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A Voice for the Community of LDS Scholars
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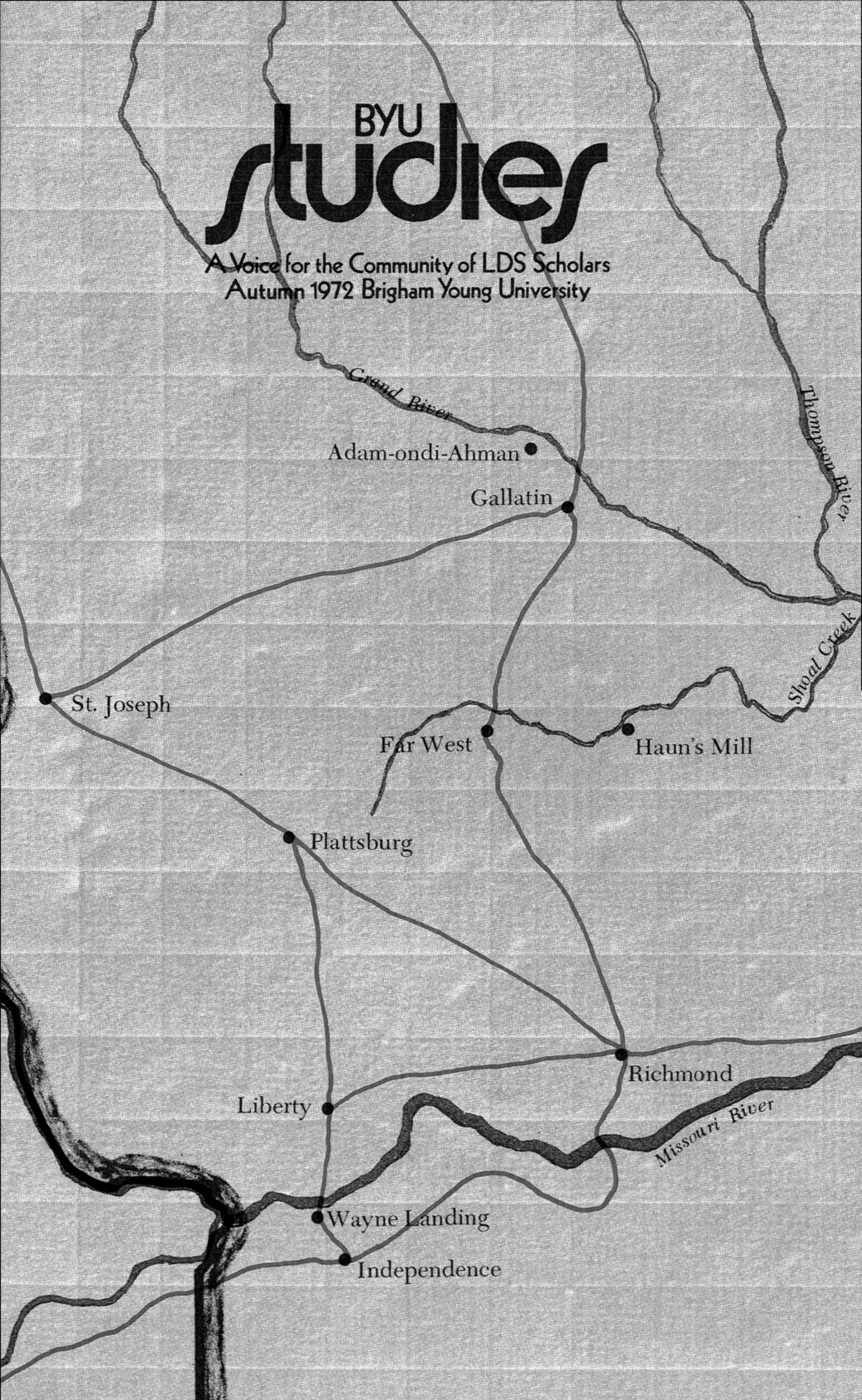

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The Historians Corner

Edited by James B. Allen

One of the choice results of the organization of the Mormon History Association has been the opportunity for scholars from both the "Utah Church" and the "Reorganized Church" to get together and discuss their common historical heritage. The spring meeting of the Association on 15 April 1972 at Independence, Missouri, was one of the most productive such opportunites yet presented. On that day some 130 members and friends of the Association boarded buses and visited six important Mormon historical sites in northern Missouri, heard an outstanding scholar present a paper at each site, and attended a banquet in the evening. The idea for such a meeting came from the executive council of the Mormon History Association, and credit for the success of the day goes to F. Mark McKiernan, general chairman of the event, and Lyman Edwards, who was in charge of local arrangements.

The first site visited was Wayne Landing, where the Mormon exiles crossed the Missouri River as they were driven from Independence late in 1833. Here T. Edgar Lyon, associate director of the LDS Institute of Religion adjacent to the University of Utah, reviewed the social and economic setting of the 1830s and the reasons for the tragic Mormon expulsion from Jackson County. The group then proceeded to Liberty Jail, where Leonard J. Arrington, LDS Church Historian, discussed the experiences of Joseph Smith and other Church leaders in that place. Warren A. Jennings, professor of history at Southwest Missouri State College in Springfield, then presented a paper at the Mormon temple site at Far West, which gave new insight into the political aspects of the Mormon experience in Missouri. The group then moved to Adam-Ondi-Ahman, where Robert J. Matthews, associate pro-

fessor of ancient scriptures at Brigham Young University, told of the special meaning of this spot in Mormon history.

When the tour arrived at the courthouse in Gallatin, Missouri, Reed C. Durham, Jr., director of the LDS Institute of Religion adjacent to the University of Utah, told of the dramatic election-day struggle at that spot in 1838. The last site visited was Haun's Mill, the location of one of the most brutal massacres in the Missouri period of Mormon history. Here, amid a pouring rainstorm, the group listened to Alma R. Blair, associate professor of history at Graceland College, Lamoni, Iowa, give new insight into the background of that event. A banquet at Independence, Missouri, concluded the day. Davis Bitton, assistant LDS Church historian, summarized the significance of the day's activities, and Richard P. Howard, church historian of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, discussed early hymns in the Church and particularly the role of Emma Smith in compiling those hymns.

So enlightening and impressive were the activities of this day that the editor of *BYU Studies* felt it worthwhile to expand the Historians Corner and include all of the papers. In this way at least part of the excitement of the day can be shared with our readers. Dr. Bitton's summary has become an introduction, and only two of the papers are not included here. Events have transpired that necessitate further research on and rewriting of Warren Jennings' paper; it is scheduled to appear in a subsequent issue of *BYU Studies,* and Richard P. Howard's discussion has already been published elsewhere.

Missouri Thoughts (April 15, 1972)

DAVIS BITTON*

We had an unforgettable experience rolling down the highways of Missouri, getting to places whose names are familiar to us from our history books. We felt the twinge of disappointment that is inevitable when we descend from the historic imagination to the present reality, when we return to sites that had meaning in the past only to find them changed, lost perhaps in the grey smog of our own century. Thomas Wolfe was right: "You can't go home again" to the scenes of your childhood, much less to the sites of significance a hundred years ago.

During the day our attention was properly focused on the sites of our Missouri past, on what it has meant in our history. We were guided in our considerations by the historians whose short presentations are reproduced here. These historians are a new breed. They have had advanced training in several of the great universities of our country. Some of them have published books or articles and have achieved a reputation in the world of scholarship. Not that Latter-day Saints of the past century were devoid of ability; that age saw some competent writing in Church periodicals and some books of merit, and the record improved during the first half of the present century. But never have there been so many Mormon historians as now, so well trained, engaged in such fruitful research. The organization of the Mormon History Association in 1966 marked a new era of profession-

*Dr. Bitton is assistant LDS Church historian and professor of history at the University of Utah. He is a past president of the Mormon History Association.

alism among historians of Mormonism. And our reconsideration of the Missouri period this year was one of the finest fruits of the Association's activities.

What anguish the name of Missouri must have provoked in the souls of our people in the 1830s and 1840s—and for several decades afterwards, and for some of us still! On the one hand, it was Zion, the gathering place of God's elect, destined to be another city of Enoch, a place where the faithful could gather, singing songs of everlasting joy. On the other hand, it was a place of contention, of taunts and jeers, of threats and violence, of repeated flights and constant fear.

Perhaps it is appropriate to remind ourselves of the sterling human qualities that helped the Saints, or at least most of them, to come through their time of troubles with their faith still strong. For one thing, they were buoyed up by a loyalty to Joseph the Prophet that we will misunderstand unless we think of it in intensely personal terms. The Church was still small. The people knew each other. They knew the Prophet, heard him speak, and shared many small experiences that bound their souls together with bonds of steel. In a day when we have become large and bureaucratized, when (as Alvin Toffler has reminded us) personal friendships can be maintained only against enormous practical obstacles, it is encouraging to recall a time when the Saints, a few hundred and then a few thousand in number, could still easily think of themselves as a community of believers, or a little flock, or a family.

If such personal ties provided strength, it is also refreshing to discover that persecution and exile did not extinguish a sense of humor. One brief glimpse is provided in the reminiscences of Orange Wight (son of Lyman), who heard his father describe the escape of the Prophet and others from the Missouri jails and their successful flight to the safety of Illinois.

> They all changed their names and started out as land seekers, men from the East hunting homes. They left the main road and traveled through the sparsely settled country on by-roads and at times without a road. . . .
>
> Now with all their trouble they at times had some amusements. . . . They came to a ranch in an out-of-the-way place and stopped for the night. [They] told their names (fictitious ones). The next morning they were look-

> ing about and walking around, all but Bro McRay,[1] who was in the house. The proprieter came in and was talking with Bro McRay and asked his name, said he had forgotten it. And Bro McRay had also forgotten it—and it had the effect to cause Bro McRay to take a terrible cramp in his stomach; it came near throwing him into spasms.
>
> The man ran out where some of the other brethren were and told them that their friend was sick. They went in and said, "Mr. Brown, what is the matter with you? What have you been eating?" That relieved Mr. Brown to such an extent that he began to get better right away. In the meantime the proprieter had brought in a jug of whisky from somewhere and recommended Mr Brown to take a glass of whisky . . . He done so. And the others, those that were disposed that way (which were nearly all), took some for fear the disease was contagious.
>
> After they got to our house in Quincy and we had beer or any stimulant of any kind to drink, they would recommend to "Give Bro McRay some first. He has the cramp and can't tell his name."

Such comic relief undoubtedly helped to make bearable what otherwise would have been a series of crushing trials and disappointments.

As for the deeper causes of our unhappy experience in Missouri, it is no defense of the outrageous behavior of many of the old settlers to say that some of the Mormons were insufferable in their smug certainty that the land would be theirs. But in the interest of balance we do need to remind ourselves that the phenomenon of "block busting," as we call it now—the incursion of new elements into old settled areas—almost inevitably provokes opposition, especially if there is any indication of group action and bloc voting.

Recently I came across a version of General Samuel Lucas's speech to the assembled Saints. As recorded in the journal of Jesse W. Johnstun, the General's words went something like this:

> Gentlemen, you have the appearance of being smart and intelligent men. You see the trouble and difficulty you have brought upon you[rselves] by gathering together in large bodies. You had better disperse through the country and live as other denominations do, and [then] you can live in this country as well as any other citizens.

What he was urging, of course, was not consistent with the

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[1]Alexander McRae (1807-1891).

Mormons' self-image and, more important, their conception of space and time. In short, he was expecting people living in an eschatological frame of reference to live like ordinary people —meaning those of the great majority who assume that life will go on pretty much as it has always done. He was expecting the citizens of the New Jerusalem to settle down comfortably in Babylon.

Perhaps such a compromise can never be achieved; perhaps it should not be sought. But I am reminded of some words the Prophet Joseph Smith delivered in 1843, words that betray no haughty sense of exclusiveness:

> Sectarian priests cry out concerning me, and ask, "Why is it this babbler gains so many followers, and retains them?" I answer, It is because I possess the principle of love. . . .
>
> The inquiry is frequently made of me, "Wherein do you *differ from others in your religious views?*" In reality and essence we do not differ so far in our religious views, but that we could all drink into one principle of love. One of the grand fundamental truths of "Mormonism" is to receive truth, let it come from whence it may.
>
> . . . .Christians should cease wrangling and contending with each other, and cultivate the principles of union and friendship in their midst; and they will do it before the millennium can be ushered in and Christ takes possession of his kingdom.

These words push my mind in two directions. First, I think of the conflict that seemed always to arise between the Saints and their neighbors—in Kirtland, in Missouri, and in Nauvoo. Somehow the Saints did not succeed in conveying the love and good will that the Prophet expounded. Was it a failure of communication? Did they allow their zeal for the restored gospel to carry them away, expressing its message without tempering love and compassion, hitting their gentile neighbors with a verbal club that aroused many from their dogmatic slumber, to be sure, but at the same time creating resentful enemies who nursed a grudge and looked for the first opportunity to get even? Perhaps the Saints were not given the chance to do otherwise, but we cannot help but wonder what might have been.

Then, too, my mind is pushed by the Prophet's words into 1972. We live in a fascinating period of Christian history, a

period largely informed, at least until recently, by the ecumenical spirit. Christians have been trying to emphasize their agreements and deemphasize their differences. In different ways they have been inspired by the old irenic ideal, "Unity in essentials, liberty in non-essentials, charity in all." And in a modest way, it seems to me, this has been one of the finest by-products of the activities of the Mormon History Association. I refer to the spirit of friendship and cooperation between some of us in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and some fine people in the Reorganized Church. We are discovering the relevance of the Prophet's words not only to our troubled history but also to our challenging present: "Christians should cease wrangling and contending with each other, and cultivate the principles of union and friendship in their midst." And again: "In reality and essence we do not differ so far in our religious views, but that we could all drink into one principle of love."

Independence, Missouri, and the Mormons, 1827-1833

T. Edgar Lyon*

Money! Money! Money! Wordsworth wrote: "The world is too much with us; late and soon, getting and spending, we lay waste our powers." Yet without the quest for money there would not have been an Independence, Missouri. Two economic factors were the primary cause of Independence coming into existence where and when it did.

The first of these was the Santa Fe trade. In the early 1800s pack trains moved westward from a number of starting points in Missouri and Texas to Spanish Santa Fe. An 1824 trader's inventory indicated it was a flourishing market for

> Cotton goods consisting of coarse and fine cambrics, calicoes, domestic shawls, handkerchiefs, steam-loomed shirtings and cotton hose; a few woolen goods consisting of super blues, stroudings, pelisse cloth and shawls, crepes, bombazettes; some light articles of cutlery, a silk shawl, and looking glasses. . . .[1]

Spanish authorities levied high taxes on the American traders and at times imprisoned or fined them for illegal entry into the Spanish domains. But the traders came back to the United States with items of trade which more than offset the risks and inconveniences of the ventures. They re-

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*Dr. Lyon, a longtime student of Church history, gives us some new insights into the events and the times in Independence, Missouri, in 1833. He is associate director of the LDS Institute of Religion at the University of Utah as well as research historian of Nauvoo Restoration, Inc., and a member of the editorial board of *BYU Studies*.

[1]E. G. Violette, *A History of Missouri* (New York, 1918), p. 196.

turned with droves of jacks and jennets, horses and mules, but more important, gold and silver coins, and bullion. The United States at that time was a marginal producer of precious metals needed for its economy, and gold and silver were always in short supply. The Santa Fe trade tapped a seemingly endless source of these commodities.

The monetary unit of the Spanish domains was a *real,* a silver coin about the size of an American five-cent piece, equivalent to twelve-and-a-half cents in American money. For trade purposes, first between European nations and then extended to the Americas, Spain had minted a large silver *eight real* piece. The American dollar was the same size and value. When American trade with the Spanish colonies in the western hemisphere was opened, their "dollars" became interchangeable. Particularly after the Mississippi export trade in lumber, grain, livestock, and furs reached the Spanish possessions, there was a return flow of Spanish specie to the United States.

Due to the continued shortage of subsidiary coins minted by the government, ingenious Americans commenced making their own from the Spanish dollars. In blacksmith and machine shops, on farms and in houses, the Spanish pieces of eight were cut in half. Americans gave the Spanish *reals* the nickname of "bits" so that a half of the Spanish dollar, as it was called, was worth four bits; these, when cut in half, were dubbed two-bit pieces worth twenty-five cents; in turn, when halved, they became one-bit pieces worth twelve-and-a-half cents; these, when cut in two, provided a coin worth six-and-a-quarter cents known as a pickayune.[2] These mutilated segments of Spanish pieces of eight were common coins in portions of western America during the first half of the nineteenth century. The Spanish trade was responsible for much of this coin supply in Missouri and adjoining states and territories.

THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION (1820-1821) AND THE SANTA FE TRADE

After Mexico had ended Spanish rule and established itself as a republic, its customs officials became more lenient than their Spanish predecessors had been toward trade with

[2]Violette, pp. 141-42.

the United States. Although taxes were levied on the trade and license fees were required, they were lower than those formerly required, and it became easier and more profitable to engage in the Santa Fe trade. In 1821 a resident of Franklin, Missouri, William Becknell by name, embarked on an enterprise which has caused Missouri historians to designate him as "The Father of the Santa Fe Trade." On 1 September 1821 a group of men whom he had organized for a Santa Fe trading venture started with a few wagons and pack animals. On 30 January 1822 he was back at Franklin with a rich store of gold and silver. One man who had invested $60.00 in trade goods received $900.00 from his investment—a return profit of 1500 percent in five months.

Such earnings spurred others to try their luck at the alluring trade. Becknell, with many recruits, led a second trading expedition later in the same year. Through his previous experience he was able to shorten the route, and using mostly wagons on this second journey he returned with a large amount of precious metals.

During 1822 a Mr. Marmaduke also left Missouri with twenty-one loaded wagons accompanied by a party of eighty-one people. Leaving in May, the party was back in Franklin County four months later with $180,000.00 in gold and silver and $10,000.00 in furs.

From that time onward for more than two decades the Santa Fe trade was a glamorous adventure—quick fortunes—unless one were killed by the Indians (as happened to Jedediah S. Smith) or died of thirst on the Cimmaron Desert. It was a challenging journey into a foreign country with a different language and culture. It has been estimated that this trade brought to the United States upwards of $3,000,000.00 between 1827 and 1843.[3] In 1845 the Santa Fe traders returned to Missouri with $1,000,000.00 in gold, silver, and woolen blankets, in addition to droves of horses, mules, jacks, and jennets, the latter playing an important part in establishing the famous Missouri mule industry.[4] Returns were often 200 percent to 300 percent on the investment made for goods each trip, but later, as the market was somewhat satisfied, the profits

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[3]Violette, p. 196.

[4]E. C. McReynolds, *Missouri: A History of the Crossroads State* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1954), p. 99.

lowered but continued to vary between 20 percent and 100 percent on a four-to-five-month journey.

THE MOUNTAIN FUR TRADE

At identically the same time the Santa Fe trade was growing, the second economic factor contributing to the growth of Independence was developing. It was the Missouri and Rocky Mountain fur trade. While not bringing to the United States the much needed gold and silver as was the case with the Spanish-American trade, still its monetary value was about equal. In 1806 when Lewis and Clark returned from their overland exploration to the Pacific, they reported meeting eleven bands of fur traders and trappers on the Missouri. In 1808 the Missouri Fur Company was organized. In 1822 William Ashley and Andrew Henry established an effective system of trapping and trading which soon became the Rocky Mountain Fur Company. The American and the Pacific Fur Companies were soon added to these organizations, and cargoes of furs and buffalo hides were shipped annually down the waterways coming from the mountains. John Dougherty estimated the value of furs brought to St. Louis between 1815 and 1839 as

Beaver skins	$1,500,000.00
Buffalo hides	1,170,000.00
Otter, deer, mink, muskrat, etc.	1,080,000.00
Total	$3,750,000.00[5]

THE FOUNDING OF INDEPENDENCE, MISSOURI

Perhaps the most pressing problems which both the Santa Fe trade and the fur traders faced was getting their trade goods as far westward as possible by water transportation and getting the results of their efforts to the Mississippi Valley markets where they could realize a profit on these goods. As a result, towns grew up along the Missouri, ever pressing westward as shallower draft boats were developed to navigate the river.

In 1827, just six years following Becknell's first Santa Fe trading experiment, a site was selected near the western border

[5]McReynolds, p. 115. McReynolds states that Ashley, Henry, Smith, Jackson and the Sublettes, over a period of a dozen years, brought furs to St. Louis valued at $500,000.00 a year.

of the state of Missouri which steamboats could reach and where it was thought a permanent landing could be established. It was in the county of Jackson (much larger than the present county of that name) that a site was surveyed and named Independence. Soon a number of merchants settled there to supply goods to the traders and farmers moving into the area. A one-story log courthouse was constructed and the town commenced to grow. The volume of trade, however, surpassed many larger towns farther downstream, and its potential for growth appeared to be unlimited.

THE COMING OF THE MORMONS

In the fourth year of Independence's existence—during the early months of 1831—four men representing a new religious group appeared on the ungraded, ungraveled streets of the thriving frontier town. They were missionaries sent by Joseph Smith, prophet and president of the recently restored church of Christ, to preach the gospel and bring the message of the Book of Mormon to Indians beyond the frontier of America. They had also been authorized to locate a favorable place for the members of their rapidly growing church to settle. The physical features and potential agricultural wealth of Jackson County appealed to them. Oliver Cowdery composed a letter, dated "May 7, 1831, Kaw Township, Jackson County, Missouri," which one of the missionaries soon hurried eastward to Kirtland, Ohio, to deliver to Joseph Smith. In it Cowdery gave promising reports of the agricultural prospects of Jackson County, but made an adverse evaluation of the inhabitants:

> The letter we received from you informed us that the opposition was great against you. Now, our beloved brethren, we verily believe that we also can rejoice that we are counted worthy to suffer shame for His name; for almost the whole country, consisting of Universalists, Atheists, Deists, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, and other professed Christians, priests and people; with all the devils from the infernal pit are united, and foaming out their own shame [against us]. God forbid that I should bring a railing accusation against them, for vengeance belongeth to Him who is able to repay; and herein, brethren, we confide. . . .
>
> We are well, bless the Lord; and preach the Gospel we

> will, if earth and hell oppose our way—for we dwell in the midst of scorpions. . . . Amen.[6]

In August 1831 Joseph Smith and other leading churchmen visited Independence where they participated in dedicating the land for the gathering of the Saints and ceremonially commenced building the first house in Kaw Township, a few miles west of Independence. They also dedicated a site upon which temples were to be erected. Soon hundreds of Saints settled in Jackson County, mostly on farms outside of Independence. They undertook to live a revealed form of religious communitarianism, referred to by them as *consecration* and *stewardship.* A mercantile firm was established to supply their needs and serve as the institution to dispose of the surplus commodities produced by the group. At Independence a printing shop was established to print a religious periodical for the Mormons. It was also to produce text books for the free school which the community had established.

Less than two full years after the first Mormon settlers had arrived in Jackson County and commenced building their houses, fencing their lands, and tilling the soil, friction developed between the Mormon newcomers and the old settlers. Some of Oliver Cowdery's forebodings were becoming realities. The quick profits from the Santa Fe trade had lured many venturesome souls to Jackson County. Here was the last town westward one would encounter before reaching the Indian territory; thus Jackson County was a rendezvous for fugitives from justice in the states farther east. These people, as well as the business interests, public officials, farmers, and a few semi-professional preachers of the various Christian sects, were agreed that the Mormons were bringing a blight on the county. Three years earlier, a missionary of the American Home Missionary Society, sent to Jackson County to proselyte for the Presbyterian and Congregational faiths, had sent a letter to the national office describing the conditions and people he found in the county:

> I take my pen in hand to improve the opportunity to report my peregrinations since I last wrote. Please be informed, that, according to mission Board instructions, I have penetrated many miles of wilderness and after many

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[6]Joseph Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,* ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols. (Salt Lake City, 1949), 1:182-83.

privations and suffering physical discomforts due to the variable inclemency of the weather, have at last reached the western border of our nation. What I have found here is anything but encouraging. The prospects for our evangelical work appear less likely here than any place I have seen in my westward journeyings. Such a godless place, filled with so many profane swearers, would be difficult to imagine. The majority of the people make a mild profession of Christian religion, but it is mere words, not manifested in Christian living.

There are a few so-called ministers of the Gospel hereabouts, but they are a sad lot of churchmen, untrained, uncouth, given to imbibing spiritous liquors, and indulging, as participants, in the gambling which accompanies horse-racing, and cock fighting.

There are many suspicious characters who headquarter here, but when intelligence arrives that a federal marshall is approaching this county, there is a hurried scurrying of many of this element to the Indian territory on the west side of the Missouri. As soon as the marshall returns down stream, this element is back in the saloons and other centers of sin. In this town, one soon learns not to make inquiry concerning the names nor home towns of this class of men. Apparently they are hiding something of their past of which they are not proud, and are also afraid of detection.

Christian Sabbath observance here appears to be unknown. It is a day for merchandising, jollity, drinking, gambling, and general anti-Christian conduct.

When the Santa Fe wagon trains return here, or pass through on their way eastward, there is a multiplication of sin beyond the usual amount. There appears to be an over abundance of females here practicing the world's oldest profession. . . .

Gouging and more serious forms of violence are common. The sheriff has little support from the populace, except to prevent burglars breaking into the merchants' shops. He confided to me that the citizens do not care to have the lawless punished. . . .[7]

This protestant missionary's description indicates conditions which could become volatile if something ignited the tinder of dissatisfaction.

A revelation received by Joseph Smith at Independence on 7 August 1831 established a standard of conduct for the

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[7]Excerpted from the original in the files of the American Home Missionary Society in the Hammond Library archives of the Chicago Theological Seminary, Missouri File.

Saints who were gathering there. It outlined principles which required a strict Christian type of Sabbath observance characteristic of New England. Besides being commanded to attend church services, the Saints were enjoined to refrain from all work and to eat but the simplest of Sunday dinners, most of which could be prepared the previous day. The revelation indicated that the Saints should not mingle in the social and business activities which characterized the Sabbath practices of the old settlers of Jackson County (D&C 59).

SOURCES OF CONFLICT

In July 1833 the tension manifested itself in public meetings, accusations, and then violence toward the Saints. The consensus of the old settlers was stated in five areas which they envisioned as the cause of conflict: (1) The Mormon people had a peculiar religion, which made them stand aloof from all other people in the county, as they did not participate in the contemporary community life. There was practically no social intercourse with them, hence there would be no leveling of their peculiarities through intermarriage or longer association together. (2) The Saints were accused of interfering with the settlers' black slaves, making them discontented by preaching a strange gospel to them. (3) the cultural mores of the Saints were not in harmony with those of the earlier inhabitants of the county, which were essentially Yankee in origin. The old settlers were mostly of southern backgrounds, with their roots in the slave culture. (4) The Mormons presented a political threat to the old settlers. Already 1200 of the 3500 inhabitants of the county were adherents of the new religion. More continued to arrive each month and it was openly boasted that thousands more were coming to settle in the county. By simple arithmetic a few hundred additional Mormons could have wrested political control from those who had established the city and county. (5) Economically the Mormons were a detriment to the city and county. They did not purchase goods from the local merchants, as they had no money, but traded among themselves at the Church storehouse. It was likely that this condition would continue to worsen as more Saints settled there. Some of the old settlers were selling their property to the Mormons

and moving away. This meant fewer and fewer customers in the stores, and future financial ruin.

Business conditions were deteriorating. In the spring of 1833, about two months before the friction developed into open conflict, the turbulent waters of the flooding Missouri destroyed the excellent Independence landing and shifted the channel of the river away from Independence. Farther upstream, a new town, Westport, was established, where a better landing was located. This city soon took over much of the Santa Fe trade and the fur trade. The business stagnation caused by this act of nature was blamed on the Mormons.

In July a meeting at Independence, attended by about five hundred Missourians, drew up these demands: (1) No additional Mormons were to settle in Jackson County. (2) Those then resident in the county were to sell their property as soon as they could and leave the vicinity. (3) The periodical, *The Evening and the Morning Star,* must cease publication. (4) All Mormon shops and the storehouse were to close as soon as possible.

The meeting then adjourned and the leaders presented their demands to the Mormon officials who refused to give an immediate answer, asking for time to study the impact of the proposals and to consider the problem of the large tracts of land which they had purchased. Angered by this refusal, the mob then wrecked the printing shop and threw the press in the river. Attempts were made by the Saints to sell, but with little success. Finally, on 23 July 1833, the Mormon leaders signed an agreement that half the Saints would leave by 1 January following and the remainder by 1 April 1834.

As this article had been made under duress, the Church leaders decided to appeal to Governor Dunklin, asking that the state protect them in their property and lives. In reply, Governor Dunklin suggested that the Saints employ lawyers and seek redress through the courts. Accordingly they hired lawyers, of whom Doniphan and Atchison were the most capable. Believing they had the support of the Governor, because of the sympathetic suggestions given in his letter, the Saints announced on 20 October 1833 their intention to remain and defend themselves while awaiting the outcome of court proceedings which had been instituted. Eleven days later the old settlers and many rowdies who had joined them

attacked the Mormon settlement on the Big Blue, located a short distance from Independence. There they unroofed twelve houses, whipped men, and threatened women and children. The next day houses in Independence were stoned. A few days later a mob attacked other settlements and by November sixth and seventh the ferries were crowded with fleeing Saints seeking refuge in Clay County to the north.

> For two days, November 6 and 7, 1833, the ferries were crowded with fleeing refugees, most of whom were in dire distress. . . . Husbands were inquiring for their wives and women for their husbands, parents for children and children for parents. Some had the good fortune to escape with their family, household goods, and some provisions; while others knew not the fate of their friends and had lost all of their goods. The scene was indescribable. . . . By the close of the year not a Mormon was left in the county.[8]

[8]Violette, pp. 214-15.

Church Leaders in Liberty Jail*

LEONARD J. ARRINGTON**

THE EXPERIENCE

When war between the Latter-day Saints and "the Missouri mob" seemed inevitable in October 1838, five Church officials approached the camp of General Samuel D. Lucas, commander of the Missouri Militia, under a flag of truce to negotiate a settlement. The five were Joseph Smith, President of the Church; Sidney Rigdon, member of the First Presidency; Parley P. Pratt, member of the Council of Twelve Apostles; Lyman Wight, later a member of the Council of Twelve Apostles; and George W. Robinson, general Church recorder and clerk to the First Presidency. General Lucas, instead of discussing the conflict, took the occasion to place the five leaders in jail.[1] The next morning Hyrum Smith, brother of the Prophet, and Amasa Lyman, a member of the Council of Twelve, were imprisoned with them. The seven men were then sentenced by a secret court to death by a firing squad, but Alexander Doniphan, the militia officer charged with executing them, refused to do so and the prisoners were taken to Jackson County, Missouri, to await further

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*Much of this report is based upon an article by Dean Jessee, "Experiences of Mormon Leaders in the Jails of Missouri, 1838-1839," forthcoming in *The Missouri Historical Review*.

**Dr. Arrington is LDS Church Historian and holds the Redd Chair of Western History at Brigham Young University.

[1]Note the status of judicial rights in the 1830s. Little attention was paid to the rights of the accused, and there was seldom opportunity for habeas corpus proceedings. If one was regarded as a troublemaker, officers simply threw him behind bars. Few officers would have given any thought to prompting a prisoner on his constitutional rights.

orders. After four days in Independence the prisoners were then conducted to Richmond, Missouri, to await trial.

At the end of the Court of Inquiry in Richmond in late November of 1838, Joseph Smith and five others were sent to the jail at Liberty, Missouri, to await further trial. The five with the Prophet were Sidney Rigdon; Lyman Wight; Hyrum Smith; Alexander McRae, a large thirty-one-year-old captain of the Missouri Militia who had been active in the defense of the Saints; and Caleb Baldwin, a veteran of the War of 1812, who at forty-seven was the oldest of the prisoners.

The jail in which the group was imprisoned on 1 December 1838 was a twenty-two-foot square structure facing east. A small door led into the prison which was divided on the inside into an upper room and a lower room or "dungeon" which was lighted by two small windows grated with heavy iron bars. Each floor was about six feet high. The building was constructed of limestone rock. Inside the outer wall was another wall of hewn oak logs separated from the limestone by a twelve-inch space filled with loose rock. Thus, the two walls made a formidable structure with walls four feet thick.

The Prophet and his companions were incarcerated in this building for four-and-a-half months, during which time they were permitted visits by members of their families and friends and had the opportunity of writing and receiving letters. On two occasions the prisoners made an effort to escape. The first attempt, on 8 February 1839, was aborted when the planned seizure of the guard who brought the evening meal was complicated by the simultaneous arrival of six Latter-day Saint men intent upon visiting the prisoners. The second attempt, on 3 March, involved boring through the jail wall by means of augers. The necessity of applying for the outside help of a friend at the last minute led to suspicions, investigations, and ultimately to discovery.

The prison fare was described in letters of the prisoners as being "so filthy we could not eat it until we were driven to it by hunger." Yet, in this cell the Prophet wrote some of his most eloquent letters. And he and Sidney Rigdon received a revelation which is one of the most sublime in Mormon literature.

Early in April the judge, fearing their escape, ordered their removal to Daviess County, Missouri, for trial. Prior to their departure Joseph wrote his wife Emma:

> It is I believe now about five months and six days since I have been under the grimace of a guard night and day, and within the walls, grates, and screaking iron doors of a lonesome, dark, dirty prison. . . . This night we expect is the last night we shall try our weary joints and bones on our dirty straw couches in these walls. We lean on the arm of Jehovah and none else for our deliverance. . . . Thank God we shall never cast a lingering wish after liberty in Clay County, Missouri. We have enough of it to last forever.
>
> I think of you and the children continually. . . . I want to see little Frederick, Joseph, Julia, and Alexander, Joanna and old Major [their horse] . . . . I want you should not let those little fellows forget me. Tell them Father loves them with a perfect love and he is doing all he can to get away from the mob to come to them. Do teach them all you can, that they may have good minds. Be tender and kind to them. Don't be fractious to them, but listen to their wants. Tell them Father says they must be good children and mind their mother. My dear Emma there is great responsibility resting upon you in preserving yourself in honor and sobriety before them and teaching them right things to form their young and tender minds, that they begin in right paths and not get contaminated when young by seeing ungodly examples.[2]

The prisoners stepped out of Liberty Jail on 6 April 1839 and arrived two days later at Gallatin, where their trial commenced. On 9 April the jury brought in a bill for "murder, treason, burglary, arson, larceny, theft, and stealing," but the prisoners secured a change of venue. As they were traveling to the new location at Boone County, they were invited by the sheriff to escape while the judge and guards slept. This the prisoners did, and after "much fatigue and hunger" they reached their friends and well-wishers in Quincy, Illinois, on 22 April 1839.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE EXPERIENCE

The Missouri imprisonment of Joseph Smith and his associates, unjust and insufferable as it was, is particularly important

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[2]Joseph Smith to Emma Smith, 4 April 1839, Yale University. (Punctuation supplied and spelling corrected.)

for the Church because of the opportunity it offered the Prophet for personal evaluation and organizational planning. The staunch loyalty and close personal attachment of his followers insured that the jail experience did not remove the Prophet from the active direction of the Church. There was no tendency to forget him or go on without him.

The Liberty Jail experience also gave the Prophet time for prayer and contemplation. A perusal of Joseph's journal suggests how very busy he must have been—traveling from one appointment to another, meeting innumerable converts, spending time with curious visitors, counseling members, organizing branches, and directing the affairs of the Church. The Prophet enjoyed people and was always with them, whether at home, at his office, or traveling. Add to this the vexatious lawsuits, the treachery and disloyalty of trusted associates, and the frequent forced removals, and it becomes evident that the Prophet seldom found time for relaxation and study. Biblical prophets were wont to go into the wilderness for periods of meditation and communion. Whenever possible, Joseph took advantage of moments of solitude to meditate and reflect in whatever "wilderness" was available to him. For example, in 1832, when the buggy in which they were riding rolled over, breaking the leg of Joseph's companion, Newel K. Whitney, the Prophet was forced to stay in Greenville, Illinois, several weeks. At that time he confided to his wife, "I have visited a grove which is just back of the town almost every day where I can be secluded from the eyes of any mortal and there give vent to all the feelings of my heart in meditation and prayer."[3]

Do we dare regard Liberty Jail as another "wilderness" for the Prophet—a haven for contemplation and reflection? With few visitors, and with drab and depressing surroundings, the principal escape for Joseph and his companions during their confinement was into their own minds and hearts. Here the Prophet had uninterrupted time to think out the wider implications of the Latter-day movement. The Liberty Jail experience gave him time to ponder his course, to synthesize ideas, to formulate goals, and to communicate in an unhurried manner with the Lord. The literature which comes out of the

[3]Joseph Smith to Emma Smith, 6 June 1832, Chicago Historical Society, Chicago, Illinois. The complete letter is reproduced in *BYU Studies* 11 (Summer 1971):517-23.

Missouri imprisonment—the revelations, letters, diary entries—is magnificent, exalting, and eloquent. Here is found sublime poetry and evidence of that mystical communion which made Joseph Smith a Prophet.

The prison experience of these men had a profound effect on their subsequent lives. Consider the following examples: The writings of Parley P. Pratt during his confinement include a history of his life and imprisonment and many items of poetry. Sidney Rigdon's defense in his own trial before Judge Austin King in January 1839 was so eloquent that an estimated one hundred "Mormon eaters" who had gathered to do him injury "were moved to tears." Upon the conclusion of his defense, the crowd spontaneously raised $100 for his benefit.[4] Lyman Wight, speaking in justification of his colonization efforts in Texas, wrote to Wilford Woodruff in 1857 that "the mission I am now on . . . I received of the prophet of God, and . . . such a mission was even talked of while in jail where I had the advantage of six months teaching and received many things . . . yet unknown to the church. . . . Joseph blessed me many times while in jail and prophesied much on my head and gave me much good instruction which is long to be remembered."[5] While visiting the Prophet in Liberty Jail, George A Smith, a cousin, received his call to the apostleship, and Brigham Young and others received instructions preparatory to organizing the exodus of Saints from Missouri to Illinois.

The Missouri prison experience opens a window into the personality and character of Joseph Smith that is not readily observed from most writings attributed to him. Joseph has been variously portrayed as a deceiver, religious fanatic, businessman, politician, military leader, empire builder, and theologian. The Missouri jail experiences underline his spirituality and tend to substantiate the religious claims of his early years.

Unquestionably, the quality that most of his followers saw in him was his acute sensitivity to the Divine and his tender and affectionate sympathies toward people. His mother said that Joseph was "far more given to meditation and deep

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[4]See F. Mark McKiernan, *The Voice of One Crying in the Wilderness: Sidney Rigdon, Religious Reformer* (Lawrence, Kansas, 1971), pp. 98-99.

[5]Lyman Wight to Wilford Woodruff, 24 August 1857, Historical Department of the Church, Salt Lake City. (Hereafter designated as HDC.)

study" than others of his age.[6] In a blessing bestowed upon him by his father, Joseph was told that "the Lord thy God has called thee by name out of the heavens: thou hast heard his voice from on high from time to time, even in thy youth . . . thou hast sought to know his ways and from thy childhood thou hast meditated much upon the great things of his law."[7] Joseph Lee Robinson observed of the Prophet that there was "a power and majesty that attends his words and preaching that we never beheld in any man before for he is a mighty prophet, a holy man of God."[8] John Bernhisel, who lived in Joseph's home, noted that he was possessed of "a mind of a contemplative and reflective character . . . and as free from dissimulation as any man to be found. But it is in the gentle charities of domestic life, as the tender and affectionate husband and parent, the warm and sympathising friend, that the prominent traits of his character are revealed, and his heart is felt to be keenly alive to the kindest and softest emotions of which human nature is susceptible."[9]

The writings produced by Joseph Smith during his Missouri confinement contain unforgettable literary images and furnish dramatic evidence of the sensitive personality—the innate spirituality—of Joseph Smith. They include four letters written in his own hand to his wife, Emma, and a long letter to the Church of 20 March to 25 March 1839, part of which is published as Sections 121, 122, and 123 of the Doctrine and Covenants.

Section 121 begins as a prayer in which the Lord is petitioned to take heed of the oppressions and sufferings of his people and to avenge them of their wrongs. Joseph is told to endure patiently—"thine adversity and thine afflictions shall be but a small moment" (verse 7). The letter also contains the lofty principle that the "rights of the priesthood are inseparably connected with the powers of heaven, and . . . the powers of heaven cannot be controlled nor handled only [except] upon the principles of righteousness" (verse 36).

Section 122 contains consoling words in an hour of despair:

> "If thou art called to pass through tribulation; if thou art in perils among false brethren; if thou art in perils among

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[6]"The History of Lucy Smith, Mother of the Prophet," HDC, pp. 86-87.
[7]"The Book of Patriarchal Blessings, 1834," HDC, p. 3.
[8]Joseph Lee Robinson, "Reminiscence and Diary," HDC, p. 22.
[9]John M. Bernhisel to Thomas Ford, 14 June 1844, HDC.

> robbers; if thou art in perils by land or sea; . . . And if thou shouldst be cast into the pit, or into the hands of murderers, and the sentence of death passed upon thee; if thou be cast into the deep; if the billowing surge conspire against thee; if fierce winds become thine enemy; if the heavens gather blackness, and all the elements combine to hedge up the way; and . . . *if the very jaws of hell shall gape open the mouth* wide after thee, know thou, my son, that all these things shall give thee experience, and shall be for thy good. The Son of Man hath descended below them all" (verses 5, 7-8).

The Liberty Jail imprisonment was a time of testing for Joseph Smith and for the Church. We do well to remember it on this auspicious occasion.

Adam-ondi-Ahman

ROBERT J. MATTHEWS*

The site known today as "Adam-ondi-Ahman" is located at a bend of the Grand River in Daviess County, northern Missouri, about six miles north of the town of Gallatin. The immediate area probably looks pretty much the same today as it did in the early 1830s, although there are a few farm houses nearby and the valley is planted with field corn in the summer. There are no modern super-highways in the vicinity, few inhabitants, and no outward signs of the settlement that once was there.

The writer has visited Adam-ondi-Ahman in every season of the year and has been impressed with its soltitude and quietness. It is a beautiful place with grassy, gently rolling hills partially covered with groves of trees, and bordered on three sides by a flat, level valley a mile or so in width. In the spring and summer the air is filled with the pleasant sounds of birds, squirrels and crickets. It is difficult to imagine a more peaceful, beautiful wilderness area.

EARLIEST MENTION IN THIS DISPENSATION

The earliest record we have of the name *Adam-ondi-Ahman* is a revelation given to the Prophet Joseph Smith in March 1832 at Hiram, Ohio, now known as Doctrine and Covenants, Section 78. Verses 15 and 16 read in part as follows:

> . . . saith the Lord God, the Holy One of Zion, who hath established the foundations of Adam-ondi-Ahman;
>
> Who hath appointed Michael your prince, and established his feet, and set him upon high, and given unto him the keys of salvation under the counsel and direction

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> of the Holy One, who is without beginning of days or end of life.[1]

Adam-ondi-Ahman seems to have had reference at that early date to a general area rather than to a specific spot. If the Prophet Joseph Smith knew at that time (March 1832) of a specific location in Missouri to which the name also applied, he left us no written evidence of it.

A second reference came some thirty-six months later, on 28 March 1835: the "valley of Adam-ondi-Ahman" is specified in a revelation to the Prophet as the place where Adam met with his posterity three years prior to his death.[2] The passage also declares that the Lord appeared to this ancient gathering of patriarchs and high priests as follows:

> Three years previous to the death of Adam, he called Seth, Enos, Cainan, Mahalaleel, Jared, Enoch, and Methuselah, who were all high priests, with the residue of his posterity who were righteous, into the valley of Adam-ondi-Ahman, and there bestowed upon them his last blessing.
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> And the Lord appeared unto them, and they rose up and blessed Adam, and called him Michael, the prince, the archangel.
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> And the Lord administered comfort unto Adam, and said unto him: I have set thee to be at the head; a multitude of nations shall come of thee, and thou art a prince over them forever.
>
> And Adam stood up in the midst of the congregation; and, notwithstanding he was bowed down with age, being full of the Holy Ghost, predicted whatsoever should befall his posterity unto the latest generation.
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> These things were all written in the book of Enoch, and are to be testified of in due time.[3]

Although this revelation, received in Kirtland, Ohio, in 1835, makes a categorical statement of the meeting of Adam with

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[1]For the convenience of the reader, citations are given for both LDS and RLDS (Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints) sources. In the RLDS Doctrine and Covenants (1970 edition) this reference is 77:3e,f (The source cited first is the one from which information is taken directly; the other source is essentially the same, though it may differ somewhat in wording. Hereafter, the Doctrine and Covenants for each will be abbreviated D&C.)

[2]LDS D&C 107:53-55; RLDS D&C 104:28a,b,c.

[3]Leaders of the RLDS church have explicitly stated that they do not necessarily regard northern Missouri, or anywhere on the North American continent, as the geographical location in which Adam lived upon the earth. They do not, however, deny the possibility, but declare that they take no stand on the matter due to lack of evidence. See a signed article by Joseph Smith III, *Saints Herald* 51 (1904):827. Also see articles by other prominent RLDS authors, *Saints Herald* 96 (1949):569; 102 (1955):669; 110 (1963):18, 752.

his posterity in the valley of Adam-ondi-Ahman, it makes no reference to Missouri, or to the particular location of "the valley."

The hymn, "Our Earth Was Once a Garden Place," which was written by W. W. Phelps in 1832 or 1833, speaks of Adam-ondi-Ahman in language that suggests a large area rather than a localized valley and hill. This hymn was sung at the dedication of the Kirtland Temple on 27 March 1836. Likewise, the literature of the Church in the early 1830s seems to use the name *Adam-ondi-Ahman* to refer to a large area.[4]

However, in May 1838, the Prophet Joseph visited an area in northern Missouri where Lyman Wight and a few others had built their homes. This was about twenty-five miles northeast of Far West. The brethren had called the place "Spring Hill," but the Prophet is credited with identifying the area at that time as "the place where Adam shall come to visit his people, or the Ancient of Days shall sit, as spoken of by Daniel the prophet."[5] Since this valley is designated as the place where Adam shall again visit his people, and is specifically named *Adam-ondi-Ahman,* it is thus understood to be the valley of the same name in which Adam blessed his posterity three years before his death, as already mentioned.[6] The Prophet Joseph is also reported to have taught that the re-

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[4]See Bruce R. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1966), pp. 19-21.

[5]LDS D&C 116:1. This item is not found in the RLDS D&C, but is presented in the church's official publication, *The History of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints* (Independence, Mo.: Herald House, 1967), 2:153-54, as quoted from the *Millenial Star,* 16 (1854):152-53. (Hereafter, this reference is cited as *RLDS History.*)

[6]The present article postulates that the multiple meanings of *Adam-ondi-Ahman* were made known gradually in this dispensation. The writer is aware that in the 1938 compilation called *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith,* page 38, there is an account of a blessing given by the Prophet to his father, dated 18 December 1833, in which mention is made of Adam gathering his posterity in the valley of Adam-ondi-Ahman three years previous to his (Adam's) death. This is given in the exact phraseology as the passage in LDS D&C 107:53-55. If this published account in the *Teachings* is correct, then it is certain that the Prophet knew of this event at least 16 months before it occurs in LDS D&C 107, dated March 1835.

However, the source for the quotation in *Teachings* is not clear. It is given as the *"Manuscript History of the Church,"* but the Manuscript History in the Library of the Historical Department of the LDS Church in Salt Lake City does not contain the passage under consideration. An account of the blessing was also printed in the *Times and Seasons,* 6:947-48, but this publication does not contain the information in question. It is possible that the account in the *Teachings* is an edited version containing information that was not actually given at the time of the 1833 blessing.

mains of an altar, used by Adam, were in this vicinity, as will be noted later.

Thus the term *Adam-ondi-Ahman* has been used to denote a relatively large geographical area of northern Missouri and also a particular valley and hill in that area.

MEANING OF THE NAME

There are somewhat varied interpretations of the term *Adam-ondi-Ahman.* Likewise, there is variety in the legends and traditions that have developed about the area.

Adam-ondi-Ahman is interpreted by one to mean "the Valley of God,"[7] by another as "Adam's consecrated Land,"[8] and by another, "Adam's grave."[9]

Elder Orson Pratt preserved a bit of information for us in one of his discourses delivered in Salt Lake City on 18 February 1855:

> There is one revelation that this people are not generally acquainted with. I think it has never been published, but probably it will be in the Church History. It is given in questions and answers. The first question is, "What is the name of God in the pure language?" The answer says, "Ahman." "What is the name of the Son of God?" Answer, "Son Ahman—the greatest of all the parts of God excepting Ahman." "What is the name of men?" "Sons Ahman," is the answer.[10]

Although Elder Pratt did not use the term *Adam-ondi-Ahman,* his discussion of the word *Ahman* is interesting.

Elder Alvin R. Dyer, who has amassed a great deal of information in his study of the history and significance of Adam-ondi-Ahman, interprets the name in relation to the priesthood and revelatory experiences of Adam in being the first man to hold the spiritual blessings of the gospel:

> The very word itself speaks of the manner in which Adam has received the "Keys of Salvation" under the coun-

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[7]Orson Pratt in *Journal of Discourses,* 26 vols. (London: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1855-86), 16:48.

[8]Public Signboard of the Missouri State Historical Society on the courthouse square, Gallatin, Missouri. John Corrill, *A Brief History of the Church of Christ of Latter Day Saints* (St. Louis, 11 February 1839), page 28, identifies the term as meaning "Valley of God in which Adam blessed his Children."

[9]Heman C. Smith, ed. *Journal of History* [RLDS], 18 vols. (Independence, Mo.: Herald House), 9:140. Also recorded on a public signboard of the Missouri State Historical Society.

[10]*Journal of Discourses,* 2:342.

sel and direction of the Holy One, who is Jesus Christ the Lord.

The word "Adam" refers directly to Adam. The word "ondi," means nearby or connected with. The word "Ahman" means the Lord himself. Therefore a literal translation of the words "Adam-ondi-Ahman" means The Lord Jesus Christ, through Adam unto mankind.[11]

Elder Dyer also has gathered reports of early brethren and residents of Daviess county which describe Adam-ondi-Ahman as the site of two ancient altars (neither of which is now to be seen) used by Adam. One of these, an "altar of prayer," he locates not far from the Lyman Wight house on Tower Hill. The other, an "altar of sacrifice," is said to have been situated a mile or so away near the top of Spring Hill.[12]

In reading the literature available about the place now called Adam-ondi-Ahman, one finds a difference in the veneration that is held concerning it. The spectrum runs from an acceptance of the place as the very spot on which Adam dwelt to the opposite view that there is nothing particularly significant about the location either anciently, currently, or in the future. Not only do these two extremes have their advocates, but there are gradations in between. As might be expected concerning a site in which so much has been said so closely associated with the patriarch of the human family, several legends have grown up about what has happened and does happen there. Two of these are noted herein. The reader may judge their veracity for himself.

There is a report that a certain mound of rocks marks the spot of Adam's grave. It is on a small spur jutting out from the larger Spring Hill, and is called Tower Hill. The rocks are located under a tree. The story has it that on "certain Friday nights a light can be seen glowing over the rocks, and that upon these occasions Adam himself gets up and walks around."[13]

In 1944 *Pathfinder Magazine* published an article under the caption: "Sold: The Garden of Eden." Included with

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[11]*The Lord Speaketh* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1964), p. 216.

[12]Alvin R. Dyer, *The Refiner's Fire* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1968), pp. 166, 171-72.

[13]Heman C. Smith, 9:140. It should be noted that the RLDS writer was not advocating this legend as authentic; he cited it only as an example of what has been said.

the article was a picture of a large tree, under which was a flat table-like stone labelled "Adam's Council Table."[14] No documentation is given for the statement.

A CITY AND STAKE PLANNED IN 1838-1839

As a result of serious conflicts between the Saints and the old settlers in Jackson County, the state legislature of Missouri established Daviess and Caldwell counties in northern Missouri as places for the Mormons to live. Far West, in Caldwell County, had the greater influx, but many of the Latter-day Saints settled in Daviess county in 1838.

Elder Lyman Wight, who was perhaps the first to build a home at Adam-ondi-Ahman, had arrived there about 1 February 1838. Others came later in the year, and it is estimated that the settlement eventually grew to 200 homes with an additional forty families living in wagons. Building was rapid and several homes were completed every day.[15] There were perhaps 1500 people at Adam-ondi-Ahman in 1838, at its greatest population.

Joseph Smith first came to the present site of Adam-ondi-Ahman on Saturday, 19 May 1838, from Far West, and in the next few weeks made many trips there. Of his first visit to the area he wrote:

> Friday, 18th.—I left Far West, in company with Sidney Rigdon . . . and many others, for the purpose of visiting the north country, and laying off a stake of Zion. . . . We passed a beautiful country of land, a majority of which is prairie (untimbered land), and thickly covered with grass and weeds, among which is plenty of game; such as deer, turkey, hen, elk, etc. . . . We have nothing to fear in camping out, except the rattlesnake, which is natural to this country, though not very numberous.
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> Saturday, 19th. . . . Grand River is a large, beautiful, deep and rapid stream, during the high waters of spring, and will undoubtedly admit of steamboat navigation and other water craft. . . . We pursued our course up the river, mostly in the timber, about eighteen miles, when we arrived at Colonel Lyman Wight's, who lives at the foot of Tower Hill (a name I gave it in consequence of the remains of an Old Nephite altar or tower), where we camped for the Sabbath. In the afternoon I went up the river about half a mile to

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[14]*Pathfinder Magazine,* 31 July 1944.
[15]Dyer, *The Refiner's Fire,* pp. 163, 164.

> Wight's Ferry, . . . for the purpose of selecting and laying claim to a city plat near said ferry in Daviess County, township 60, range 27 and 28, and sections 25, 36, 31, and 30, which the brethren call Spring Hill; but by the mouth of the Lord it was named Adam-ondi-Ahman, because, said he, it is the place where Adam shall come to visit his people, or the Ancient of Days shall sit, as spoken of by Daniel the Prophet.[16]

On 28 June 1838 a conference was held at Adam-ondi-Ahman for the purpose of organizing a stake of Zion. The Prophet Joseph was present, and the meeting was held near the house of Elder Lyman Wight. The Prophet's uncle, John Smith, was called to be the president, with Reynolds Cahoon and Lyman Wight as counsellors. "After singing the well known hymn, Adam-ondi-Ahman ["Our Earth Was Once a Garden Place"], the meeting closed by prayer."[17]

A small compilation containing the legal description of many of the residences and plats at Adam-ondi-Ahman was made by H. G. Sherwood, an early Latter-day Saint living in the area. These descriptions plotted on an aerial photo suggest that most of the residences were located on the long, gentle western and southern slopes of what is known as Spring Hill.[18] Had settlement not been interrupted by persecution, it seems probable that homes would have eventually been erected on all sides, for according to the plan, Spring Hill was to be in the center of the city.[19]

A STOREHOUSE AND A TEMPLE SITE

A red brick storehouse was erected part way up Spring Hill. Although it is grass-covered today and cattle graze there, remains of the bricks can still be found forming a slight rise or knoll on the surface of the ground. At the top of the hill, perhaps a mile from the storehouse, at a spot permitting a view of the surrounding country in every direction, a site was marked out and dedicated for a temple block. Elder Heber C. Kimball, who was present at the dedication, is credited with the following report of this event:

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[16]*RLDS History,* 2:153-54. See also Joseph Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,* ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1948), 3:34-35. (Hereafter cited as *DHC.*)

[17]*DHC,* 3:38-39. See also *RLDS History,* 2:156-57.

[18]This compilation is in the Library of the Historical Department of the LDS Church, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[19]Dyer, *The Refiner's Fire,* p. 164.

> After hearing of the mobbing, burning and robbing in Gallatin, Daviess Co., and the region round about the brethren of Caldwell went directly to Adam-ondi-Ahman, which is on the west fork of Grand River. Thomas B. Marsh, David W. Patten, Brigham Young, myself, Parley P. Pratt and John Taylor amongst the number. When we arrived there we found the Prophet Joseph, Hyrum Smith and Sidney Rigdon, with hundreds of others of the Saints, preparing to defend themselves from the mob who were threatening the destruction of our people. . . .
>
> While there we laid out a city on a high elevated piece of land, and set the stakes for the four corners of a temple block, which was dedicated, Brother Brigham Young being mouth; there were from three to five hundred men present on the occasion, under arms. This elevated spot was probably from two hundred and fifty to five hundred feet above the level of Grand River, so that one could look east, west, north or south, as far as the eye could reach; it was one of the most beautiful places I ever beheld.
>
> The Prophet Joseph called upon Brother Brigham, myself and others, saying, "Brethren, come, go along with me, and I will show you something." He led us a short distance to a place where were the ruins of three altars built of stone, one above the other, and one standing a little back of the other, like unto the pulpits in the Kirtland Temple, representing the order of three grades of Priesthood; "There," said Joseph, "is the place where Adam offered up sacrifice after he was cast out of the garden." The altar stood at the highest point of the bluff.[20]

Although the "temple block" was dedicated, apparently no corner stones were laid, and no temple was built. Persecution soon forced the Saints to flee to Illinois, and thus the settlement had a short existence lasting only a few months, because by November 1838 the Saints were leaving their homes and abandoning Adam-ondi-Ahman.

Perhaps today we have little appreciation for the severity of the times and the difficulties endured by the Church in attempting to establish Zion, but we should contemplate the statement of the Prophet Joseph that the hardships and persecution suffered by the members of the Church in Missouri were as terrible as any that had ever been meted out to the Saints in the annals of history.[21]

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[20]Orson F. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball*, 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City: Stevens and Wallis, 1945), pp. 208-9.

[21]Joseph Fielding Smith, comp., *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1938), p. 126.

ADAM-ONDI-AHMAN TODAY

A walk through the area today reveals little of what once existed at Adam-ondi-Ahman. If one looks for it, he can find the remains of the brick storehouse, a few logs, and the stone foundation of the Lyman Wight house. The writer has also found what he believes to be a few leveled-out places on the hillside where homes were once built.

Little had been done with Adam-ondi-Ahman since 1839 until very recently. As described in the opening paragraph of this article, it is today something of a pleasant wilderness. In 1944 Elder Wilford Wood purchased approximately thirty acres of land at Adam-ondi-Ahman for the Church. This purchase included the site of Tower Hill and the Wight home. Since that time the Church has acquired several hundred acres of land through the industrious and careful stewardship of Elder Alvin R. Dyer. Included in the purchases are parts of the valley, Spring Hill (including the storehouse and temple sites), and surrounding areas.

The U.S. Government has proposed an earthfill dam and a reclamation project on the Grand River, which will no doubt have a tremendous effect on the area in the near future. To be known as the "Pattonsburg Dam," it will be visible from the hill and the valley of Adam-ondi-Ahman and will create a sizeable body of water in the immediate vicinity. Electrical power will be produced and new highways and bridges will be built to give access to the area. The reservoir of water will probably also stimulate a recreation and tourist trade. This will create a different scene for Adam-ondi-Ahman.

The Church will surely meet the challenge of this changing situation by establishing a visitor's center and other modernizations and improvements to the land—and Adam-ondi-Ahman may soon again be a place of activity.

The Election Day Battle at Gallatin

Reed C. Durham, Jr.*

The weather in Daviess County, Missouri, was exceedingly warm in July 1838. It had also been very dry for some time. By the first Monday of August, which was election day, the weather was still warmer, and at the county seat of Daviess County, Gallatin, it was very hot. On that day the heat caused by the emotions and tensions between the Mormons and gentiles in Missouri matched that of the weather and produced a short but fiery episode known as the Election Day Battle at Gallatin. This bloody fight was only portentous of more terribly dark and threatening events in Missouri—indeed, within two months the Mormon armies had burned Gallatin, and in less than three months Governor Boggs had issued the infamous extermination order which caused indescribable sufferings for the Mormon people and ultimately led to the expulsion of all the Saints from the state.

The student who begins to collect historical sources about the Election Day Battle to better understand both the event and its causes quickly learns that there are numerous accounts readily available. In fact, I compiled and reproduced a collection of eighteen separate accounts which were distributed to the participants of the Mormon History Association Conference in Missouri, April 1972.[1] These accounts, arranged as

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[1]Reed C. Durham, Jr., *Various Accounts of the Election-Day Battle at Gallatin, Missouri on August 6, 1839—Arranged in Chronological Order* (Salt Lake City: Salt Lake Institute of Religion, 1971).

much as was possible in chronological order, serve as the basic source of information for this article.

Before reviewing the details of the battle variously referred to in such colorful phrases as the "unhappy affray,"[2] the "unhallowed circumstance,"[3] the "Gallatin scrape,"[4] the "general scuffle,"[5] and the "great knock-down,"[6] a word should be given about the area of Missouri where the conflict took place and the Mormon and gentile migration there.[7]

Gallatin, Missouri, in Daviess County, is situated on the west bank of the Grand River in the northwestern part of Missouri and, according to many reports, this general area of land was very suitable for living and farming. One writer explains the natural advantages of this area as follows:

> There is no county in the State to rank in advance of Daviess for agricultural advantages and grazing. The soil is from one to six feet deep, very rich, and productive—a soil that will not wear out. The formation of the surface of this country displays a natural drainage in its highest perfection. . . . The ascents and descents of the country are not so abrupt as to prevent the tillage of the entire surface of the land. The soil of the Grand River Valley, which runs diagonally through the county from northwest to southeast, is not surpassed by any other county in the Union. This county contains about two-thirds prairie and one-third timber lands; the timber being situated advantageous to the prairie, as if placed by human hands for the convenience of man.[8]

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[2]John Corrill, *A Brief History of the Church of Christ of Latter-day Saints (Commonly Called Mormons)* (St. Louis: printed for the author, 1839), pp. 33-34. Also in Durham.

[3]Hyrum Smith, "Proceedings of Court Testimony—Trial of Joseph Smith—Municipal Court of the City of Nauvoo, Illinois, July 1st, 1843" *Times and Seasons,* 4 (1 July 1843):246. Also in Durham.

[4]John D. Lee and Levi Stewart, dictated manuscript, Journal History (6 August 1838). This manuscript was probably dictated to Thomas Bullock sometime between 1842 and 1845 at Nauvoo, Illinois. Also in Durham.

[5]Joseph Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,* ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1949) 3:56-59 hereafter cited as *HC.* It should be noted that the history for the date of 6 August 1838 was compiled and written in February 1845 by Thomas Bullock. (See Dean C. Jessee, "The Writing of Joseph Smith's History," *BYU Studies* 11 [Summer 1971]:466.) Also in Durham.

[6]Joseph H. McGee, *Story of the Grand River Country 1821-1905—Memoirs of Major Joseph H. McGee* (Gallatin: North Missourian Press, 1909). Also in Durham.

[7]An excellent treatment of this material is found in Leland Gentry, "A History of the Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri From 1836 to 1839" Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1965, pp. 218-32.

[8]*Daviess County, Missouri: Its History, Description, and Resources* (St. Joseph, Missouri: Joseph Steam Printing Co., 1875), p. 1.

Another local resident wrote about this Grand River area:

> Its banks and bottoms are lined with the finest timber available in northern Missouri. . . . tributaries and rivers permeate all parts of the county, furnishing the farmer with a superabundance of water and timber for irrigational purposes. It is a fact long since conceded that there is no county in northern Missouri so well supplied by nature with all the requirements of an agricultural county.[9]

It seems unfortunate that this beautiful country wasn't inhabited by white settlers before 1830. Certainly, a land with a "soil that will not wear out" and which was "so well supplied by nature" with "a superabundance of water" and "one-third timber lands" would seem to have been paradisaic to some of the settlers in the eastern and southern United States. However, the first known white man to have settled in these lands was John Splawn who came in January 1830. Subsequently, other settlers arrived and by the spring of 1832 a permanent settlement was established. The majority of these early pioneers came from the southern states, which fact later intensified the Mormon-gentile conflict in Missouri.

One of the very early pioneers who became influential in the development of Daviess County, and who also played a crucially strategic role in the Election Day Battle, was William Peniston. He migrated from Kentucky with his father's family in 1831, settling on the east bank of the Grand River, a site first known as Peniston Ford. The family established a mill which served the area. By 1836 the mill became the primary nucleus for another town known as Millport. Many other businesses were established at Millport, which made it one of the most important communities in Daviess County. Because of the importance of the town, William Peniston became one of the community's most prominent citizens; and when he later entered into politics he represented most adequately the voice of the true charter citizens of this northern Missouri county.

In 1837 another important settlement was established on the west bank of the Grand River and was named Gallatin after Albert Gallatin, one of the most distinguished statesmen

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[9]Joseph H. McGee, "History of Daviess County, Incidents and Reminiscences in its Early Settlement, etc.," manuscript written for the *North Missourian,* a Gallatin newspaper, Missouri State Historical Library, Columbia, Missouri.

and financiers in United States history.[10] Leland Gentry made this statement about the history of Gallatin:

> Millport was soon rivaled by its neighbor, Gallatin. Settled in 1837, Gallatin was located on the western side of Grand River about three miles from Millport. Following Gallatin's appearance, the two settlements vied with each other for the honor of being the county seat. Since most of the trade came from the west side of the river, the contest was eventually decided in Gallatin's favor. From that point on, Millport gradually faded away.[11]

Because of the natural advantages of the land, because it was sparsely settled, and because they needed to find additional lands for settlement, the Mormons came into Daviess County. By permission of the Missouri Legislature the door was opened for Mormon migration into Caldwell County, northern Missouri. Because of the great numbers of Saints flooding that county, Joseph Smith himself appointed a Stake and an additional gathering place in Daviess County. The very sacred location of Adam-ondi-Ahman was revealed to the Prophet in 1838 and that year saw a rapid influx of Mormons into the county. Lyman Wight, who was the first known Latter-day Saint in Daviess County, and who had purchased property there, part of which was later revealed to be the site of Adam-ondi-Ahman, made this statement about the Mormon migration:

> About June, Joseph Smith, together with many others of the principal men of the Church, came to my house, and taking a view of the large bottom in the bend of the river and the beautiful prairies on the bluffs, came to the conclusion that it would be a handsome situation for a town. We, therefore, commenced surveying and laying off town lots, and locating government lands for many miles north of

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[10]The reasons for naming the town after Albert Gallatin are not known. However, as any biographic reference of famous United States statesmen would reveal, Albert Gallatin (1761-1849) had distinguished himself sufficiently to have a town named after him. He served in both the United States Senate and the House of Representatives. He served as the Secretary of the United States Treasury longer than any other man in United States history. He became the hero of the Whiskey Rebellion in Western Pennsylvania. He was a United States representative and diplomat to Russia, France, Great Britain, and the Netherlands. He became the president of the National Bank of New York (later, the Gallatin Bank). He was one of the first founders and was the first president of the University of the City of New York in 1831. He was the "father of American ethnology," and was one of early America's great students of the American Indians.

[11]Gentry, pp. 220-21.

> this place. This beautiful country with its flattering prospects *drew in floods of emigrants*. I had not less than thirty comers and goers through the day during the three summer months, and up to the last mentioned date (October 30), *there were upwards of two hundred houses* built in this town, and also, about forty families living in their wagons.[12] [Italics added]

His statements about "floods" of emigrants and about "upwards of two hundred houses" built by them takes on tremendous significance when they are contrasted with the fact that Gallatin, the county seat of Daviess County, only a few miles away from the rapidly growing Mormon community of Adam-ondi-Ahman, had only four houses and several saloons in 1838.[13] The contrast when viewed by the original citizens could only stir up some deep emotions.

When election day arrived on Monday, 6 August 1838, the polls were set up in a little frame house, twelve by fourteen feet in size, which stood on the southwest corner of the public square of Gallatin. Major Joseph McGee, one of the senior citizens of Gallatin, and also one of the non-Mormon eyewitnesses of the Election Day Battle, used part of the original house for his tailor shop. Adjacent to the house was a large pile of short oak logs which had been split and were being made into shingles. The only significance of the pile of logs to the event at hand is that the logs became weapons in the hands of several of the participants in the fray. John D. Lee commented on the logs:

> . . . there was a lot of oak timber, which had been brought there to be riven into shakes or shingles, leaving the heart, taken from each shingle-block, lying there on the ground. These hearts were three square, four feet long, weighed about seven pounds, and made a very dangerous, yet handy weapon; and when used by an enraged man they were truly a class of instrument to be dreaded.[14]

As soon as the polls opened, Mormon citizens were there to exercise their political freedom by voting for those men in whom they had most confidence. And the gentiles, mostly

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[12]Rollin J. Britton, *Early Days on the Grand River* (Columbia: Missouri State Historical Society, 1920), pp. 6-7.

[13]Britton, p. 8; "Gallatin was a new town, with about ten houses, three of which were saloons." (John D. Lee, *Mormonism Unveiled* [St. Louis:Bryon, Brand, and Co., 1877], pp. 56-60.) Also in Durham.

[14]Lee, *Mormonism Unveiled,* pp. 56-60. Also in Durham.

of the original settler's stock, were there too. The majority of them were voting for the prominent citizen, William Peniston. Shortly, "the great knockdown between the Mormons and the Missourians" commenced. And as Joseph McGee reported, no knockdown he had ever before witnessed was on "so grand a scale."[15]

It appears that William Peniston started the whole affair. John Corrill wrote:

> William Pennington [sic], a citizen and candidate, on seeing that the Mormons were not going for him, made a flaming speech on election day, in which he said, that the Mormons ought not to be suffered to vote.[16]

Sidney Rigdon's report was as follows:

> In the early part of the day, at the election, Peniston made a speech; the object of which was, to excite the indignation of the people to such a degree, that he could get a sufficient number to join the mob, to keep the saints from voting, if they attempted it. In this speech, he used the most abusive language that he was master of; denouncing the saints in round terms, in a most ridiculous manner. Having his party ready, at the end of the speech, they began to throw threats, that none of the G--d d--n Mormons, to use their own language, should vote. These threatenings began to assume a very serious tone, very soon.[17]

Some of the "abusive language," in "round terms," given in a "most ridiculous manner" which Peniston gave in his talk was recorded by John D. Lee:

> . . . Wm. P. Penniston [sic] was standing on sôme barrels holding a harangue to the people, his topic was "Mormonism." He said the leaders of the Church was a set of horse thieves, liars, counterfeiters, etc. He also said: "You know that they profess to heal the sick, cast out devils, etc. and you all know this is a damn lie," and thus he appealed to the people, adding: "If we suffer such men as those to vote, you will soon lose your suffrage."[18]

Joseph Smith also noted:

> . . . William P. Peniston mounted a barrel, and harangued

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[15]McGee, *Grand River Country*. Also in Durham.
[16]Corrill, pp. 33-34. Also in Durham.
[17]Sidney Rigdon, *An Appeal to the American People: Being an Account of the Persecutions of the Church of Latter Day Saints; and of Barbarities Inflicted on Them by the Inhabitants of the State of Missouri* (Cincinnati: Shepard and Stearns, 1840), pp. 15-17. Also in Durham.
[18]Lee and Stewart. Also in Durham.

> the electors for the purpose of exciting them against the "Mormons," saying, "The Mormon leaders are a set of horse thieves, liars, counterfeiters, and you know they profess to heal the sick, and cast out devils, and you all know that is a lie." He further said that the members of the Church were dupes, and not too good to take a false oath on any common occasion; that they would steal, and he did not consider property safe where they were; that he was opposed to their settling in Daviess county; and if they suffered the "Mormons" to vote, the people would soon lose their suffrage; . . . .[19]

And John L. Butler added more information about the drinking on the occasion:

> . . . Wm. Penniston [sic], one of the candidates, stood upon the head of a whiskey barrel, and made a very inflammatory speech against the saints, stating that he had headed a company to order the "Mormons" off of their farms and possessions, stating at the same time that he did not consider the "Mormons" had any more right to vote than the damned niggers. When he was through, he called on all hands to drink, which they did, for whiskey passed free, and they drank as freely. I at this time retired a little back from the crowd, rather behind the little grocery, near by, where they were voting. I heard the word G-- damn 'em! kill 'em G-- damn 'em![20]

At this point, "feelings became somewhat excited on both sides, though there was but little said, until one of the Mormons and one of the other citizens got into a conversation, in which they gave each other the lie. . . .[21] One angry word brought on another,"[22] until finally:

> . . . a drunken brute by the name of Richard Weldon, stepped up to a little Mormon preacher, by the name of Brown, and said:
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> "Are you a Mormon preacher, sir?"
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> "Yes, sir, I am."
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> "Do you Mormons believe in healing the sick by laying on of hands, speaking in tongues, and casting out devils?"
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> "We do," said Brown.

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[19]*HC,* 3:56-59. Also in Durham.

[20]John L. Butler, manuscript, Journal History (6 August 1838). There are no internal nor external clues for when the account was written. It was most likely placed in the Journal History by Andrew Jenson. Also in Durham.

[21]Corrill, pp. 33-34. Also in Durham.

[22]U.S., Congress, House, "The Petition of the Latter-Day Saints, commonly known as Mormons," *Document No. 22,* 26th Cong., 2d sess., 1840, pp. 5-6. Also in Durham.

> Weldon then said, "You are a d--d liar. Joseph Smith is a d--d imposter."
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> With this, he attacked Brown, and beat him severely. Brown did not resent it, but tried to reason with him; but without effect. At this time a Mormon, by the name of Hyrum Nelson, attempted to pull Weldon off of Brown, when he was struck by half a dozen men on the head, shoulders and face. He was soon forced to the ground. Just then, Riley Stewart struck Weldon across the back of the head with a billet of oak lumber, and broke his skull. Weldon fell nearly on me, and appeared lifeless. The blood flowed freely from the wound. Immediately the fight became general.[23]

The little Mormon preacher, whom John D. Lee identified as a man named Brown, was the first Mormon attacked in the Election Day Battle. Sidney Rigdon told a little more about Brown. He said his name was Samuel Brown, "who was but just able to be about, after a very dangerous fit of sickness."[24] As Richard (Dick) Weldon began to accost Samuel Brown, Brother Brown tried to parry the blows while gradually retreating.[25] And then, as Lee reported, the fight became general; or as Lyman Wight said: "accordingly they commenced operations by fist and skull; this terminated in the loss of some teeth, some flesh, and some blood."[26] McGee's account said it simply: "men dropped on all sides."[27] But in John L. Butler's account, we find the most colorful and complete recording of the "teeth, flesh, and blood":

> . . . I went to where the affray was and saw they had attacked the brethren with sticks, clapboards (or shakes) and anything they could use to fight with. They were all in a muss together, every one of the Missourians trying to get a lick at a "Mormon." It made me feel indignant to see from four to a dozen mobbers on a man and all damning 'em and G-- damning the "Mormon." . . . I turned around and ran a few steps to get a stick and I soon found one suitable, though rather large; it was the piece of the heart of an oak, which I thought I could handle with ease and convenience. Returning to the crowd many thoughts ran through my

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[23]Lee, *Mormonism Unveiled,* pp. 56-60. Also in Durham.

[24]Rigdon, pp. 15-17. Also in Durham.

[25]*HC,* 3:56-59. Also in Durham.

[26]Lyman Wight, "Proceedings of Court Testimony—Trial of Joseph Smith—Municipal Court of the City of Nauvoo, Illinois, July 1st, 1843," *Times and Seasons,* 4 (15 July 1843):265. Also in Durham.

[27]McGee, *Grand River Country*. Also in Durham.

mind. First I remembered that I never in my life struck a man in anger, had always lived in peace with all man and the stick I had to fight with was so large and heavy that I could sink it into every man's head, that I might chance to strike. I did not want to kill anyone, but merely to stop the affray and went in with the determination, to rescue my brethren from such miserable curs at all hazards, thinking when hefting my stick that I must temper my lick just so as not to kill. . . . When I got in reach of them, I commenced to call out aloud for peace and at the same time making my stick move to my own utter astonishment, tapping them as I thought light, but they fell as dead men, their heads often striking the ground first. I took great care to strike none except those who were fighting the brethren. When I first commenced there was some six or eight men on old Mr. Durphy, and a few steps further some ten or a dozen men on Brother Olmstead and Brother Nelson, but they were so thick around them that they could not do execution to advantage. I continued to knock down every man I could reach that was lifting a stick against the brethren. After getting through and seeing the brethren on their feet, I looked and saw some of the men lying on the ground as though they were dead, some with their friends holding them up and some standing leaning against the little grocery. While gazing on the scene Bro. Riley Stewart had in his hand (what the backwoodsman calls a knee) to place between weight poles on log cabins—a piece of timber about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, small at one end, and struck Dick Welding [sic] an over handed blow on the head, cutting the side of his head three or four inches in length, the skin pulling down. It looked liked he was certainly killed. I told Stewart he had better leave, for he had killed that man; he then started to run and got off some twenty or twenty-five paces, when some ten or a dozen men took after him, throwing sticks and stones at him and anything they could get, swearing they would kill him. I saw they would over-power him and called for him to come back, for we could do better business when together, and he took a little circuitous route to keep from meeting those pursuing him. At the crisis one of the mob drew a glittering dirk, the blade some six inches long, waving it in the air, and at the same time swearing it should drink Stewart's heart's blood. He started to meet Stewart, as he was returning back to the crowd. As he was several steps ahead of me, I sprang with all the power that was in me to overtake him before he met Stewart. Just as he and Stewart met, he made a blow at his neck or breast, but as Stewart was passing in a run, his dirk passed over his left shoulder close by his neck and struck in his right shoulder blade and bent the point of it

> round as much as an inch. Just as he made his lick I reached forward as far as I could and hit him on the side of the head and fetched him helpless to the ground, and at the same instant received a blow from one behind me with the butt end of a loaded horse whip which took me right between the shoulders. I felt the jar only in my breast and had I not been stooping forward, as I was at the time I made my blow, he would have taken me on the head, no doubt, and perhaps fetched me down. While Stewart was running off, James Welding [sic], Dick's brother, came along and saw his brother lying in his gore; he bawled and swore that they had killed Dick. He stooped down and picked up a stone, swearing he would kill every "Mormon" in Daviess county before Saturday night. Just as the word came out of his mouth, Washington Voris, standing near him, hit him square in the mouth with a stone that would weigh near two pounds (I think) and straightened him out on the ground. He soon gathered up and as he rose with his mouth badly cut and bleeding, he put his hand on his face and began to cry, saying that he never saw people hit as hard as the "Mormons." They had killed Dick and mashed his mouth too, hoo, hoo; and off he ran bellowing in the brush. I will mention another occurrence which took place. Bro. Olmsted previous to the affray had purchased half a dozen earthen bowls and as many tea cups and saucers which he had tied up in a new cotton handkerchief and swung to his wrist. One of the mob struck at him when he raised his arm, the blow striking the bowls and saucers and broke them. He then commenced using them over their heads, and when the affray was over, I saw him empty out his broken earthenware on the ground in pieces not larger than a dollar and his handkerchief looked like it had been chewed by a cow. I have thought ever since that time that they had fun to pick the pieces of earthen ware from their heads, for they were pretty well filled. The whole scene was soon over; . . . I believe there was as many as 30 men with bloody heads and some of them badly hurt. I believe that I knocked down as many as six or eight myself. I never struck a man the second time, ...[28]

John Butler believed with all of his heart that God's spirit was upon him in the battle. In one source he said:

> . . . and the Lord did strengthen my body far beyond the common strength of man, so much so that the enemy could not stand before me. It was the power of God that was with me to my own astonishment.[29]

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[28]Butler. Also in Durham.

[29]John L. Butler, "A Short History of the Life of John Lowe Butler," manuscript written 20 May 1859, Historical Department of the Church.

In another source he wrote his feelings while he was in the act of knocking down the Missourians in the battle:

> I really felt that they would soon embrace the gospel, and felt the spirit . . . to rest upon me with power. I felt like I was seven or eight feet high and my arms three or four feet long, for I certainly ran faster than I ever did before and could reach further and hit a man, and they could not reach me to harm me.
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> . . . to my mind . . . I was operated upon by a spirit to save them by knocking them down to keep them from killing the saints which would have sealed their damnation.[30]

Whether or not God was an active participant in the battle cannot be known. However, most of the accounts record that the victory was claimed by the Mormons in the knock-down, and that most of them voted before returning to their homes. But the excitement of this day did not terminate with the fight. There would still be false reports that would be sent to the brethren at Far West; there would be a Mormon army of some 150 to 200 men headed by Joseph and Hyrum Smith which would ride up to Daviess County to investigate the reports; and there would still be the whole Adam Black affidavit episode, and the subsequent trial of Joseph Smith and Lyman Wight. All of these exciting episodes in Mormon history were extensions of the August 6th fracas—episodes which we shall not explore or review here. Instead, now that the details of the Election Day Battle have been presented, some attention should be given to the causes of this preliminary clash between the Mormons and Missourians.

It is ineffective to isolate single causes of any event so emotionally tense as the Election Day Battle at Gallatin. An event of its nature must have been the result of many conditions, complexities, and pressures, which, in this case, took several years to foment in Missouri. But a few minutes with the right August heat, and all of the other causes together, inextricable though they may be, produced the emotional stage for this early bubbling over in Gallatin to occur. Having said this, may I cautiously suggest what to my thinking were some of the fundamental sources of the complexities which produced the battle.

Certainly, the numbers of Mormons flooding into the Mis-

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[30]Butler, in Journal History. Also in Durham.

souri lands at an explosive rate must have frightened the local settlers—or at least that rapid migration must have threatened their security. It should be remembered that the local residents were themselves relatively new citizens on these lands. Most of them had been in the country for only five or six years before the Mormons arrived. John Corrill, one-time Church Historian, wrote these pertinent words:

> Feelings existed, as I observed before, between the Mormons and other citizens on account of their settling the new town of Adamondiaman, *and filling up the county so fast.*"[31] [Italics added]

Even the general spirit of pride expressed by two Mormon ambassadors in their petition to the House of Representatives in Washington, D.C. must have been interpreted through Missourian eyes as threatening to their peace and security:

> . . . the Mormons continued to increase in wealth and in numbers, until in the fall of the year 1838 they numbered, as near as they can estimate, about 15,000 souls. They now held, by purchases from the Government, of the settlers, and by pre-emption, almost all the lands in the county of Caldwell, and a portion of the lands in Davis and Carroll counties. The county of Caldwell was settled almost entirely by Mormons, and Mormons were rapidly filling up the counties of Davis and Carroll. When they first commenced settling in those counties, there were but few settlements, and the lands were for the most part wild and uncultivated. In the fall of 1838 large well improved farms had been made and stocked; lands had risen in value, and, in some instances, had been sold for from $10 to $25 per acre. The improvement and settlement had been such, that *it was a common remark that the county of Caldwell would* soon be the wealthiest in the State.[32]

And if every Mormon felt as Lyman Wight did about his Missourian neighbors, and if this were ultimately sensed by those neighbors, it is easy to see that Mormon increase in the land would only bring trouble. Here are his words:

> I removed from Caldwell to Davies county, purchased a pre-emption right, for which I gave 750 dollars, gained another side thereof, put in a large crop and became acquainted with the citizens of Davies, who appeared very

[31]Corrill, pp. 33-34. Also in Durham.

[32]U.S., Congress, House, pp. 5-6. Also in Durham.

> friendly. In the month of June or July there was a town laid off, partly on my pre-emption, and partly on lands belonging to Government—the emigration commenced flowing to this newly laid off town very rapidly. This excited a prejudice in the minds of some of the old citizens who were an ignorant set, and not very far advanced before the aborigenees of the country in civilization or cultivated minds . . . .[33]

Some of the ardent Saints "were continually telling the Missourians, that the Lord had given them the whole Upper Missouri, and that the time was just at hand when all their lands would be given to the Saints by the Lord—and that the people of this nation would be utterly destroyed."[34] Certainly this was no way to win friends or influence people.

It may or may not be hyperbole to say that with every Mormon wagon load there was increasing distress, even pain, in the Missourian psyche. With every day, he who was once the senior citizen became more a member of the minority group. There had to be a stopping point to all of this. In northern Missouri, that point began at Gallatin.

Mormon political power increased as Mormon numbers increased. The Missourians knew this, and they also knew that if the Mormons voted together they could elect a candidate by sheer majority. Their concern and anxiety about political power was correlative with their concern over rapid population increase. The Missourians in Daviess County knew how the Mormons had totally controlled the elections in Caldwell County. Three thousand Mormons there elected the county clerk, two judges, the thirteen magistrates, and all of the county militia. As the Mormons spilled over into Daviess, what could those citizens expect? For one thing, they expected that the Mormon vote would naturally go contrary to the Missourian vote:

> . . . there had been a man going round amongst us finding out who the Mormons was going to vote for and when they heard it made them mad, and they said that the Mormons should not vote because the Mormons did not vote to suit them. . . .[35]

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[33]Wight, p. 265. Also in Durham.

[34]James H. Hunt, *Mormonism: Embracing the Origin, Rise and Progress of the Sect* (St. Louis: Ustich and Davies, 1844), pp. 182-85. Also in Durham.

[35]Butler, in Journal History. Also in Durham.

For another thing, they expected that the Mormons would control the elections—"the two political parties were about equally divided in Daviess County, and . . . the Mormons held the balance of power, and would turn the scale whichever way they desired."[36]

With such expectations of the political power of the Mormons, the Missourians planned to prevent the Mormons from voting. All but one of the eighteen accounts of the Election Day Battle so witness. They planned to keep the Mormons from the polls by force if it became necessary. It was reported to John D. Lee

> . . . that, at the approaching election, the Whigs were going to cast their votes, at the outside precincts, early in the day, and then rush in force to the town of Gallatin, the county-seat of Daviess county, and prevent the Mormons from voting. . . .[37]

Lee was also warned that "violence might be offered."[38] In addition he learned that the forced election of William Peniston was part of the plot.[39] Parley P. Pratt said of the Missourians: ". . . the robbers undertook to drive our people from the poll box, and threatened to kill whoever should attempt to vote."[40] Sidney Rigdon reported a great deal more information about this plot to prevent the Mormons from voting, and about Peniston's part in the plot with these words:

> Not only was it threatened that they [the Saints] should not vote in Daviess county, but there were insinuations thrown out, that there would be a mob. . . . to prevent the people there from voting. . . . The election at last came on; and the Saints went to discharge what they considered not only a privilege but a duty also. One of the candidates for representative in Daviess county, was by the name of William Peniston, a very ignorant, ambitious creature, who was determined to carry his election if possible, and that at all hazards, whether the people were willing to elect him or not. Those who were not willing to vote for *him,* he determined by the force of mob law, to prevent from voting.

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[36]Lee, *Mormonism Unveiled,* pp. 56-60. Also in Durham.

[37]Lee, *Mormonism Unveiled,* pp. 56-60. Also in Durham.

[38]Lee, *Mormonism Unveiled,* pp. 56-60. Also in Durham.

[39]Lee and Stewart; *HC,* 3:56-59. Also in Durham.

[40]Parley P. Pratt, *History of the Late Persecution Inflicted by the State of Missouri Upon the Mormons* (Mexico, New York: Oswego County Democrat, 1840), pp. 14-15. Also in Durham.

It may not however, be amiss here to give an account of this said Peniston's manoeuvres during the electioneering campaign. He was, at the time, the colonel of the militia in Daviess county, and had been the leader in the first mob which had been raised to prevent the saints from making settlements in Daviess county, in the first instance, of which mention has been made. When the electioneering campaign had fairly commenced, great exertions were made by the different candidates and their friends, to obtain the votes of the saints; each man, in his turn, making application. Peniston, like the rest, made application also. Mr. Wight, who was a man of influence among the saints, was the one to whom said Peniston made overtures. Mr. Wight, knowing that Peniston had always been an enemy to the saints, took the liberty to ask Peniston about his former hostilities, and his previous attempt to drive them from their homes; as well as many abusive things which he had said. Peniston declared that he never had any intention of driving them from their homes; he only tried to scare them, and if he could not, he intended to let them alone: and as to the many abusive things which he had said; he said "they were very wrong; he had been deceived by false reports, without being acquainted with the people; and, since he had become acquainted with them, he found that they were first rate citizens." And by many such sayings, he attempted to gain votes: but the saints, all the time knowing that he was a corrupt man, and every way disqualified for the office after which he was struggling, would not be induced to vote for him at all. This he fully understood before the election, and made his arrangements accordingly: having his satelites at the election, to aid him in executing his purpose, in preventing the saints from voting.[41]

Now, if the Mormons knew beforehand about the planned action to be taken by the Missourians on election day at the polls, as suggested by the above statements, it seems inconceivable that they wouldn't have consciously planned some retaliatory maneuver. Yet there is little, if any, evidence that they did this. To the contrary, various of the accounts reported that the brethren went to the polls unarmed—they were even grateful that the pile of logs was there to supply them with weapons. It is also clear that there were only a few Mormons on hand to get involved in the fracas. Given the available evidence, it cannot be supported that there was any planned action, offensive or defensive, on the part of the Mormons in the Election Day Battle.

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[41]Rigdon, pp. 15-17. Also in Durham.

However, since we are dealing with possible causative factors for this battle, there appears to be some strong evidence that a militant disposition had developed among the Mormons against the Missourians. If this is true, then this attitude would permeate all other relationships between Mormons and gentiles. Perhaps the battle at Gallatin would not have been as furious and bloody had it not had this overtone to it. Perhaps the ultimate consequences of this battle leading to the total expulsion of the Mormons would not have happened—at least, not as quickly as it did, were it not for this militant posture.

To defend the thesis of this aggressive and somewhat belligerent posture, we should look in retrospect at some significant events of Mormon history. In the formative years of the Church, persecutions by gentiles became serious enough to cause the Mormon migration to Ohio. Next, the Saints' immediate expectations of establishing the New Jerusalem in Jackson County, Missouri, were shattered quite brutally on 20 July 1833. That tragic event of the expulsion out of Zion must have been, for every Mormon who experienced it, too indelibly a part of him to easily forgive and forget. Then, too, precious scriptures—the word of God, supported and perpetuated their feelings about Missourians:

> And inasmuch as mine enemies come against you to drive you from my goodly land, which I have consecrated to be the land of Zion, even from your own lands after these testimonies, which ye have brought before me against them, ye shall curse them;
>
> And whomsover ye curse, I will curse, and ye shall avenge me of mine enemies.
>
> And my presence shall be with you even in avenging me of mine enemies, unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me. (D&C 103:24-26)

Though some of the aggressive attitudes were aimed directly at the dissenters, it is clear that they embraced the Missourians also.

On 10 March 1838, on a Saturday at Far West, Joseph Smith penned what is known as the Political Motto of the Church. Careful reading of it reflects a mild belligerency toward more than just those who were bringing vexatious lawsuits against the Saints—the dissenters. This motto clearly

reflects an attitude of woe to all enemies of the Saints, whether on religous, economic, or political battlefields. No loyal Latter-day Saint residing in Missouri could go unaffected by the general spirit of the motto:

> The Constitution of our country formed by the Fathers of liberty. Peace and good order in society. Love to God, and good will to man. All good and wholesome laws, virtue and truth above all things, and aristarchy, live forever! *But woe to tyrants, mobs, aristocracy, anarchy, and toryism, and all those who invent or seek out unrighteous and vexatious lawsuits, under the pretext and color of law, or office, either religious or political.* Exalt the standard of Democracy! Down with that of priestcraft, and let all the people say Amen! that the blood of our fathers may not cry from the ground against us. Sacred is the memory of that blood which bought for us our liberty.[42] [Italics added]

In June 1838, the Saints' militancy became more organized. John Corrill wrote about plans for the dissenters:

> Secret meetings were held and plans contrived how to get rid of them. Some had one plan and some another, but there was backwardness in bringing it about, until President Rigdon delivered from the pulpit what I call the Salt Sermon. . . .[43]

The Salt Sermon was delivered by Sidney Rigdon on 17 June 1838. It is so named because of the text he used as his theme. With the text, probably taken from the Doctrine and Covenants 101:39-41, he pointed out what should and would happen to all the dissenters. The sermon was a "scathing denunciation of disloyalty among the members of the Church," and was inflammatory and threatening. Corrill, who was present when the sermon was delivered, remarked:

> This scene I looked upon with horror, and considered it as proceeding from a mob spirit.[44]

The sermon breathed militancy; and it had its desired effect upon its hearers, because in only one day after the Salt Sermon, on 18 June 1838, eighty-four leading Mormon elders

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[42]*HC,* 3:29.
[43]Corrill, pp. 30-31. Also in Durham.
[44]Corrill, pp. 30-31. Also in Durham.

placed their signatures to a document known as the Note of Warning. Again, though it was primarily written to the dissenters, it was clearly a reflection of a growing aggressive emotion toward the Missourians. The spirit of the document revealed militancy:

> . . . We have solemnly warned you, and that in the most determined manner, that if you did not cease that course of wanton abuse of the citizens of this county, that vengeance would overtake you sooner or later, and that when it did come it would be as furious as the mountain torrent and as terrible as the beating tempest; but you have affected to despise our warnings, and pass them off with a sneer or a grin or a threat, and pursue your former course; and vengeance sleepeth not, neither does it slumber; and unless you heed us this time, and attend to our request, it will overtake you at an hour when you do not expect it, and at a day when you do not look for it; and for you there shall be no escape; for there is but one decree for you, which is depart, depart, or a more fatal calamity shall befall you. . . . Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer, and Lyman E. Johnson united with a gang of counterfeiters, thieves, liars, and blacklegs of the deepest dye, to deceive, cheat, and defraud the saints out of their property, by every art and stratagem [sic] which wickedness could invent; using the influence of the vilest persecutions to bring vexatious lawsuits, villainous persecutions, and even stealing not excepted. In the midst of this career, for fear the saints would seek redress at their hands, they breathed out threatenings of mobs, and actually made attempts with their gang to bring mobs upon them. . . .
>
> And amongst the most monstrous of all your abominations, we have evidence (which, when called upon, we can produce) that letters sent to the post office in this place have been opened, read, and destroyed, and the persons to whom they were sent never obtained them; thus ruining the business of the place. We have evidence of a very strong character that you are, at this very time, engaged with a gang of counterfeiters, coiners, and blacklegs, as some of those characters have lately visited our city from Kirtland, and told what they came for; and we know, assuredly, that if we suffer you to continue, we may expect, and that speedily, to find a general system of stealing, counterfeiting, cheating, and burning of property, as in Kirtland—for so are your associates carrying on there at this time; and that, encouraged by you, by means of letters you send continually to them; and, to crown the whole, you have had the audacity to threaten us that, if we offered to disturb you, you would get up a mob from Clay and Ray counties. For the insult, if for nothing else, and for your threatening to shoot us if we

> offered to molest [you], we will put you from the county of Caldwell, so help us God![45]

The spirit of the document was interpreted as it was intended—the dissenters left immediately! David Whitmer wrote of this in 1887:

> In the spring of 1838, the heads of the Church and many of the members had gone deep into error and blindness. I had been striving with them for a long time to show them the errors into which they were drifting, and for my labors I received only persecutions. . . . suffice it to say that my persecutions, for trying to show them their errors, became of such a nature that I had to leave the Latter Day Saints; and, as I rode on horseback out of Far West, in June, 1838, the voice of God from heaven spake to me. . . .[46]

David Whitmer also spoke of an organized force being established in the Church at this same time:

> In June, 1838, at Far West, Mo., a secret organization was formed, Doctor Avard being put in as the leader of the band; a certain oath was to be administered to all the brethren to bind them to support the heads of the church in *everything they should* teach.[47]

Mark McKiernan suggested that though this aggressive spirit started from the arrival of the First Presidency in Far West (March 1838), the organized form of it came sometime in June 1838, with the "formation of a secret militant society for the enforcement of orthodoxy."[48] McKiernan further postulated that in July, "the direction of Smith's and Rigdon's militancy shifted from opposing dissenters to combating Gentile persecution."[49]

The secret band or "secret militant society" which both David Whitmer and Mark McKiernan wrote about was unquestionably the organization most familiarly known as the Danites. Klaus Hansen said that the Danites were originally organized "in self-defense against the depredations of the Mis-

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[45]Ebenezer Robinson, "Items of Personal History . . .," *The Return* 1 (Davis City, Iowa, 1889):218-19.

[46]David Whitmer, *An Address to All Believers in Christ* (Richmond, Missouri: published by the author, 1887), p. 18.

[47]Whitmer, p. 18.

[48]F. Mark McKiernan, *The Voice of One Crying in the Wilderness: Sidney Rigdon, Religious Reformer 1793-1876* (Lawrence, Kansas: Coronado Press, 1971), pp. 87-88.

[49]McKiernan, pp. 87-88.

sourians," adding that they were "a secret military organization bound together by oaths and secret passwords."[50] Leland Gentry states that after the dissenters left,

> . . . the Danites lost the rationale behind their existence. A new purpose had to be found in order to justify the organization's continuance. The warlike threats continually breathed against the Saints by their Missouri neighbors furnished the desired objective, namely, protection against mob violence.[51]

As if one formally organized group, such as the Danites, based upon near-enmity of their neighbors, wasn't enough, the Mormon leader established another military-oriented group called the Armies of Israel or the Host of Israel. As with the Danites its most important reason for being was to protect the Saints from mobs—and the only mobbers against them in Missouri were Missourians. The Host of Israel was established by Joseph Smith and it was believed that Joseph Smith was commander-in-chief.[52] John D. Lee wrote about both of these militant bodies, placing the date of their origins in the summer of 1838:

> . . . In justice to truth I must state, that just before the general election of August, 1838, a general notice was given for all the brethren of Daviess county to meet at Adam-on-Diamond [sic]. Every man obeyed the call. At that meeting all the males over eighteen years of age, were organized into a military body, according to the law of the priesthood, and called "The Host of Israel." The first rank was a captain with ten men under him; next was a captain of fifty, that is he had five companies of ten; next, the captain of a hundred, or of ten captains and companies of ten. The entire membership of the Mormon Church was then organized in the same way. This, as I was informed, was the first organization of the military force of the Church. It was so organized at that time by command of God, as revealed through the Lord's Prophet, Joseph Smith. God commanded Joseph Smith to place the Host of Israel in a situation for defense against the enemies of God and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.
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> At the same Conference another organization was perfected, or then first formed—it was called the "Danites." The members of this order were placed under the most

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[50]Klaus J. Hansen, *Quest for Empire* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1967), p. 57.

[51]Gentry, p. 321.

[52]Gentry, pp. 329-30.

> sacred obligations that language could invent. They were sworn to stand by and sustain each other. *Sustain, protect, defend,* and *obey* the leaders of the Church, under any and *all circumstances unto death*; and to disobey the orders of the leaders of the Church, or divulge the name of a Danite to an outsider, or to make public any of the secrets of the order of Danites, was to be punished with death. And I can say of a truth, many have paid the penalty for failing to keep their covenants. They had signs and tokens for use and protection. The token of recognition was such it could be readily understood, and it served as a token of distress by which they could know each other from their enemies, although they were entire strangers to each other. When the sign was given it must be responded to and obeyed, even at the risk or certainty of death. The Danite that would refuse to respect the token, and comply with all its requirements, was stamped with dishonor, infamy, shame, disgrace, and his fate for cowardice and treachery was death.[53]

The organizational pattern of the army into companies of tens and fifties, as described by Lee, was the same as that found in the Danites' army. The two groups were so similar that even the Prophet Joseph Smith attempted to explain the difference between them in order to prevent any possible confusion.[54]

I have attempted to show evidence that an aggressive, belligerent, and militant spirit was being developed in the hearts of the Latter-day Saints in Missouri. The Political Motto, the Salt Sermon, the Note of Warning, and the flight of the dissenters all testify to it; but the fact that two formed organizations were actually created and operative in Missouri—two Mormon armies!—adds greater validity to that argument. Yet, with all of this, additional supporting evidence comes from the words of Sidney Rigdon given on Independence Day, 4 July 1838. His position was given while delivering an official address on that day, an address which reflected the attitudes of the Saints. (It is important to remember that this sermon was delivered only one month before the Gallatin affair.) The address is known as the Mormon Declaration of Independence. The following is an excerpt of the final words of his speech:

> It is not because we cannot, if we were so disposed, enjoy the honors and flatteries of the world, but we have volun-

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[53]Lee, *Mormonism Unveiled*, pp. 56-60.

[54]*HC*, 3:181-82.

tarily offered them in sacrifice, and the riches of the world also, for a more durable substance. Our God has promised us a reward of eternal inheritance. . . . The promise is sure, and the reward is certain. It is because of this, that we have taken the spoiling of our goods. Our cheeks have been given to the smiters, and our heads to those who have plucked off the hair. We have not only when smitted on one cheek turned the other, but we have done it, again and again, until we are wearied of being smitted, and tired of being trampled upon. We have proved the world with kindness, we have suffered their abuse without cause, with patience, and have endured without resentment, *until this day, and still their persecution and violence does not cease. But from this day and this hour, we will suffer it no more.*

We take God and all the holy angels to witness this day, *that we warn all men in the name of Jesus Christ, to come on us no more forever;* for from this hour, we will bear it no more, our rights shall no more be trampled upon with impunity. The man or the set of men, who attempts it, does it at the expense of their lives. And *that mob that comes on us to disturb us, it shall be between us and them a war of extermination, for we will follow them, till the last drop of their blood is spilled, or else they will have to exterminate us: for we will carry the seat of war to their own houses, and their own families, and one party or the other shall be utterly destroyed.—Remember it then all MEN!*

We will never be the aggressors, we will infringe on the rights of no people; but shall stand for our own until death. We claim our own rights, and are willing that all others shall enjoy theirs.

No man shall be at liberty to come into our streets, to threaten us with mobs, for if he does, he shall atone for it before he leaves the place, neither shall he be at liberty, to vilify and slander any of us, for suffer it we will not in this place.

We therefore, take all men to record this day, that we proclaim our liberty on this day, as did out fathers. And we pledge this day to one another, our fortunes, our lives, and our sacred honors, to be delivered from the persecutions which we have had to endure for the last nine years, or nearly that. Neither will we indulge any man, or set of men, in instituting vexatious law suits against us, to cheat us out of our just rights, if they attempt it we say woe be unto them.

We this day then proclaim ourselves free, with a purpose and a determination, that never can be broken, "no never! NO NEVER!! NO NEVER!!![55] [Italics added]

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[55]"Oration Delivered by Mr. S. Rigdon, 4th Day of July, 1838, at Far West, Caldwell County, Missouri" (Far West: Elders' Journal Press, 1838), Historical Department of the Church.

The sermon was enthusiastically welcomed by the entire congregation; in fact, upon the conclusion of it they spontaneously shouted the "hosannah shout." "From every standpoint, the speech was an immediate success."[56] The skeptic who does not believe that either the message or the tone of this address reflected the official Church position or, at least, Joseph Smith's position, and that it only reflected Sidney Rigdon's point of view, must reorient his thinking when he reads the following words from Joseph Smith, given less than one month after the Gallatin Election Day Battle:

ELDERS' JOURNAL

Joseph Smith, jr. Editor

Far West, Mo., August, 1838

> In this paper, we give the procedings which were had on the fourth of July, at this place, in laying the corner stones of the temple, about to be built in this city.
>
> The oration delivered on the occasion, is now published in pamphlet form: those of our friends wishing to have one, can get it, by calling on Ebenezer Robinson, by whom they were printed. We would recommend to all the saints to get one, to be had in their families, as it contains an outline of the suffering and persecutions of the Church from its rise. As also the fixed determinations of the saints, in relation to the persecutors, who are, and have been, continually, not only threatening us with mobs, but actually have been putting their threats into execution; with which we are absolutely determined no longer to bear, come life or come death, for to be mobed any more without taking vengeance, we will not. EDITOR.

Joseph Smith's editorial gave wholehearted endorsement of Sidney Rigdon's sermon; the Elders' Journal was the Church's official publication at this time. In addition to this editorial, and again, only one month after Sidney Rigdon's sermon, the Prophet wrote the following words:

> There is great excitement at present among the Missourians, who are seeking if possible an occasion against us. They are continually chafing us, and provoking us to anger if possible, one sign of threatening after another, but we do not fear them, for the Lord God, the Eternal Father is our God, and Jesus the Mediator is our Savior, and in the great I Am is our strength and confidence.

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[56]Gentry, p. 209.

> We have been driven time after time, and that without cause; and smitten again and again, and that without provocation; until we have proved the world with kindness, and the world has proved us, that we have no designs against any man or set of men, that we injure no man, that we are peaceable with all men, minding our own business, and our business only. We have suffered our rights and our liberties to be taken from us; we have not avenged ourselves of those wrongs; we have appealed to magistrates, to sheriffs, to judges, to government, and to the President of the United States, all in vain; yet we have yielded peaceably to all these things. We have not complained at the Great God, we murmured not, but peaceably left all, and retired into the back country, in the broad and wild prairies, in the barren and desolate plains, and there commenced anew; we made the desolate places to bud and blossom as the rose; and now the fiend-like race is disposed to give us no rest. There father the devil, is hourly calling upon them to be up and doing, and they, like willing and obedient children, need not the second admonition; but in the name of Jesus Christ the Son of the living God, we will endure it no longer, if the great God will arm us with courage, with strength and with power, to resist them in their persecutions. We will not act on the offensive, but always on the defensive; our rights and our liberties shall not be taken from us, and we peaceably submit to it, as we have done heretofore, but we will avenge ourselves of our enemies, inasmuch as they will not let us alone.[57]

With all of the evidence offered in the previous pages of an emotion of militancy overshadowing the Mormon people, it is not easy to disbelieve even William Swartzell's following account of the brethren just two days after the Gallatin affair:

> . . . About six o'clock in the morning every man appeared under arms. We all marched out upon the prairie, where we formed a hollow square--the horsemen on one side, and the foot soldiers on the other, (the officers occupying the center of the square.) Brothers Smith, Rigdon, Cahoon, Eberly, White, Lot, and many other officers, were all in uniform. Sidney Rigdon drew his sword, and said, as near as I can recollect, these words—"We have been imposed upon and persecuted, ever since the rising of this Church—have been driven from Kirtland, Ohio, to Jackson county, Missouri; from Jackson to Clay county; from Ray to Caldwell county, and now we are in Daviess county. We are the people of God, and the only people that believe in His word. We fear God, our Almighty Protector; and we will

[57] *HC*, 3:67-68.

> be no more driven from this blessed land. Now, we, as the people of God, do declare—do declare and decree, by the great Jehovah, the eternal and omnipotent God, that sits upon his vast and everlasting throne, beyond that etherial blue—[pointing his sword upwards]—*we* WILL *bathe our swords in the* VITAL BLOOD *of the Missourians, or* DIE *in the attempt!"* The whole company then shouted, and gave three cheers.[58]

And with the same evidence, it is not difficult to better understand the spirit, the emotion, of the brethren when they started to bash the heads of the Missourians at Gallatin. The following words should now be clearer:

> To return to the election at Gallatin:—*The brethren all attended the election.* All things seemed to pass off quietly, until some of the Mormons went up to the polls to vote. *I was lying on the grass* with McBrier and a number of others. . . . When Stewart fell, the Mormons sprang to the pile of oak hearts, and each man, taking one for use, rushed into the crowd. The Mormons were yelling, "Save him!" and the settlers yelled, "Kill him; d--n him!" *The Sign of distress was given by the Danites, and all rushed forward, determined to save Stewart, or die with him. . . . The Danite sign of distress was again given by John L. Butler, one of the captains of the Host of Israel. . . . Seeing the sign,* I sprang to my feet and armed myself with one of the oak sticks. *I did this because I was a Danite, and my oaths that I had taken required immediate action* on my part, in support of the one giving the sign. . . . Captain Butler was then a stranger to me, and *until I saw him give the Danite sign of distress,* I had believed him to be one of the *Missouri ruffians, who were our enemies. . . .* The man then gave the sign, and I knew how to act.[59] [Italics added]
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> I did not want to kill anyone, but merely to stop the affray and went in with the determination, to rescue my brethren from *such miserable curs* at all hazards, thinking when hefting my stick that I must temper my lick just so as not to kill, and further *when I called out for the Danites a power rested upon me such as one I never felt before. . . .* After the fight was over, we gathered our men on some hewn house logs and *told the mob that we would fight them as long as blood run warm in our veins,* if they still persisted, but they begged for peace after they saw their men lying round. . . .[60] [Italics added]

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[58]William Swartzell, *Mormonism Exposed* (Pekin, Ohio: published by the author, 1840), pp. 28-29.

[59]Lee, *Mormonism Unveiled,* pp. 56-60.

[60]Butler, in Journal History. Also in Durham.

The three fundamental sources or conditions and pressures which contributed as causes of the Election Day Battle—the rapid influx of Mormon people into northern Missouri, the settlers' fear of the political power of the Mormons, and the very real spirit of aggressiveness and militancy which developed in the Mormon psyche—do not represent all the causes and forces combining to produce that battle. However, these are the three most important causes. And with these causes in mind, the "great knock-down" and "unhappy affray," known in Mormon history as the Gallatin Election Day Battle, was the kind of thing which was apt to occur in small towns on frontiers, where life was made urgent and desperate by nature, and where people who were differently prepared socially were thrown together; when one group or the other had intense religious feelings, especially when those religious feelings took on strong political overtones; and whenever those people gathered together in the summertime at the election polls, especially when it was unbearably dry and hot.

The Haun's Mill Massacre

ALMA R. BLAIR*

It may be that the events which took place here on 30 October 1838 are beyond our understanding. There are times when imagination is challenged beyond its capacity to respond, even when we stand on the ground of the events themselves. Here at Haun's Mill nature has conspired to hide from us the past we would recreate. We do not know where most of the houses or tents stood. We must be tentative on the site of the mill and blacksmith shop. We hardly dare guess at the location of the well which became a mass grave. It is almost as if nature thought to blot out the obscenity of this massacre.

The earth's wounds are long healed, but we know history is not to be found in the remains of old log cabins or the stone foundations of a mill even when we can uncover them. Rather history is to be found in the memory of mankind. Part of our remembrance of the Haun's Mill Massacre is simple to reconstruct, but part of it is as complex as humanity itself. And our remembering is infused with pain.

Jacob Haun's mill was one of several scattered along Shoal Creek. For about a year it had been the home of fifteen to twenty families of the Saints, and other Church members in the area used it for grinding their grain. It had also become a stopping place for those migrating to Caldwell County from Kirtland. Although few Saints had settled in Livingstone County or Carroll County to the east, and although the mill was inside Caldwell County, it was close to the borders and threatened to become a center for the Mormon population that might spill over into gentile territory.

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Tension had built in Livingstone during October and the county militia had been called out. Two companies especially were active in trying to turn back migrants from Kirtland and in patrolling the borders adjoining Caldwell County. The battle of Crooked River, fought 25 October, raised fears among the Saints in eastern Caldwell County, and several families gathered to Haun's Mill for protection. The group considered but decided against going to Far West at that time. The Saints at Haun's Mill had had no previous difficulties with the gentiles and reached an agreement on 28 October with the militia group led by Captain Nehemiah Comstock, stationed near Mooresville and Utica, to preserve the peace. The Mormons then removed their pickets but reestablished them after learning of another militia company operating about fourteen miles directly east of the mill. Under the leadership of Captain David Evans, the Saints devised the plan of using the blacksmith shop as a fort, feeling that they could hold off any group likely to attack them. They had not considered the possibility of having to face a vastly superior force.

It is not clear why the gentile militia decided to attack Haun's Mill at this particular time. Daviess County men had been talking to those from Livingstone, describing real or fancied Mormon injustices perpetrated against them. The "Extermination Order" issued by Governor Boggs on 27 October was now widely known and the state militia was beginning to move against Far West. These factors may have been decisive. Under the leadership of Colonel Thomas Jennings, the several companies of Livingstone militia were formed into a battalion. The decision to attack the settlement was made 29 October at Woolsey's farm about ten miles northeast of Haun's Mill. Jennings and his force of about 200 men left after noon on 30 October and rode south to within several miles of the mill. There they dismounted, marched across the open prairie to the woods just north of the mill, and filtered through the trees.

Captain Evans had withdrawn the pickets that had been stationed in the woods the previous day, but was apparently planning to set them out again that evening. The attack came about 4:00 p.m. without warning. Some of the Saints at first thought the approaching men were reinforcements from Far West. With the opening volley of shots, the hamlet

was thrown into confusion. Evans waved his hat and shouted for "quarter." He was not heard, but it is doubtful if peace would have been given anyway. The women and children scattered, and some of the men ran for the woods and safety. Those who got to the blacksmith shop found it to be a trap; they were fired upon through the large cracks between the logs and were so crowded inside that they were easily hit. When they tried to flee from the building, they were again fired upon and only a few, most of them wounded, managed to get to the woods where they hid until night.

Seventeen Saints[1], all men and boys, died that day or in the following weeks. One woman was injured, and some men were hacked to death by corn knives after they had been wounded. Thomas McBride, a seventy-eight-year-old man, was wounded, then shot with his own rifle as he surrendered, and finally hacked by his murderer. Ten-year-old Sardius Smith was deliberately killed as he tried to hide, and nine-year-old Charles Merrick suffered with his wounds for five weeks before he died. The Missourians had three men wounded who were taken away in wagons stolen from the Saints. Jennings' men stayed for less than two hours and then returned to Livingstone County.

The Saints slowly gathered themselves together during the night, tended to the wounded as best they could, and wept for the dead. The following day the bodies were slid into a partially dug well and lightly covered with dirt. Later that day Comstock's men returned to bury the dead and warn the remaining Mormons that they must leave the state immediately. After the surrender of Far West and Adam-ondi-Ahman, Comstock's company was assigned to Haun's Mill and remained there until the Saints migrated to Illinois.

Those are the things we can know. But what we can never be certain of, perhaps, is why it all happened. What kind of men were these? What forces moved in their souls causing them to commit such outrage upon other humans? The answers we have sometimes given are clear in their attribution of innocence and guilt. But perhaps we have condemned too easily. At any rate, it is easier to assign guilt than to account for the "Whys" of history.

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[1]A gentile named Walker, not in the militia, was apparently also killed in this attack.

It would be foolish and dangerous for us to place the Missourians outside the human race, to account for this massacre as the action of a devil-infested, particularly depraved species. The same man who seconds before had hacked Father McBride to pieces gently told Olive Ames, crouching with her children under a river bank, that she was safe and would not be harmed! We know that all of us are capable of bestiality, but this was not an attack motivated by the lust to kill. It was too selective, too well planned for that.

Undoubtedly economic considerations entered into the Missourian's minds, but Haun's Mill cannot be explained by recounting the animals, wagons, clothes and grain which they took on the day of the massacre and in the months that followed. They did not think to profit much from the land, the homes, or the mill. Nor can we be satisfied that political issues were the primary motivations, especially not for those from Livingstone County. Such explanations fall short, important though they may be, for we must remember that Haun's Mill is connected with larger events and larger causes. Our explanation must deal with similar events in Far West, Adam-ondi-Ahman, Clay County, Jackson County, Kirtland, New York, and, later, Nauvoo.

Those immediate factors of personal ambition and group greed are but the names given to a nameless fear that churned deep inside the attackers. They feared these people who were somehow different, who thought and acted in ways that were not their ways. At some point, each of those who marched against the Saints passed from the rational thought that "The Mormons" were also human to the irrational thought that "Mormons" were not truly "people." Their fear had crystallized, leaving them with the capacity to do anything, even kill, to rid themselves of the terror that was silently grinding away on the banks of Shoal Creek that sunny afternoon. The attackers did not think of how they were violating a truce or invading the Saints' own country. They did not want the Saints' goods; they did not even want their lives. They were beyond such calculations and moved in the great mystery of the myth of "We" against "Them." At such a point all defensive or humane acts of the "Enemy" seem devilish and insincere. At such a point all things "We" do are right and

necessary. So these several hundred Missourians, made up of husbands, fathers, and sons, marched calmly and righteously through the woods to kill those they "had" to kill.

Nor were the Saints free from this mob psychology, which is also personal as well. For some of them fear had also crystallized and their reason had become servant of their emotions. We see it in those Saints who swore secret oaths to follow their leaders even to the "despoiling of the gentiles" for the sake of the kingdom. We see it in the speeches and in the intolerant acts directed toward those within the faith as well as those outside. We see it as the Saints despaired of legal processes and marched to destroy the enemy. We see it in those at Haun's Mill who believed their righteousness would enable them to hold off any enemy force.

The cause of the Saints' fear-hate reaction is to be found, in part, in the fact they had been pushed too far for too long. We cannot blame them or absolve them. However, we need to understand the effects of another fact. Both Saints and gentiles believed themselves to be a "chosen people." To be such a people in our historical conception of ourselves, to feel called to defend a special gospel, is always dangerous. Even without persecution, the Saints believed in their uniqueness and too often flaunted their peculiar relationship with God. When Methodist and Baptist ministers led the opposition, the Saints took this as sign of their own righteousness and evidence of the wickedness of their tormentors. It was neither.

For their part, the gentiles felt their own sure calling to abolish the "delusion of Mormonism and Joe Smith." The fruit of the tree, when nurtured under tension, was the Haun's Mill Massacre.

We must look to our myths, even our sacred myths, and beware lest our unconscious acceptance of them becomes the means whereby we betray their highest promises. We who are called to become Saints must never confuse that call with what we presently are. We who are called to learn truth must never forget our own guilt or the innocence of those who are guilty. This is a world in which men will die for their fondest dreams; we should not forget that men will sometimes also kill for those same dreams.

We may not find the rotting timbers here that would mark the outlines of old houses. We may, however, find that

which marks us part of humankind. As we consider the events that took place here, we may become more than tolerant. Perhaps we can learn humility.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Two difficulties confront the historian in trying to reconstruct the Haun's Mill Massacre. The first is the usual problem of determining the facts of such items as how many persons were at the mill, how large the attacking force was, and what exactly happened.

A more serious problem surrounds the reasons for the attack. The Saints who wrote at the time were so shocked and so angered at Missouri that they usually wrote of little more than the horrors of the incident. To them no explanation was necessary beyond that of the depravity of the Missourians. The attackers, who apparently wrote little, returned the compliment. Even the judicious account compiled in 1887 by Major Reburn S. Holcombe, writing under the pen name *Burr Joyce*, is of little help in suggesting reasons for this seemingly senseless act.

The sources mentioned here are certainly not exhaustive. Certain accounts, notably that of Joseph W. Young and Nathan K. Knight, are found in several places, either in full or as extracts. However, these sources do give most of the major nineteenth century statements on the massacre.

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Hevelius and the Meaning of History*

DE LAMAR JENSEN**

I am grateful to those who have planned this celebration for the opportunity to address you on such a significant occasion—an occasion which marks a milestone not only for the Library but for scholarship at Brigham Young University. May I begin by congratulating all who are associated in the administration and operation of the J. Reuben Clark Library for the magnificent selection of materials they have collected for the use of BYU students and faculty. And in particular may I commend them, and all of the donors, on the acquisition of Johannes Hevelius's *Catalogus Stellarum Fixarum* as the millionth volume acquisition. It is a work of considerable importance in the history of science and typifies the quality and range of BYU's library holdings.

In these days of rapid change, social and economic upheaval, and political turmoil, we cannot afford to be panicked into neglecting our cultural heritage or our intellectual potential in favor of immediate fads or short-range ambitions. The Old Testament teaches us the danger of exchanging a birthright for a mess of pottage. The lesson should be heeded. The surest way for a society to doom its future is to forget its past. The best way to kill civilization is to burn its books and obliterate its history.

> To live simply in the present, as so many have undertaken to do in this age, destroying systematically the links which bind

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*The paper was originally presented at the celebration of the acquisition of the millionth volume by the Brigham Young University Library.

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> them to preceding generations, is to leave oneself at the mercy of all those neuroses for which our society has proved so fertile a breeding ground. The modern odyssey—the search for identity—is doomed to shipwreck if it does not take unto itself the historic dimension of man's experience.[1]

Long ago Thomas Jefferson insisted that

> the study of history is the very heart of education. . . . In a republic, the purpose of history is to enable every man to judge for himself what will secure or endanger his freedom. Surely that is "precise" enough and "relevant" enough to satisfy anyone.[2]

Nothing is more relevant, in this day of conscious and sometimes mistaken relevance, than preserving our heritage, knowing our roots, and mapping our forward progress on the basis of where we have been. For without the preservation and study of the ideas, aspirations, accomplishments, frustrations, and failures of the past—of man's collective memory and experiences—each generation would have to begin again from primitive origins and be doomed to commit the same errors as its ancestors. There could be no progress. It would be motion without movement, walking eternally on a treadmill.

But that is not what we want, and I don't believe that is what God intended for us. The knowledge of human history is to mankind what personal memory is to the individual. Without it we are lost in a sea of objects, forms, and sounds, with each day, or generation, beginning where the previous one began instead of where it ended. With it we may advance from one stage to the next, building upon the ideas, the institutions, and the knowledge of each previous age, just as our personal lives unfold and progress on the foundations and achievements of each successive day. The past

> has a great deal to teach us—not only in the form of specific answers to questions which are totally relevant still, but also in the perspective we can gain in no other way. A thoughtful look at history is perhaps the most effective single way to sort out the significant from the transient . . . to find out what really matters in our long, uneven struggle to find better ways for man to live.[3]

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[1]Page Smith, *The Historian and History* (New York, 1966), p. 248.
[2]Walter Karp, *Horizon,* 12, no. 1 (1970):23.
[3]J. Daniels Manley (publisher of *Time-Life Books*) to the author, October 1971.

It is the profession of some of us to acquire, preserve, and make available the documentary sources of our heritage. For others of us, our commitment is to study and learn from those sources so that our collective memories might be refreshed and the lessons of history made available to all. But it is the fate of each of us to profit or lose from the results of these efforts in relation to the way the lessons are applied. Civilizations that have failed to keep a knowledge of themselves have vanished from the earth. Others have followed distorted and grotesque paths as a result of believing falsified or distorted history.

But a library does more than collect and preserve the written and pictorial history of the past. It provides the greatest stimulation for the creation of new ideas. For in the pages of printed and written words lies the power to stimulate original and life-giving thought. If a ten-dollar book or a thousand-dollar manuscript were to cause one student or teacher to spawn a great idea, or create a new work of art, or improve an old system of government, both investments would be worth the cost.

Petrarch, the father of Renaissance humanism, was sensitive to the value of books. He wrote a friend in 1338 concerning his personal library of books:

> They are friends illustrious in speech, intelligence, government, war, not difficult; they are content with a corner in my humble house, never reluctant or boring, eagerly obedient to my command, ready to come or go at my call. Now these, now those I interrogate, and they answer me at length, teliing their tales and singing their songs. Some explore the secrets of nature, some give counsel on better living and better dying; some tell their own high deeds and those of past heroes, and make old times live again in their words. Some drive away my distresses with their cheer, and bring back laughter to me with their fun. Some teach me to bear all burdens, to hope for nothing, to know myself. They are the artificers of peace, war, agriculture, law, navigation. They raise me up in adversity, curb me in prosperity, bid me look to the end, remind me of the swift days and of life's brevity. For all these gifts they ask a small price—only an open door to my house and heart, for hostile fate has left them few refuges in the world and only reluctant friends. If they are admitted, they think any lurking-place a mansion, and lie trembling until the frigid clouds may pass and the Muses again be welcomed. They do not require that silken hangings cover my bare walls or that

> rich foods perfume my table, or that my halls resound with the clamor of many servants attending a throng of guests. My sober troop of books are content with their own provisions and share them with me, as I sit wearily on my rose-colored bench. They give me sacred food and pour me sweet nectar.[4]

I began to develop my own respect and love for books many years ago in a small one-room country grade school in Idaho. I still remember vividly the old coal stove located near the front of the room that we boys took turns firing during the winter days to keep the room warm; a water bucket and dipper in the opposite corner containing the drinking water brought in from the outside well two or three times a day, again by the boys on a rotational basis; six rows of desks, seven desks to a row, accommodating all eight grades. In the older grades our numbers were reduced by early drop-outs and necessary farm work so that grades five through eight needed only two rows instead of four. In the back of the room to the left were all the props, equipment and materials used in frequent plays and dramatizations of historical events and holidays, along with other cooperative projects from bird collections to working models of vehicles we had made to illustrate the history of transportation from the stone age to the present. And, unobtrusively tucked away in the rear right-hand corner of the room was the library, a four-by-six glassed-in cabinet containing the literary holdings of the school. Not much material there to start an academic career on, but what it did contain was exciting, challenging, and transcendent. What could be more welcome to an eight-year-old boy whose life outside of the schoolroom seemed to be a never-ending succession of cow milking, horse feeding, calf feeding, pig feeding, chicken feeding, egg gathering, barn cleaning, cow herding, wood hauling, hay hauling, potato picking, weed pulling, and everything else that went with life on the farm in the early 1930s? I don't recall how many books that little library contained, nor very many of their titles, but I do recall having read them all by the time I reached the sixth grade, and when I graduated from the eighth I had read many of them four and five times. There was nothing else to read. But enough reminiscing.

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[4]Francesco Petrarch, *Epistolae metricai,* 1:6, quoted in Morris Bishop, *Petrarch and His World* (Bloomington, 1963), pp. 135-36.

Many of you may recall some of the stories of Thomas Jefferson's great love and use of books. Jefferson, who owned one of the finest private libraries in Colonial America, was deeply aware of the limitless value and importance of books in the development of education. In 1819 the state of Virginia granted the charter establishing the University of Virginia and appropriated $15,000 to construct and equip the university. Jefferson, who was named as its first rector, immediately contacted a number of Boston booksellers and spent the entire $15,000 for the purchase of books. When that was gone he sent someone to Europe to buy an additional number which he felt was necessary for the establishment of a meaningful university. This was the vision that made the University of Virginia one of the great institutions of higher learning in America.

It is also the vision that has inspired the leaders of our Church and this university in the creation and growth of a great research library here. Brigham Young set the tone more than 100 years ago when he wrote, on the occasion of the establishment of the university of the State of Deseret:

> We are happy in saying to all that a brighter day is dawning on the intellectual prosperity of Zion; . . . and we earnestly solicit the cooperation of all the Saints, and particularly the Elders in all nations, to gather, as they may have the opportunity, books in all languages, and on every science, apparatus, and rare specimens of art and nature, and everything that may tend to beautify and make useful; and forward or bring the same to the Regents of our university.[5]

On a later occasion he said:

> We should be a people of profound learning pertaining to the things of the world. We should be familiar with the various languages. . . . We wish Missionaries who may go to France to be able to speak the French language fluently, and those who may go to Germany, Italy, Spain, and so on to all nations, to be familiar with the languages of those nations.
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> We also wish them to understand the geography, habits, customs, and laws of nations and kingdoms, whether they be barbarians or civilized. This is recommended in the revelations given to us. In them we are taught to study the best books, that we may become as well acquainted with the

[5] "Third General Epistle," 12 April 1850, *Messages of the First Presidency* (Salt Lake City, 1965), pp. 48-49.

> geography of the world as we are with our gardens, and as familiar with the people—so far at least as they are portrayed in print—as we are with our families and neighbours.[6]

Not long ago President Hugh B. Brown wrote in the *Improvement Era*:

> We seek to arouse in all who are young in mind, a broad and well-rounded acquaintance with and enthusiasm for fine books, that their increasing knowledge shall continue to be vigorous, dynamic, and zestful, that life may be worth living. Liberal education––the education that liberates the human mind from prejudice and provincialism—is education for freedom. The love of great books should be earnestly desired by every person. If we are to be free, our minds must be free. He who loves and becomes acquainted with great books is the richest and happiest of men.[7]

A university library has special needs to enable it to provide the multitude of services for which it exists. Its holdings must be deep in some areas, as well as broad in all. It must contain specialized and detailed sources along with extensive coverage on a less profound level. It must serve amateurs and professionals, creators and critics, researchers and reviewers. A single manuscript, such as the one we have acquired as the millionth volume, may be the source of many future creations and unlimited stimulation to hard work.

I have had the occasion and opportunity to study in many libraries and archives throughout Europe. Most of them possess large collections of original manuscript sources. In one of these, the small library of the Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan in Madrid, I was first struck by the thought that people in past ages, some of them at least, were speaking directly to me. The manuscript collection there was assiduously guarded by the library patron who looked after the holdings as a mother hen watches her chicks.[8] When I opened the first bundle of papers—all of them dating from the second half of the sixteenth century—I stopped in amazement. Had these lines been written in gold? No, what had appeared to be gold turned out to be flecks of drying sand stuck to the ink which had turned golden brown over the years. But their

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[6] *Journal of Discourses,* 26 vols. (London, 1861), 8:40.

[7] "Get Understanding," *Improvement Era,* 63 (1960):628.

[8] De Lamar Jensen, "Historical Research at the Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan," *The Historian,* 29 (1966):81-85.

glisten gave the appearance of newly applied gold leaf. I immediately felt a closeness to the author of those vellum sheets when I realized, from the amount of sand still stuck to the ink, that I might have been the first to read those lines since they were written four hundred years ago. I can't say that this experience caused a great flurry of production from my own pen, but it did reinforce my commitment to truth and its discovery and to the promotion of sound scholarship through good teaching and writing.

Brigham Young University now has several manuscript collections of its own. Some of our manuscripts, like the documents at the Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, or the Archivio di Stato in Venice, or the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, or the Haus-Hof-und Staatsarchiv in Vienna, also contain flecks of golden drying sand that might, in themselves or by the words they adhere to, stimulate students today, or long after you and I are gone, to greater heights of truth and understanding. Today we are adding Johannes Hevelius's *Catalogus Stellarum Fixarum* to these previously acquired manuscripts.

Hevelius was the beneficiary of an age of scientific curiosity and innovation. He was born into a world of intellectual excitement and revolution. Religious ideas were still the most hotly debated subjects in Europe. The Reformation, less than a hundred years old, was a vital issue, from Cadiz to Danzig and from Glasgow to Naples. The religious separation of Europe into hostile confessional camps had begun long before, but the eventual outcome of those divisions was not yet decided. Other issues and ideas, however far their content seemed to be from theological debate, seemed sooner or later to become involved in religion. Both Calvinist activists and determined Jesuits saw the religious implications of every articulated or implied view.

Yet by 1611, the year of Hevelius's birth, thoughtful men all over Europe were beginning to weary of the endless arguments and excesses to which religious devotion had driven them. Half a century of bloodshed and religious wars had awakened many to the futility of religious compulsion. For a few short years Europe basked in relative peace. The doctrines of militant Huguenots and the iconoclasm of Dutch rebels, as well as the ultradogmatism of the French Catholic League, seemed to be giving way to a social and political

tranquility based on the deemphasis of religious politics and the affirmation of civil authority. The previous revolutionary movements and the religious disorders in France and the Netherlands, Scotland, England, and even Spain, left a scar of fear throughout the land and a deep longing for stability and order. But, as all too often, order came to mean authoritarianism. Peace was purchased at the price of despotism. Yet it was during this brief lull between two ages of European upheaval that great changes in the ideas men held about the physical world, and about the universe, were being effected.

For many years the notion advanced by Copernicus, that the sun was the center of the universe around which the earth revolved, had been taken with a grain of salt at best, and in most cases rejected outright. Two years before Hevelius's birth, Galileo learned that two Netherlanders had built a telescope for viewing the skies, and he immediately set to work to make a better one. With this amazing new instrument, Galileo soon convinced himself that, in the essentials at least, Copernicus had been right. He discovered the moons of Jupiter circling that great striped planet. He noted the phases of Venus, examined the craters of the moon, and saw proof of the sun's rotation by the movement of its spots. Galileo's countryman, Giordano Bruno, agreed with Copernicus—and paid with his life. How many more errors about the starry heavens had been passed on through the ages? Galileo intended to find out.

In the meantime, far to the north on a tiny island in the Danish Sound, Tycho Brahe, a dedicated Danish astronomer, was making daily astronomical observations at his Uraniborg observatory and compiling great quantities of data. His assistant, Johannes Kepler, learned quickly from his meticulous teacher and soon was contributing fresh insights and new ideas to the science of astronomy. The data provided by these observations, and by others, and the penetrating thought of men like Francis Bacon in England and René Descartes in France and the Lowlands resulted in a multitude of new conceptions and theories concerning the earth and the universe. Some believed the planets circled the earth while that entire complex revolved around the sun. Others thought that space was filled with whirlpools of matter carrying the planets and stars in countless vortices of motion.

Into this age of conflict and order—of hatred and compassion, violence and peace, reason and superstition, the Baroque world of Bacon, Descartes, Galileo, Richelieu, Philip III, and Gustavus Adolphus, Shakespeare, Milton, Spinosa, Velazquez, and Rembrandt—Hevelius was born.

Danzig was the largest city in Eastern Europe in the seventeenth century. It was a bustling trading center, especially in grain which it supplied for much of Europe. Danzig had always been an important seaport ever since its linkage with the towns of the Hanseatic League during the late Middle Ages. It was taken by the Teutonic Knights in 1308 and remained in their hands for 150 years, but in 1466, after a long and bloody war, it was returned to Polish authority. King Casimir IV, of the famous Jagiellan dynasty, rewarded Danzig's loyalty witih local autonomy. Under the Jagiellans Danzig flourished. In 1492 some 26,000 tons of grain were exported from the port. During the next century the size and prosperity of the city grew rapidly. By the seventeenth century it had some 60,000 people and exported an average of 175,000 tons of grain annually.

There were many merchants in Danzig and it is not surprising that Johannes' father, who was a fairly well-to-do brewer, expected his son to follow a business career. In spite of parental discouragement, Hevelius early developed an enthusiasm for mathematics and, under the guidance of the astronomer Peter Krüger, a fascination for the stars. At the age of nineteen, Hevelius was sent to the West to study and travel. He spent the next four years in Germany, Holland, England, France, and Italy learning much from observation and tutelage and becoming acquainted with the greatest scientists of the time, including Jacob Usher, Samuel Harlib, Peter Gassendi, Athanasius Kircher and Galileo. But the uncontrollable ravages of the Thirty Years War, into which Europe had blundered, made travel in central Europe extremely hazardous, and Hevelius returned to Danzig in 1634.

Throughout this time, Hevelius never lost interest in astronomy, but it was his observation of the eclipse of the sun on 1 June 1639 that rekindled in him the desire to devote his life to it. He began in earnest, with the help of the newly developed telescope, to make numerous stellar observations. His first interest was the moon, and he prepared a series of

drawings of the various phases of the moon over a period of a month, showing how the details on the moon's surface varied from day to day.[9] He made his observations during the night and the following day engraved them onto copper plates for eventual publication. Not only did Hevelius map the moon but he also named many of its physical features, some of which are still used today. During the next few years, he constructed the famous Stellaburgum, the finest equipped astronomical observatory in Europe, composed of a large platform supporting and housing the many instruments which Hevelius had acquired and built. The Stellaburgum was supported across the roofs of Hevelius' three adjoining houses.

His next objective was an ambitious project of observation and mathematical calculation. He intended to make a complete catalog of all fixed stars, listing their names, constellation position, individual measurements of brightness, position by ecliptic coordinates (that is, the angular distances between stars), and positions calculated by meridian altitudes, along with the measurements of earlier observers. The value of such a star catalog was unquestioned, for it enabled astronomers to determine *if* changes were taking place in the constellations, and if so, the nature and amount of such changes. It was also valuable in determining the structure of the solar system as it provided a series of reference points from which the movement of the planets could be determined and the order of their motion calculated. The only catalog of the kind available at the time was Tycho Brahe's tables which had been published in their last edition when Hevelius was only sixteen years old. Hevelius had long recognized the need for a more accurate table of observations and a more extensive catalog of the fixed stars. From that time on his life was devoted to this project, which he pursued, along with countless other scientific projects, with meticulous care and unflagging patience.

By September 1679, thirty-eight years after it was begun, the *Catalogus Stellarum Fixarum* was almost completed and ready for publication. Then, on the night of September 26, disaster struck. Hevelius' homes and the Stellaburgum were consumed in flames. Very little was saved from the disastrous

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[9]For a fuller account of this and Hevelius' life and work see Ivan Volkoff, Ernest Franzgrote, and A. Dean Larsen, *Johannes Hevelius and His Catalog of Stars* (Provo, 1971), pp. 12-18.

fire. All of his unbound books were burned; the instruments were mostly destroyed, including many priceless devices which Hevelius had designed and built; and most of the bound books in his library were lost either from the fire or from subsequent vandalism. Yet, miraculously, his manuscript of the *Catalogus* was saved and began a long and eventful journey across three centuries and two continents from Danzig to the Brigham Young University Library.

Saddened, but undaunted, Hevelius began the task of rebuilding his observatory and resuming his stellar studies. He submitted the first part of his *Catalogus* to the publisher, but, unfortunately, never lived to see it through. He died on his 76th birthday, 28 January 1687. Hevelius' wife Elizabeth, who had been a great asset to him, both as a wife and as a laboratory assistant, preserved the manuscript of the *Catalogus* until her own death in 1693, after which it went to her daughter, Katharina Lange. In 1707 Katharina's husband sold most of the remaining manuscripts and four folio volumes of Hevelius' correspondence. These are now located in the Bibliothèque de l'Observatoire in Paris. But the *Catalogus* remained in the Lange house. During the siege of Danzig in 1734, near the end of the bitter war of the Polish Succession, the house was struck by repeated Russian artillery fire. Great damage was done to the instruments and to the unbound books, but still the *Catalogus* survived this second near-tragedy.

One year later Lange put up the rest of the Hevelius heirlooms for sale—all except some few instruments whose names he did not know and which he therefore could not list. Some manuscripts were also mentioned in the sale, but some, according to a relative, were left behind in an upper room because "it is so bitter cold there that we cannot look for them now."[10] These manuscripts, including the *Catalogus,* were given to the National Historical Society of Danzig in 1782. There they remained until 1939.

In January 1945 the German Occupation Army in Poland was collapsing before the steady westward advance of the Red Army. The National Historical Library was evacuated to a small village outside of Danzig, where it was almost totally destroyed during the last days of fighting. Miraculously again

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[10]Jean Bernoulli, "Fortgesetzte Nachrichten von Hevels gelehrtem Nachlasse," *Monatliche Correspondenz zur Beförderund der Erd-und Himmelskunde,* 8 (1803):408-10. Quoted in Volkoff, Franzgrote, and Larsen, p. 62.

the *Catalogus* survived, this time to reappear in West Germany after the war. There it was acquired by Ivan Volkoff and Adelheid von Hohenlohe, from whom we obtained it as the one millionth volume for the Brigham Young University Library. Here it will stay—but not rest—for it, along with the other books and manuscripts in this and future BYU libraries, will be used by students and scholars in the never-ending quest for knowledge, truth, and understanding to which Brigham Young University is dedicated.

Ancient Writing in the Americas

Paul R. Cheesman*

People are funny. Let anyone whom they distrust present a new concept not yet provable, and they will immediately reject it as false and fraudulent. Then let someone who is respected say the same thing, and the response will be positive. A good example of this unfortunate facet of human nature can be seen in the reactions of both general and scholarly circles to claims made by two different men concerning the nature and origin of ancient writing in the Americas.

In 1830 Joseph Smith stated that the ancient inhabitants of the Western Hemisphere were of Hebrew origin, and that they had left a number of metallic plates inscribed with their language—a language which he was able to translate by the power of God. This claim was considered by most to be purely nonsensical, not only because of disbelief concerning the ostensible source of these materials, but also because it didn't happen to fall within the pale of current archaeological opinion. Scientists of the time insisted that the ancient peoples of North and South America were not of Hebrew origin, did not leave a written language, and if they had, would certainly not have left it on metal plates.

Since that time a number of artifacts have been discovered which seem to substantiate Joseph Smith's claim, but people have rather steadfastly refused to accept these artifacts as proof of the existence of literacy among the pre-Columbian Americans. Recently, however, Dr. Cyrus H. Gordon of

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*Dr. Cheesman, associate professor of ancient scripture at Brigham Young University and director of the Book of Mormon Institute, has spent many years searching for artifacts in Central and South American ruins. This article is based on that research.

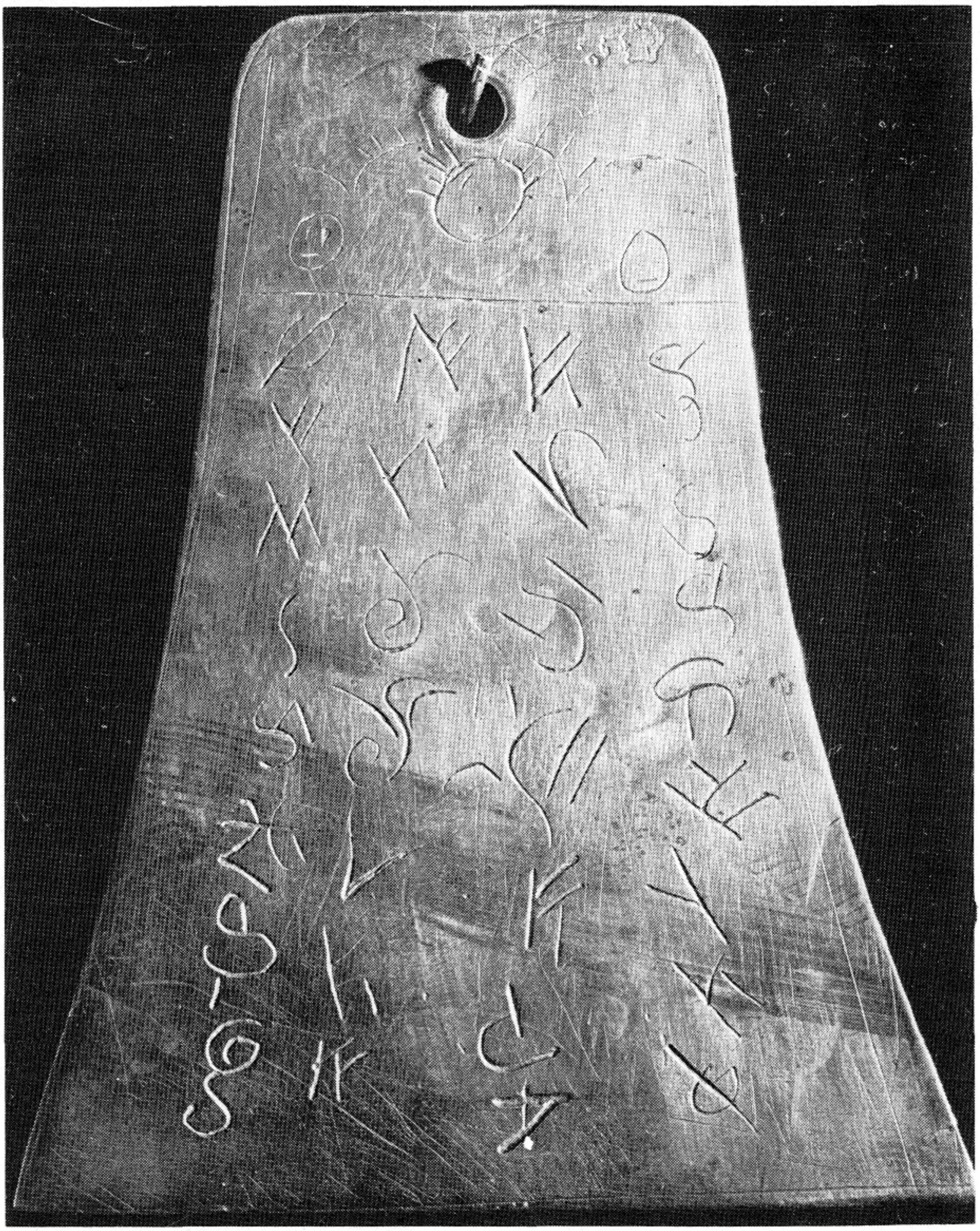

Fig. 1—One of the Kinderhook, Illinois plates

Brandeis University, said that people, possibly of Jewish origin, may have made transoceanic voyages and landed in America one thousand years before Columbus, leaving evidence of their existence on an inscribed stone which was discovered recently in Tennessee and named, appropriately enough, the Tennessee Stone.[1] Although somewhat less assured in his contention than was Joseph Smith over a hundred years earlier, Dr. Gordon seems to have said essentially the same thing. The only apparent difference lies in the public and scholarly responses to the idea, as Dr. Gordon's supposition, unlike Joseph Smith's, was greeted with interest and belief.

After approximately 140 years, public and scholarly opinion are finally beginning to concede the possibility that writing did indeed exist among the ancient Americans. While I have been waiting for this shift to occur among those who don't have the Mormons' axe to grind, I have been collecting every available evidence to support my belief in the existence of such writing. My own findings and the findings of others not only establish the fact that writing did exist in ancient America, but they also indicate that metal plates were frequently used as a medium for this writing and that the writings themselves often denote Old World, specifically Hebrew, origins.

Although the existence of writing in the Eastern Hemisphere has been traced as far back as 3,000 B.C., claims for the existence of writing in ancient America began, so far as we know, with Joseph Smith in 1830. For the most part, archaeologists in America have found it necessary to rely on non-written artifacts in order to reconstruct the family life, government, and religious beliefs of the ancestors of the American Indian. The only other sources of information concerning these people have been the writings of the early Spanish chroniclers and the observations of Indians who, upon becoming literate, recorded the oral traditions and legends of their fathers.

Joseph Smith's 1830 declaration, then, was archaeologically significant, not only for the American continent, where it was assumed that no ancient written language existed, but also for the entire world, because ancient writings had never before been found on metal plates. Since that time, however, hun-

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[1]*San Diego Union,* Monday, 9 October 1970.

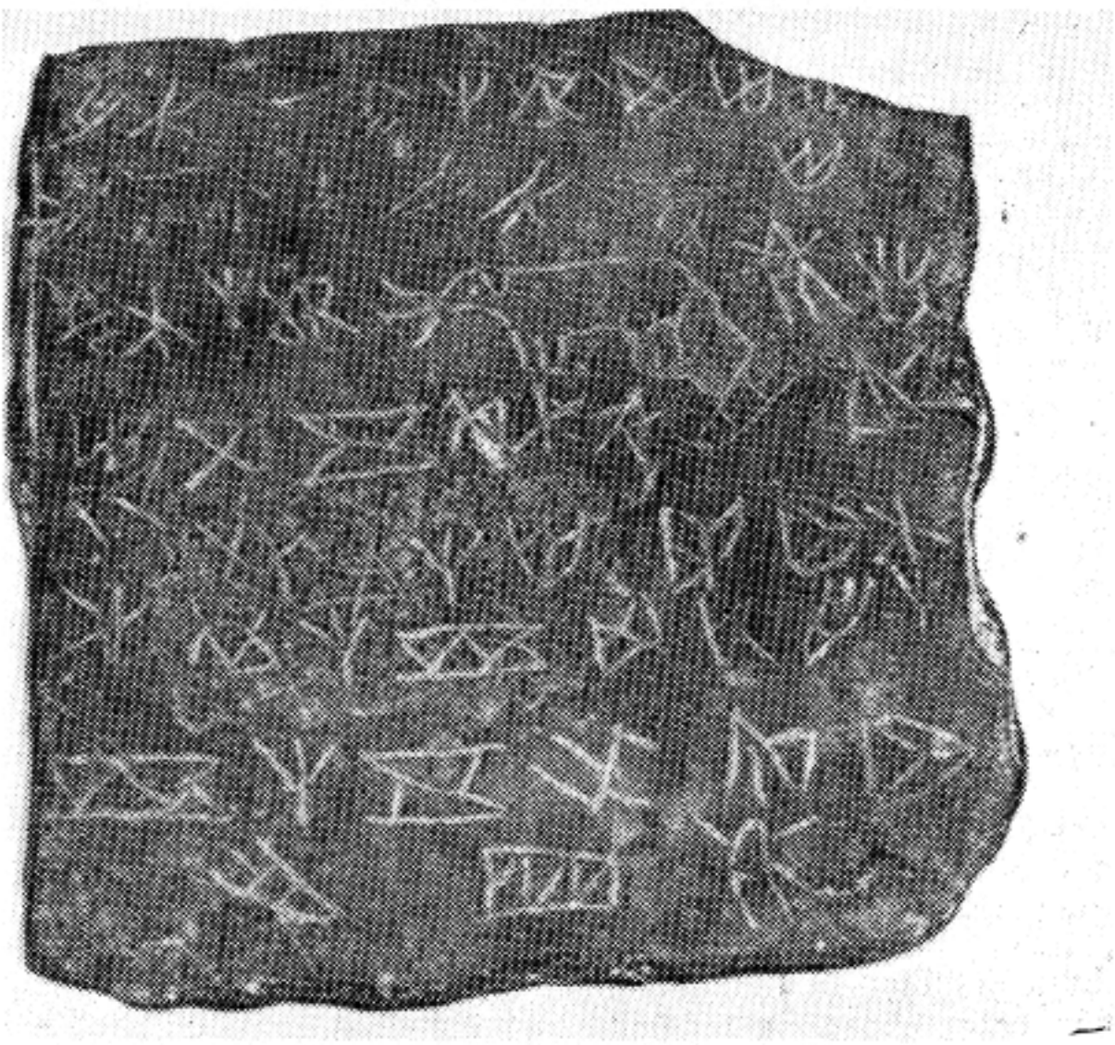

Fig. 2—One of the Arizona tablets

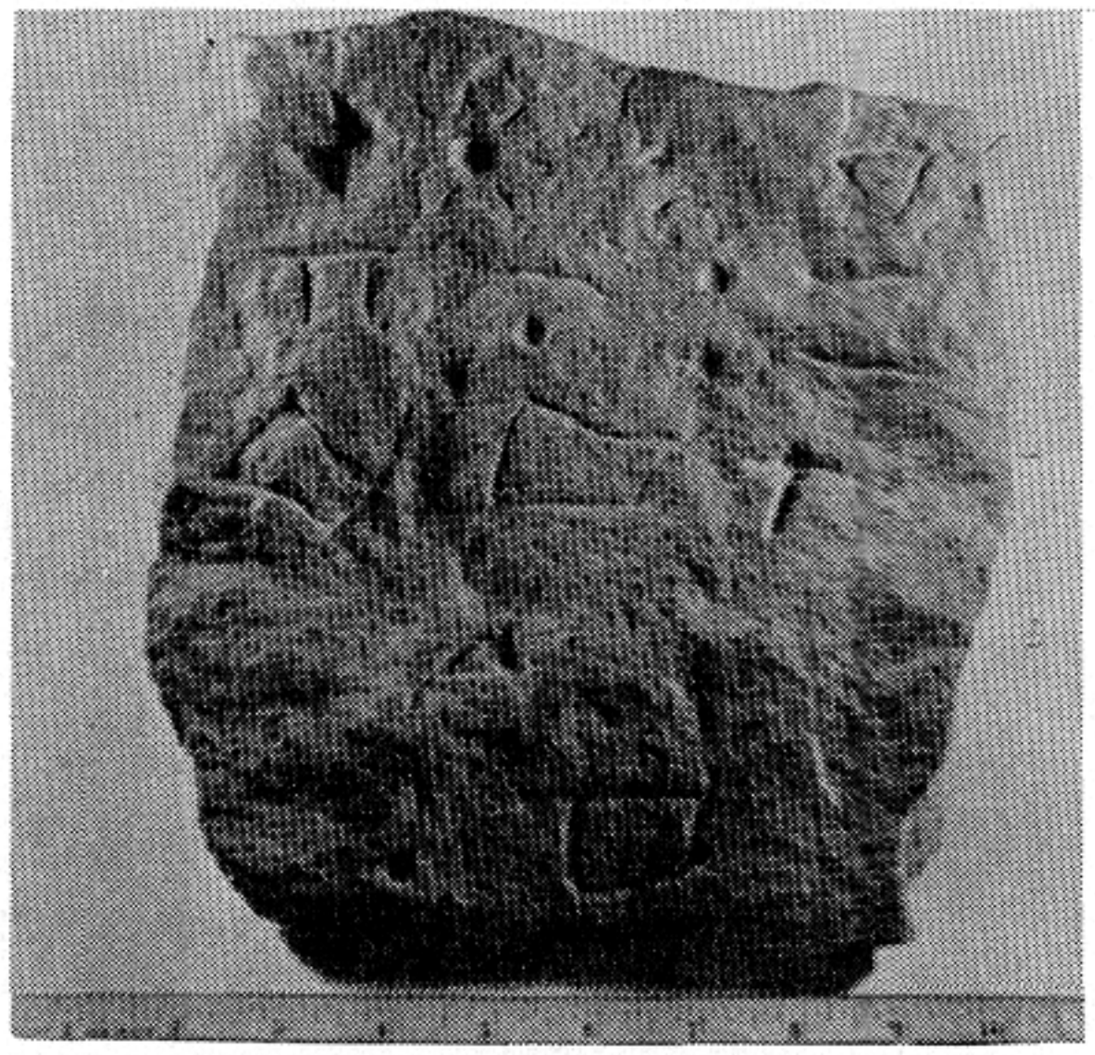

Fig. 4—The Metcalf stone

Fig. 3—Newspaper Rock near Monticello, Utah

dreds of examples of writing on metal plates have been discovered.[2] In addition, writings in various forms—linear symbols, glyphs, alphabet, picture—have been found in all parts of America on a variety of mediums ranging from stone tablets to crude forms of paper.

As early as 1842 nine men signed an affidavit which attested to the discovery of six bell-shaped metal plates with writing on them at Kinderhook, Illinois.[3] These have consequently been called the Kinderhook Plates (see Fig. 1).

A pamphlet written and distributed in 1878 declared the authenticity of the "Cincinnati Tablet," a tablet, found in 1841, containing some pictoglyphic symbols. It is five inches long, three inches wide, and about one-half inch thick.[4]

In 1952 the Arizona State Museum acquired two quarter-inch-thick slabs of very hard quartzitic sandstone which had peculiar signs carved on their surfaces.[5] Both stones were found at a ruin on the south side of the Animas River, opposite the settlement of Flora Vista, New Mexico, and both appear to have come from a cave site rather than from an open area. The find was made before 1910, and the slabs themselves have been dated at approximately 1100 A.D., based on an association analysis with potsherds. They are still housed in the Arizona State Museum where I saw them. The writing on the tablets is a picture-and-glyph combination which, interestingly enough, includes a pictographic elephant (see Fig. 2).

Pictoglyphs and petroglyphs are pictorial symbols which record certain events and provide another method of communication. Examples of this form of writing are found throughout the southwestern United States. Many interpretations of the symbols are available; however, no key exists which provides exact definitions for all these colorful character-glyph writings (see Fig. 3).

Besides numerous finds in the Southwest, a number of other artifacts have been unearthed in areas as widely diverse as Michigan and the Southern States. In 1966, for instance,

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[2]Curtis Wright, "Metallic Documents of Antiquity," *BYU Studies* 10 (Summer 1970):457. *See also* footnote of Wright's article which refers to Hugh Nibley, *Since Cumorah,* p. 251, and Helen McClee, "Inscriptions in the Classical Collection," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 19 (1924):167.

[3]Joseph Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,* ed. B. H. Roberts (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1949), 5:372-77.

[4]Robert Clarke, "The Pre-historic Remains" (Cincinnati, 1876).

[5]*Manuscripts* 21 (Summer 1969).

Mr. Manfred Metcalf discovered a stone in Georgia which was called to the attention of the Columbus Museum of Arts and Crafts. Mr. Mahan, of the museum, worked on the Metcalf Stone and concluded that the inscriptions were produced by the Yuchi Indians, who maintained oral legends which implied a transoceanic origin. Mahan's research placed the arrival of the Yuchi tribe from the Mediterranean near the middle of the second millenium B.C. (see Fig. 4). Dr. Cyrus Gordon joined the Metcalf Stone researchers and concurred with Mahan's theory about a possible connection between the inscriptions on the stone and the Aegean linear script. Dr. Gordon made further news recently by expressing the bold opinion that the Phoenicians had at one time landed in Brazil and left inscriptions on what is now called the Parahyba Stone.[6]

Other areas of the South have been fruitful in producing written artifacts of pre-Columbian America. Stephen Peet, for example, has reported the finding of hieroglyphics on tablets near the banks of the Mississippi River, as well as the discovery of picture writing in Tennessee in the 1890s.[7] Recent publicity has been given to the Bat Creek Stone, also found in Tennessee (London County). This engraved stone was discovered in 1885 during a Smithsonian Mound exploration program under the direction of Professor Cyrus Thomas. The recent publicity was due to the fact that the irrepressible Dr. Gordon examined this stone as well and suggested that the inscription was made between 70 A.D. and 135 A.D. and that the language on the stone could be linked with the Roman Empire during the first and second centuries A.D.[8] (see Fig. 5).

Other Southern artifacts include the Grave Creek and Wilson Tablets, located in West Virginia, which have long been controversial objects and which contain characters considered to be Phoenician, Libyan, Celtiberic, and Runic.[9]

The northern United States has likewise contributed evidence in support of pre-Columbian written language theories.

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[6]Cyrus H. Gordon, *Before Columbus* (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1971), pp. 119-27.

[7]Stephen Peet, *Prehistoric America,* 2 vols. (Chicago: Office of the American Antiquarian, 1892), 1:44-45, 374.

[8]*Science* 2 (May 1971):14-16.

[9]*Western Reserve Historical Society Tracts,* 9(February 1872)..

At Neward, Ohio, a man by the name of Wyrick discovered two stones which were covered with old Hebrew inscriptions, and M. E. Cornell has published an undated manuscript at Battle Creek, Michigan, which contains several drawings of caskets and tablets found in the vicinity of Wyman, Michigan. Many of these objects have inscriptions on them.[10] In addition, the January 1969 edition of *Science Digest* reports the finding of runic messages on stones discovered in Kensington, Minnesota; Poteau, Oklahoma; Bourne, Massachusetts; and the province of Nova Scotia.

This impressive, not to say convincing, catalog of North American finds may be equalled, if not surpassed, by a similar listing of artifacts uncovered in Central and South America. Hieroglyphics cut into stone were part of the Mayan culture, and inscriptions on the lintels of buildings in Chichen Itza, as well as the tablets at Palenque, and the stelae, or stone slabs, of Tikal, explain certain calendrical and astronomical hieroglyphics (see Figs. 6, 7, and 8).

Recently a roller stamp from Tlatilco, Mexico, was found bearing clay designs which formed three registers with sequences of arbitrary symbols that could very well have been part of a writing system among the ancestors of the American Indian, specifically of the Olmec culture (see Fig. 9).[11]

In 1968 I was viewing a private pre-Columbian artifact collection in Lima, Peru. Hanging on the wall was a thin gold plaque that bore an interesting embossed design which, upon closer observation, revealed eight distinct symbols. This plate has since been examined by several experts throughout the United States and has undergone neutron, X-ray, and spectographic analysis to determine its composition. It was found to be ninety percent gold. Although some have labeled this plate a fake, others are less skeptical, and studies to determine its authenticity continue. A comparison of the markings from this plate with certain characters from an ancient Old World text, the *Cyprite*, taken from a study by Luige Palma Cresnola, reveals striking similarities (see Fig. 10).

In January of 1970 I learned of the existence of seven inscribed metal plates belonging to a Catholic priest in Ecua-

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[10]J. Ralston Skinner, *Key to the Hebrew: Egyptian Mystery in the Sources of Measures*, p. 55.

[11]*SEHA Newsletter*, 112.0.

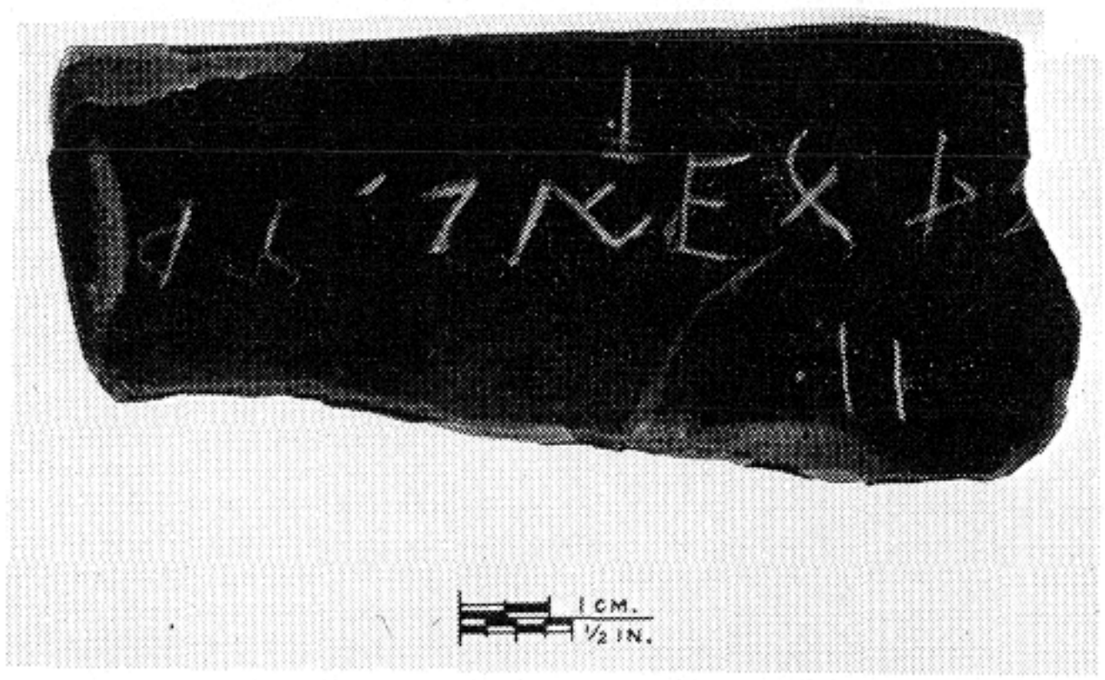

Fig. 5—The Tennessee stone

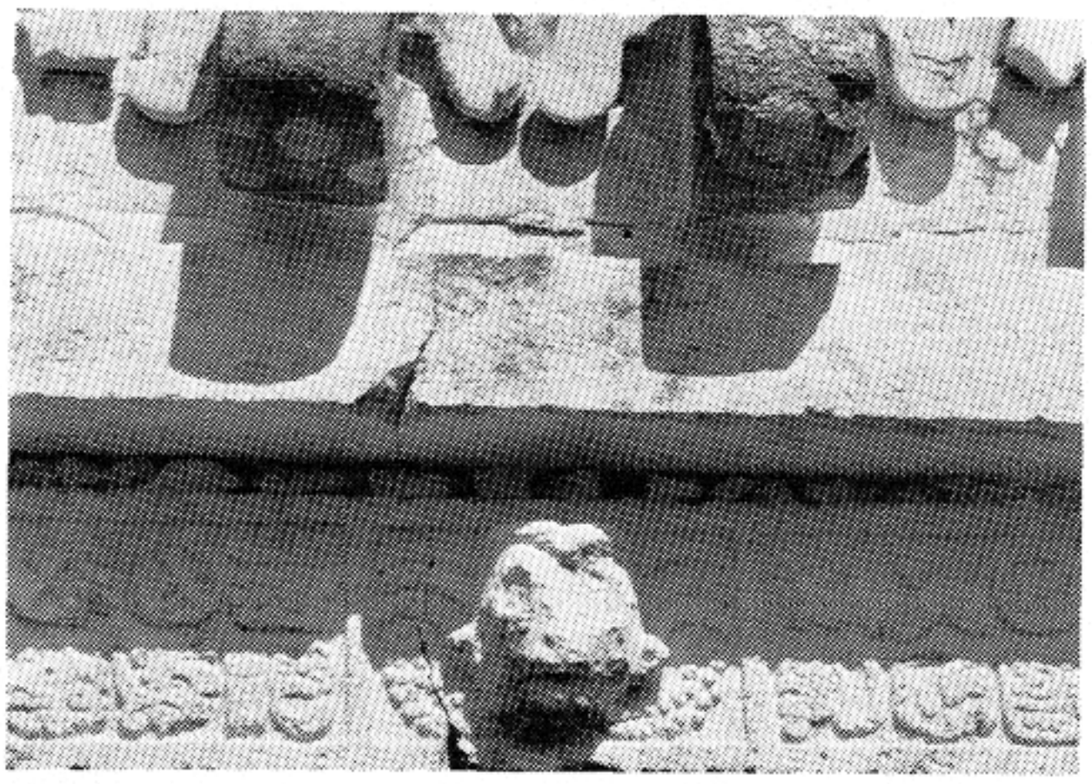

Fig. 6—Hieroglyphs on a lintel of a nunnery at Chichen Itza, Mexico

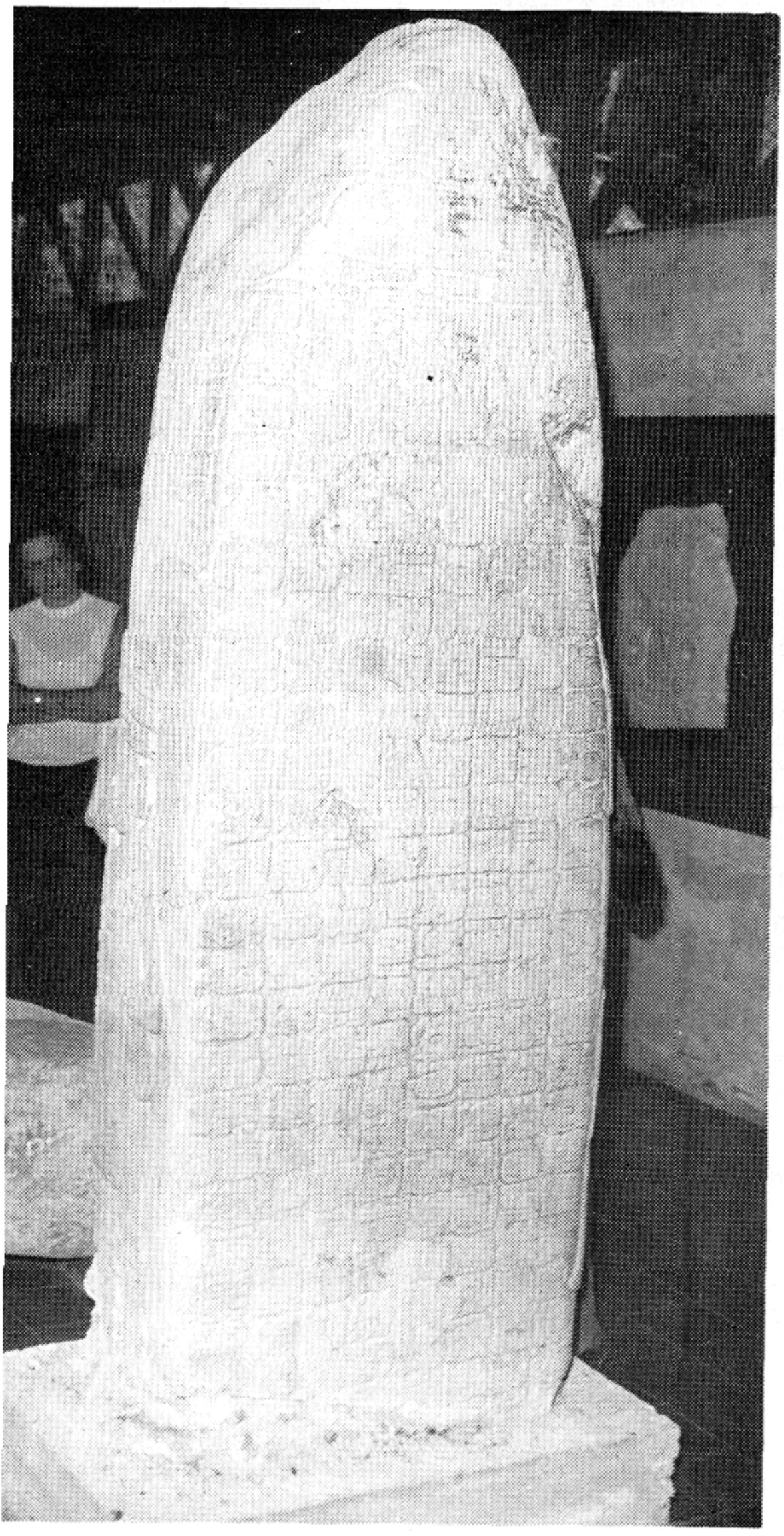

Fig. 8—Hieroglyphs on a stone in Guatemala

Fig. 7—Hieroglyphs on a stone at Tikal, Guatemala

dor who for many years has been collecting artifacts from Indians in surrounding areas. I visited this gentleman shortly after, and secured photographs of the plates, six of copper and one of an alloy of copper, gold, and zinc or tin (see Fig. 11). Tests and analyses to establish the authenticity or invalidity of these plates will take many months, or even years, but the prospects at this point are encouraging.

On 17 May 1960 a UPI report released by the Colombian Anthropology Commission, printed in the Cuban newspaper, *Information,* stated that Hebrew and Chinese letter-characters had been found in the La Macarena mountain range. Ten years later the *Miami Herald* reported the finding of Mayan-like hieroglyphics in a cave on the Dutch Antilles island of Bonaire.

Paper was also a notable medium for writing in ancient America. Montezuma reportedly kept his revenue records on books which were made of a type of paper called amatl, and the Toltecs, Mixtecs, Zapotecs, and Totonacs were also known to have had paper and writing.[12]

Furthermore, a type of paper has been found and dated back to the pre-Columbian period of Mexican history. It is currently on display in the anthropological museum in Mexico City. In 1968 Thomas Stuart Ferguson discovered a scroll of paperlike material with inked characters inscribed on it. In his book, *The First Americans* (n.d.), G. H. S. Bushnell discusses the findings of manuscripts painted on barkcloth, which was then sized with lime and screen-folded. These manuscripts are called codices and contain bar and dot numerals and other glyphs. The various codices on display in major museums have been declared to be a very stylized form of writing, and certain pictographic representations in the New World Codex Vaticanus, one of the remaining New World manuscripts, have been interpreted to include the characters of Adam and Eve, Cain, Abel, and a serpent (see Fig. 12).

Perhaps the most interesting discoveries in the search for pre-Columbian writings have been the inscriptions on bowls found near Guadalajara, Mexico (see Fig. 13), and the artifacts found in Peru, which depict Mochica couriers carrying small sacks apparently containing incised lima beans painted

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[12]Victor Wolfgang von Hagen, *The Ancient Sun Kingdoms of the Americas* (New York: World Publishing Co., 1961), p. 38.

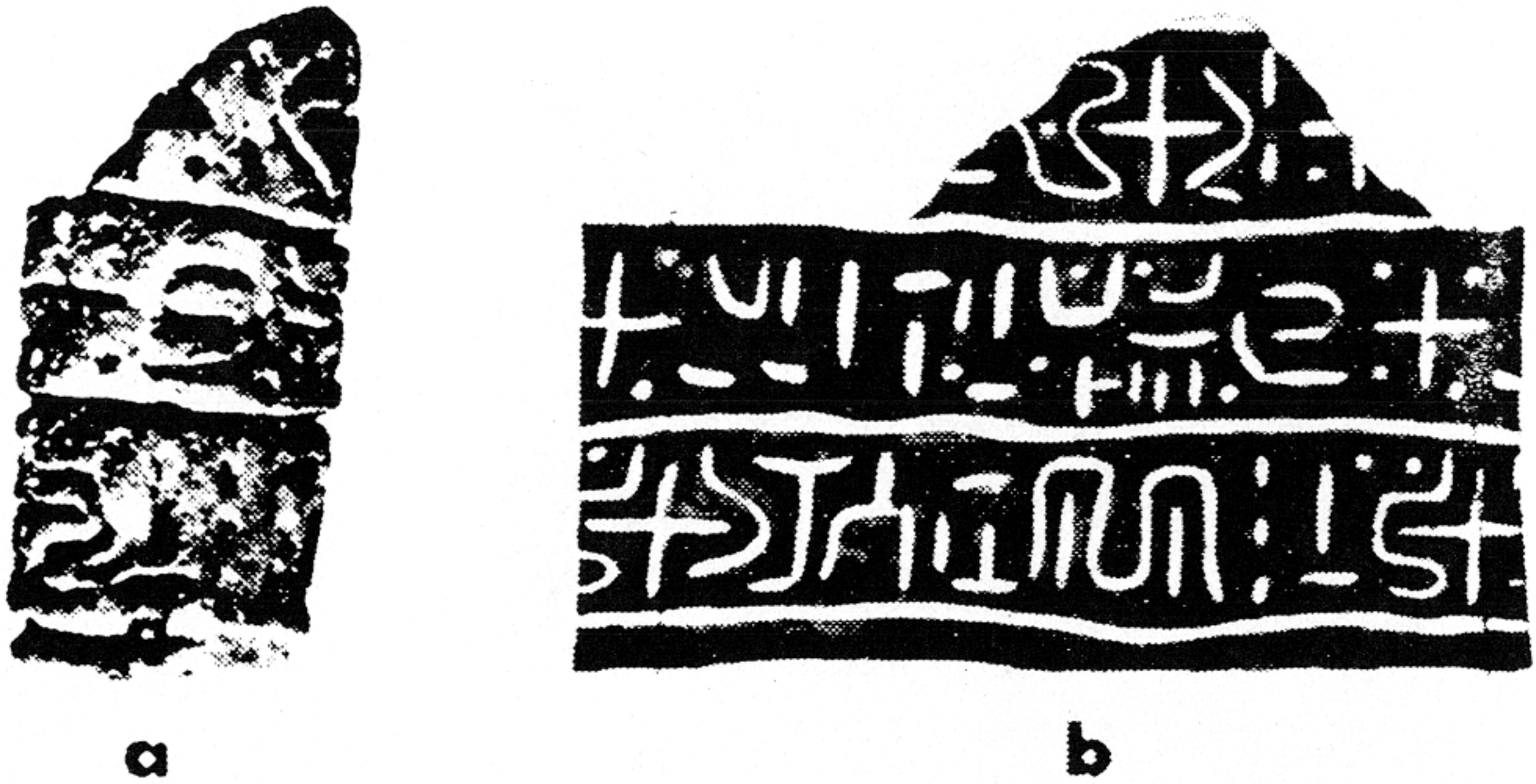

Fig. 9—Cylinder seal from Tlatilco, Mexico

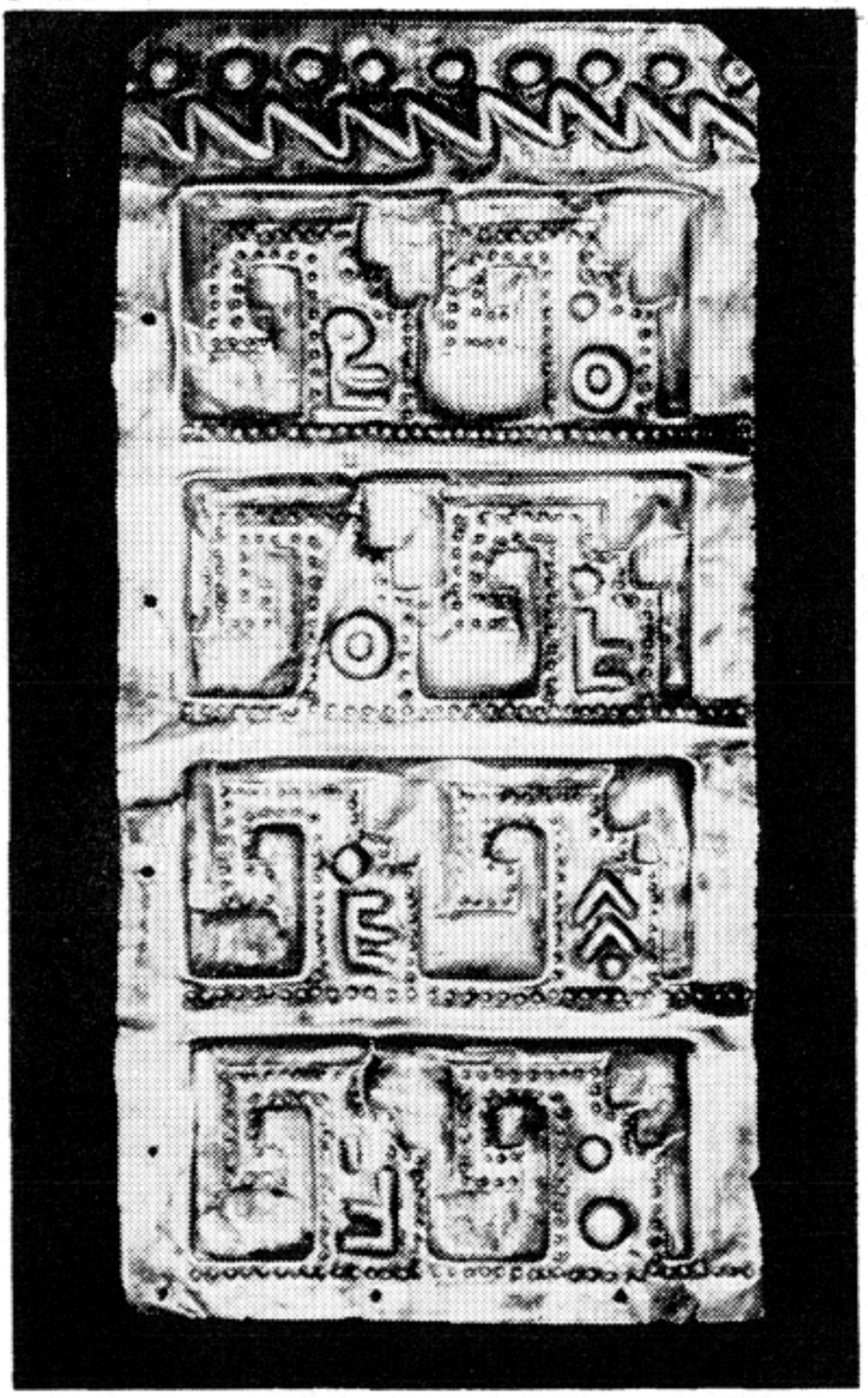

Fig. 10—A Peruvian gold plate

Fig. 11—A copper plate from Equador

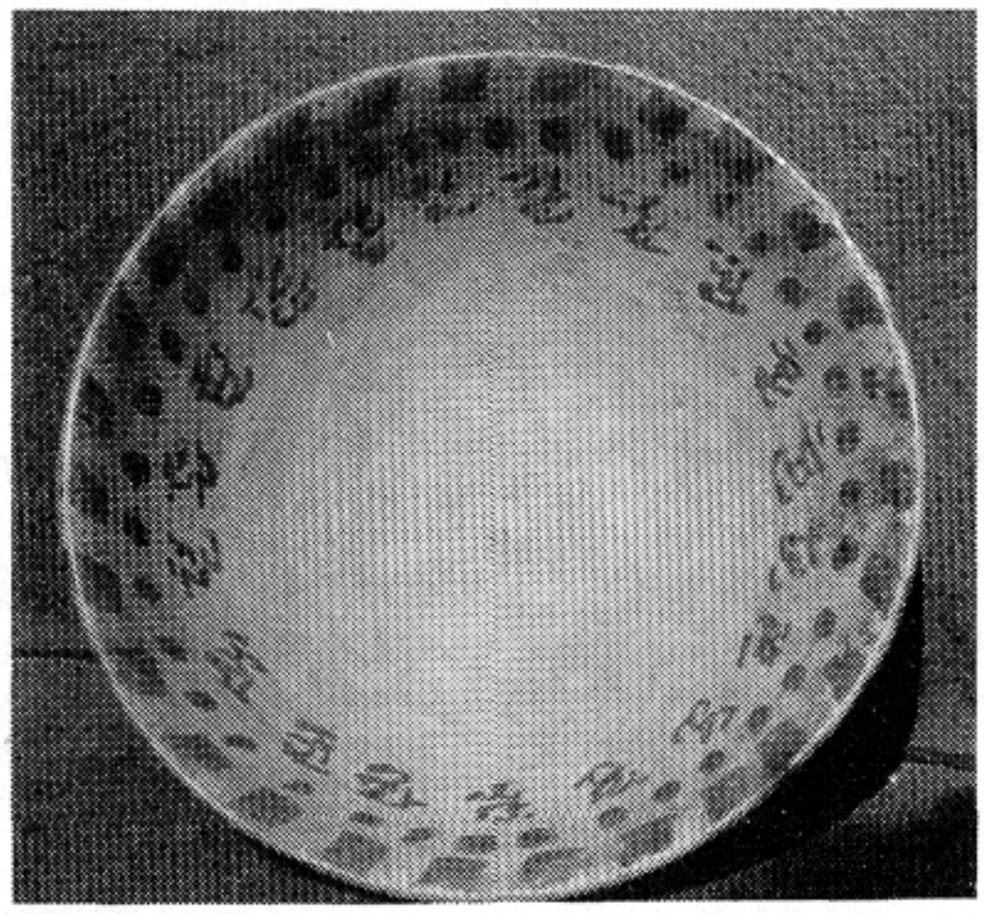

Fig. 13—A bowl found near Guadalajara, Mexico

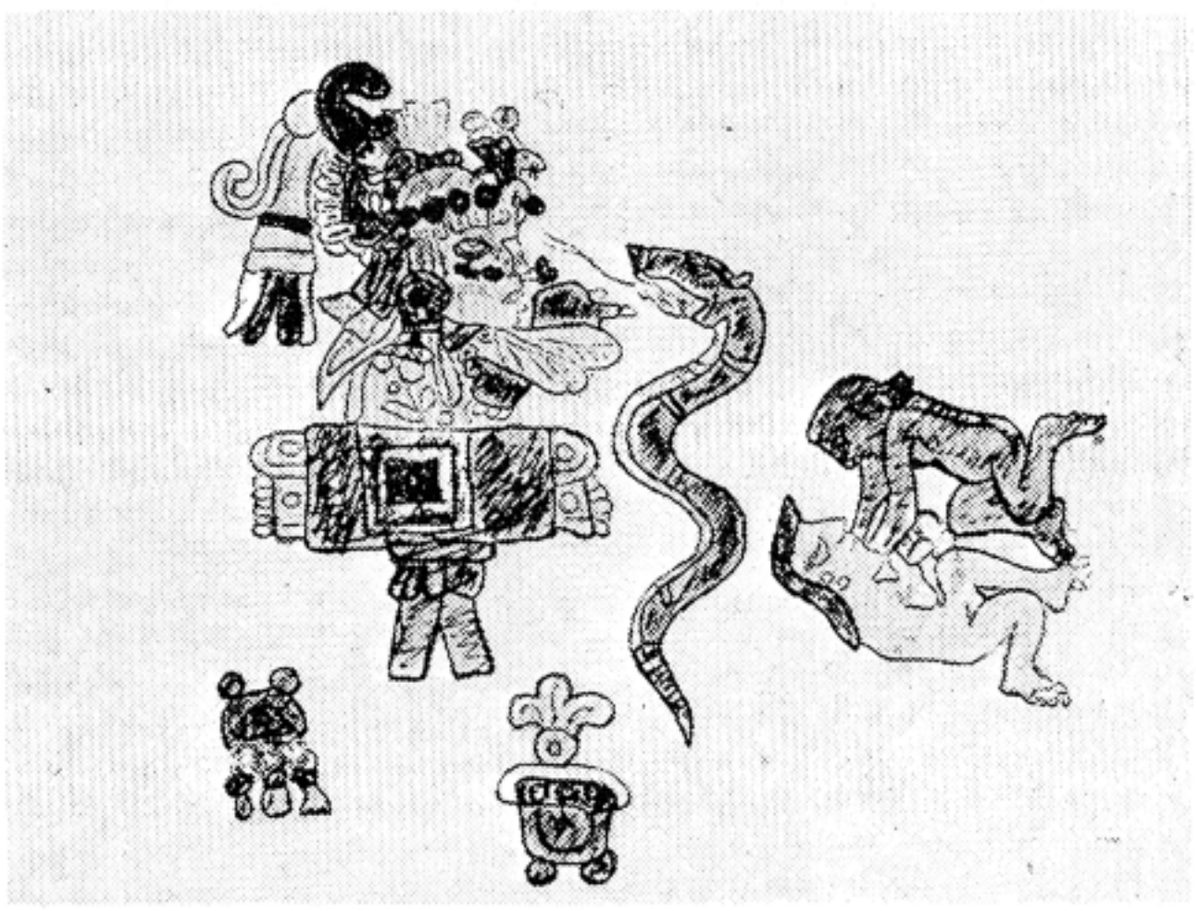

Fig. 12—A drawing of a pictograph glyph in the Codex

with strange markings. Other painted pottery portrays men studying such beans. It is supposed that these persons were decoders and that the markings were some form of communication.

As the results of this study have indicated, scholars were apparently too hasty in claiming that there was no writing among the ancient inhabitants of the New World, as they were equally hasty in scoffing at the idea of possible Hebraic origins and the use of metal as an instrument for the preservation of written language. Consequently, Joseph Smith's account of reading inscriptions on golden plates does not sound so farfetched today as it did many years ago.

"Wisdom" (Philosophy) in the Holy Bible

David H. Yarn, Jr.*

Diogenes Laertius, one of the principal sources of information about ancient philosophers, in his important work *Lives and Opinions of the Eminent Philosophers,* informs us as follows concerning the origin of the word *philosophy*:

> . . . Pythagoras was the first person who invented the term philosophy, and who called himself a philosopher . . . for he said that no man ought to be called wise, but only God. For formerly what is now called philosophy (φιλοσοφία) was called wisdom (σοφία), and they who professed it were called wise men (σοφοί), as being endowed with great acuteness and accuracy of mind; but now he who embraces wisdom is called a philosopher (φιλόσοφος).**

From the quotation, we may emphasize the following: (1) What in Diogenes's day was called philosophy was previously called wisdom. (2) Pythagoras invented the term *philosophy* (love of wisdom) and the term *philosopher* (one who loves wisdom). (3) Pythagoras invented those words because he said that no man ought to be called wise, but only God.

The primary significance of these matters to the subject of this discussion is Diogenes's indication that philosophy had become equated with wisdom and that wisdom had been identified with God.

Through the centuries of our Western intellectual heritage, philosophy has meant different things to different people; but perhaps to the majority, if not to all, having a technical acquaintance with it, it has had two principal functions, usually

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*Dr. Yarn, professor of philosophy and former dean of the College of Religious Instruction at Brigham Young University, has published widely in Church and scholarly publications. One of his latest publications is "Peace—Whither?" in *To the Glory of God: Mormon Essays on Great Issues* (Deseret Book, 1972).

**Diogenes Laertius, *The Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers* (C. D. Yonge, trans.), pp. 9-10. London: George Bell & Sons, 1891.

analysis and *synthesis*. Both functions are important, although some may emphasize analysis and others synthesis, and still others a balanced relationship between the two. And there is no doubt that as a consequence of the employment of these philosophic endeavors the life values of men past and present have been scrutinized and were and are more sound (wise) than they would have otherwise been. That is, the assumption has been and still is that philosophic inquiry implies, and hopefully produces, if not wisdom, at least some reasonable and useful facsimile thereof.

Inasmuch as philosophy historically has been equated with wisdom, or at least presumed to have some inherent identification with wisdom, it would perhaps be appropriate and not without some benefit to examine the word *wisdom* as it appears in one important historical document—the Holy Bible.

Assuming the author has not missed his count, the word *wisdom* appears 180 times in the Old Testament and 53 times in the New Testament, for a total of 233 times in the Bible. (Prima facie, this may suggest that wisdom, as reflected by the frequency of the use of that word, was of greater concern to the writers of the Old Testament than to the writers of the New Testament; but in view of the relative sizes of the two testaments in one of the author's Bibles, the word *wisdom* appears on the average of every 6.2 pages in the Old Testament and once every 6.4 pages in the New Testament.) By far the most frequent use of the word *wisdom* is in the book of Proverbs, where it appears 54 times; that is one more time than it appears in the entire New Testament. Of the books of the New Testament, *wisdom* appears with the greatest frequency in 1 Corinthians—18 times. However, although the word was used many times in these two particular books, its use was not restricted to only a few writers. *Wisdom* is found in 16 books of the Old Testament and in 12 books of the New Testament.

For the student of philosophy, perhaps it is most interesting and directly relevant to attempt to determine what constitutes the full content of the meaning of the word *wisdom* from its use in the Bible. According to the author's colleague, Professor Keith Meservy, what is essentially the word *wisdom* translates from the Old Testament Hebrew word *khokhmah*

(חָכְמָה). More familiar is the word *sophia* (σοφία) from the Greek, commonly used in the New Testament, which, of course, is one of the root words of *philosophia* or our English word *philosophy.* Inasmuch as the words *khokhmah* and *sophia,* from the Old and New Testaments, respectively, each essentially mean what the English word *wisdom* means, it is necessary, in order to determine the specific content of the meaning of those words, to examine the contexts in which they occur in order to discover either explicit meanings or meanings by associations.

This examination of what may be called the "wisdom passages" of the Bible will suggest five classifications, or categories, for identifying the contents of *wisdom* as it is defined or described in the Bible. That is, *wisdom* in the Bible denotes: (1) craft skills, (2) fine arts skills and knowledge of animate nature, (3) instruction in morals, (4) knowledge of God, and (5) righteousness.

Craft skills. Two of the passages which illustrate this dimension of the content of wisdom are found in the books of Exodus and 1 Kings.

> Them hath he filled with wisdom of heart, to work all manner of work, of the engraver, and of the cunning workman, and of the embroiderer, in blue, and in purple, in scarlet, and in fine linen, and of the weaver, even of them that do any work, and of those that devise cunning work. (Exodus 35:35.)
>
> He was a widow's son of the tribe Naphtali, and his father was a man of Tyre, a worker in brass: and he was filled with wisdom, and understanding, and cunning to work all works in brass. And he came to king Solomon, and wrought all his work. (1 Kings 7:14.)

These passages identify wisdom as the ability "to work all manner of work" and mention the following specific skills: engraving, embroidering (in blue, in purple, in scarlet, and in fine linen), weaving, and "cunning to work all works in brass."

Fine arts skills and knowledge of animate nature. A passage in the book of 1 Kings describing King Solomon's great wisdom best illustrates these aspects of wisdom:

> And he spake three thousand proverbs: and his songs were a thousand and five.
>
> And he spake of trees, from the cedar tree that is in Leb-

> anon even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall: he spake also of beasts, and of fowl, and of creeping things, and of fishes. (1 Kings 4:32-33.)

Solomon's wisdom in these matters is described as having "excelled the wisdom of all the children of the east country, and all the wisdom of Egypt." (1 Kings 4:30.)

Instruction in morals. Three rather typical passages which identify wisdom with instruction in morals are found in the book of Proverbs:

> To know wisdom and instruction; to perceive the words of understanding;
>
> To receive the instruction of wisdom, justice, and judgment, and equity;
>
> To give subtilty to the simple, to the young man knowledge and discretion [advisement].
>
> A wise man will hear, and will increase learning; and a man of understanding shall attain unto wise counsels. (Proverbs 1:2-5.)
>
> He that refuseth instruction [correction] despiseth his own soul: but he that heareth [obeyeth] reproof getteth understanding [possesseth a heart].
>
> The fear of the Lord is the instruction of wisdom; and before honour is humility. (Proverbs 15:32-33.)
>
> The rod and reproof give wisdom: but a child left to himself bringeth his mother to shame. (Proverbs 29:15.)

In these verses, we find wisdom associated with justice, judgment, equity, knowledge, discretion, understanding, and receiving reproof. In general, we are told that receiving instruction on these things makes one wise, whereas, refusing it is a contradiction of basic human propensity and need.

Knowledge of God. Some of the most stirring passages in the Bible which explicate the content of the word *wisdom* as used in that holy book identify wisdom as or with knowledge of God:

> So that thou incline thine ear unto wisdom, and apply thine heart to understanding;
>
> Yea, if thou criest after knowledge, and liftest up thy voice for understanding;
>
> If thou seekest her as silver, and searchest for her as for hid treasures;
>
> Then shalt thou understand the fear of the Lord, and find the knowledge of God.
>
> For the Lord giveth wisdom: out of his mouth cometh knowledge and understanding.

> He layeth up sound wisdom for the righteous: he is a buckler to them that walk uprightly. (Proverbs 2:2-7.)

This passage reminds one of the wonderful exhortation of the Lord when he bade his followers to hunger and thirst after righteousness and promised that if they would do so they would be filled with the Holy Ghost. (3 Nephi 12:6; Matthew 5:6.) Notice again the essence of the passage in Proverbs: If you incline the ear, apply the heart, cry after, lift up voice for, seek, search, you will "find the knowledge of God. For the Lord giveth wisdom. . . ."

> The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom: and the knowledge of the holy is understanding. (Proverbs 9:10.)
>
> In whom [the Father and the Christ] are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge. (Colossians 2:3.)
>
> If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not; and it shall be given him. (James 1:5.)

This last verse should be of particular interest to the Latter-day Saint student of philosophy, inasmuch as it was the study of this verse by the young boy and future prophet, Joseph Smith, which ignited his faith and provided the final motivation to seclude himself in what we now call the Sacred Grove where he received what we reverently identify as the First Vision. Note that this verse, which is vitally related to the opening of the last dispensation of the gospel of Jesus Christ, is an invitation to man to seek wisdom; and, in response to Joseph Smith's having sought wisdom, he received that magnificent vision in which he saw the Heavenly Father and Jesus Christ the Redeemer as two distinct personages, gaining fundamental knowledge of God which had previously been lost to the world.

> For the Jews require a sign, and the Greeks seek after wisdom;
>
> But we preach Christ crucified, unto the Jews a stumblingblock, and unto the Greeks foolishness;
>
> But unto them which are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God. (1 Corinthians 1:22-24.)
>
> But of him (God) are ye in Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and santification, and redemption. . . . (1 Corinthians 1:30.)

In these verses, the Apostle Paul characterizes the Christ as that wisdom which men should seek for, a provision from God, which may work a discomfort upon the unconverted.

Righteousness. Perhaps there are more "wisdom passages" whose context suggests that real wisdom for man has to do with his living a righteous life than any others. Some typical illustrations of righteousness as the meaning of the word *wisdom* are found in the following scriptures:

> Behold, I have taught you statutes and judgments, even as the Lord my God commanded me, that ye should do so in the land whither ye go to possess it.
>
> Keep therefore and go do them; for this is your wisdom and your understanding in the sight of the nations, which shall hear all these statutes, and say, Surely this great nation is a wise and understanding people. (Deuteronomy 4:5-6.)
>
> And unto man he said, Behold, the fear of the Lord, that is wisdom; and to depart from evil is understanding. (Job 28:28.)
>
> The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom: a good understanding have all they that do his commandments: his praise endureth for ever. (Psalm 111:10.)
>
> When pride cometh, then cometh shame: but with the lowly is wisdom.
>
> The integrity of the upright shall guide them: but the perverseness of transgressors shall destroy them. (Proverbs 11:2-3.)
>
> She [the virtuous woman] openeth her mouth with wisdom; and in her tongue is the law of kindness. (Proverbs 31:26.)

Here, then, we see wisdom identified with the lowly, with humility, with departing from evil, with the integrity of the upright, with the kindness of the virtuous woman, and with a good understanding, which is a product of keeping the commandments. Summarily, we are told to keep and do the statutes and judgments of God, "for this is your wisdom . . ."

Thus, as we consider the uses of the word *wisdom* as it appears in the Old and New Testaments, we discover that, although there are a few instances where the word represents the skills of various crafts, literary skills, and knowledge of objects in nature, predominantly it is associated with instruction in morals, knowing God (explicity Jesus Christ), and righteousness of life.

In view of these contents attributed to *wisdom,* it is understandable why it is valued so highly and receives the praise found in many passages, such as the following:

> Wisdom is better than weapons of war . . . (Ecclesiastes 9:18.)
>
> Wisdom is better than strength . . . (Ecclesiastes 9:16.)
>
> Then I saw that wisdom excelleth folly, as far as light excelleth darkness. (Ecclesiastes 2:13.)
>
> My son, eat thou honey, because it is good; and the honeycomb, which is sweet to thy taste:
>
> So shall the knowledge of wisdom be unto thy soul: when thou hast found it, then there shall be a reward, and thy expectation shall not be cut off. (Proverbs 24:13-14.)
>
> No mention shall be made of coral, or of pearls: for the price of wisdom is above rubies. (Job 28:18.)
>
> Wisdom is the principal thing; therefore get wisdom: and with all thy getting get understanding. (Proverbs 4:7.)
>
> For the merchandise of it is better than the merchandise of silver, and the gain thereof than fine gold.
>
> She is more precious than rubies: and all the things thou canst desire are not to be compared unto her. (Proverbs 3:14-15.)

In these passages, as in others previously cited, we not only discover the high value placed upon wisdom but also observe the frequent occurrence of the words *knowledge* and *understanding* in context with the word *wisdom.* A similar passage is Exodus 35:31, in which we find: "And he hath filled him with the spirit of God, in wisdom, in understanding, and in knowledge, and in all manner of workmanship . . . " It might be suggested that in all passages of this kind the closely allied intentions of the words are obvious; and some interpreters may even think of such passages as manifesting essentially nothing more than a literary parallelism. However, there are some passages where the verbs used in conjunction with these nouns suggest distinctions. For example:

> The Lord by wisdom hath founded the earth; by understanding hath he established the heavens.
>
> By his knowledge the depths are broken up, and clouds drop down the dew. (Proverbs 3:19-20.)

Wisdom and *understanding* both seem to be used in the sense of judgment and decision, having to do more with what we may think of as *intelligence* or a directing kind of force

or influence; whereas, *knowledge* seems to be used to suggest the instrumental function or active agent.

Another interesting passage which illustrates this principle of distinction, perhaps containing even an implicit principle of gradation (at least it is certainly subject to such interpretation) is found in Jeremiah 10:12:

> He hath made the earth by his power, he hath established the world by his wisdom, and hath stretched out the heavens by his discretion. (See also Jeremiah 51:15.)

In Jeremiah 51:15, the word *understanding* is used instead of *discretion.*

"Established the world by his wisdom" may be construed to suggest that the reason for the world's being organized lies in God's wisdom; "stretched out the heavens by his discretion" or "understanding" may be conceived to suggest the plan or pattern of arrangement of things; and, finally, "made the earth by his power" seems to specify the active force in bringing things into that arrangement. So, although *wisdom, knowledge,* and *understanding* are often used in conjunction with each other, at times almost as synonyms, or in parallel form to at least suggest different facets of a given thing, on occasion they suggest functionally different aspects of God and of man.

Another dimension of the examination of *wisdom* in the scriptures may be called the distinction or contrast between *earthly wisdom* and *heavenly wisdom.* A very familiar prophecy having to do with the restoration of the gospel which contrasts the work of God with the wisdom of men is found in Isaiah:

> Therefore, behold, I will proceed to do a marvelous work among this people, even a marvelous work and a wonder: for the wisdom of their wise men shall perish, and the understanding of their prudent men shall be hid. (Isaiah 29:14.)

Isaiah thrusts a profound and forceful warning to man to avoid selfishness and overconfidence in his own wisdom and knowledge:

> For thou hast trusted in thy wickedness: thou hast said, None seeth me. Thy wisdom and thy knowledge, it hath perverted thee; and thou hast said in thine heart, I am, and none else beside me. (Isaiah 47:10.)

This is an insightful example of the concept that stubborn concern for self only—"None seeth me," "I am, and none else beside me"—is a perversion and that human wisdom and human knowledge alone do not give one sufficient perspective—"Thy wisdom and thy knowledge, it hath perverted thee."

Another interesting warning to man regarding his wisdom is found in the word of the Lord through his prophet Ezekiel in the form of a lamentation for the king of Tyre. After reminding the king of his former righteousness, wisdom, beauty, and wealth, and a recounting of certain matters, the Lord said:

> Thine heart was lifted up because of thy beauty, thou hast corrupted thy wisdom by reason of thy brightness [RSV: splendor]: I will cast thee to the ground, I will lay thee before kings, that they may hold thee. (Ezekiel 28:17.)

This verse suggests that the root problem for the king of Tyre was his pride, that he was lifted up because of his beauty. The part of the verse which is more relevant to the present discussion is that in which the Lord says, "Thou hast corrupted thy wisdom by reason of thy brightness [RSV: splendor]." Not only the Authorized Version, but also the Inspired Version and the Jewish Publication Society of America's translation use the word *brightness;* but *splendor* is used in the Revised Standard Version, the Confraternity Version, and the Jerusalem Bible. The underlying concept of either *brightness* or *splendor* is "shining" or "illumination," and the Lord said the king's wisdom had been corrupted by his brightness or shining or illumination. In considering the warning implicit in this lamentation to the king of Tyre, we recall another individual, even more powerful, whose brilliance was not enough to save him, whose very name means "light-bringing" or "light-bearer." His name is Lucifer.

The Lord warns men against overconfidence in human wisdom, and contrasts what we may call earthly wisdom and heavenly wisdom in the New Testament as well:

> For after that in the wisdom of God the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe. (1 Corinthians 1:21.)

Perhaps the translation in the New English Bible is even more clear. It reads:

> As God in his wisdom ordained, the world failed to find him by its wisdom, and he chose to save those who have faith by the folly of the Gospel. (1 Corinthians 1:21.)

The Apostle Paul makes the distinction more emphatically in 1 Corinthians, where he says:

> And my speech and my preaching was not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power:
>
> That your faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God. (1 Corinthians 2:4-5.)
>
> Now we have received, not the spirit of the world, but the Spirit which is of God; that we might know the things that are freely given to us of God.
>
> Which things also we speak, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth; comparing spiritual things with spiritual.
>
> But the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness unto him: neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned. (1 Corinthians 2:12-14.)

Minimally, there the three things here which must be reiterated: first, Paul's contrast between the enticing words of man's wisdom and the demonstration of the Spirit and power of God; second, man's faith should not stand in the wisdom of men but in the power of God; and, third, the natural man, who knows only the wisdom of men, cannot know the things of God because they can only be discerned spiritually.

The Apostle James also distinguishes heavenly from earthly wisdom; but his focus is quite different from that of the Apostle Paul—although in no way contradictory. In James we read:

> Who is a wise man and endued with knowledge among you? let him shew out of a good conversation his works with meekness of wisdom.
>
> But if ye have bitter envying and strife in your hearts, glory not, and lie not against the truth.
>
> This wisdom descendeth not from above, but is earthly, sensual, devilish.
>
> For where envying and strife is, there is confusion and every evil work.
>
> But the wisdom that is from above is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be intreated, full of mercy

> and good fruits, without partiality [wrangling], and without hypocrisy.
>
> And the fruit of righteousness is sown in peace of them that make peace. (James 3:13-18.)

In this passage from James not only do we find him distinguishing earthly wisdom from heavenly wisdom as such but also introducing another facet of wisdom which we have not considered previously, namely, the product or fruit of wisdom. The following passages suggest some of the products of wisdom:

> Say unto wisdom, Thou art my sister, and call understanding thy kinswoman:
>
> That they may keep thee from the strange woman, from the stranger which flattereth with her words. (Proverbs 7:4-5.)
>
> Happy is the man that findeth wisdom, and the man that getteth understanding. (Proverbs 3:13.)
>
> Her [wisdom's] ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace.
>
> She is a tree of life to them that lay hold upon her: and happy is every one that retaineth her. (Proverbs 3:17-18.)
>
> . . . keep sound wisdom and discretion:
>
> Then shalt thou walk in thy way safely, and thy foot shall not stumble.
>
> When thou liest down, thou shalt not be afraid: yea, thou shalt lie down, and thy sleep shall be sweet.
>
> Be not afraid of sudden fear, neither of the desolation of the wicked, when it cometh.
>
> For the Lord shall be thy confidence, and shall keep thy foot from being taken. (Proverbs 3:21, 23-26.)

Ecclesiastes, the Preacher, author of perhaps the most pessimistic book in the Bible and perhaps in all scripture, mentions what might be regarded as a negative note to the products or fruits of wisdom:

> For in much wisdom is much grief: and he that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow. (Ecclesiastes 1:18.)

However, the Preacher later states:

> For wisdom is a defence, and money is a defence: but the excellency of knowledge is, that wisdom giveth life to them that have it. (Ecclesiastes 7:12.)

Or as is rendered in the Revised Standard Version:

> For the protection of wisdom is like the protection of money; and the advantage of knowledge is the wisdom that preserves the life of him who has it.

The products of wisdom are further described in these passages:

> My son, let not them depart from thine eyes: keep sound wisdom and discretion:
>
> So shall they be life unto thy soul, and grace to thy neck. (Proverbs 3:21-22.)
>
> For whoso findeth me [wisdom] findeth life, and shall obtain favour of the Lord.
>
> But he that sinneth against me wrongeth his own soul: all they that hate me love death. (Proverbs 8:35-36.)
>
> Exalt her [wisdom], and she shall promote thee: she shall bring thee to honour, when thou dost embrace her.
>
> She shall give to thine head an ornament of grace: a crown of glory shall she deliver to thee. (Proverbs 4:8-9.)

Thus, the fruits of wisdom include protection from the flattering words which would draw one into immorality; happiness, ways of pleasantness, paths of peace, freedom from fear, sleep that is sweet, confidence from the Lord; are a tree of life and life unto the soul; and include possibly, the most far-reaching promise of all, though some interpreters may regard it as strictly poetic or metaphorical, which is consistent with the promises of the Lord in other revelations regarding exaltation: wisdom "shall give to thine head an ornament of grace: a crown of glory shall she deliver to thee." (Proverbs 4:9.)

Beginning with the etymological fact that *philosophy* means love of wisdom and that *philosopher* means one who loves wisdom, and the teaching of Diogenes Laertius that Pythagoras coined them because "no man ought to be called wise, but only God," we have examined the word *wisdom* as it is used in the Holy Bible.

The word appears with almost identical frequency in the two testaments and in slightly less than half of the books of each. There is a limited use of the word to denote skill in various crafts and skill in literary arts and knowledge of the natural world. Predominantly, *wisdom* denotes instruction in morals, knowledge of God (specifically Jesus Christ), and righteousness of life. Consistent with this meaning, we are told that wisdom is of greater value than silver or fine gold,

more precious than rubies, and that all things that can be desired are not to be compared to it. (Proverbs 3:14-15.) Heavenly (God's) wisdom is distinguished from earthly (man's) wisdom, and men are warned against trusting in their own wisdom and knowledge. Finally, the higher wisdom, that which can be known only through the Spirit and power of God, is "peaceable, gentle, easy to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality (wrangling), and without hypocrisy" (James 3:17-18); and gives happiness, peace, freedom from fear, sleep that is sweet, and is life unto the soul.

Book Reviews

Three Books of Poetry by Utah Poets

(Reviewed by Elouise Bell, instructor of English at Brigham Young University. Miss Bell, a poet in her own right, teaches creative writing at BYU. She was Utah's Outstanding Young Woman in 1970.)

Gale Tampico Boyd. *The Lost, The Found.* Privately published, 1971. 77 pp. $2.95.

The distinctive characteristic that bursts through the poems of Gale Tampico Boyd is a rich, aggressive vitality. This vitality is expressed both in the content and in the form of the poems. The result is a potpourri into which the reader may dip at will and be sure of coming up with something new each time.

Of course, any potpourri is a risk. Vitality by its very nature results in an occasional miss, an excess, or an experiment that fails. Not all of the poems in Ms. Boyd's collection are equally effective. Let us examine a few of the problems before going on to the many successes.

Nature poetry is always a challenge to write. Nature, like love, is in itself a very powerful subject. Before the poem is even written, the content is loaded with emotional freight. Then, too, many of us not only respond deeply to nature but identify with it—see our own emotions symbolized and paralleled in it. Because of this, many poets fail to create nature poetry which does its own work. Instead, they paint fragmental wisps which may bear a significant personal meaning but which do not function as full-fledged poems of their own because the personal meaning does not become in any sense universal. The magnificence of nature itself and the magnificence of the emotions aroused in a poet do not auto-

matically guarantee a magnificent poem. Ms. Boyd needs to examine exactly what it is she is attempting in her nature poetry and then make sure that the poems themselves achieve these ends.

Now a word about words. They are the poet's tools, and naturally he is constantly experimenting to see what he can do with them. Such experimentation is a vital part of the poet's discipline. But many attempts will fail; many words simply will not work in certain ways. However delightful a certain word may seem, if it does not work as a window, if it does not allow the reader to see through it to the meaning and total content of the poem, then the word must go. Occasionally, Ms. Boyd uses words so self-consciously that the poem is damaged. Witness the phrase

> Your transparent gauze of hair
> that idles on the pillow where
> my vision progresses. . . .

"Transparent gauze," though chancy, can work. But "idles" cannot. The verb implies a contrast of animated movement. Possibly an adjective form might work—"idle hair." But to animate hair so that it has the possibility of idling is to commit the pathetic fallacy to no purpose. One can see what Ms. Boyd was reaching for, but the choice was wrong. "Progresses" is likewise amiss in this context.

Ms. Boyd occasionally tries too hard, reaches too far. Only rarely does she err in the other direction—towards the cliche. In "The Convent in Spring," she does falter, making a stale nun-penguin comparison.

There are other problems—the whole tone of "Awaiting Birth" seems wrong, for instance (one can applaud humor in such a situation—but not cuteness)— but the delights of this collection far outnumber and outweigh the failings.

One of the delights is "Snow Desert," a strong, original poem:

> Thin layers of ice
> Seal mud-puddles into shiny scabs on lacerated
> Pavement, and people walk carefully on the healed
> Surfaces. . . .

Another untitled desert poem works beautifully: "Blistered with stars/the desert sky/salves itself with dark heat. . . . I am

at a loss, however, to explain the poet's purpose in shifting the whole tone of this fine poem in the closing line, which is a superficial parody: "Oh, to be in Finland/now that summer's here." That's good light verse, but inappropriate here.

"The Fun House Manikin's Lover" is typical of the imagination and resourcefulness Gale Boyd shows in her best poems:

> The fun house manikin's lover
> Slumps at east between tours,
> Pounds of suspended plastic
> With padded paunch
> And face of welded jello. . . .

One of the strongest poems in the collection is "The Invalid":

> I accept their sad sighs
> as careless howling hymns,
> Hollow as air that passes from frigid
> Places. Their faces, those faces: rigid
> With practiced pity, pretending to cry.
> All warmth that comes from cold lips is a lie.

In addition to the clear, unobstructed movement of the poem and its perfect control of tone, one admires the skillful use of meter and rime, subtle yet supportive from first to last.

Certainly with *The Lost, the Found,* we have only the debut of a rich, multifaceted talent that will continue to develop and produce in the years ahead.

CHARIS SOUTHWELL. *Collected Poems of Charis Southwell.* New York: Exposition Press, 1972. 62 pp. $3.00.

Charis Southwell, a graduate cum laude of Brigham Young University, died at the age of twenty-nine, while still developing her poetic talents. Her *Collected Poems,* therefore, contains pieces of varying quality; but among them are several of lasting value which we are fortunate to have permanently preserved.

The poems take various directions, some relatively stylized and elaborate in the manner of the (now old) New Critics, most much more direct and open in the contemporary mode. To this reviewer, the latter seem more successful. For in-

stance, in "Snowed In," a family awaits Christmas in the country. The snow is high. There is a chance the advancing snow plow may reach them in time for them to have a conventional Christmas, complete with store-bought presents; there is a chance it may not. The atmosphere is perfectly rendered, balanced between the two possible futures. The fulcrum of the poem is the sound of the nearing snow plow, a mixed blessing which causes the narrator to ponder, "What might have come of one more solitary morning/Silent, dark, and waiting?" Understated yet fully accessible, the emotions of the poem are created by the poem itself.

The power of the unembroidered style is evident in another poem, untitled, which begins:

> I have this small, spare gratitude to give,
> Hardly there for all Your Care.

Though this poem (like several others) echoes strongly of Hopkins, Cummings, and even Emily Dickinson, it retains a freshness of its own.

Lest these mentions of simplicity suggest a poverty of style, be assured that Ms. Southwick's poems *are* poetry, not merely rearranged prose. The poet knew well and was becoming skillful in the special uses of the poetic line. Listen to the first stanza of "Our Family":

> The sweet dreams of the warm evening
> Brush aside the whisps of years,
> And bring us close again
> In arms of thought
> And a touch of tears,
> Remembering the bright, noisy love that filled our house,
> The never quiet, unrelenting clang and call and song.

No culture ever has too many serious poets; and the Mormon sub-culture has never had enough. Charis Southwell's early death is a loss to that culture and to the wider audience of poetry readers in general. But because she was a serious poet engaged in learning her trade well, Charis Southwell produced, even in her short lifetime, a significant though small body of work. For this, we can be grateful to her. We also owe gratitude to her husband, William H. Southwell, who undertook the publication of her poems after her death. That she anticipated that death and faced it like a woman is

evident from many of the poems in this collection, none, perhaps, more direct and poignant than "Butterfly":

Remember me, I cry I cry
Remember me I can't say why
Except I longed, except I loved
And now before I lived, I die.

EMMA LOU THAYNE. *Spaces in the Sage.* Salt Lake City: Parliament Publishers, 1971. 60 pp. $3.50.

It is very difficult, in the realm of poetry, to distinguish the line that separates the amateur from the professional. (Certainly money is no criterion here as it is supposed to be in sports!) Wherever that line may be, however, it is very clear that Emma Lou Thayne has crossed it.

This reviewer had the opportunity of reading a number of Ms. Thayne's earlier poems prior to studying this volume. The earlier poems were clever and delightful, the work of a talented amateur. In *Spaces in the Sage,* however, the poet writes with the clear, firm authority of the professional. Her work includes some of the most readable and most polished poems ever to come out of this region. Several of them can stand in company with the best modern poetry being written in America today.

One thing that bespeaks the professional is a distinctive style. Readers who give their attention to the poems of *Spaces in the Sage* will hereafter be able to spot the poet's work very quickly for its special proportions of toughness and tenderness, its use of rich yet carefully selected detail, its controlled humor, and its explosive quality. "Explosive" is used here to suggest the light that suddenly flashes in the reader's mind, usually at the completion of a poem, and almost always in a manner unexpected. Lesser poets, attempting the same impact, often "manipulate" their poems. Ms. Thayne, however, makes the poem do its own work: the explosion occurs because the poem lights the fuse.

Vigor is another characteristic of Ms. Thayne's work—vigor of style as well as of content. Her images move with an energy of their own: "Purple flowers spilled like sawdust," ". . . you . . . would tire of pink and spit back seeds of black," "I hang on, arms full/knees gripping leather

flesh . . . ," "Frantic legs jack hammering. . . ." Even inanimate objects are treated with energy, such as the dam at Lake Powell: "Sheared semi-straight/ Sides primed and polished with a palette knife. . . ."

Ms. Thayne uses skillfully a technique now being experimented with by leading contemporary poets. In their concern with the individual poetic line, not only as an organic part of the total poem but as an experience in itself, they are trying to learn what kind of useful ambiguity and texture they can get by dividing the lines of a poem in an unexpected way. Done ineptly, such division just produces red herrings. But done well, it gives us added connotations—relevant connotations—without added words. Take this stanza from Ms. Thayne's excellent poem "Cheyenne."

> What chance has any driver
> floating at a wheel turned
> silken by an hour of ancient sirens
> singing urgent in the dark.

Each of the first three lines has a slightly different meaning when read alone than when read in context. "What chance has any driver" is a statement that has tragic force all by itself, given the death toll on our highways. "A wheel turned" suggests the physical turning—an idea crucial to this poem about decision. But in context, it also operates as "a wheel turned silken," a different, metaphoric concept. The ancient sirens are at first ambulance or police sirens, working well with "what chance has any driver," but in the next line the sound becomes the song of mythical sirens.

There are many other things to commend about this volume. There are also a few things one might find fault with. Except for the poem "Waiting," the very short, abstract poems strike this reviewer as unsuccessful. But one point seems especially important. The content and style of these poems will be accessible and interesting to readers with very little experience in the reading of serious poetry. "Huckleberry Hunt," the Lake Powell poems, "Manchild," virtually all of the poems deal with familiar material. They are poems that could (and will) be read across the pulpit or in family home evenings, yet—and this is the crucial point—they will achieve this popularity without compromise. They are ex-

amples of first-rate poetry, professional and of consummate artistry. As such, who can estimate their power for good among the philistines?

SPENCER J. PALMER, ed. *Studies in Asian Genealogy.* Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1972. 281 pp. $12.50.

(Reviewed by Fred W. Rockwood and C. Keith Allred. Mr. Rockwood is a law student at Harvard specializing in Chinese legal thought and institutions. Mr. Allred is an Asian specialist for the Genealogical Society.)

Studies in Asian Genealogy is a collection of twenty articles originally prepared by selected Asian specialists for presentation at the World Conference on Records[1] and subsequently revised and edited for publication. The editor has divided these papers topically into the following eight sections: Chinese Genealogical Records, Chinese Written History, Japanese Family Records, Korean Genealogical Sources, Indian Tribal Genealogies, Libraries and Library Collections, Asian Immigrants in America, and Computer Technology and Asian Genealogical Research. An introduction, biographical sketches of the contributors, a glossary, and an index have also been included.

Since this anthology is highly diverse in both style and content, it invites criticism of its format and method of presentation rather than a critique of each article. A scholarly appraisal of each essay would require a high degree of competence and specialization in many divergent areas of Asian research.

Although the subject material varies greatly, the unifying principle among the various articles is the emphasis placed upon Asian genealogical records as an important source of data which can be relevant to research in many academic disciplines. Even though certain Asian specialists have been aware of the value of Asian genealogical records, *Studies in Asian Genealogy* make a valuable contribution to genealogical re-

[1]The World Conference on Records was sponsored by the Genealogical Society of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Research and records specialists from all over the world met in Salt Lake City, Utah, from 5-8 August 1969 to deliver papers and exchange information.

search literature by making the information presented at the World Conference on Records more widely accessible than would have been possible otherwise and by serving as an impetus to more serious research using Asian genealogical records as the source material.

It is doubtful that the articles delivered at the World Conference on Records would have been formally published without the effort of Dr. Palmer and others and, consequently, this information would have been largely denied to the academic community. But perhaps of greater impact will be the motivation among those in Asian Studies who have obtained or are in the process of obtaining the necessary language skills and disciplinary expertise required to make effective and meaningful use of the sources discussed. The book is not, nor was it intended to be, *the* definitive work in the field of Asian genealogy; however, it serves well the purpose of an introductory work for those serious Asian specialists who are preparing to embark on their first encounter with the complexities of original research in non-Western language source materials.

There is one weakness in editing that not only tends to detract from the overall scholarship of the book, but may also reduce the practical utility of much of the information for both the novice Asian researcher as well as the seasoned research specialist. The great geographical variation and the highly specific nature of the information are both factors which challenge the competence of any single reader to critically evaluate the contribution made by each article to the existing literature in its particular area of investigation. There even may be cases in which some readers will be totally unfamiliar with the existing literature in one area, while maintaining a high level of expertise in another. Because of this breadth, the volume sorely needs a critical and evaluative analysis of each article with reference to the present state of knowledge in that particular area of Asian Studies, something more than the very brief summaries which appear in the editor's introduction. This would greatly enhance the value of the book as a unified entity. In the present format, many of the important and unique interrelationships between records in the various Asian nations are lost upon the reader who may feel himself outside his specific area of speciali-

zation. As it stands, the book is not cohesive, since the introduction fails to provide the critical cement necessary to bind the very different articles into a coherent whole. One possible solution to the dilemma would have been the adoption of a somewhat different format in which each article would have been prefaced by certain explanatory remarks and followed by a critical note or comment authored by a specialist competent in the particular field covered by the article. Such a procedure would have relieved the editor of the responsibility of being a universal specialist and at the same time increased the practical utility of each article to the average reader.

However, we hasten to note that the task undertaken was by no means a simple one. Dr. Palmer is to be commended not only for his insight in perceiving the great value of the information presented at the World Conference on Records for scholars and researchers in both Asian Studies and the academic disciplines, but also for his efforts in making that information available to the academic community. From the inception of the project to its final culmination, Dr. Palmer has done a commendable work in dealing with the problems and difficulties peculiar to the publication of non-Western language material. It cannot be expected that any single editor, in undertaking a project of this scope and magnitude, could provide an in-depth critique of all of the various papers, no matter what his capabilities and qualifications.

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