A recently discovered circa 1871 manuscript written by William McLellin, an early Mormon Apostle and, later, apostate, includes a passage that narrates how, in 1833, he engaged two of the three and one of the eight witnesses of the Book of Mormon about the nature of their experiences as witnesses. The testimonies of the witnesses printed in each copy of the Book of Mormon are some of the most compelling evidence in favor of its miraculous revelation and translation. For believers, this evidence approaches proof of Joseph Smith’s miraculous claims. But some have questioned the nature of the testimonies and made a strong counterargument that what the witnesses experienced was solely supernatural and not, therefore, credible. The witnesses, this argument asserts, only experienced the plates via an unverifiable subjective experience, rendering their statements void.

Historians have generally adopted one of two interpretations of the historical record by and about the Book of Mormon witnesses. Historians who believe the statements of the witnesses as credible usually focus foremost on the original testimonies published in the Book of Mormon and on the witnesses’ fidelity to their statements despite dissent and disaffection by many of them from the Church itself. The leading historian espousing this interpretation of the evidence is Richard Lloyd Anderson. In his work *Investigating the Book of Mormon Witnesses*, Anderson holds that despite the fact that the witnesses left the Church at one point or another, they never denied their testimonies of the events that solidified their belief in...
the Book of Mormon.¹ More recently, scholars including Dan Peterson and Scott Faulring have also defended the evidence that the witnesses unflinchingly maintained their testimonies.²

Dan Vogel articulated a counterargument, namely that the accounts of the three and eight witnesses are unreliably subjective and cannot be taken at face value.³ This interpretation focuses on the varied and complex body of second- or thirdhand evidence to build an alternative interpretation to the one that emerges from the witnesses’ direct statements and from Anderson’s scholarship.

The purpose of this publication is to facilitate access to William McLellin’s contribution to the historical record, a remarkable piece of little-known secondhand evidence, for consideration by everyone interested in the witnesses and the history and nature of their testimonies. McLellin held a peculiar position relative to the Book of Mormon witnesses. From his first knowledge of the Book of Mormon in the summer of 1831 until his last known writings nearly a half-century later, he affirmed his faith in the testimony of the Book of Mormon witnesses based on his personal experiences with them. When James Cobb, a Salt Lake City resident antagonistic to Mormonism, wrote to McLellin in August 1880 seeking evidence to undermine the Book of Mormon, McLellin wrote back, adamantly assuring Cobb that when he had last seen David Whitmer in 1879, Whitmer testified “to the truth of the book—as sincerely and solemnly as when he bore it to me in Paris, Ill. in July 1831. I believed him then and still believe him.”⁴

William E. McLellin and the Book of Mormon Witnesses

When William E. McLellin first heard the message of the restored gospel in 1831, it came from the mouths of Harvey Whitlock and Book of

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Mormon witness David Whitmer. McLellin recorded in his journal that after Whitlock preached about the Book of Mormon and explained why he believed it was a divine revelation, “D[avid] Whitmer then arose and bore testimony to having seen an Holy Angel who had made known the truth of [the Book of Mormon] to him.” McLellin followed the Mormon missionaries to Independence, Missouri, where, after interviewing other witnesses and learning more from the Book of Mormon itself, he felt compelled to pray for his own testimony of it. In his August 20, 1831, journal entry he recorded, “I rose early and betook myself to earnest prayr to God to direct me into truth; and from all the light that I could gain by examinations searches and researches I was bound as an honest man to acknowledge the truth and Validity of the book of Mormon.” As McLellin’s journey through Mormonism progressed, he also bore testimony of Joseph Smith’s calling and authority. Nearly a year after his baptism, McLellin wrote to his relatives that he had spent about three weeks with Joseph, “and from my acquaintance then and until now I can truely say I believe him to be a man of God. A Prophet, a Seer and Revelater to the church of christ.” Later in the same letter, McLellin related, “We belive that Joseph Smith is a true Prophet or Seer of the Lord and that he has power and does receive revelations from God, and that these revelations when received are of divine Authority in the church of Christ.” In 1835, the Book of Mormon’s three witnesses chose McLellin as one of twelve Apostles. But McLellin’s formal affiliation with the Church apparently ended in May 1838 when a bishop’s council heard his confession that he had “indulged himself in his lustful desires” after hearing that “the heads of the Church . . . had transgressed, and got out of the way.”

Certainly after and perhaps even before leaving the Church, McLellin questioned his earlier conviction of Joseph’s authority and the integrity of his revelations. It is the more remarkable, then, that his conviction of the Book of Mormon endured for the remaining half century of his life. Nothing in his lifetime of writing casts doubt on or dismisses his early and profound experience with the Book of Mormon and its witnesses. The document below records yet another event in McLellin’s life, not mentioned in his other writings, that further solidified his faith in the Book of Mormon. In this document, McLellin narrates a harrowing experience as the Saints

were forced from Jackson County in the summer of 1833. McLellin, Oliver Cowdery, and David Whitmer feared for their lives and made a covert escape through the woods. McLellin recounted the testimony he elicited from Whitmer and Cowdery in this circumstance and then added his own views about it. McLellin recorded his account of these events sometime between January 4, 1871, and January 15, 1872. Historian D. Michael Quinn has demonstrated that at times McLellin attempted, through his later writings, to remove himself from history and place himself almost as an omniscient being, watching as others, such as Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery, acted in history. That indeed seems characteristic of McLellin’s later writings, including the 264-page manuscript from which the pages cited here are taken. But in this brief narrative McLellin resumes the characteristic trait of his earlier missionary journals and earlier writings. He writes of himself as one of the historical actors. This document places McLellin back in the thick of the dramatic history as a witness of the Book of Mormon witnesses, and it does so in his own words.

**William E. McLellin’s Papers**

In 1994, Jan Shipps and John Welch published McLellin’s missionary journals as *The Journals of William E. McLellin, 1831–1836.* In 2007, Stan Larsen and Samuel Passey published McLellin’s later manuscripts and letters in *The William E. McLellin Papers, 1854–1880.* Larsen and Passey compiled McLellin’s seven known notebooks in chronological order. They designated the 1871 notebook as Notebook 2 and titled it “On the Testimony of Book of Mormon Witnesses.” However, the copy of the record Larsen and Passey worked from was made in 1929 and is incomplete. They worked from photographs of the original document made in 1929 by C. Edward Miller, church historian of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (now Community of Christ). The poor images captured only partially the text on pages 166 and 167 of the original manuscript and proved difficult to decipher. Larsen and Passey also state, “In 1929, Paul M. Hanson quoted [in an article, ‘Unwavering Testimony,’ published in the *Saints’ Herald*] from pages 166–67 of this particular notebook and added that it consisted of 264 pages and bore the date of 15 January 1872.” Larsen and Passey claimed Notebook 2 was no longer extant, and as a result

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10. Shipps and Welch’s volume won the Steven F. Christensen Best Documentary Award from the Mormon History Association.  
the portion of Notebook 2 they published is very small compared to the entirety of the original work. Fortunately, this notebook is in fact extant. All 264 pages are intact and legible and a scholarly edition, titled *William E. McLellin’s Lost Manuscript* (Eborn Books, 2011), is soon forthcoming. The document that follows is a transcription of the original pages 165–67 of the manuscript of McLellin’s Notebook 2. The manuscript is in the private collection of Brent F. Ashworth.

McLellin wrote the account transcribed below and made many editorial markings and changes. The editorial method and transcription symbols for this document have been borrowed from the Joseph Smith Papers Project. Text that Larson and Passey were not able to include in their edition is set in bold typeface for easy identification. Though this document is brief, it contains valuable information pertinent to Mormon history, to McLellin’s life, and to the experiences and testimonies of Joseph Smith, Oliver Cowdery, Martin Harris, David Whitmer, Hiram Page, and John Whitmer, all of whom are mentioned in it. McLellin’s manuscript may be the only documentation of the events told therein, and as a result this account stands as a vital part of the historical record.

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13. The edge of page 167 was damaged after this transcript was made.
Cover page of W. E. McLellan’s Book, circa 1871, written by William E. McLellin, from the private collection of Brent F. Ashworth. All photos courtesy Brent F. Ashworth.
with their mouth, and with their lips do honor me, but have removed their heart far from me, and their fear toward me is taught by the precepts of men. Therefore behold, I will proceed to a marvelous work among this people, a wonderful work and a wonder: for the wisdom of their wise men shall fail, and the understanding of their prudent men shall be hid. All the above is plain and pointed, and cannot refer to any other circumstance so plainly as the coming forth of the Book of Mormon. And to that it was referring especially and pointedly.

10. Where Jacob was blessing Joseph's sons between his knees, he said of Ephraim: And his seed shall become a multitude of nations. Now where on this wide earth can Ephraim be taken into a multitude of nations, except the Indians of North and South America? And multiply. And this accorded with what old Jacob said in blessing Joseph as the progenitor, and head of one of the twelve tribes. He said: The blessing of thy father have prevailed above the blessing of my progenitors, unto the utmost bound of the everlasting hills. The utmost bound from Bashan in Egypt to its farthest point east or west would be in America, would be the Rocky Mountains. Now we will hear Moses, the man of God, when he gave his last blessing on Israel. It is said specially to Joseph: Blessed of the Lord be Joseph's land. For the precious things of the earth and the hidden treasures of N. Norway can supply this passage so as to make a concluding it applies to Ephraim according to the book of Mormon, and the Indians in our America as the only continent where the earth containing a fulness. Where all good of every kind, all fruits of every tree, all beasts and birds of all kinds, and the earth and its fulness, can be found. And find it on many continents on earth except the Americas. And the next American continent, where the Indians have roamed for many a century, away from the Strait of Magellan in the south, to the North Pole, containing a fulness.

The Testimony of men.

11. In Sunday light, in an open word like this, I am sent to lay all tales and rumors before the temple. I say that an angel of Jehovah...
Appearance and continuance came down from heaven, and stood before them, and told the
high and mighty men of the Lord; which Joseph Smith had possessed, from which he
had received the Book, and held
them in his hand, and showed as many of his writing as Joseph had translated to him.

So that they saw, and looked upon them until they were entirely satisfied; the mense to David
Whitmer, and said, "David, fresh is the Lord, and he that heareth his Commandments." These men
sat for some time, gazing gloriously at appearance, then took in, and saw all that he showed them, and
then led them around again. This was the conclusion. These men could not be mistaken,
they wrote the truth, or they would lie. And shall we tell which, how shall we know?

The vision was in 1829. More than forty years ago, and what has been the conduct of these men
since that day? Two of them are dead—two living. Those who were called testified to the last hour
of their lives of the truth of this vision. Those who are still living are firm in their testimony.

I visited David Whitmer, who was more than 70 years of age, and solemnly declared to me:
"I saw the Angel of God, heard his voice, have known of a truth." Martin Harris is some
39 years of age, and still he carries the book of Mormon under his arm, and testifying to all
those around him, some Martin Harris in all the world, and I know the book of Mormon
is true and truer. And although all men should deny the truth of that book, I can attest it. My heart
is firm! O God, my heart is fixed! I cannot know more truly or certainly than I do.

13. In 1833, when nothing signal triumphed in Jackson, the land of Clay, the ford fell, and
the whiteman, for fear of General violence, on Saturday the 10th of July. The mob
arrested, agreeing to meet again on the next Tuesday. They offered eighty dollars, and
for any one who would deliver Bowery or McLellan in the instants, on Tuesday. On Monday
a,body was found in the Whitman's settlement, and there in the lonely woods I met with David
Whitman and Oliver Bowery, and them, brethren, I mean, have seen one improvement in my life,
but you must say you have, and then for you I truly know. Now you know that one thing, we
in league everywhere, if the mob can only catch up, tell me in the fear of God.
is that book of Mormon true? I bow my head to the solemn truth in my face, and say, 'Brother Williams, God an holy angel doth declare the truth of the translation of it to us, and therefore we know. And though the mob killed, yet must we declare the truth.'

Davids. 'Choir has told you the solemn truth, for we could not be deceived. Almost truly declare Jesus before its truth.' I could, boys, believe you. I can see no object for you to tell me false now when our lives are at stake! Right man testify also handling the sacred plate from which the Book of Mormon was translated.

13. One circumstance I relate of one of these eight witnesses. While the mob was hanging in Jackson ville in 1833, some young men ran down a street going as fast as they could, and commanded him to stand him with whip and club. He clung, but the whipping continued. They said he was damned Mormon, and they meant to beat him to death. But finally, one then said to him, if you will deny the damned Book you will let you go. Ask he how he can deny what he saved to be true? Then they bound him again. When they thought he was about dead, his last, they said to him, 'Now what do you think of your God, when he don't save you?' He said he believed in God. Will, said one of the most intelligent among them, 'I believe God will save him.' When we tell him all as he went. But his life was nearly gone. He was confined to his bed for a length of time, so much so much for men was unknown, for himself he believed he was beyond death as was at the time. It is true, certainly.

If I accompany you with 

“The Testimony of Men,” an excerpt from W. E. McLellan’s Book, circa 1871

The Testimony of men.

11. In open day light, in an open wood lot, with their sensitive powers all calm and serene, Joseph Smith, Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer, and Martin Harris testify that an angel of glorified appearance and countenance came down from heaven, and stood before them, and took the plates which Joseph Smith had possessed, from which he had translated the translation of the Book, and held them in his hand, and showed as many of the leaves or plates as Joseph had translated, to them. So that they saw, and looked upon them until they were entirely satisfied. And he spoke to David Whitmer and said, “David, blessed is the Lord, and he that keepeth his commandments.” These men saw his form, saw his glorified appearance, heard his words, saw all that he showed them, and then saw him ascend to heaven again. This was no collusion. These men could not be mistaken. They either told the truth, or they wilfully lied. How shall we tell which, how shall we know? This vision was in 1829. More than forty years ago, and what has been the conduct of those men since that day? Two of them are dead— two living. Those who are dead testified to the last hour of their lives of the truth of their vision. Those who are still living are firm in their testimony. I visited David Whitmer after he was more than 65 years of age, and solemnly declared to me “I saw the angel of God, I heard his voice, hence I know of a truth! Martin Harris is some over 89 years of age, and still he carries the book of Mormon under his arm, and testifies to all great and small, “I am Martin Harris in all the world, and I know the book of Mormon to be verily true. And although all men should deny the truth of that book, I dare not do it. My heart is fixed. O God, my heart is fixed! I could not know more truly or certainly than I do.”

15. McLellin titled this notebook W. E. McLellan’s Book. McLellin himself wrote his name with variant spellings.

16. Joseph Smith Jr. died in Carthage, Illinois, on June 27, 1844, and Oliver Cowdery died in Richmond, Missouri, on March 3, 1850. Martin Harris and David Whitmer were the two witnesses of the Book of Mormon plates still alive when McLellin wrote. Harris and Whitmer died on July 10, 1875, and January 25, 1888, respectively. Jessee, Ashurst-McGee, and Jensen, Joseph Smith Papers: Journals, Volume 1, 405, 412, 446.

17. Harris was most likely eighty-eight at the time of McLellin’s writing.
12. In 1833, when mobbing reigned triumphant in Jackson Co. Mo. I and O. Cowdery fled from our homes, for fear of personal violence on Saturday the 20th day of July. The mob dispersed, agreeing to meet again on the next Tuesday. They offered eighty dollars reward for any one who would deliver Cowdery or McLellan in Independence on Tuesday. On Mond[a]y I slipped down into the Whitmer’s settlement, and there in the lonely woods I met with David Whitmer and Oliver Cowdery. I said to them, “brethren I never have seen an open vision in my life, but you men say you have, and therefore you positively know. Now you know that our lives are in danger every hour, if the mob can only only catch us. Tell me in the fear of God, is that book of Mormon true?” Cowdery looked at me with solemnity depicted in his face, and said, “Brother William, God sent his holy angel to declare the truth of the translation of it to us, and therefore we know. And though the mob kill us, yet we must die declaring its truth.” David said, “Oliver has told you the solemn truth, for we could not be deceived. I most truly declare to you its truth”!! Said I, boys I believe you. I can see no object for you to tell me false <hood> now, when our lives are endangered. Eight men testify also to handling that sacred pile of plates, from which Joseph Smith <read off the> translation [of] that heavenly Book.

13. One circumstance I’ll relate of one of these eight witnesses. While the mob was raging in Jackson Co. Mo. in 1833 some young men ran down Hiram Page <in the woods> one of the eight <witnesses,> and commenced beating and pounding him with whips and clubs. He begged, but there was no mercy. They said he was <a> damned Mormon, and they meant to beat him to death! But finally one then said to him, if you will deny that damned book, we will let you go. Said he, how can I deny what I know to be true? Then they pounded him again. When they thought he was about to breathe his last, they said to him, Now what do you think of your God, when he dont save you? Well said he, I believe in God—Well, said one of the most intelligent among them, I believe the damned fool will stick to it though we kill him. Let us let him go. But his life was nearly run out. He was confined to his bed for a length of time. So much for a man who knows for himself. Knowledge is beyond faith or doubt. It is positive certainty.

14. I in company with <a> friend, <I> visited one of the eight wit-nesses <in 1869>—the only one who is now alive, and he bore a very vivid and rational testimony, and gave us many interesting particulars. 18 He was a young man when he had those testimonies. He is now <was

18. John Whitmer was the last surviving of the additional eight witnesses to the plates from which the Book of Mormon was translated. He died at Far
then sixty eight years old, and still he is firm in his faith. Now I would ask what will I do with such a cloud of faithful witnesses, bearing such a rational and yet solemn testimony? These men while in the prime of life, saw the vision of the angel, and bore their testimony to all people. And eight men saw the plates, and handled them. Hence these men all knew the things they declared to be positively true. And that too while they were young, and now when old they declare the same things.


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