's problems and the possibilities of collective action. To shorten and prioritize them

> is essential if we are to maintain any perspective on our collective capabilities in the face of evident needs. Yet shortening the list and prioritizing it can make us morally callous, if only as a defense mechanism against our sense of guilt. How can we justify saying no to starving children? Conversely, how can we get on with our lives if we always say yes to demands for our moral action? (143)

Unlike many of the contributors, Hammond offers specific suggestions for dealing with problems of moral choice in foreign policy. These suggestions are worth pondering.

Other contributions to the book are certainly also worth reading. Bruce Porter, a BYU political science professor at the time of the symposium, has authored a short piece that poses the broad moral and practical issues with understanding and common sense. Kerry Kartchner, dealing with an issue that will interest many, appraises the morality of maintaining nuclear armaments in the post–Cold War era.

This book is not the beginning of the moral dialogue about national security, nor will it be the final word. It is, however, unique as a collective effort of credentialed LDS scholars and experienced government officials to examine national security issues in the light of LDS teachings. It does not seek to indoctrinate. It has no hidden agenda. It expresses a wide range of views. All contributors, nevertheless, agree on one thing—that the moral dimension of national security policy is important. This book will be welcomed by others who share that view.

NOTES

[1]J. Reuben Clark, "Our Dwindling Sovereignty" in *J. Reuben Clark: Selected Papers on Americanism and National Affairs,* ed. David H. Yarn Jr. (Provo, Utah: BYU Press, 1987), 216–17, 223.

[2]Ezra Taft Benson, *An Enemy Hath Done This* (Salt Lake City: Parliament Publishers, 1969), 201–8.

Brief Notices

Catching the Vision: Working Together to Create a Millennial Ward, by William G. Dyer (Bookcraft, 1993)

Writing from his experiences as a husband, father, bishop, high councilor, general Sunday School board member, and stake president, the author adds his expertise as a professional sociologist to this serious look at what it would take to prepare the Saints, their families, and their wards for millennial living.

Dyer asks readers to consider the questions "Can the Millennium begin if the Saints are not prepared to live a millennial law?" (x) and "What will our own wards and stakes look like and how will they function if we are seriously dealing with the question of becoming a prepared people?" (xi).

He then presents a model through the fictional Bishop George Pratt and his Plainsville Second Ward. The bishop and the members of his ward may not exist in reality, but what happens to them transpires in almost every ward and branch in the Church. The fresh approaches to problems and the discovery of solutions to common challenges are stimulating, insightful, and even touching.

Dyer begins with a newly called bishop's development as he attains a vision of his calling and deepens his personal commitment and with his efforts to enlist the support of his wife and family, his counselors and ward leaders, and eventually the members of his ward. Each chapter presents a principle such as developing stewardship, managing diversity, dealing with repentance and forgiveness, managing interpersonal conflicts, controlling competition, or meeting adversity. These principles are then taught through realistic and thoughtful narratives, which reflect the kinds of experiences nearly all members face sooner or later in their wards. A final discussion follows each narrative, summarizing and analyzing the experiences of the fictional ward members and providing practical conclusions.

Catching the Vision has many workable ideas for the perfecting of the Saints through callings afforded in wards striving to be a Zion community. It is enjoyable reading and well worth the investment of a few hours.

—Kathryn C. Gardner

Historical Dictionary of Mormonism, by Davis Bitton (Scarecrow Press, 1994)

While one of the greatest strengths of Mormonism is its missionary program, many public libraries lack objective and concise information for the curious

investigator concerning the Church. All too frequently the only offerings are anti-Mormon in tone and content—some of them subtly so—and are therefore very confusing for a seeker looking for a balanced view of a new religion. This information gap is exactly what the *Historical Dictionary of Mormonism* fills best. Its small size is much less intimidating that the four-volume *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* (New York: Macmillan, 1992), and its price is more affordable for public libraries.

Davis Bitton has done a great service by providing an introduction to the history of the Church and to its leaders and activities throughout the world. An initial perusal of the volume may indicate that the articles are similar to those in the *Encyclopedia.* However, Bitton presents the information from a fresh perspective, consistent with his lifelong ability to communicate clearly and concisely, whatever the topic. His explanation of the Mountain Meadows Massacre, the United Order, and the Utah period of the Church are the finest summaries I've seen anywhere, and the articles on feminism and the roles of women exemplify Bitton's clear understanding of current issues in the Church.

A chronology precedes the dictionary listings, 40 percent of which are short biographies of leaders and prominent members of the Church. Immediately following the main body of the book is a further hallmark of Bitton's exacting scholarship—an excellent bibliography, representing his years of research in Church history. The volume closes with three appendixes: a chronological listing of Church presidents, another of completed temples, and an interesting selection of "famous quotes" ranging from Joseph Smith to Chieko Okazaki.

Any weaknesses in the volume are minor, such as the choice of a few photographs that are too dark to be satisfactory. Without reservation I recommend the *Historical Dictionary of Mormonism* to members of the Church and encourage them, in the interest of missionary work and providing correct information for investigators, to recommend or donate Bitton's book to their local libraries.

—Gary Gillum

The Radiant Life, by Truman R. Madsen (Bookcraft, 1994)

Madsen, a master teacher, seeks here to lead Saints to a fuller spiritual life, to stir in them a new attitude about their thoughts and actions. This work is similar in style to his book *The Highest in Us* (Bookcraft, 1978)—both are intended for general readership and are designed to uplift and inspire.

Highly readable, the book contains a potent mixture of theory, anecdotes, and solid doctrine based on scripture. A chapter on the Sabbath draws heavily from Madsen's knowledge of Jewish tradition and from his time spent in the Holy Land. His discussion on forgiveness will prove to be genuinely helpful for those seeking forgiveness as well as those seeking to forgive.

While Madsen's training in philosophy is evident in the chapter on light, the philosophical theory is enlightening and not overwhelming. In the chapter on human anguish and divine love, Madsen guides readers through the philosophical theories of good and evil and leaves them with a greater understanding of the mortal experience.

Madsen's insight into the purposes of gospel principles inspires a respect for his testimony, his ability to teach, and his knowledge of the gospel. He serves as an example of a radiant life.

—Jennifer Hurlbut

Crossing the Threshold of Hope, by His Holiness John Paul II (Alfred A. Knopf, 1994)

A happy combination of question and answer, this book has been a best seller. We get a sense of informality as Vittorio Messori—chosen because of his previous writing and because he is a believer—asks the questions and John Paul II answers in words intended to be understood.

Always articulate, the Pope responds to questions one by one: How does the Pope pray? If God exists, why is he hiding? Why so many religions? The Pope often refers to the declarations of Vatican II, which he defends as "*a great gift to the Church,* to all those who took part in it, to the entire human family, and to each of us individually" (157).

A spirit of reaching out, of dialogue, breathes through these pages. Muslims are respected for their devotion to monotheism. Other Christians are not disparaged. Catholicism, we are told, rejects nothing that is good and true. But the Pope does not agree that everything is equal—not for him the fashionable relativism of the 1990s. Buddhism, for example, he pronounces essentially escapist and atheistic. The Pope's duty, he says, is to proclaim Christ.

Some Catholic feminist and proabortion groups, to judge from their public pronouncements and demands, cannot be happy with his emphatic answer to questions about abortion. Legalization of abortion is

> none other than the authorization given to an adult, with the approval of an established law, to take the lives of children yet unborn and thus incapable of defending themselves. . . . *It is not possible to speak of the right to choose when a clear moral evil is involved,* when what is at stake is the commandment *Do not kill!* (205)

The conclusion, which provides the title for the book, is a discussion of the biblical expression "Be not afraid": "*The power of Christ's Cross and Resurrection is greater than any evil which man could or should fear*" (219). The gospel is demanding, but Christ "reveals that *His demands never exceed man's abilities*"(223).

Although Latter-day Saints will naturally sift and recognize where their answers would agree and where they might vary, those not of the Catholic faith can find inspiration in the Pope's words.

—Davis Bitton

Thy People Shall Be My People and Thy God My God: The 22d Annual Sidney B. Sperry Symposium, Brigham Young University, 1993 (Deseret Book, 1994)

The 1993 Sperry Symposium on the Old Testament, *Thy People Shall Be My People and Thy God My God,* is also relevant to studies of the other standard works, particularly the New Testament.

Outstanding contributions include Terry Ball's explanations of botanical imagery in Isaiah, applicable to the words of Jesus; Jennifer Clark Lane's discussion of adoption and redemption in the old Testament and in Paul's writings; and Dana Pike's work on seals and sealing.

Thomas Valletta discusses the Exodus as a type of the Plan of Redemption, and Catherine Thomas provides a spiritual and historical background for Israel in the New Testament through Israel's provocation in the wilderness. Frank Judd compares Melchizedek to Enoch, and both prophets to Christ, relevant to Hebrews 7; and Dale LeBaron connects Elijah's modern day and biblical significance. Kelly Ogden and Donald Parry discuss the testimonies and symbolic prophecies of the ancient prophets about Jesus' earthly ministry.

More focused on the Old Testament, but still broadly insightful, are Gaye Strathearn's examination of Pharaoh's introduction to Jehovah through Sarah and Abraham; Andrew Skinner's article on Jacob, covenant making, and personal revelation; Lyman Redd's analysis of Aaron's consecration; and Robert Matthew's discussion of our heritage from Joseph of old.

This collection, largely written by the rising generation of LDS biblical scholars, offers clear and competent treatments of topics that are of great interest to Latter-day Saints.

—Christy Dunn

The Apostle Paul: His Life and Testimony: The 23d Annual Sidney B. Sperry Symposium, Brigham Young University, 1994 (Deseret Book, 1994)

Each of the twelve essays compiled from papers given at the 1994 Sperry Symposium is worth reading. Some pieces are homiletic, others scholarly. All treat either Paul's milieu or his epistles, several using methods of biblical criticism to elucidate Paul's literary and historical context. From their faithful viewpoints, authors refreshingly engage questions such as, Can Paul's epistles be read as a secondary account of resurrection eyewitnesses, collectively acting as another "gospel"? (R. L. Anderson: Yes.) Has new documentary evidence pronounced Paul a Jewish heretic, Hellenistic philosopher, or *sui generis* Christian? (C. W. Griggs: None of the above. Paul's documented identities are ambiguous.) Was the Jerusalem Council the first general conference or a preschismatic caucus? (R. J. Matthews: More the latter; however, the impending crisis was diverted by leaders' diplomatic patience.)

Several articles offer philological critiques: interpreting Paul's "adoption" as "redeemed by a kinsman" (J. C. Lane); distinguishing

Paul's "rhetoric" from evil "sophistry" (G. L. Hatch); and analyzing Christ's "emptiness" in Hebrews (C. J. Ostler).

Exposition pieces of Pauline doctrines (interpreted in comparison with other LDS scripture) include these topics: the witness of the Holy Ghost (R. C. Reeve Jr.); spiritual gifts as signs and/or blessings (R. C. Freeman); Paul's major themes—for example, justification and exclusive salvation (R. L. Millet); the worldwide mission of the Church (G. Stathearn); upright living (J. G. Scott); and beneficial martyrdom (M. W. Middleton).

—Charles Randall Paul

The Father of the Prophet: Stories and Insights from the Life of Joseph Smith Sr. by Mark L. McConkie. (Bookcraft, 1993)

Just before his death in Egypt, Joseph the son of Jacob prophesied that from his seed a seer would be raised up "called Joseph and it shall be after the name of his father" (JST Gen. 50:33). Nephi repeats this prophecy (2 Ne. 3:15), which he likely obtained from the brass plates. With his book *The Father of the Prophet,* Mark McConkie captures the spirit of that ancient prophecy by honoring the seer's father, Joseph Smith Sr.

The author provides his readers with a well-researched look at this early Saint, pointing out that the foreordination of Joseph Sr. places him in company with other great men such as Abraham. Detailed physical descriptions and colorful quotations concerning his character from those who knew him well give readers a vivid picture of the man. Glimpses of Joseph Smith Sr. in a range of settings—his home life, his missionary work, and his calling as the first patriarch—demonstrate his undying faith and devotion to the gospel of Jesus Christ.

—LaMar E. Garrard

Mormon Bibliography 1994

Ellen M. Copley

INTRODUCTION

The Mormon Bibliography for 1994 is a selective bibliography of publications about Mormons and Mormonism. This bibliography concentrates on aspects of the Utah-based Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. No attempt has been made to include articles pertaining to other branches of the Mormon community, including the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. Articles are included about related organizations only when they also touch upon the history of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Although every attempt has been made to include all aspects of Mormonism, we have purposely excluded some types of items. For instance, articles published in the official magazines of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, which are well indexed by the Church itself, and newspaper articles are not listed here. However, the individual poems, short stories, and other such works from these official magazines have been retained and are listed in the arts and literature section of the bibliography. The arts and literature section also includes every item of this kind which was written by a Mormon author. The other sections (and the critical essays in the arts and literature section) include only articles and books written with a specific Mormon focus and theme.

As do compilers of any bibliography, of course, we constantly fear not knowing of a publication and therefore leaving it out. Readers who know of publications that should have been included in this Mormon Bibliography are asked to contact either Dennis Rowley or Scott Duvall, Department of Special Collections and Manuscripts, 4040 HBLL, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah,

84602-6835. In addition, many items published during 1994 could not be acquired before the publication deadline. We will include those publications in the 1995 Mormon Bibliography.

This bibliography begins with a list of abbreviations and is broadly organized into the following sections: Foreign Language Journals, Arts and Literature, Bibliography, Biography and Autobiography, Contemporary Issues, Doctrine and Scripture, History, and Inspiration.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used for Mormon-content periodicals and anthologies that have been analyzed by chapter.

Mormon-content Periodicals Analyzed Herein

AMCAP — *AMCAP Journal* 20 (1994). Published by the Association of Mormon Counselors and Psychotherapists, Salt Lake City.

BH — *Beehive History* 20 (1994). Published annually by the Utah State Historical Society. This issue on Utah's constitution.

BYM — *Brigham Young Magazine* 48 (1994). Published quarterly by Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. Continues *BYU Today*. Includes feature articles, news items, and columns.

BYU Studies — *BYU Studies* 34 (1994–95). Published quarterly by Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. Issue 2 is a monograph titled *Hearts Turned to the Fathers*. Issue 3 is a bibliography.

CC — *Chronicles of Courage* 5 (1994). Published annually by Daughters of Utah Pioneers, Salt Lake City.

Dialogue — *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 27 (1994). Published quarterly by the Dialogue Foundation, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Digest — *Latter-day Digest* 3 (1994). Published eight times in 1994, last issues by Grandin Book, Orem, Utah. Ceased publication with August 1994.

Ensign — *Ensign* 24 (1994). Published monthly by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Only poetry is included; for articles in this and other Church publications, consult the yearly indexes published by the Church or the index in the December issue.

Exponent — *Exponent II* 18, nos. 2–4 (1994). Published quarterly by Exponent II, Inc., Arlington, Massachusetts. No official connection with the LDS Church.

Insight — *Insight* 9, nos. 2–3, and 10, no. 1 (1994). A forum for nonfiction writing, published once each semester by the Brigham Young University Honors Program, Provo, Utah.

Insights — *Insights: An Ancient Window,* nos. 92–97 (1994). Published six times a year by the Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies (FARMS), Provo, Utah.

JBOMS — *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 3 (1994). Published semiannually by the Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies (FARMS), Provo, Utah.

JCA — *Journal of Collegium Aesculapium* (1994). Published semiannually by Collegium Aesculapium Foundation, Inc., Provo, Utah. An organization for LDS physicians.

JMH — *Journal of Mormon History* 20 (1994). Published semiannually by the Mormon History Association, Provo, Utah.

JWHAJ — *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 14 (1994). Published annually by the association, Lamoni, Iowa. Deals with Reorganized Latter Day Saint history.

L&B — *Literature and Belief* 13 (1993). Published annually by the Brigham Young University College of Humanities, Provo, Utah.

MHM — *Mormon Heritage Magazine* 1 (1994). Published bimonthly by Sherman L. Fleek, Springville, Utah. A nonscholarly, popular magazine devoted to LDS heritage and history.

MWF — *Mormon Women's Forum* 5 (1994). Published quarterly by the Mormon Women's Forum, Salt Lake City. "An LDS Feminist Quarterly."

Nauvoo — *Nauvoo Journal* 6 (1994). Published semiannually by the Early Mormon Research Institute, Hyrum, Utah.

New Era — *New Era* 24 (1994). Published monthly by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City. Official publication for youth. Only poetry and short stories are included; for articles, consult the yearly indexes published by the Church or the index in the December issue.

ND — *New Direction,* nos. 6–8 (1994). Published irregularly by A New Direction, Los Angeles. "A magazine for gay and lesbian Mormons, their families and friends, and others who 'would like to know more' about homosexuality."

NP	*New Perspectives* 11 (1994). Published semiannually by Ricks College, Rexburg, Idaho.
Sunstone	*Sunstone* 16, no. 8, and 17, nos. 1–3 (1994). Four issues published in 1994 by the Sunstone Foundation, Salt Lake City.
This People	*This People* 15 (1994). Published quarterly by Utah Alliance, Salt Lake City. Contains feature articles and columns exploring LDS issues and personalities.
UHQ	*Utah Historical Quarterly* 62 (1994). Published quarterly by the Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City.
Witness	*Witness,* nos. 84–86 (1994). Published quarterly by the Foundation for Research on Ancient America, Independence, Missouri.
Women	*Latter-day Women* 2 (1994). Published monthly by Grandin Book, Orem, Utah. Ceased publication with August 1994.
WRI	*Wasatch Review International* 3 (1994). Published annually by Wasatch Review International, Orem, Utah. A Mormon literary journal.

In addition, there are several Mormon-content periodicals which are not indexed herein, including electronic journals and forums. For a bibliography of these organizations, periodicals, and electronic journals and forums, please consult Bryan Waterman's "A Guide to the Mormon Universe: Mormon Organizations and Periodicals," *Sunstone* 17 (December 1994): 44–65.

Anthologies Analyzed by Chapter

Allegory	Ricks, Steven D., and John W. Welch, eds. *The Allegory of the Olive Tree: The Olive, the Bible, and Jacob 5.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1994.
AML Annual	*The Association for Mormon Letters Annual.* 2 vols. Salt Lake City: Association for Mormon Letters, 1994.
Apostle	*The Apostle Paul: His Life and His Testimony: The 23d Annual Sidney B. Sperry Symposium.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1994.
Christmas	*Christmas Treasures: Stories and Reminiscences from General Authorities.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1994.

Contemporary Cornwall, Marie, Tim B. Heaton, and Lawrence A. Young, eds. *Contemporary Mormonism: Social Science Perspectives.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994.

Covenant Anderson, Dawn Hall, and Susette Fletcher Green, eds. *Women in the Covenant of Grace: Talks Selected from the 1993 Women's Conference Sponsored by Brigham Young University and the Relief Society.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1994.

Differing Launius, Roger D., and Linda Thatcher, eds. *Differing Visions: Dissenters in Mormon History.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994.

DLLS *Deseret Language and Linguistics Society: Selected Papers from the Proceedings, Twentieth Annual Symposium.* Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1994.

DS *Brigham Young University 1993–94 Devotional and Fireside Speeches.* Provo, Utah: University Publications, 1994.

Families *Families: Addresses on Strengthening Families by General Authorities and General Officers of the Auxiliaries of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1994. [Most articles are reprints from the *Ensign* and are not analyzed herein]

Foundations *Proceedings for the Third Annual Laying the Foundations Symposium.* Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1993. [c1994]

Kings Jackson, Kent P., and Robert L. Millet, eds. *1 Kings to Malachi.* Studies in Scripture, vol. 4. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1993.

Miracle Ball, DeAnna, and Terry Ball. *Each One a Miracle: Inspirational Romanian Adoption Stories.* Orem, Utah: Grandin Book, 1994.

Multiply Corcoran, Brent, ed. *Multiply and Replenish: Mormon Essays on Sex and Family.* Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994.

People *Thy People Shall Be My People and Thy God My God: The 22d Annual Sidney B. Sperry Symposium.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1994.

Religion Smith, George D., ed. *Religion, Feminism, and Freedom of Conscience: A Mormon/Humanist Dialogue.* Buffalo, N.Y.: Prometheus Books; Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994.

Serving	*Serving with Strength throughout the World: Favorite Talks from Especially for Youth.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1994.
Temples	Parry, Donald W., ed. *Temples of the Ancient World: Ritual and Symbolism.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1994.
Truth	Roberts, B. H. *The Truth, The Way, The Life: An Elementary Treatise on Theology.* Provo, Utah: BYU Studies, 1994.
Turning	Card, Orson Scott, and David Dollahite, eds. *Turning Hearts: Short Stories on Family Life.* Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1994.
Watch	*Watch and Be Ready: Preparing for the Second Coming of the Lord.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1994.

FOREIGN LANGUAGE PERIODICALS

The Church publishes the *International Magazine* in various languages. Contact (801) 240-5275 or Church Magazines/Church News, P.O. Box 26368, Salt Lake City, UT 84126-0368 for subscription information.

Non-English periodicals are published for the Mormon community by entities other than The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. If you publish or know of others who publish non-English periodicals not listed herein, please contact Dennis Rowley at 4040 HBLL, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah 84602-6835.

Bertrachtungen (Reflections), c/o H. Weissmann, 64 Rue Albert Joly, 78000 Versailles, France; or c/o Hartmut Weissmann, Gärtnerplatz 10, 61130 Nidderau-Ostheim. A European LDS journal printed in English, French, and German beginning in January 1993.

Mormon Forum, 1441–4 Kamitokimune, Kudamatsu Shi, Yamaguchi Ken 744, Japan. An 82-page semiannual magazine in Japanese, modeled after *Sunstone* and *Dialogue,* but produced entirely by Japanese LDS scholars. It deals with current issues in the LDS community.

ARTS AND LITERATURE

Novels, children's books, short stories, plays, poetry, critical essays, personal essays, music, and articles about the arts written by or about Mormons. If you are an LDS literary author and your works

are not found herein, please contact Dennis Rowley at the address above so that he may obtain your works.

Art

Christenson, Richard P. "Here's Brother Brigham! Monumental Sculpture of a Monumental Man." *Pioneer* 41 (July/August 1994): 5–7.

Hopkinson, Glen S. "Painting a 'Legacy.'" *MHM,* March/April: 34–39.

"'Imagination Is a Place': Interview with Cover Artist Leonard Parkin." *Leading Edge,* no. 28 (February 1994): 42–54.

Jung, Paul. "Seeing the Choices: A Conversation with Paul Jung." By Steven Epperson and Elbert Peck. *Sunstone,* September: 39–48.

Oman, Richard G. "Quiet Acts of Religious Devotion: The Art of Judith Mehr." *BYU Studies,* no. 4:70–72.

Oman, Richard G., and Doris R. Dant. "Richard Burde: Spiritual Reflections." *BYU Studies,* no. 1:32–40.

Children's Books

Anderson, Paris. *Claire in Nauvoo.* Provo, Utah: Precious Child, 1994. [Book 2 of *Claire: A Mormon Girl*]

———. *Claire in Zarahemla.* Provo, Utah: Precious Child, 1994. [Book 1 of *Claire: A Mormon Girl*]

Gostick, Adrian Robert. *Eddy and the Habs.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1994.

Hawley, Judith. *Nephi and Lehi: Mighty Men of God.* Independence, Mo.: OM Resource Center, 1994. [Booklet]

Hughes, Dean. *Lucky Comes Home.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1994. [Conclusion to the Lucky Ladd series]

Johnson, Sherrie, and Tyler Lybbert. *Abinadi.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1994.

———. *Alma at the Waters of Mormon.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1994.

———. *Ammon and the King.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1994.

———. *The Broken Bow.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1994.

———. *Captain Moroni's Title of Liberty.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1994.

———. *The Gadianton Robbers.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1994.

———. *Jesus Is Born.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1994.

———. *Nephi and Lehi in Prison.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1994.

Littke, Lael. *The Bridesmaids' Dress Disaster.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1994.

———. *There's a Snake at Girls Camp.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1994.

Smurthwaite, Donald. *The Search for Wallace Whipple.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1994. [Young adult fiction]

Critical Essays

Anderson, Tory C. "Where Are the Mormon Writers?" *WRI,* 1–20.

Barnes, Jacqueline C. "Sacrifice to the Proper Gods." In *AML Annual,* 1:78–83.

Berlin, Linda. "The Strengths and Weaknesses of Virginia Sorensen's *On This Star.*" In *AML Annual,* 1:51–56.

Bradford, Mary Lythgoe. "Virginia Sorensen: Literary Recollections from a Thirty-Five-Year Friendship." In *AML Annual,* 1:97–104.

Card, Orson Scott. "Families in Fiction." In *Turning,* 1–4.

Cracroft, Richard H. "Attuning the Authentic Mormon Voice: Stemming the Sophic Tide in LDS Literature." In *AML Annual,* 1:34–43.

———. "Mormon Biography: Tracking the (Well-Written) LDS Life." *BYM,* May: 62–63.

———. "Realizing 'A Personal and *Possessed* Past': Mormon Community and Values in Wallace Stegner's *Recapitulation.*" In *AML Annual,* 1:124–31.

———. "Tracking the Grand Design through Current LDS Books." *BYM,* August: 16–17.

———. "'A Usually Dazzling World': The Poetic Mormon Humanism of Emma Lou Thayne." In *AML Annual,* 1:145–53.

Dallimore, LuDene. "Mercy, Zina, and Kate: Virginia Sorensen's Strong Women in a Man's Society." In *AML Annual,* 1:63–67.

Dollahite, David. "Family Stories and Family Relationships." In *Turning,* 296–302.

Embry, Jesse L. "Overworked Stereotypes or Accurate History? Images of Polygamy in *The Giant Joshua.*" In *AML Annual,* 1:105–13.

England, Eugene. "Books That Teach Tolerance." *This People,* spring: 84–89.

———. "Douglas Thayer's *Mr. Wahlquist in Yellowstone:* A Mormon's Christian Response to Wilderness." *BYU Studies,* no. 1:52–72.

———. "Virginia Sorensen as the Founding Foremother of the Mormon Personal Essay." In *AML Annual,* 1:44–50.

England, Karin Anderson. "Confronting the Personal Voice: Ethics and the Personal Essay in Technical Writing." In *AML Annual,* 2:297–300.

———. "Feminine Voices in the Works of Juanita Brooks." In *AML Annual,* 2:183–89.

Evenden, Michael. "Angels in a Mormon Gaze or Utopia, Rage, Communitas, Dream Dialogue, and Funhouse-Mirror Aesthetics." *Sunstone,* September: 55–64.

Evenson, Brian. "Chaotic Matter: Eugene England's 'The Dawning of a Brighter Day.'" *Dialogue,* winter: 159–62.

Geary, Edward A. "Joseph and His Brothers: Rivalry in Virginia Sorensen's *On This Star.*" In *AML Annual,* 1:57–62.

Godfrey, Audrey M. "The Promise Is Fulfilled: Literary Aspects of John D. Fitzgerald's Novels." In *AML Annual,* 1:120–23.

Hansen, Helynne H. "In Search of Women's Language and Feminist Expression among Nauvoo Wives in *A Little Lower Than the Angels.*" *Dialogue,* summer: 93–102. Also in *AML Annual,* 1:84–90.

Hogge, Robert M. "Levels of Perception in Michael Fillerup's *Visions and Other Stories.*" In *AML Annual,* 2:154–57.

Howe, Susan Elizabeth. "'Little Books' from a Large Soul: The Private Poetry of Virginia Sorensen." In *AML Annual,* 1:91–96.

Jorgensen, Bruce W. "To Tell and Hear Stories: Let the Stranger Say." In *AML Annual,* 1:19–33.

Kellner, Mark A. "Mormon History under Scrutiny." *Christianity Today* 38 (October 3, 1994): 68.

Koldewyn, Derk Michael. "'Though Like the Wanderer': Outside the Group in Mormon Short Fiction." In *AML Annual,* 2:234–38.

Kramer, Neal W. "Reading Mormon Stories: An Ethical Dilemma?" In *AML Annual,* 2:239–45.

McAllister, Mick. "Embracing the Other: The Beloved Alien and Other Ethical Fictions of Orson Scott Card." In *AML Annual,* 2:158–65.

Munger, MaryJan Gay. "A Look at Contemporary Mormon Poetry: One Harvester's Opinion." In *AML Annual,* 2:166–70.

Nichols, Julie J., and others. "Domesticity and the Call to Art: A Panel." In *AML Annual,* 2:284–96.

Peterson, Joe. "Franklin Fisher's *Bones*: The Effaced Identity of the Mormon Missionary." In *AML Annual,* 2:171–76.

Peterson, Levi S. "AML: Unlikely Skirmisher in the Battle of the Books." In *AML Annual,* 1:15–18.

Samuelsen, Eric. "Rebels, Subversives, Iconoclasts: The Case for Mormon Drama." In *Foundations,* 159–65.

Smith, Grant T. "Women Together: Kate Alexander's Search for Self in *The Evening and the Morning.*" In *AML Annual,* 1:68–77.

Smith, Nola D. "Madwomen in the Mormon Attic: A Feminist Reading of *Saturday's Warrior* and *Reunion.*" In *AML Annual,* 1:139–44.

Tanner, John S. "Of Hymns, Herbert, and the Aesthetics of Faith." In *AML Annual,* 1:1–7.

Thayne, Emma Lou. "Clarice Short: Earthy Academic." In *AML Annual,* 1:132–38.

Waterstradt, Jean Anne. "In Hims of Praise: The Songs of Zion." In *AML Annual,* 2:190–95.

Wilson, William A. "The Power of the Word." In *AML Annual,* 1:8–14.

Drama

Bronson, J. Scott. "Confessions." *WRI,* 97–130.

Hanson, Brent L. "Coming of Age in LDS Drama: Arnold Van Gennep's Separation, Transition, and Incorporation Applied to *Saturday's Warrior* and *Huebner.*" Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 1993.

Samuelsen, Eric. "Accommodations: A Play in Three Acts." *Sunstone,* June: 30–55.

Novels

Barber, Phyllis. *And the Desert Shall Blossom*. Salt Lake City: Signature, 1993.

Bezzant, Pat. *Angie.* New York: Fawcett, 1994. [Young adult]

Bills, Greg. *Consider This Home.* New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994.

Brown, Marilyn. *Royal House.* American Fork, Utah: Covenant Communications, 1994.

Crane, Cheri J. *Kate's Turn.* American Fork, Utah: Covenant Communications, 1994.

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Translator

The gold was grayed and cold; the plates were thin.
What mystery lay captive in their runes?
His fingers, asking, traced them to begin.
Would history unlock its darkness soon?
Embalmed within the metal, robed in glyphs,
The absent millions whisper from the past;
He scans the ancient scrawlings thick with mist
Until their shadows dawn in him at last:
Each thought, unwieldy first, he hefts with sweat,
As though ideas were metal: heavy, dense;
He assays words in dozens, weighed then set
As heaven trains His prophet, seer, and lens.
To craft the words, to tell each symbol's pith,
The seer-apprentice fashioned, Joseph, smith.

—Gideon Burton

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